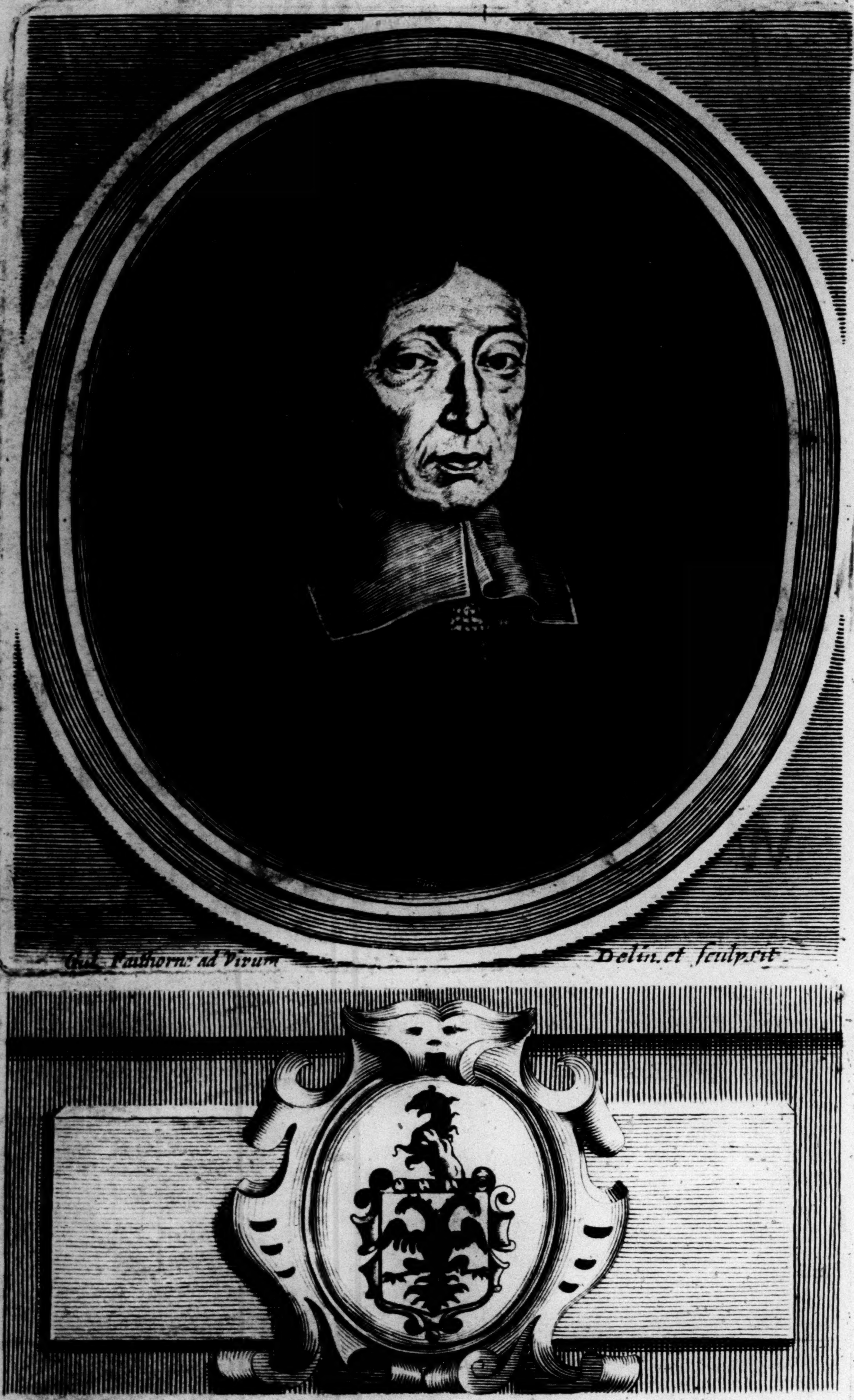
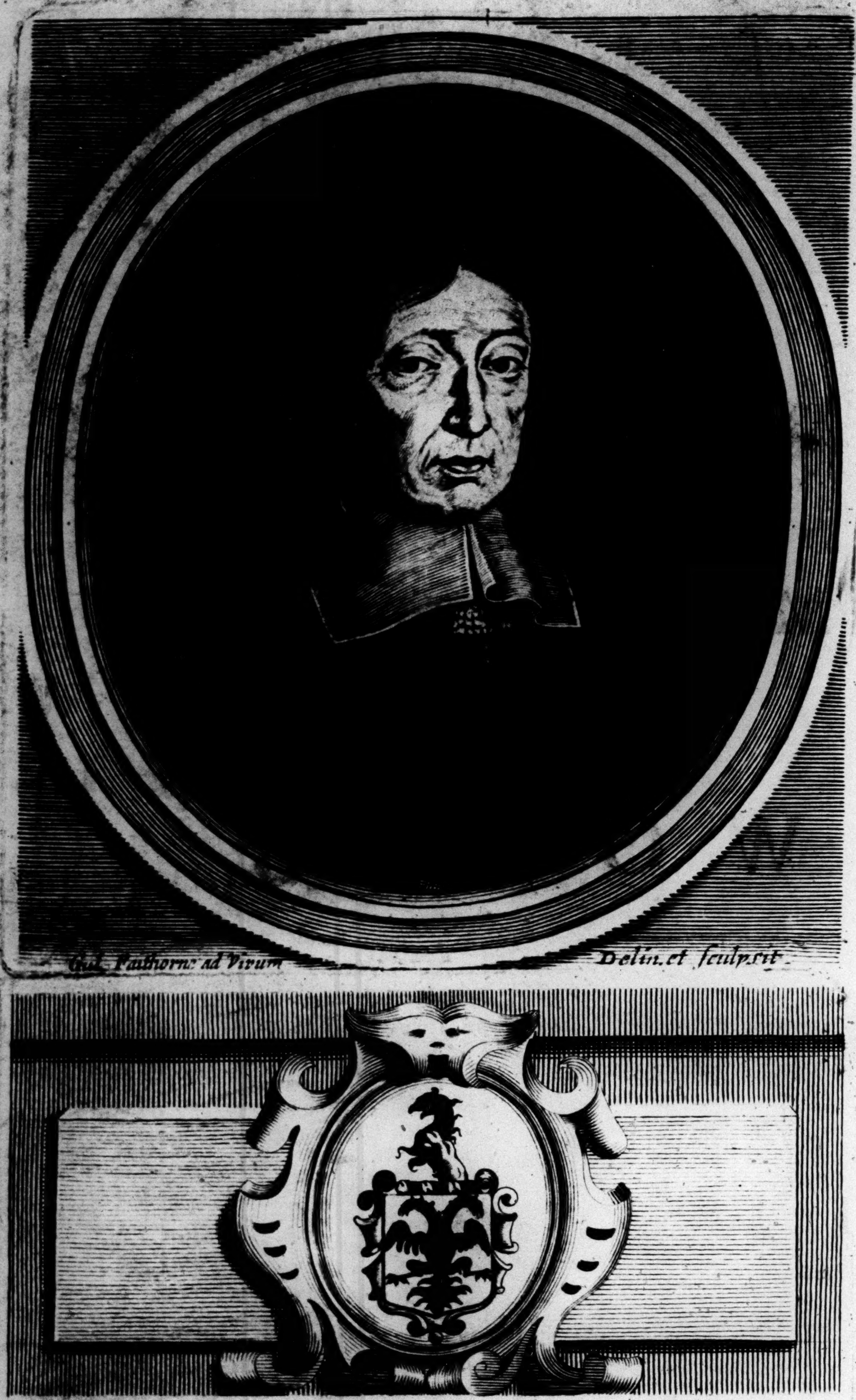

Gul. Faithorne ad Virum Delin. et ſculpſit.

Joannis Miltoni Effigies
Natus Anno 1608. Obiit Anno 1674.



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The LIFE of the AUTHOR,
Containing,
Beſides the Hiſtory of his Works,
Several Extraordinary Characters of Men and Books, Sects, Parties, and Opinions.

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# THE LIFE OF JOHN MILTON.

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## To THOMAS RAULINS of *Kilreag* in *Herefordſhire*, Eſq;

I SEND You at length, my beſt Friend, what you have ſo often and earneſtly ſollicited me to write, the Life of *JOHN MILTON*, a Man eminent at home and famous abroad for his univerſal Learning, Sagacity, and ſolid Judgment: but particularly noted as well for thoſe excellent Volumes he wrote on the behalf of Civil, Religious, and Domeſtic Liberty; as for his divine and incomparable Poems, which, equalling the moſt beautiful Order and Expreſſion of any antient or modern Compoſitions, are infinitly above them all for Sublimity and Invention. Obſerving in this performance the Rules of a faithful Hiſtorian, being neither provok'd by Malice, nor brib'd by Favor, and as well daring to ſay all that is true, as ſcorning to write any Falſhood, I ſhall not conceal what may be thought againſt my Author's Honor, nor add the leaſt word for his Reputation: but three things I would have you ſpecially obſerve. Firſt, I ſhall not be too minute in relating the ordinary Circumſtances of his Life, and which are common to him with all other Men. Writings of this nature ſhould in my opinion be deſign'd to recommend Virtue, and to expoſe Vice; or to illuſtrate Hiſtory, and to preſerve the memory of extraordinary things. That a Man, for example, was ſick at ſuch a time, or well at another, ſhould never be mention'd; except in the Cauſes or Effects, Cure or Continuance, there happens ſomthing remarkable, and for the benefit of Mankind to know. I had not therfore related *Milton*'s Headachs in his Youth, were it not for the influence which this Indiſpoſition had afterwards on his Eys, and that his Blindneſs was raſhly imputed by his Enemies to the avenging Judgment of God. Secondly, In the Characters of Sects and Parties, Books or Opinions, I ſhall produce his own words, as I find 'em in his Works; that thoſe who approve his Reaſons, may ow all the Obligation to himſelf, and that I may eſcape the blame of ſuch as may diſlike what he ſays. For it is commonly ſeen, that Hiſtorians are ſuſpected rather to make their Hero what they would have him to be, than ſuch as he really was; and that, as they are promted by different Paſſions, they put thoſe words in his mouth which they might not ſpeak themſelves without incurring ſom danger, and being accus'd perhaps of Flattery or Injuſtice: but I am neither writing a Satyr, nor a Panegyric upon *Milton*, but publiſhing the true Hiſtory of his Actions, Works, and Opinions. In the third place, I would not have it expected that when I quote a few Verſes or Paſſages in a different Language, I ſhould always pretend to tranſlate 'em, when the whole turn or fancy abſolutely depends upon the force of the Original words; for the Ignorant could be nothing the wiſer, and the beſt Tranſlation would ſpoil their Beauty to the Learned. But this happens ſo rarely, and almoſt only during his Travels abroad, that it ſcarce deſerv'd an Advertiſment. The ampleſt part of my Materials I had from his own Books, where, conſtrain'd by the Diffamations of his Enemys, he often gives an account of himſelf. I learnt ſom Particulars from a Perſon that had bin once his Amanuenſis, which were confirm'd to me by his Daughter now dwelling in *London*, and by a Letter written to one at my deſire from his laſt Wife, who is ſtill alive. I perus'd the Papers of one of his Nephews, learnt what I could in Diſcourſe with the other; and laſtly conſulted ſuch of his acquaintance, as, after the beſt inquiry, I was able to diſcover. Thus completely furniſh'd, I undertook, moſt ingenious Sir, the following Work, as well to oblige you, as to inform Poſterity; and perform'd what I knew would be acceptable to my Friend with as much pleaſure as ever you perus'd our Author's excellent Sheets.

JOHN MILTON, the Son likewiſe of *John Milton*, and *Sarah Caſton*, a Woman exemplary for her Liberality to the Poor, was born in *London* in the Year of Chriſt 1606. a Gentleman by his Education and Family, being deſcended from the *Miltons* of *Milton* in *Oxfordſhire*; tho if you conſider him in his admirable Works or Genius, he was truly and eminently noble. But he had too much good Senſe to value himſelf upon any other Qualities except thoſe of his Mind, and which only he could properly call his own: for all external and adventitious Titles, as they may at the pleaſure of a Tyrant, or by an unfortunat Attemt againſt his Government, be quite aboliſh'd; ſo we often find in hereditary Honors, that thoſe Diſtinctions which the Brave and the Wiſe had juſtly obtain'd from their Country, deſcend indifferently to Cowards, Traytors, or Fools, and ſpoil the Induſtry of better Souls from indeavoring to equal or excede the Merits of their Anceſtors. His Father was a polite Man, a great Maſter of Muſic, and by Profeſſion a Scrivener, in which Calling, thro his Diligence and Honeſty, he got a competent Eſtate in a ſmall time: for he was diſinherited by his bigotted Parents for imbracing the Proteſtant Religion, and abjuring the Popiſh Idolatry. He had two other Children, *Anna* marry'd to *Edward Philips*; and *Chriſtopher* bred to the Common Law, who, more reſembling his Grandfather than his Father or Brother, was of a very ſuperſtitious nature, and a man of no Parts or Ability. After the late Civil Wars, tho he was intirely addicted to the Royal Cauſe, no notice was taken of him, till the late King *James*, wanting a ſet of Judges that would declare his Will to be ſuperior to our Legal Conſtitution, created him the ſame day a Serjeant and one of the Barons of the Exchequer, knighting him of courſe, and making him next one of the Judges of the Common Pleas: But he quickly had his *quietus eſt*, as his Maſter not long after was depos'd for his Maladminiſtration by the People of *England*, repreſented in a Convention at *Weſtminſter*. To return now to the Perſon who makes the Subject of this Diſcourſe, *John Milton* was deſtin'd to be a Scholar; and partly under domeſtic Teachers (wherof one was *Thomas Young*, to whom the firſt of his familiar Letters is inſcrib'd) and partly under Dr. *Gill*, the chief Maſter of *Paul*'s School (to whom likewiſe the fifth of the ſame Letters is written) he made an incredible Progreſs in the knowlege of Words and Things, his Diligence and Inclination outſtripping the care of his Inſtructors. After the twelfth Year of his Age, ſuch was his inſatiable thirſt for Learning, he ſeldom went to bed before midnight. This was the firſt undoing of his Eys, to whoſe natural debility were added frequent Headachs, which could not retard or extinguiſh his laudable Paſſion for Letters. Being thus initiated in ſeveral Tongues, and having not ſlightly taſted the inexpreſſible Sweets of Philoſophy, he was ſent at 15 to *Chriſt's College* in *Cambridg* to purſue more arduous and ſolid Studies. This ſame Year he gave ſeveral Proofs of his early Genius for Poetry, wherin he afterwards ſucceded ſo happily, that to all Ages he'l continue no leſs the Ornament and Glory of *England*, than *Homer* is own'd to be that of *Greece*, and *Virgil* of *Italy*. He firſt tranſlated ſom Pſalms into Engliſh Verſe, wherof the 114*th* begins in this manner.

When the bleſt Seed of *Terah*'s faithful Son,
After long toil their Liberty had won,
And paſt from *Pharian* Fields to *Canaan* Land,
Led by the ſtrength of the Almighty's Hand;
Jehovah's Wonders were in *Iſrael* ſhown,
His Praiſe and Glory was in *Iſrael* known.

In his ſeventeenth Year he wrote a handſom Copy of Engliſh Verſes on the Death of a Siſter's Child that dy'd of a Cough; and the ſame Year a Latin Elegy on the Death of the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, with another on that of *Ely*. 'Twas then alſo that he compos'd his fine Poem on the Gunpouder-Treaſon; concerning all which and the reſt of his Juvenil pieces, the judicious *Morhof*, in his *Polyhiſtor Literarius*, ſays, that *Milton*'s Writings ſhew him to have bin a Man in his very Childhood;

and that theſe Poems are excedingly above the ordinary Capacity of that Age. He continu'd in *Cambridg* ſeven years, where he liv'd with great Reputation, and generally belov'd, till taking the degree of Maſter of Arts, and performing his Exerciſes with much applauſe, he left the Univerſity; for he aim'd at none of thoſe Profeſſions that require a longer ſtay in that place. Som of his Academic Performances are ſtill extant among his occaſional Poems, and at the end of his familiar Letters. The five ſucceding years he liv'd with his Father in his Country Retirement at *Horton* near *Colebrook* in *Barkſhire*, where at full leiſure he perus'd all the *Greec* and *Latin* Writers; but was not ſo much in love with his Solitude, as not to make an excurſion now and then to *London*, ſomtimes to buy Books, or to meet Friends from *Cambridg*; and at other times to learn ſom new thing in the Mathematics or in Muſic, with which he was extraordinarily delighted. It was about this time he wrote from *London* a Latin Elegy to his intimat Friend *Charles Diodati*, wherin ſom Verſes reflecting on the Univerſity, and preferring the Pleaſures of the Town, gave a handle afterwards to certain Perſons no leſs ignorant than malitious to report that either he was expel'd for ſom Miſdemeanor from *Cambridg*, or left it in diſcontent that he obtain'd no Preferment: and that at *London* he ſpent his time with leud Women, or at Playhouſes. But the falſity of this ſtory we ſhall in due place demonſtrat, and in the mean time inſert thoſe lines for the ſatisfaction of the curious.

*Me tenet urbs reflua quam Thameſis alluit unda,*
*Meque nec invitum patria dulcis habet.*
*Jam nec arundiferum mihi cura reviſere Camum,*
*Nec dudum vetiti me laris angit amor.*
*Nuda nec arva placent, umbraſque negantia molles,*
*Quem malè Phœbicolis convenit ille locus!*
*Nec duri libet uſque minas perferre Magiſtri,*
*Cæteraque ingenio non ſubeunda meo.*
*Si ſit hoc exilium patrios adiſſe penates,*
*Et vacuum curis otia grata ſequi,*
*Non ego vel profugi nomen, ſortemve recuſo,*
*Lætus & exilii conditione fruor.*
*O utinam vates nunquam graviora tuliſſet*
*Ille Tomitano flebilis exul agro;*
*Non tunc Ionio quicquam ceſſiſſet Homero,*
*Neque foret victo laus tibi prima, Maro.*
*Tempora nam licet hic placidis dare libera Muſis,*
*Et totum rapiunt me mea vita libri.*
*Excipit hinc feſſum ſinuoſi pompa Theatri,*
*Et vocat ad plauſus garrula ſcena ſuos.*

Et paulo poſt:

*Sed neque ſub tecto ſemper, nec in urbe, latemus,*
*Irrita nec nobis tempora veris eunt.*
*Nos quoque lucus habet vicino conſitus ulmo,*
*Atque ſuburbani nobilis umbra loci.*
*Sæpius hic blandas ſpirantia Sydera flammas*
*Virgineos videas præteriiſſe Choros.*

He wrote another Latin Elegy to *Charles Diodati*; and in his twentieth year he made one on the approach of the Spring: but the following year he deſcribes his falling in love with a Lady (whom he accidentally met, and never afterwards ſaw) in ſuch tender Expreſſions, with thoſe lively Paſſions, and Images ſo natural, that you would think Love himſelf had directed his Pen, or inſpir'd your own Breaſt when you peruſe them. We ſhall ſee him now appear in a more ſerious Scene, tho yet a Child in compariſon of the Figure he afterwards made in the World. The Death of his Mother happening likewiſe about this time facilitated his deſign, which was with his Father's leave to travel into foren Regions, being perſuaded that he could not better diſcern the Preeminence or Defects of his own Country, than by obſerving the Cuſtoms and Inſtitutions of others; and that the ſtudy of never ſo many Books, without the advantages of Converſation, ſerves only to render a Man either a ſtupid Fool, or an inſufferable

Pedant. Firſt therfore he procedes to *France* with one Servant, and no Tutor: for ſuch as ſtill need a Pedagog are not fit to go abroad; and thoſe who are able to make a right uſe of their Travels, ought to be the free Maſters of their own Actions, their good Qualifications being ſufficient to introduce 'em into all places, and to preſent 'em to the moſt deſerving Perſons. He had an elegant Letter of Direction and Advice from the famous Sir *Henry Wotton*, who was a long time Ambaſſador from King *James* the Firſt to the Republic of *Venice*. Being arriv'd at *Paris*, he was moſt kindly receiv'd by the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador, who recommended him to the famous *Grotius*, then Ambaſſador alſo from Queen *Chriſtina* of *Sweden*, at the French Court: for we may eaſily imagin that *Milton* was not a little deſirous to be known to the firſt Perſon then in the World for reading and latitude of Judgment, to ſpeak nothing of his other meritorious Characters. From hence he parted for *Italy*, where after paſſing thro ſeveral noted Places, he came at length to *Florence*; a City for the Politeneſs of the Language, and the Civility of the Inhabitants, he always infinitly admir'd. In this place he ſtaid about two months, and was daily aſſiſting at thoſe learned Conferences which they hold in their privat Academys, according to the laudable Cuſtom of *Italy*, both for the improvement of Letters, and the begetting or maintaining of Friendſhip. During this time he contracted an intimat Acquaintance with ſeveral ingenious Men, moſt of which have ſince made a noiſe in the World, and deſerve a mention in this place: I mean *Gaddi*, *Dati*, *Freſcobaldo*, *Francini*, *Bonmattei*, *Coltellino*, *Chimentelli*, and ſeveral others. With theſe he kept a conſtant Correſpondence, particularly with *Carolo Dati*, a Nobleman of *Florence*, to whom he wrote the tenth of his Familiar Epiſtles, and who gave him the following Teſtimonial of his Eſteem.

*Joanni Miltoni Londinenſi,*
*Juveni patria & virtutibus eximio.*

V*IRO qui multa peregrinatione, ſtudio cuncta orbis terrarum perſpexit, ut novus Ulyſſes omnia ubique ab omnibus apprehenderet. Polyglotto, in cujus ore linguæ jam deperditæ ſic reviviſcunt, ut idiomata omnia ſint in ejus laudibus infacunda; & jure ea percallet, ut admirationes & plauſus populorum ab propria ſapientia excitatos, intelligat. Illi, cujus animi dotes corporiſque ſenſus ad admirationem commovent, & per ipſam motum cuique auferunt; cujus opera ad plauſus hortantur, ſed venuſtate vocem auditoribus adimunt. Cui in memoria totus orbis: in intellectu ſapientia: in voluntate ardor gloriæ: in ore eloquentia. Harmonicos cœleſtium Sphærarum ſonitus, Aſtronomia duce, audienti; characteres mirabilium naturæ, per quos Dei magnitudo deſcribitur, magiſtra Philoſophia legenti; antiquitatum latebras, vetuſtatis excidia, eruditionis Ambages, comite aſſidua autorum lectione, exquirenti, reſtauranti, percurrenti. At cur nitor in arduum? Illi in cujus virtutibus evulgandis ora famæ non ſufficiant, nec hominum ſtupor in laudandis ſatis eſt, reverentiæ & amoris ergo hoc ejus meritis debitum admirationis tributum offert*

*Carolus Datus Patricius Florentinus,*

*Tanto homini Servus, tantæ virtutis Amator.*

I don't think the Italian Flouriſhes were ever carry'd further than in this Elogy, which notwithſtanding is ſincere, and pen'd by an honeſt Man. *Francini* is not leſs liberal of his Praiſes in the long Italian Ode he compos'd in his Honor, which becauſe it dos Juſtice to the Engliſh Nation, and foretold the future Greatneſs of *Milton*, I have annex'd to this Diſcourſe. That he correſponded afterwards with *Bonmattei*, appears from the eighth of his familiar Letters, which he wrote to him on his deſign of publiſhing an *Italian* Grammar, and is not more elegant than pertinent. But he attain'd that perfection himſelf in the *Italian* Language, as to make ſom Songs on a real or feign'd Miſtreſs, in one of which he gives a handſom account of his writing in this Tongue.

*Qual in colle aſpro, al imbrunir di ſera,*
*L'avezza giovinetta paſtorella*
*Va bagnando L'herbetta ſtrana e bella,*
*Che mal ſi ſpande a diſuſata ſpera*
*Fuor di ſua natia alma prima vera:*
*Coſi amor meco inſu la lingua ſnella*
*Deſta il fior nuovo di ſtrania favella;*
*Mentre io di te, vezzozamente altera,*

*Canto dal mio buon popol non inteſo,*
*E'l bel Tamigi cangio col bel arno:*
*Amor lo volſe, ed io a l'altrui peſo;*
*Seppi ch'amor coſa mai volſe indarno.*
*Deh! foſs'il mio cuor lento, e'l duro ſeno*
*A chi pianta dal ciel ſi buon terreno.*

From his beloved *Florence* he took his Journy next to *Rome*, where he ſtay'd two other Months to ſee the miſerable Remains of that famous City, once the glorious Miſtreſs of the World, and deſervedly ſo, as being then not only the faireſt thing under Heaven; but that, till the Ambition of a few Perſons corrupted her equal Government, ſhe extended Liberty and Learning as far as the Glory of her Name, or the Terror of her Arms. Here, no doubt, all the Examples he had hitherto read of the Virtue, Eloquence, Wiſdom, or Valor of her antient Citizens, occur'd to his mind, and could not but oppreſs with grief his generous Soul, when with his own eys he ſaw *Rome* now the chief Seat of the moſt exquiſit Tyranny exerciſ'd by effeminat Prieſts, not reigning in the World thro any conceiv'd opinion of their Juſtice, or dread of their Courage; for to theſe Qualities they are known and ſworn Enemys: but deluding men with unaccountable Fables, and diſarming 'em by imaginary Fears, they fill their heads firſt with Superſtition, and then their own Pockets with their Mony. Here he became acquainted with the celebrated *Lucas Holſtenius* the *Vatican* Librarian, who uſ'd him with great Humanity, and readily ſhew'd him al the *Greec* Authors, whether publiſh'd or otherwiſe, that paſt his Care and Emendations: He alſo preſented him to Cardinal *Barberini*, who at an entertainment of Muſic, perform'd at his own expence, look'd for him in the Croud, and gave him a kind Invitation. To thank *Holſtenius* for all theſe Favors, *Milton* wrote afterwards from *Florence* the ninth of his Familiar Letters. At *Rome* he likewiſe commenc'd a Friendſhip with the Poet *Giovanni Salſilli*, who in the following Tetraſtich extols him for writing ſo correctly in Latin, Greec, and Italian.

*Cede Meles, cedat depreſſa Mincius urna,*
*Sebetus Taſſum deſinat uſque loqui:*
*At Thameſis victor cunctis ferat altior undas,*
*Nam per te, Milto, par tribus unus erit.*

*Milton* in return ſent to *Salſilli*, ſhortly after lying ſick, thoſe fine Scazons, which may be read among his Juvenil Poems. And here too did *Selvaggi* adorn him with this Diſtich.

*Græcia Mæonidem, jactet ſibi Roma Maronem:*
*Anglia Miltonum jactat utrique parem.*

Having departed from *Rome* to *Naples*, he was introduc'd by his Fellow-Traveller to *Giovanni Battiſta Manſo*, Marquiſs of *Villa*, a Perſon moſt nobly deſcended, of great Authority, renown'd for his military Atchievments, and a Patron of learned Men. To him the famous *Taſſo* inſcrib'd his Poem of Friendſhip, and makes honorable mention of him among the Princes of *Campania* in the twentieth Book of his *Gieruſalemme Conquiſtata*. He went himſelf to ſhew him all the remarkable Places of that City, viſited him often at his Lodging, and made this Diſtich in his Commendation, which he addreſſes to himſelf.

*Ut mens, forma, decor, facies, mos; ſi pietas ſic,*
*Non Anglus, verum Herclè Angelus ipſe fores.*

This exception of his Piety relates to his being a Proteſtant; and the Marquiſs told him, he would have don him ſeveral other good Offices, had he bin more reſerv'd in matters of Religion. But our Author out of Gratitude for all theſe ſingular Favors from one of his high Quality, preſented him at his departure with an incomparable Latin Eclog, entitul'd *Manſus*, which is extant among his occaſional pieces: And that I may mention it by the way, I don't queſtion but it was from *Manſo*'s Converſation and their Diſcourſes about *Taſſo*, that he firſt form'd his deſign of writing an Epic Poem, tho he was not ſo ſoon determin'd about the Subject.

He was now preparing to paſs over into *Sicily* and *Greece*, when he was recal'd by the ſad News of a Civil War beginning in *England*; eſteeming it an unworthy thing for him ſecurely to be diverting himſelf abroad, when his Countrymen were contending at home for their Liberty. Intending therfore to return to *Rome*, he was adviſ'd by ſom Merchants to the contrary; for they had learnt from their Correſpondents, that the Engliſh Jeſuits were framing Plots againſt him by reaſon of the great Freedom he us'd in his Diſcourſes of Religion. Notwithſtanding, having reſolv'd not to begin any Diſputes, but, being aſk'd, not to diſſemble his Sentiments whatever might enſue, he went the ſecond time to *Rome*, and ſtay'd there two months longer, neither concealing his Name, nor declining openly to defend the Truth under the Pope's noſe, when any thought fit to attack him: yet he return'd ſafe to his learned and affectionat Friends in *Florence*. I forgot al this while to mention that he paid a Viſit to *Galileo*, then an old man, and a Priſoner to the Inquiſition for thinking otherwiſe in Aſtronomy than pleas'd the Franciſcan Friers. He tarry'd two other months in *Florence*, and having ſeen *Lucca*, *Bononia*, *Ferrara*, he arriv'd in *Venice*. After ſpending one month here, and ſhipping off all the Books he collected in his Travels, he came thro *Verona*, *Milan*, croſs the *Alps*, and along the Lake *Lemanno* to *Geneva*, where he contracted an intimat Familiarity with *Giovanni Diodati*, a noted Profeſſor of Divinity, and was known to ſeveral others, particularly to the celebrated Critic and Antiquary *Ezechiel Spanhemius* now alive, to whom he wrote the *17th* of his Familiar Letters, and who, together with *Calandrini*, and ſom more of that City, ſent him intelligence afterwards concerning his Antagoniſt *Morus*, wherof in due order. So leaving this place, and paſſing back again thro *France*, he did after one year and three month's Peregrination return ſafe into *England*, much about the ſame time that King *Charles* the Firſt made his ſecond unſucceſsful Expedition againſt the *Scots*. As ſoon as the Complements of Friends or Acquaintance were over, he hir'd a handſom Lodging in the City, to be a retreat for himſelf and his Books in ſuch uncertain and troubleſom times. But he continu'd a long while inconſolable for the loſs of his deareſt Friend and Schoolfellow *Charles Diodati*, mention'd before, who dy'd in his abſence. He was from *Lucca* originally, but an Engliſhman born, a Student in Phyſic, and an excellent Scholar, as I have good reaſons to believe, and appears by two Greec Letters of his to *Milton*, very handſomly written, and which I have now in my hands. Our Author in mournful Notes bitterly laments the immature fate of this young Gentleman, whom he denotes by the appellation of *Damon* in an Eclog nothing inferior to the *Maronian Daphnis*, and which is to be ſtill ſeen among his Latin Miſcellanies. By this piece we plainly find that he had already conceiv'd the Plan of an Epic Poem, wherof he then deſign'd the Subject ſhould be the warlike Actions of the old Britiſh Heroes, and particularly of King *Arthur*, as he declares himſelf in theſe Verſes.

> *Ipſe ego Dardanias Rutupina per æquora puppes*
> *Dicam, & Pandraſidos regnum vetus Inogeniæ,*
> *Brennumque, Arviragumque Duces, priſcumque Belinum,*
> *Et tandem Armoricos Britonum ſub lege Colonos;*
> *Tum gravidam Arturo fatali fraude Iögernen,*
> *Mendaces vultus aſſumtaque Gorlois arma,*
> *Merlini Dolus.*

But this particular Subject was reſerv'd for the celebrated Pen of Sir *Richard Blackmore*. Som few lines after he declares his Ambition of performing ſomthing in his native Language that might perpetuat his Name in theſe Ilands, tho he ſhould be the more obſcure and inglorious by it to the reſt of the World. His words, becauſe they are wonderfully fine, I ſhall here inſert.

> ———— ———— *Mihi ſatis ampla*
> *Merces, & mihi grande decus (ſim ignotus in ævum*
> *Tum licet, externo penituſque inglorius orbi)*
> *Si me flava comas legat Uſa, & potor Alauni,*
> *Vorticibuſque frequens Abra, & nemus omne Treantæ,*
> *Et Thameſis meus ante omnes, & fuſca metallis*
> *Tamara, & extremis me diſcant Orcades undis.*

I ſaid above that it was by his Converſation with the Marquiſs of *Villa*, who ſo nobly honor'd the immortal Memory of *Taſſo*, that our *Milton* form'd his vaſt deſign. That this was not a mere Conjecture, and that King *Arthur* alſo was to be the Hero of that piece, let but theſe Verſes of his *Manſus* be conſider'd.

*O mihi ſi mea ſors talem concedat amicum*
*Phœbæos decoraſſe viros qui tam bene norit,*
*Siquando indigenas revocabo in carmina reges,*
*Arturumque etiam ſub Terris bella moventem;*
*Aut dicam invictæ ſociali fœdere menſæ*
*Magnanimos Heroas, & (O modo ſpiritus adſit)*
*Frangam Saxonicas Britonum ſub Marte Phalanges.*

But to return to his Lodgings, where we left him, there, both to be eas'd in the reading of the beſt Authors, and to diſcharge his Duty to his Siſter's Sons that were partly committed to his Tuition, he undertook the care of their Education, and inſtructed them himſelf in Latin, Greec, Hebrew and other Oriental Dialects; likewiſe in ſeveral parts of the Mathematics, in Coſmography, Hiſtory, and ſome modern Languages, as French and Italian. Some Gentlemen of his intimat Friends, and to whom he could deny nothing, prevail'd with him to impart the ſame benefits of Learning to their Sons, ſpecially ſince the trouble was no more with many than a few. He that well knew the greateſt Perſons in all ages to have bin delighted with teaching others the Principles of Knowlege and Virtue, eaſily comply'd; nor was his Succeſs unanſwerable to the opinion which was generally entertain'd of his Capacity. And not content to acquaint his Diſciples with thoſe Books that are commonly read in the Schools, wherof ſeveral, no doubt, are excellent in their kind, tho others are as trivial or impertinent; he made them likewiſe read in Latin the antient Authors concerning Husbandry, as *Cato*, *Varro*, *Columella*, and *Palladius*; alſo *Cornelius Celſus* the Phyſician, *Pliny*'s Natural Hiſtory, the Architecture of *Vitruvius*, the Stratagems of *Frontinus*, and the Philoſophical Poets *Lucretius* and *Manilius*. To the uſual Greec Books, as *Homer* and *Heſiod*, he added *Aratus*, *Dionyſius Periegetes*, *Oppian*, *Quintus Calaber*, *Apollonius Rhodius*, *Plutarch*, *Xenophon*, *Ælians* Tactics, and the Stratagems of *Polyænus*. It was this greateſt ſign of a good Man in him, and the higheſt Obligation he could lay on his Friends, without any ſordid or mercenary purpoſes, that gave occaſion to his Adverſaries with opprobriouſly terming him a Schoolmaſter; tho were this charge as true as it is utterly falſe, I ſee not how it ſhould any way tend to his Diſhonor, if he had bin neceſſitated to ſuch a laborious occupation for his living, and diſcharg'd it with due Honeſty and Care. But what's very remarkable is, that the moſt forward to reproach him in this manner were themſelves mean Tutors in the Univerſity, and the greateſt of 'em only a Profeſſor, which are but nominally diſtinguiſhable from Schoolmaſters.

He tells us himſelf in his ſecond Defence, “ That on his return from Travelling he found all mouths open againſt the Biſhops, ſom complaining of their Vices, and others quarrelling at the very Order; and that thinking from ſuch beginnings a way might be open'd to true Liberty, he heartily engag'd in the Diſpute, as well to reſcue his Fellow-Citizens from Slavery, as to help the Puritan Miniſters, who were inferior to the Biſhops in Learning. He firſt of all therfore in the year 1641. publiſh'd two Books of *Reformation*, dedicated to a Friend. In the firſt of theſe he ſhews, by orderly ſteps, from *Henry* the Eighth's Reign, what were all along the real impediments in this Kingdom to a perfect Reformation, which in general he reduces to two heads, that is, our retaining of Ceremonies, and confining the Power of Ordination to Dioceſan Biſhops excluſively of the People. “ Our Ceremonies, he ſays, are ſenſleſs in themſelves, and ſerve for nothing but either to facilitat our return to Popery; or to hide the defects of better Knowlege, and to ſet off the Pomp of Prelacy. As for the Biſhops, many of whom he denys not to have bin good Men, tho not infallible, nor above all human Frailties, he affirms, “ that at the beginning, tho they had renounc'd the Pope, they hug'd the Popedom, and ſhar'd the Authority among themſelves. In King *Edward* the Sixth's time, he affirms, “ they were with their proſtitute Gravities the common Stales to countenance every politic fetch that was then on foot. If a Toleration for Maſs were to be beg'd of the King for his Siſter *Mary*, leſt *Charles* the Fifth ſhould be angry; who but the grave Prelats, *Cranmer* and *Ridley*, ſhould be ſent to extort it from the young King? When the Lord *Sudley*, Admiral of *England*, and the Protector's Brother, was wrongfully to loſe his Life, no man could be found fitter than *Latimer* to divulge in his Sermon the forg'd Accuſations laid to his charge, therby to defame him with the People. *Cranmer*, one of King *Henry*'s Executors, and the other Biſhops, did, to gratify

“ the Ambition of a Traytor, conſent to exclude from the Succeſſion, not only
“ *Mary* the Papiſt, but alſo *Elizabeth* the Proteſtant, tho before declar'd by them-
“ ſelves the lawful Iſſue of their late Maſter. In Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign he imputes the Obſtructions of a further Reformation ſtill to the Biſhops, and then procedes from Antiquity to prove that all Eccleſiaſtical Elections belong'd to the People; but that if thoſe Ages had favor'd Epiſcopacy, we ſhould not be much concern'd, ſince the beſt times were ſpreadingly infected, the beſt Men of thoſe times foully tainted, and the beſt Writings of thoſe Men dangerouſly adulterated; which Propoſitions he labors to prove at large. In the ſecond Book he continues his Diſcourſe of Prelatical Epiſcopacy, diſplays the Politics of the ſame; which, according to him, are always oppoſit to Liberty: he deduces the Hiſtory of it down from its remoteſt Original, and ſhews, “ that in *England* particularly it is ſo far from being, as they commonly allege, the only Form of Church-Diſciplin agreable to Monarchy, that the mortalleſt Diſeaſes and Convulſions of the Government did ever procede from the Craft of the Prelats, or was occaſion'd by their Pride. Then he encourages the *Engliſh* and *Scots* to purſue their begun Conteſt for Liberty by this Exhortation. “ Go on both, hand in
“ hand, O Nations, never to be diſunited. Be the Praiſe and the heroic Song of
“ all Poſterity. Merit this; but ſeek only Virtue, not to extend your limits:
“ for what need you win a fading triumphant Laurel out of the Tears of wretched
“ Men; but to ſettle the pure Worſhip of God in his Church, and Juſtice in the
“ State? Then ſhall the hardeſt Difficulties ſmooth out themſelves before you;
“ Envy ſhall ſink to Hell, Craft and Malice be confounded, whether it be home-
“ bred Miſchief, or outlandiſh Cunning: Yea other Nations will then covet to
“ ſerve you; for Lordſhip and Victory are but the Pages of Juſtice and Virtue.
“ Commit ſecurely to true Wiſdom the vanquiſhing and uncaſing of Craft and
“ Subtilty, which are but her two Runnagates. Join your invincible Might to do
“ worthy and Godlike Deeds; and then he that ſeeks to break your Union, a
“ cleaving Curſe be his Inheritance to all Generations.

After this, certain Miniſters having written a Treatiſe againſt Epiſcopacy, the Title *Smectymnuus* conſiſting of the initial Letters of their Names, and a Biſhop of no ſmall Authority having beſtow'd an Anſwer upon it, *Milton*, to uſe his own words, ſuppoſing himſelf not leſs able to write for Truth, than others for their Profit or unjuſt Power, publiſh'd his piece of *Prelatical Epiſcopacy*. In this Book he proves againſt the famous *Uſher* (for he would not readily ingage a meaner Adverſary) that Dioceſan Epiſcopacy, or a ſuperior Order to the common Miniſtry, cannot be deduc'd from the Apoſtolical times by the force of ſuch Teſtimonies as are alleg'd to that purpoſe. Now *Uſher*'s chief Talent lying in much reading, and being a great Editor and Admirer of old Writings, *Milton* ſhews the Inſufficiency, Inconveniency and Impiety of this method to eſtabliſh any part of Chriſtianity; and blames thoſe Perſons who cannot think any Doubt reſolv'd, or any Doctrin confirm'd, unleſs they run to that indigeſted heap and fry of Authors which they call Antiquity. “ Whatſoever either Time (ſays he) or the heedleſs hand of
“ blind Chance, has drawn down to this preſent in her huge Dragnet, whether
“ Fiſh or Seaweed, Shells or Shrubs, unpick'd, unchoſen, thoſe are the Fathers. And ſo he chides the good Biſhop for divulging uſeleſs Treatiſes, ſtuft with the ſpecious Names of *Ignatius* and *Polycarpus*, with Fragments of old Martyrologies and Legends, to diſtract and ſtagger the multitude of credulous Readers.

His next performance was *the Reaſon of Church-Government urg'd againſt Prelacy, in two Books*, principally intended againſt the ſame *Uſher*'s account of the Original of Epiſcopacy. The Eloquence is maſculin, the Method is natural, the Sentiments are free, and the whole (God knows) appears to have a very different force from what the Nonconformiſt Divines wrote in thoſe days, or ſince that time, on the ſame Subject. In the beginning of the ſecond Book he mentions his deſign of writing an Epic Poem, but continues ſtill unreſolv'd, whether his Hero ſhould be ſom Prince before the Conqueſt, or the Argument be borrow'd from the Scripture or the antient Heathen Hiſtory. But becauſe the account he gives of what the Poet ſhould propoſe by ſuch a work is exactly juſt, and withal ſo properly expreſt, I ſhall not grudg to tranſcribe it in this place. “ Theſe Abilities (ſays he,
“ ſpeaking of Invention and Compoſition) wherſoever they be found, are the in-
“ ſpir'd Gift of God; rarely beſtow'd, but yet to ſom (tho moſt abuſe them)
“ in every Nation: and are of power to breed and cheriſh in a great People the
“ Seeds of Virtue and public Civility, to allay the Perturbations of the Mind,
“ and ſet the Affections in a right tune; — or laſtly, whatſoever is in Religion holy

“ and ſublime, in Virtue amiable or grave, whatſoever has Paſſion or Admiration “ in all the changes of that which is call'd Fortune from without, or the wily “ Subtilties and Refluxes of Mans Thoughts from within, all theſe things with a ſolid “ and treatable Smoothneſs to paint out and deſcribe. Teaching over the whole “ Book of Sanctity and Virtue, thro all the inſtances of Example, and with ſuch “ delight, to thoſe eſpecially of a ſoft and delicious temper (who will not ſo “ much as look upon Truth her ſelf, unleſs they ſee her elegantly dreſt) that “ wheras the Paths of Honeſty and good Life appear now rugged and difficult, “ tho they be indeed eaſy and pleaſant; they would then appear to all Men both “ eaſy and pleaſant, tho they were rugged and difficult indeed. And what a “ Benefit this would be to our Youth and Gentry, may be ſoon gueſt by what we “ know of the Corruption and Bane which they ſuck in daily from the Writings “ and Interludes of libidinous and ignorant Poetaſters; who having ſcarce ever “ heard of that which is the main conſiſtence of a true Poem, the choice of ſuch “ Perſons as they ought to introduce, and what is moral and decent to each one, “ do for the moſt part lap up vitious Principles in ſweet Pills to be ſwallow'd “ down, and make the taſte of virtuous Documents harſh and ſour. But becauſe “ the Spirit of Man cannot demean it ſelf lively in this Body without ſom “ recreating intermiſſion of labor and ſerious things, it were happy for the “ Commonwealth if our Magiſtrats, as in thoſe famous Governments of old, would “ take into their care not only the deciding of our contentious Law-caſes or “ Brauls, but the managing of our public Sports and feſtival Paſtimes; that they “ might not be ſuch as were authoriz'd a while ſince, the Provocations of “ Drunkenneſs and Luſt, but ſuch as may inure and harden our Bodies by martial “ Exerciſes to all warlike Skill and Performances; and may civilize, adorn, and make “ diſcrete our Minds by the learned and affable meeting of frequent Academies, “ and the procurement of wiſe and artful Recitations, ſweeten'd with eloquent “ and graceful Enticements to the love and practice of Juſtice, Temperance and “ Fortitude, inſtructing and bettering the Nation at all opportunities, that the voice “ of Wiſdom and Virtue may be heard every where. Whether this may not be “ don, not only in Pulpits, but after another perſuaſive method, at ſet and “ ſolemn Paneguries, in Theaters, Porticos, or what other place or way may win “ moſt upon the People to receive at once both Recreation and Inſtruction, let “ them in Authority conſult.

Another eminent Biſhop having written againſt *Smectymnuus*, our Author publiſh'd *Animadverſions* upon his Book; and to the Reaſons alleg'd from Councils for ſubſtituting a conſtant form to occaſional Prayers in public, he gives the following Anſwer. “ Set the grave Councils, ſays he, upon their ſhelves again, and “ ſtring them hard, leſt their various and jangling opinions put their leaves into a “ flutter. I ſhall not intend this hot Seaſon to lead you a courſe thro the wide and “ duſty Champain of the Councils; but ſhall take counſel of that which “ counſel'd them, Reaſon: And tho I know there is an obſolete Reprehenſion now at “ your Tongues end, yet I ſhall be bold to ſay, that Reaſon is the Gift of God in “ one Man as well as in a thouſand. By that which we have taſted already of “ their Ciſterns, we may find that Reaſon was the only thing, and not any divine “ Command, that mov'd them to enjoin the ſet forms of a Liturgy. Firſt, leſt “ any thing in general might be miſſaid in their public Prayers, thro ignorance or “ want of care, contrary to the Faith: And next, leſt the *Arians* and *Pelagians* “ in particular ſhould infect the People by their Hymns and Forms of Prayer. “ But by the good leave of theſe antient Fathers, this was no ſolid prevention of “ ſpreading Hereſy, to debar the Miniſters of God the uſe of their nobleſt Talent, “ Prayer in the Congregation; unleſs they had forbid the uſe of all Sermons and “ Lectures too, but ſuch as were ready made to their hands like our Homilies: or “ elſe he that was heretically diſpos'd had as fair an opportunity of infecting in his “ Diſcourſe, as in his Prayer or Hymn. As inſufficiently, and, to ſay truth, as “ imprudently did they provide by their contriv'd Liturgies, leſt any thing ſhould “ be pray'd thro ignorance or want of care in the Miniſters: for if they were “ careleſs and ignorant in their Prayers, certainly they would be more careleſs in their “ preaching, and ſtill more careleſs in watching over their Flock; and what “ preſcription could reach to bound them in both theſe? What if Reaſon, now “ illuſtrated by the Word of God, ſhall be able to produce a better Prevention than “ theſe Councils have left us againſt Hereſy, Ignorance, or want of care in the “ Miniſtry, to wit, that ſuch Wiſdom and Diligence be us'd in the Education of “ thoſe that would be Miniſters, and ſuch a ſtrict and ſerious Examination to be

“ undergon before their admiſſion, as St. *Paul* to *Timothy* ſets down at large; and “ then they need not carry ſuch an unworthy ſuſpicion over the Preachers of God's “ Word, as to tutor their Unſoundneſs with the a, b, c, of a Liturgy, or to “ diet their Ignorance and want of Care with the limited draught of a Mattin and Evenſong drench. What his opinion was of the Fathers he further declares when he calls them thoſe more antient than truſty Fathers, whom Cuſtom and fond “ Opinion, weak Principles, and the neglect of ſounder Knowlege, has exalted “ ſo high, as to have gain'd them a blind Reverence; whoſe Books, in bigneſs “ and number endleſs and immeaſurable, I cannot think that either God or Na- “ ture, either divine or human Wiſdom, did ever mean ſhould be a Rule or Reli- “ ance to us in the deciſion of any weighty and poſitive Doctrins: for certainly “ every Rule and Inſtrument of neceſſary Knowlege that God has given us, ought “ to be ſo in proportion as may be wielded and manag'd by the Life of Man, “ without penning him up from the Duties of human Society.—But he that ſhall “ bind himſelf to make Antiquity his Rule, if he reads but part (beſides the diffi- “ culty of choice) his Rule is deficient, and utterly unſatiſfying; for there may “ be other Writers of another mind, which he has not ſeen: And if he under- “ takes all, the length of Man's Life cannot extend to give him a full and requiſit “ knowlege of what was don in Antiquity.—Go therfore, and uſe all your Art, “ apply your Sledges, your Leavers, and your iron Crows, to heave and hale “ your mighty *Polyphemus* of Antiquity to the deluſion of Novices and unexpe- rienc'd Chriſtians. The preſent Eccleſiaſtical Revenues, he ſays, were not at “ firſt the effects of juſt Policy or wholeſom Laws, but of the ſuperſtitious Devo- “ tion of Princes and great Men that knew no better, or of the baſe importunity “ of begging Friers, haunting and haraſſing the Deathbeds of Men departing this “ Life in a blind and wretched condition of hope to merit Heaven for the building “ of Churches, Cloyſters, and Convents; the black Revenues of Purgatory, the “ price of abus'd and murder'd Souls, the damn'd Simony of Trentals, and the “ hire of Indulgences to commit mortal Sin.

*Milton*'s next Book was his *Apology* againſt the Reverend Perſon who tax'd his Animadverſions with being a ſcurrilous Libel. This Adverſary, as it has always bin the cuſtom of ſome People when they can neither anſwer well nor defend, had recourſe to Defamation and perſonal Reflections, which, had they bin true, could not derogate from the force of his Arguments; but, being falſe, muſt be call'd by their true names of Lying and Slander. Our Author therfore intreats thoſe who have found the leiſure to read his name unworthily defam'd, that they would be ſo good and ſo patient as to hear the ſame Perſon not unneedfully defended. Being accus'd of having bin an inordinat and riotous Youth vomited out of the Univerſity, he makes this reply: “ For this commodious Ly I thank him; for it has “ given me an apt occaſion to acknowlege publicly with all grateful mind that “ more than ordinary Favor and Reſpect which I found above any of my Equals “ at the hands of thoſe courteous and learned Men, the Fellows of that College “ wherin I ſpent ſom years: who at my parting, aſter having taken two Degrees “ (as the manner is) ſignify'd many ways how much better it would content them “ that I ſhould ſtay, as by many Letters full of Kindneſs and loving Reſpect, both “ before that time and long after, I was aſſur'd of their ſingular good Affection to- “ wards me. Which being likewiſe propenſe to all ſuch as were for their ſtudious “ and civil Life worthy of Eſteem, I could not wrong their Judgments and upright “ Intentions ſo much as to think I had that regard from them for any other cauſe “ than that I might be ſtill encourag'd to procede in the honeſt and laudable “ Courſe, of which they apprehended I had given good proof.—As for the com- “ mon Approbation or Diſlike of that place, as now it is, that I ſhould eſteem or “ diſeſteem my ſelf or any other the more for that, is too ſimple and too credulous “ in the Confuter, if he thinks to obtain with me or any right Diſcerner. Of “ ſmall practice was that Phyſician who could not judg by what both ſhe or her “ Siſter have of a long time vomited, that the worſe ſtuff ſhe ſtrongly keeps in “ her Stomach, but the better ſhe is ever kecking at, and is queaſy. She vomits “ now out of Sickneſs, but e're it be well with her ſhe muſt vomit by ſtrong Phy- “ ſic.——The Suburb wherin I dwell ſhall be in my account a more honorable “ place than his Univerſity, which, as in the time of her better Health, and my “ own younger Judgment, I never greatly admir'd, ſo now much leſs. This is not the only paſſage of the *Apology* wherin he teſtifys his Contemt of the Uni- verſities, for in another place he ſays, “ that what with Truanting and Debauchery, “ what with falſe Grounds, and the weakneſs of natural Faculties in many of

“ them (it being a Maxim with ſom Men to ſend the ſimpleſt of their Sons thither) perhaps there would be found among them as many unſolid and corrupted Judgments, both in Doctrin and Life, as in any other two Corporations of like bigneſs. This is undoubted, that if any Carpenter, Smith, or Weaver, were ſuch a bungler in his Trade, as the greater number of them are in their Profeſſion, he would ſtarve for any Cuſtom. And ſhould he exerciſe his Manufacture as little as they do their Talents, he would forget his Art: or ſhould he miſtake his Tools, as they do theirs, he would mar all the work he took in hand. How few among them that know how to write or ſpeak in a pure ſtile, much leſs to diſtinguiſh the Ideas and various kinds of Stile! In Latin barbarous, and oft not without Soleciſms, declaiming in rugged and miſcellaneous Gear blown together by the four Winds; and in their choice preferring the gay rankneſs of *Apuleius*, *Arnobius*, or any modern *Fuſtianiſt*, before the native Latiniſms of *Cicero*. In the Greec Tongue moſt of them unletter'd or unenter'd to any ſound Proficiency in thoſe Attic Maſters of Wiſdom and Eloquence. In the Hebrew Text, except it be ſom few of them, their Lips are utterly uncircumcis'd. No leſs are they out of the way in Philoſophy, peſtring their heads with the ſapleſs Dotages of old *Paris* and *Salamanca*. His Antagoniſt inſinuating a malicious Repreſentation even of his early riſing, he tells him, that his “ Morning haunts are, where they ſhould be, at home; not ſleeping, or concocting the Surfeits of an irregular Feaſt, but up and ſtirring, in Winter often before the Sound of any Bell awakens Men to Labor or Devotion; in Summer as oft as the Bird that firſt rouſes, or not much tardier, to read good Authors, or cauſe them to be read, till the Attention be weary, or the Memory have its full fraught. Then with uſeful and generous Labors preſerving the Bodys Health and Hardineſs, to render a lightſom, clear, and not a lumpiſh Obedience to the Mind, for the cauſe of Religion and our Countries Liberty, when it ſhall require firm Hearts in ſound Bodies to ſtand and cover their Stations, rather than ſee the Ruin of our Proteſtation, and the enforcement of a ſlaviſh Life. Paſſing over his ſerious and juſt Apology for frequenting Playhouſes, I ſhall ſubjoin the Reaſon he gives why ſom Terms of the Stage might appear in his Writings without having learnt them in the Theater; “ which was not needful, ſays he, when in the Colleges ſo many of the young Divines, and thoſe in next aptitude to Divinity, have bin ſeen ſo often on the Stage, writhing and unboning their Clergy Lims to all the antic and diſhoneſt Geſtures of Trinculos, Buffoons, and Bauds: proſtituting the ſhame of that Miniſtry, which either they had or were nigh having, to the eys of Courtiers and Court Ladys, with their Grooms and Mademoiſelles. There while they acted, and overacted, among other young Scholars I was a Spectator; they thought themſelves gallant Men, and I thought them Fools; they made ſport, and I laugh'd; they miſpronounc'd, and I miſlik'd; and, to make up the Atticiſm, they were out, and I hiſt. He was to anſwer next to the heavy charge of Leudneſs with common Proſtitutes; and becauſe the account he gives of himſelf upon this occaſion, and of that part of his Poetry which regards the affairs of Love, is not only eſſential to the Hiſtory of his Life, but of good Inſtruction alſo to ſuch as read ſuch pleaſant and alluring Books, I ſuppoſe none will be offended with me for laying it here before them. “ I had my time, ſays he, like others that have good Learning beſtow'd upon them, to be ſent to thoſe places where the opinion was it might be ſooneſt attain'd; and, as the manner is, was not unſtudy'd in thoſe Authors which are moſt commended. Of theſe ſom were grave Orators and Hiſtorians, whoſe matter methought I lov'd indeed, but as my Age then was, ſo I underſtood them; others were the ſmooth Elegiac Poets, whereof the Schools are not ſcarce, whom both for the pleaſing Sound of their numerous Writings (which in imitation I found moſt eaſy, and moſt agreable to Nature's part in me) and for their matter, which what it is there be few who know not, I was ſo allur'd to read, that no Recreation came to me more welcom: for that it was then thoſe years with me, which are excus'd tho they be leaſt ſevere, I may be ſav'd the labor to remember you. Whence having obſerv'd them to account it the chief Glory of their Wit that they were ableſt to judg, to praiſe, and by that could eſteem themſelves worthieſt to love thoſe high Perfections, which under one or other name they took to celebrat; I thought with my ſelf by every Inſtinct and Preſage of Nature (which is not wont to be falſe) that what embolden'd them to this task, might with ſuch diligence as they us'd embolden me: and that what Judgment, Wit, or Elegance, was my ſhare, would herein beſt appear,

“ and beſt value it ſelf, by how much more wiſely and with more love of Virtue
“ I ſhould chuſe the Object of not unlike Praiſes. For tho theſe Thoughts to
“ ſom will ſeem virtuous and commendable, to others only pardonable, to a
“ third ſort perhaps idle; yet the mentioning of them now will end in ſerious.
“ Nor blame it, Readers, in thoſe years to propoſe to themſelves ſuch a Reward
“ as the nobleſt Diſpoſitions above other things in this Life have ſomtimes prefer'd:
“ wherof not to be ſenſible, when good and fair in one Perſon meet, argues
“ both a groſs and ſhallow Judgment, and withal an ungentle and ſwainiſh
“ Breaſt. For by the firm ſettling of theſe Perſuaſions I became (to my beſt memory)
“ ſo much a Proficient, that if I found thoſe Authors any where ſpeaking
“ unworthy things of themſelves, or unchaſt of thoſe Names which before they
“ had extol'd, this effect it wrought with me, that from that time forward their
“ Art I ſtill applauded, but the Men I deplor'd; and above them all prefer'd the
“ two famous Renowners of *Beatrice* and *Laura*, who never write but Honor of
“ them to whom they devote their Verſe, diſplaying ſublime and pure Thoughts
“ without tranſgreſſion. And long it was not after, when I was confirm'd in
“ the opinion that he, who would not be fruſtrated of his hope to write well hereafter
“ in laudable things, ought himſelf to be a tru Poem; that is, a compoſition
“ and pattern of the beſt and honorableſt things: not preſuming to ſing the high
“ Praiſes of heroic Men or famous Cities, unleſs he has in himſelf the Experience
“ and the Practice of all that is praiſeworthy. Theſe Reaſonings, together with
“ a certain niceneſs of Nature, an honeſt Haughtineſs and Self-eſteem either of
“ what I was or what I might be (which let Envy call Pride) and laſtly, a becoming
“ Modeſty, all uniting the Supply of their natural aid together, kept me
“ ſtill above thoſe low Deſcents of Mind, beneath which he muſt deject and
“ plunge himſelf that can agree to ſalable and unlawful Proſtitutions. Next I betook
“ me among thoſe lofty Fables and Romances which recount in ſolemn Cantos
“ the Deeds of Knighthood founded by our victorious Kings, and from hence
“ had in renown over all Chriſtendom. There I read it in the Oath of every
“ Knight, that he ſhould defend to the expence of his beſt Blood, or of his Life,
“ if it ſo befel him, the Honor and Chaſtity of Virgin or Matron: from whence
“ even then I learnt what a noble Virtue Chaſtity ſure muſt be, to the defence of
“ which ſo many Worthies by ſuch a dear Adventure of themſelves had ſworn;
“ and if I found in the Story afterwards any of them by word or deed breaking
“ that Oath, I judg'd it the ſame fault of the Poet, as that which is attributed to
“ *Homer*, to have written undecent things of the Gods. Only this my mind gave
“ me, that every free and gentle Spirit without that Oath ought to be born a
“ Knight, nor needed to expect the gilt Spur, or the laying of a Sword upon his
“ Shoulder, to ſtir him up both by his Counſil and his Arm, to ſecure and protect
“ the weakneſs of any attemted Chaſtity. So that even thoſe Books, which to
“ many others have bin the fuel of Wantonneſs and looſe Living (I cannot think
“ how, unleſs by divine Indulgence) prov'd to me ſo many Enticements, as you
“ have heard, to the love and ſtedfaſt obſervation of that Virtue which abhors the
“ Society of *Bordellos*. Thus from the Laureat Fraternity of Poets, riper years,
“ and the ceaſleſs round of Study and Reading, led me to the ſhady walks of Philoſophy;
“ but chiefly to the divine Volumes of *Plato*, and his equal *Xenophon*:
“ where if I ſhould tell you what I learnt of Chaſtity and Love (I mean that
“ which is truly ſo, whoſe charming cup is only Virtue, which ſhe bears in her
“ hand to thoſe who are worthy; the reſt are cheated with a thick intoxicating
“ Potion, which a certain Sorcereſs, the Abuſer of Love's Names, carries about:
“ and if I ſhould tell you too how the firſt and chiefeſt Office of Love begins and
“ ends in the Soul, producing thoſe happy Twins of her divine Generation,
“ Knowlege and Virtue) with ſuch abſtracted Sublimities as theſe, it might be
“ worth your liſtening, Readers, as I may one day hope to have you in a ſtill time,
“ and when there ſhall be no chiding. Thus far our Author, who afterwards made this Character good in his inimitable Poem of *Paradiſe Loſt*; and before this time in his *Comus* or Mask preſented at *Ludlow* Caſtle, like which Piece in the peculiar diſpoſition of the Story, the ſweetneſs of the Numbers, the juſtneſs of the Expreſſion, and the Moral it teaches, there is nothing extant in any Language. But to procede with the reſt of the Apology, he's in it very ſevere upon the Clergy, not only becauſe in his Judgment he condemn'd ſeveral of their Maxims, but alſo provok'd by the ill uſage he receiv'd. Certainly nothing more barbarous and inhuman ever proceded from the mouth of Pope or Mufti, than this ſaying of his Antagoniſt, “ You that love Chriſt, and know this miſcreant Wretch, ſtone him

“ to death, leſt you ſmart for his Impunity. No wonder that ſo many are ſcandaliz’d when they find the name of Chriſt moſt impudently alleg’d to countenance ſuch deviliſh Practices, when there is nothing more evident than that he expreſly enjoin’d his Followers to forgive their Enemies, and not to purſue ’em with the Spirit of Revenge, but rather to reclaim them from their Errors, and to do ’em all the good they could. Our Author, on the other hand, carries his Reſentments, no doubt, too far, when the following words could drop from his Pen. “ There “ be ſuch in the World, and I among thoſe, who nothing admire the Idol of a “ Biſhoprick, and hold that it wants ſo much to be a Bleſſing, as that I rather “ deem it the mereſt, the falſeſt, the moſt unfortunat Gift of Fortune: and were “ the Puniſhment and Miſery of being a Biſhop terminated only in the Perſon, “ and did not extend to the Affliction of the whole Dioceſs, if I would wiſh any “ thing in the bitterneſs of my Soul to an Enemy, I ſhould wiſh him the biggeſt and fatteſt Biſhoprick. If *Milton* had bin ſuch a Saint as never miſt of a favorable anſwer to his Prayers, I queſtion not but at this rate more would covet to be his Enemies than his Friends. Another mark of his good Will to the Prelats is this unpardonable Simile. “ A Biſhop’s Foot, ſays he, that has all its Toes “ (maugre the Gout) and a linnen ſock over it, is the apteſt Emblem of the Prelat himſelf; who, being a Pluraliſt, may under one Surplice hide four Benefices “ beſides the great Metropolitan To which ſends a ſoul ſtench to Heaven. And in another place he calls them, “ the Gulfs and Whirlpools of Benefices, but the “ dry Pits of all ſound Doctrin. Agreable to theſe Flowers is his Deſcription of Chaplains ſomwhere in *Iconoclaſtes*. “ Biſhops or Presbyters we know, ſays he, “ and Deacons we know; but what are Chaplains? In State perhaps they may be “ liſted among the upper Serving men of ſom great Houſhold, and be admitted to “ ſom ſuch place as may ſtile them the Sewers or Yeomen-Uſhers of Devotion, “ where the Maſter is too reſty or too rich to ſay his own Prayers, or to bleſs his “ own Table. How much he lov’d to divert himſelf in this manner, we may perceive by his Apoſtrophe to the Presbyterian Miniſters, who were heavily branded by King *Charles* the Firſt, tho after his Death they would fain be thought his very dutiful and good Friends. “ O ye Miniſters, ſays *Milton*, read here what work “ he makes among your Gallypots, your Balms and your Cordials; and not only “ your ſweet Sippets in Widows Houſes, but the huge Gobbets wherwith he “ charges you to have devour’d Houſes and all. Cry him up for a Saint in your “ Pulpits, while he crys you down for Atheiſts into Hell. Nor is he more merciful to the Liturgy than to the Readers of it, as appears by this Character. To “ contend that it is fantaſtical, if not ſenſleſs in ſom places, were a copious Ar- “ gument, ſpecially in the Reſponſories. For ſuch Alternations as are there us’d “ muſt be by ſeveral Perſons; but the Miniſter and the People cannot ſo ſever “ their Intereſts as to ſuſtain ſeveral Perſons, he being the only mouth of the whole “ Body which he preſents. And if the People pray, he being ſilent, or they “ ask one thing and he another, it either changes the Property, making the Prieſt “ the People, and the People the Prieſt by turns, or elſe makes two Perſons and “ two Bodies Repreſentative where there ſhould be but one: which if there were “ nothing elſe, muſt be a ſtrange Quaintneſs in ordinary Prayer. The like or “ worſe may be ſaid of the Litany, wherin neither Prieſt nor People ſpeak any “ entire Senſe of themſelves throout the whole (I know not what to name it) only by the timely Contribution of their parted ſtakes, cloſing up as it were the “ Schiſm of a ſlic’d Prayer, they pray not in vain; for by this means they keep “ Life between them in a piece of gaſping Senſe, and keep down the Sawcineſs “ of a continual rebounding Nonſenſe. And hence it is that as it has bin far from “ the imitation of any warranted Prayer, ſo we all know it has bin obvious to be “ the pattern of many a Jig. And he who has but read in good Books of Devotion, and no more, cannot be ſo either of Ear or Judgment unpractis’d to diſtinguiſh what is grave, pathetical, devout, and what not; but he will preſently “ perceive this Liturgy all over in conception lean and dry, of Affections emty “ and unmoving, of Paſſion, or any heighth wherto the Soul might ſoar upon the “ wings of Zeal, deſtitute and barren. Beſides Errors, Tautologies, Impertinences, as thoſe Thanks in the Woman’s Churching for her delivery from Sunburning and Moonblaſting, as if ſhe had bin travelling, not in her Bed, but in “ the Deſerts of *Arabia*. So that while ſom men ceaſe not to admire the incomparable Frame of our Liturgy, I cannot but admire as faſt what they think is becom of Judgment and Taſte in other men, that they can hope to be heard without Laughter. And if this were all, perhaps it were a compliable matter. But

“ when we remember this our Liturgy, where we found it, whence we had it,
“ and yet where we left it, ſtill ſerving to all the Abominations of the Antichriſtian
“ Temple, it may be wonder'd how we can demur whether it ſhould be aboliſh'd
“ or no, and not rather fear we have highly offended in uſing it ſo long. It
“ has indeed bin pretended to be more antient than the Maſs, but ſo little prov'd,
“ that wheras other corrupt Liturgies have had ſuch a ſeeming Antiquity, that
“ their Publiſhers have ventur'd to aſcribe them either to Saint *Peter*, St. *James*,
“ St. *Mark*, or at leaſt to *Chryſoſtom* or *Baſil*, ours has bin never able to find either
“ Age or Author allowable on whom to father thoſe things which therin are leaſt
“ offenſive, except the two Creeds. I ſhall conclude my account of his Books
concerning religious Controverſies with this remarkable account of his reading in
the Councils and Fathers of the Church. “ Som years, ſays he, I had ſpent in
“ the Stories of thoſe *Greec* and *Roman* Exploits, wherin I found many things both
“ nobly don and worthily ſpoken: when coming in the method of time to that
“ age wherin the Church had obtain'd a *Chriſtian* Emperor, I ſo prepar'd my ſelf
“ as being now to read Examples of Wiſdom and Goodneſs among thoſe who
“ were foremoſt in the Church, not elſwhere to be parallel'd. But to the amazement
“ of what I expected, Readers, I found it all quite contrary; excepting in
“ ſom very few, nothing but Ambition, Corruption, Contention, Combuſtion:
“ inſomuch that I could not but love the Hiſtorian *Socrates*, who in the Proem to
“ his fifth Book profeſſes, he was fain to intermix Affairs of State, for that it
“ would be elſe an extreme annoyance to hear in a continu'd Diſcourſe the endleſs
“ Brabbles and Counterplottings of the Biſhops. Finding therfore the moſt of
“ their Actions in particular to be weak and yet turbulent, full of Strife and yet
“ flat of Spirit, and the ſum of their beſt Councils there collected to be moſt
“ commonly in Queſtions either trivial and vain, or elſe of ſhort and eaſy deciſion,
“ without that great buſtle which they made: I concluded that if their ſingle
“ Ambition and Ignorance was ſuch, then certainly united in a Council it would
“ be much more; and if the compendious recital of what they there did was ſo tedious
“ and unprofitable, then ſurely to ſit out the whole extent of their tattle in
“ a dozen Volumes, would be a loſs of time irrecoverable. Beſides that which
“ I had read of St. *Martin*, who for his laſt ſixteen years could never be perſuaded
“ to be at any Council of the Biſhops; and *Gregory Nazianzen* betook him to the
“ ſame reſolution, affirming to *Procopius* that of any Council or Meeting of Biſhops
“ he never ſaw good end, nor any remedy therby of evil in the Church, but
“ rather an increaſe: for, ſays he, their Contentions and Deſire of Lording no
“ Tongue is able to expreſs.

In the year 1643, he chang'd his condition, and was marry'd to *Mary* the Daughter of *Richard Powel* of *Forreſthill* in *Oxfordſhire*, a Juſtice of the Peace, and a man of good figure in that Country. But whether it was that this young Woman, accuſtom'd to a large and jovial Family, could not live in a Philoſophical Retirement; or that ſhe was not perfectly ſatisfy'd with the Perſon of her Husband; or laſtly, that, becauſe her Relations were all addicted to the Royal Intereſt, his democratical Principles were diſagreable to her Humor (nor is it impoſſible that the Father repented of this match upon the proſpect of ſom Succeſs on the King's ſide, who then had his Headquarters at *Oxford*) or whatever were the reaſon, 'tis certain that after he enjoy'd her Company at *London* about a month, ſhe was invited by her Friends to ſpend the reſt of the Summer in the Country, to which he conſented, on condition of her return by *Michaelmas*. Yet he ſaw her not at the time appointed, and, after receiving ſeveral of his Letters without ſending him any anſwer, ſhe did at length poſitively refuſe to come, diſmiſſing his Meſſenger with contempt. This uſage incens'd him to that degree, that he thought it againſt his Honor and Repoſe to own her any longer for his Wife. He made that time however as eaſy to himſelf as he might, ſomtimes by keeping a gaudy day with his Friends, and at other times in converſation with the Lady *Margaret Lee*, Daughter to the Earl of *Marlborough*, whoſe ſprightly Wit and good Senſe drew frequent Viſits from him, and for whom he had a ſingular eſteem, which he has left recorded by a Sonnet in her Praiſe among his other occaſional Poems. He thought it now high time to juſtify by proper Arguments the firm Reſolution he had taken of never receiving his Wife back again, and therfore in the year 1644, he publiſh'd his *Doctrin and Diſciplin of Divorce*, which he dedicated to the Parlament and to the Aſſembly of Divines, that as they were buſy then about the general Reformation of the Kingdom, they might alſo take this particular caſe of domeſtic Liberty into their conſideration: for he thought all the boaſted Freedom of public Judicatures ſignify'd ſy'd little, if in the mean while one muſt be oblig'd to indure a kind of Servitude at home below the Dignity of a Man. “ What thing, ſays he, is more inſtituted “ to the Solace and Delight of Man than Marriage? And yet the miſinterpreting “ of ſom Scriptures, directed mainly againſt the Abuſers of the Law for Divorce “ given by *Moſes*, has chang'd the Bleſſing of Matrimony not ſeldom into a familiar and cohabiting Miſchief; at leaſt, into a drooping and diſconſolat houſhold “ Captivity, without Refuge or Redemtion. So ungovern'd and ſo wild a race “ dos Superſtition run us, from one Extreme of abus'd Liberty into the other of “ unmerciful Reſtraint! Tho God in the firſt ordaining of Marriage taught us to “ what end he did it (the words expreſly implying the apt and chearful Converſation of Man with Woman, to comfort and refreſh him of the evil of a ſolitary “ Life; not mentioning the purpoſe of Generation till afterwards, as being but a “ ſecondary end in Dignity tho not in Neceſſity) yet now if any two be but once “ handed in the Church, and have taſted in any ſort the nuptial Bed, let them find “ themſelves never ſo miſtaken in their Diſpoſitions thro any Error, Concealment, or Miſadventure; that thro their different Tempers, Thoughts, and “ Conſtitutions, they can neither be to one another a remedy againſt Lonelineſs, “ nor live in any Union or Contentment all their days: yet they ſhall (ſo they be “ but found ſutably weapon'd to the leaſt poſſibility of ſenſual Enjoyment) be “ made in ſpite of Antipathy to fadg together, and combine, as they may, to “ their unſpeakable Weariſomneſs, and deſpair of all ſociable Delight, in the “ Ordinance which God eſtabliſh'd to that very end. Then he largely ſhews all the unjuſt Sanctions concerning Marriage to be owing to the Superſtition of ſom antient Fathers, and to the deſign of promoting the Gain or Authority of the Clergy, as they make a part of the Canon Law: For the *Grecs*, the *Romans*, and all civiliz'd Nations, did not only allow of Divorce upon mutual Averſion or Conſent; but in many other caſes, beſides the violation of the nuptial Bed, there was a Separation made on the Petition of one Party, tho the other ſhould not be willing. His purpoſe, in ſhort, is to ſhew that there are other ſufficient Reaſons for Divorce beſides Adultery; and that to prohibit any ſort of Divorce, but ſuch as are excepted by *Moſes*, is unjuſt and againſt the Reaſon of the Law: in handling which Heads he has, beſides his Arguments from Reaſon, had always a due care to explain thoſe Paſſages of Scripture which are thought to contradict his Opinion. The grand Poſition he maintains is, That *Indiſpoſition, Unfitneſs, or contrary Humors, proceding from any unchangable cauſe in Nature, hindring and always likely to hinder the main ends and benefits of conjugal Society (that is to ſay, Peace and Delight) are greater Reaſons of Divorce than ADULTERY or natural FRIGIDITY, provided there be a mutual Conſent for Separation.* And indeed it ſeems to be a perfect Tyranny to oblige a Man or Woman beyond the deſign of their Covenant: nor ſhould they, who never try'd this condition together, be hinder'd from diſcretely and orderly undoing it, when they find things otherwiſe than they promis'd themſelves; no more than in any other bargain People are puniſh'd for unwilful Ignorance: ſince, whenever both Parties are willing, they may draw back their ſtakes, and leave matters as they were before, or compound for the Damages that may be don. It ſeems likewiſe to me very groſs, that in Lawmaking (particularly in the Canon Law) a regard ſhould be had to the fit Diſpoſition of the marry'd Couples Bodies, and no conſideration of the Agreableneſs of their Minds, when the Charms of the latter are often the greateſt inducements to the conjunction of the former. And ſince no Man or Woman can be ſecure of true Information from others, nor infallible in their own Obſervations upon one another's Humors and Conditions (ſpecially ſince they are not admitted to a requiſit Familiarity for ſuch an inquiry before Marriage) it is the hardeſt thing in the world that no Clauſes ſhould be provided for caſes of this nature. As for the common Objection, that Marriage is a Remedy againſt Fornication and Adultery, I grant it to be moſt true, if the Parties mutually love; but if it be a forc'd Compact, or afterwards diſlik'd, it is ſo far from producing this good effect, that we clearly ſee by conſtant Experience (and Reaſon may convince us all of it) that ſuch a fatal Knot expoſes Men and Women to various Temtations, breaks the Peace of Families, expoſes the Reputation of the Children, and diſturbs or deſtroys all the Duties of Society. Nor dos it anſwer the firſt Inſtitution which ſuppoſes it was not good for Man to be alone, ſince every body would rather chuſe to be alone than be forc'd to keep bad Company. To conclude, Marriage certainly, like all other Contracts, was ordain'd for the benefit of Man, and not Man created for Marriage: wherfore it ought to be ſuted to his Convenience and Happineſs, and not be made a Snare to render him uneaſy or miſerable. No Pretences can be drawn from this Opinion to favor Libertiniſm, but on the contrary, the Conduct of the Oppoſers of it may be terribly hamper'd with infamous Conſequences, on which we ſhall not inſiſt in this place, referring the curious to *Milton*'s own Book. As for the Popiſh and ridiculous practice in certain Spiritual Courts, of ſeparating People from bed and board (which any Couple may agree to do themſelves) and refuſing 'em the liberty of marrying more for their convenience (if the civil Power dos not interpoſe for their Relief) I ſhall have a more proper opportunity to ſhew the Miſchief and Unreaſonableneſs of it.

On the firſt appearing of this Book, the Clergy did generally declaim againſt it, and fix'd upon the Author the uſual Reproaches of Atheiſm, Hereſy, Leudneſs, and what not? They daily inſtigated the Parlament, which little minded their Clamors, to paſs their Cenſure on it; and at laſt one of them in a Sermon before that auguſt Aſſembly, on a day of Humiliation, roundly told them that there was a wicked Book abroad which deſerv'd to be burnt, and that among their other Sins they ought to repent it had not yet bin branded with a mark of their Diſpleaſure. This man's main accuſation being, that *Milton* taught other cauſes of Divorce than were mention'd by Chriſt and his Apoſtles, which was alſo urg'd againſt him at the ſame time by ſom others, he publiſh'd the *Tetrachordon*, dedicated to the Parlament, or his Expoſition of the four chief Paſſages of Scripture that treat of Marriage, and the nullifying of the ſame, namely *Gen*. 1. 27, &c. *Gen*. 2. 18, &c. *Deut*. 24. 1, &c. *Mat*. 5. 31, &c. and *Mat*. 29. 3, &c. Other places out of the Epiſtles he alſo occaſionally explains; he alleges the Authority of thoſe great Men who favor'd his Opinion, ſets down the determination of the Imperial Laws, with more proofs that are uſual in ſuch caſes. On this Book our Author himſelf made the following lines.

I did but promt the Age to quit their Clogs
By the known Rules of antient Liberty,
When ſtraight a barbarous Noiſe environs me
Of Owls, and Cuckoos, Aſſes, Apes, and Dogs:
As when thoſe Hinds that were transform'd to Frogs
Rail'd at *Latona*'s twinborn Progeny,
Which after held the Sun and Moon in fee.
But this is got by caſting Pearls to Hogs,
That baul for Freedom in their ſenſleſs mood,
And ſtill revolt when Truth would ſet them free.
Licence they mean, when they cry Liberty;
For who loves that, muſt firſt be wiſe and good:
But from that mark how far they roave we ſee,
For all this waſte of Wealth and loſs of Blood.

The next piece he publiſh'd on this Subject was *the Judgment of the famous Reformer* Martin Bucer *touching Divorce*, extracted out of the ſecond Book of the Kingdom of Chriſt, dedicated to King *Edward* the Sixth. He exactly agrees with *Milton*, tho the latter had not ſeen this Book till after the publication of his own. He alſo ſhews very fairly, that *Paulus Fagius* the Aſſociat of *Bucer*, that *Peter Martyr*, *Eraſmus*, and *Grotius*, did teach the ſame Doctrin, that he might ſtop the mouths of ſuch as were determin'd more by theſe Names than by all the light of Reaſon or Scripture; and that he might not appear to be call'd an Atheiſt or Libertin with more reaſon than theſe Perſons, who notwithſtanding they had affirm'd as much as he, were yet generally counted very ſober and pious.

The fourth Book he wrote relating to Divorce was his *Colaſterion*, being a Reply to one of his Anſwerers, who, to all the Dulneſs and Ignorance imaginable, added the higheſt Bitterneſs and Malice: ſo far from tolerably underſtanding any of the learned Languages (as in ſom ſecondhand Quotations he would be thought to do) that he could not rightly ſpell what he ſo meanly ſtole. Yet this rude Invective muſt be licens'd by Mr. *Carryl*, the ſame who in his voluminous and ſenſleſs Comments did more injury to the memory of *Job*, than the Devil and the *Sabeans* could inflict Torments on him in his life time. But, not content to prefix his *Imprimatur*, he pronounces his Judgment too againſt *Milton*, which was a moſt unworthy treatment of him from theſe men, of whom he deſerv'd ſo well by his former Writings againſt their Enemies the Biſhops; tho, to ſpeak the truth, this was only a ſervice to the Presbyterians by accident: for, as we ſhall ſee hereafter, he never

ver intended by humbling the Hierarchy, to ſet up the Conſiſtorian Tribunal in the room of it. However, the following Reproach was extorted from him by their baſe Ingratitude. “ Mr. Licenſer, ſays he, you are reputed a man diſcrete “ enough, religious enough, honeſt enough, that is, to an ordinary competence in “ all theſe: But now your turn is to hear what your own hand has earn'd you, that “ when you ſuffer'd this nameleſs Hangman to caſt into public ſuch a ſpiteful “ Contumely upon a Name and Perſon deſerving of the Church and State equally “ to your ſelf, and one who has don more to the preſent advancement of your “ own Tribe, than you or many of them have don for themſelves; you forgot to “ be either honeſt, religious, or diſcrete. Whatever the State might do con- “ cerning it, ſuppoſing it were a matter to expect evil from it, I ſhould not doubt “ to meet among them with wiſe, and honorable, and knowing men. But as to “ this brute Libel, ſo much the more impudent and lawleſs for the abus'd Autho- “ rity which it bears, I ſay again, that I abominat the Cenſure of Raſcals and their “ Licenſers. Theſe are all the Pieces concerning Divorce written by *Milton*, whoſe Arguments ought not to be eſteem'd the leſs cogent, becauſe occaſion'd by his domeſtic Uneaſineſs; when this reaſon would equally enervat the Apologies exhibited for Chriſtianity under its Perſecutors, and fruſtrat all the noble Treatiſes of Civil Government, for which we are beholding to the Lawleſneſs of Tyrants or Uſurpers; witneſs the incomparable and golden Diſcourſes of that Heroic Patron of Liberty, *Algernon Sidney*. And indeed the beſt Books we have on any Subject, are ſuch as were oppos'd to the prevalency of the contrary opinion: for as he that was forc'd to paſs ſom part of his time in the Regions of extreme Heat or Cold, can beſt value the Bleſſings of a temperat Country; ſo none can be ſo well furniſh'd with Arguments for a good Cauſe, like ſuch as were Sufferers under a bad one; the Writings of unconcern'd and retir'd Perſons being either an Exerciſe of their Parts, and the Amuſements of idle time, or, what is worſe, pitiful Declamations without any Force, Experience, or Vivacity.

About this time he wrote a ſmall piece of *Education* to *Samuel Hartlib*, looking upon the right Inſtitution of Children to be the Nurſery of all true Liberty or Virtue; and of whatſoever in Government is good and wiſe, or in privat practice amiable and worthy.

The next Book he wrote was his *Areopagitica*, or an Oration to the Parlament of *England* for the liberty of Unlicens'd Printing, in which he proves that the Republics of *Greece* and *Italy* never cenſur'd any but immoral, defamatory, or atheiſtical Pieces. Nor was it by Inferences and Inſinuations they were to judg of Atheiſm; for they never ſuppreſt the Writings of the *Epicureans*, nor ſuch other Books denying even the Doctrins of Providence, and the future State: but it muſt have bin a formal doubt or denial of the being of a Deity. Yet it is beyond contradiction, that thoſe Nations maintain'd an excellent Government, diſtributing public and privat Juſtice, and abounding in all Knowlege and Virtue, infinitly above thoſe who have bin ever ſince the moſt rigid Purgers, Corrupters, or Executioners of Books. The *Roman* Emperors were Tyrants, and none but ſuch as would imitat them, ſhould quote their Examples. The Primitive Chriſtians obſerv'd no Uniformity of Conduct in this Affair. At firſt they were for reading all the Works of the *Gentils*, but none of thoſe they reckon'd Heretical among themſelves; after this they were only for confuting the Books of the Heretics, and ſuppreſſing thoſe of the *Gentils*, even ſuch as did not in the leaſt concern Religion: for about the year 400, in a *Carthaginian* Council, the very Biſhops were prohibited the reading of Heathen Authors. Had this infamous and barbarous Reſolution bin throly executed (for it had but too much effect) to what a degree of Ignorance and meanneſs of Spirit it would have reduc'd the World, depriving it of ſo many inimitable Hiſtorians, Orators, Philoſophers, and Poets, the Repoſitories of ineſtimable Treaſure, conſiſting of warlike and heroic Deeds, the beſt and wiſeſt Arts of Government, the moſt perfect Rules and Examples of Eloquence or Politeneſs, and ſuch divine Lectures of Wiſdom and Virtue, that the loſs of *Cicero*'s Works alone, or thoſe of *Livy*, could not be repair'd by all the Fathers of the Church. In proceſs of time, when the Clergy begun to be exalted even above the ſupreme Magiſtrat himſelf, they burnt and deſtroy'd every thing that did not favor their Power or Superſtition, and laid a reſtraint on Reading as well as Writing, without excepting the very Bible; and thus they proceeded till the Inquiſition reduc'd this abominable practice to the perfection of an Art by expurgatory Indexes and Licenſing. All the conſequences of this Tyranny, as depriving men of their natural Liberty, ſtifling their Parts, introducing of Ignorance, ingroſſing all Advan-

tages to one Party, and the like, were perpetually objected before the Civil Wars by the Presbyterians to the Biſhops; but no ſooner were they poſſeſt of the Biſhops Pulpits and Power, than they exercis'd the ſame Authority with more intolerable Rigor and Severity. *Milton*, after ſhewing the Origin, Progreſs, and Miſchief of this Cuſtom, proves firſt that we muſt not read the Bible, the Fathers, nor almoſt any ſort of Books, if we regard the Reaſons uſually alleg'd to forbid the publiſhing of others, ſuch as the fear of wreſting or miſtaking their meaning. Secondly, that the ends propos'd cannot be attain'd after this manner. And, Thirdly, that no man is fit to be a Licenſer, not in any one ſingle Faculty, unleſs he is univerſally learn'd, or a better Scholar than all the Authors whoſe Labors he's to licenſe: and that, granting theſe things poſſible (tho they are not ſo) he could neither find ſtrength nor time enough for peruſing all Books; and ſhould he uſe Deputies, he's likelieſt to have ignorant, lazy, and mercenary Fellows. Then diſplaying the Diſcouragement that muſt follow hence to all Literature and new Diſcoveries (with the danger of ſuppreſſing Truth, and propagating Error, as it happens in Popiſh Countries, and the not reprinting of antient Authors in any Language) he proves Licenſing to be both unjuſt in it ſelf, and diſhonorable to a free Government. “ To include the whole Nation, ſays he, and thoſe that never
“ yet thus offended, under ſuch a diffident and ſuſpectful Prohibition, what a diſ-
“ paragement it is may be plainly underſtood. So much the more, ſince Debtors
“ and Delinquents may walk abroad without a Keeper, but inoffenſive Books
“ muſt not ſtir forth without a viſible Jailor in their Title. Nor is it to the com-
“ mon People leſs than a Reproach; for if we be ſo jealous over them, as that
“ we dare not truſt them with an Engliſh Pamphlet, what do we but cenſure them
“ for a giddy, vitious, and ungrounded People, in ſuch a ſick and weak ſtate of
“ Faith and Diſcretion, as to be able to take nothing but thro the Gliſterpipe of a
“ Licenſer? That this is any care or love of them, we cannot pretend, ſince in
“ thoſe Popiſh Places, where the Laity are moſt hated and deſpis'd, the ſame
“ ſtrictneſs is us'd over them. Wiſdom we cannot call it, becauſe it ſtops but
“ one breach of Licenſe; nor that neither, ſeeing thoſe Corruptions, which it
“ ſeeks to prevent, break in faſter at other doors which cannot be ſhut And it
“ reflects on the Reputation of our Miniſters alſo, of whoſe Labors we ſhould
“ hope better, and of the Proficiency which their Flocks reap by them, than that
“ after all this light of the Goſpel which is, and is to be, and after all this conti-
“ nual Preaching, they ſhould be ſtill frequented with ſuch an unprincipl'd, unedi-
“ fy'd, and Laic Rabble, as that the whif of every new Pamphlet ſhould ſtagger
“ them out of their Catechiſm. This may have much reaſon to diſcourage the
“ Miniſters, when ſuch a low conceit is had of all their Exhortations and the bene-
“ fiting of their Hearers, that they are not thought fit to be turn'd looſe to three
“ Sheets of Paper without a Licenſer. In another place he ſays, “ A man may be a
“ Heretic in the Truth; and if he believes only becauſe his Paſtor ſays ſo, or the
“ Aſſembly ſo determins, without knowing any other Reaſon: tho his Belief be
“ true, yet the very Truth he holds becoms his Hereſy. There is not any bur-
“ den that ſom would gladlier put off to another, than the charge and care of their
“ Religion. Who knows not that there be ſom Proteſtants who live in as arrant an
“ implicit Faith as any Lay-Papiſt of *Loretto?* A wealthy man, addicted to his
“ Pleaſures and his Profit, finds Religion to be a Traffic ſo intangl'd, and of ſo
“ many pidling accounts, that of all Myſteries he cannot endure to keep a ſtock
“ going upon that trade. What dos he therſore, but reſolves to give over toil-
“ ing, and to find out ſom Factor to whoſe care and credit he may commit the
“ whole management of his religious Affairs; and that muſt be ſom Divine of
“ Note and Eſtimation. To him he adheres, reſigns the whole Warehouſe of his
“ Religion with all the Locks and Keys into his cuſtody; and indeed makes the
“ very Perſon of that Man his Religion, eſteems his aſſociating with him a ſuffici-
“ ent evidence and commendation of his own Piety. So that a man may ſay his
“ Religion is now no more within himſelf, but is becom a dividual movable, and
“ gos and coms near him according as that good man frequents the Houſe. He
“ entertains him, gives him Gifts, feaſts him, lodges him; his Religion coms
“ home at night, prays, is liberally ſup'd, and ſumtuouſly laid to ſleep; riſes, is
“ ſaluted, and (after the Malmſy or ſom well-ſpic'd Brewage, and better break-
“ faſted than he whoſe Morning-appetite would have gladly fed on green Figs be-
“ tween *Bethany* and *Jeruſalem*) his Religion walks abroad at eight, and leaves his
“ kind Entertainer in the Shop trading all day without his Religion. Another
“ ſort there be, who, when they hear that all things ſhall be order'd, all things re-

“ gulated and ſettled, nothing written but what paſſes thro the Cuſtomhouſe of
“ certain Publicans that have the tunnaging and poundaging of all freeſpoken
“ Truth, will ſtraight give themſelves up into your hands, make 'em and cut 'em
“ out what Religion you pleaſe; there be Delights, there be Recreations, and
“ jolly Paſtimes that will fetch the day about from Sun to Sun, and rock the tedi-
“ ous year as in a delightful dream. What need they torture their heads with that
“ which others have taken ſo ſtrictly and ſo unalterably into their own purveying?
“ Theſe are the Fruits which a dull Eaſe and Ceſſation of our Knowlege will bring
“ forth among the People. Nor much better will be the conſequence among the
“ Clergy themſelves. It is no new thing never heard of before for a Parochial
“ Miniſter, who has his Reward, and is at his *Hercules* Pillars in a warm Bene-
“ fice, to be eaſily inclinable (if he has nothing elſe that may rouſe up his Stu-
“ dies) to finiſh his Circuit in an Engliſh Concordance and a Topic Folio, the Ga-
“ therings and Sayings of a ſober Graduatſhip, a Harmony and a Catena, treading
“ the conſtant round of certain common doctrinal Heads, attended with their
“ Uſes, Motives, Marks, and Means; out of which, as out of an Alphabet or
“ ſol fa mi, by forming and transforming, joining and disjoining variouſly a little
“ Bookcraft, and two hours Meditation, he might furniſh himſelf unſpeakably to
“ the performance of more than a weekly charge of Sermoning: not to reckon up
“ the infinit helps of Interlinearies, Breviaries, Synopſes, and other loitring gear.
“ But, as for the multitude of Sermons already printed on every Text that is not
“ difficult, he need never fear penury of Pulpit Proviſion; yet if his Rear and
“ Flanks be not impal'd, if his backdoor be not ſecur'd by the rigid Licenſer, but
“ that a bold Book may now and then iſſue forth and give the aſſault to ſom of his
“ old Collections in their trenches, it will concern him to keep waking, to ſtand
“ in watch, to ſet good Guards and Sentinels about his receiv'd Opinions, to walk
“ the round and counterround with his Fellow-Inſpectors, fearing leſt any of his
“ Flock be ſeduc'd, who alſo then would be better inſtructed, better exercis'd and
“ diſciplin'd. And God ſend that the fear of this Diligence, which muſt then be
“ us'd, do not make us affect the lazineſs of a licenſing Church. Such was the
effect of our Author's *Areopagitica*, that the following year *Mabol*, a Licenſer, offer'd Reaſons againſt Licenſing; and, at his own requeſt, was diſcharg'd that Office. And certainly there's nothing deſerves more wonder, than that any wiſe People ſhould ſuffer a ſmall number of injudicious Fellows, always ready to ſuppreſs whatever is not reliſh'd by their own Sect or the Magiſtrat, to be the ſole Maſters and Judges of what ſhould or ſhould not be printed; that is, of what the Nation is to know, ſpeak, or underſtand: and I need not heſitat to affirm that ſuch a Power in the hands of any Prince (the Licenſers being always his Creatures) is more dangerous even than a ſtanding Army to Civil Liberty; nor in point of Religion is it inferior to the Inquiſition.

But to return to his privat Affairs, leſt he might ſeem by his ſeveral Treatiſes of Divorce not to act from an intire Conviction, but out of ſudden Reſentment, or to ſhew his Parts in maintaining a Paradox, he was ſeriouſly treating a Marriage with a young Lady of great Wit and Beauty, when one day as he was at a Relations houſe whom he often viſited, he was extremely ſurpriz'd to find his Wife (whom he thought never to have ſeen more) acknowleging her fault at his feet, and begging Forgiveneſs with tears. At firſt he ſeem'd inexorable, but his own Generoſity, and the interceſſion of Friends, ſoon procur'd a perfect Reconciliation, with an act of Oblivion for all that was paſt. The firſt fruit of her return was a Girl, born within a year after: And ſo far was he from remembring former Provocations, that the King's Intereſt in every place viſibly declining, he receiv'd his Wives Father and Mother, ſeveral of her Siſters and Brothers into his own Houſe, where they had Protection and free Entertainment till their Affairs were in a better condition. And now both his own Father dying, and his Wives Relations returning to their ſeveral Habitations, he reviv'd his Academic Inſtitution of ſom young Gentlemen, with a deſign, perhaps, of putting in practice the model of Education lately publiſh'd by himſelf. Yet this courſe was of no long continuance; for he was to be made Adjutant General to Sir *William Waller*, but that the new modelling of the Army ſoon following, and Sir *William* turning cat in pan, this deſign was fruſtrated.

A little after *Fairfax* and *Cromwel* had march'd thro the City with the whole Army to quell the Inſurrection of *Brown* and *Maſſy*, now grown diſcontented likewiſe with the Parlament, our Author chang'd his great Houſe for one more accommodated to his Circumſtances, where in the midſt of all the noiſe and confuſion of

Arms, he led a quiet and privat Life, wholly delighted with the Muſes, and proſecuting his indefatigable ſearch after uſeful and ſolid Knowlege.

Having occaſionally mention'd that Great man General *Fairfax*, I ſhall ſubjoin here, becauſe it is not printed among his other Poems, a Sonnet our Author ſent him.

*Fairfax*, whoſe Name in Arms thro *Europe* rings,
  And fills all mouths with Envy or with Praiſe,
  And all her jealous Monarchs with Amaze,
  And Rumors loud which daunt remoteſt things:
Thy firm unſhaken Valor ever brings
  Victory home, while new Rebellions raiſe
  Their *Hydra* Heads, and the falſe *North* diſplays
  Her broken League to imp her Serpent Wings.
O yet a nobler task awaits thy hand,
  For what can War but Acts of War ſtill breed,
  Till injur'd Truth from Violence be freed,
And public Faith be reſcu'd from the brand
  Of public Fraud? In vain dos Valor bleed,
  While Avarice and Rapine ſhare the Land.

The following lines, never likewiſe publiſh'd among his Poems, he wrote on Sir *Henry Vane* the Younger.

*Vane*, young in years, but in ſage Counſils old,
  Than whom a better Senator ne'er held
  The Helm of *Rome* (when Gowns not Arms repel'd
  The fierce *Epirot*, and the *African* bold)
Whether to ſettle Peace, or to unfold
  The drift of hollow States, hard to be ſpel'd.
  Then, to adviſe how War may beſt b'upheld,
  Man'd by her two main Nerves, Iron and Gold,
In all her Equipage: Beſides to know
  Both ſpiritual and civil, what each means,
  What ſerves each thou haſt learn'd, which few have don.
The bounds of either Sword to thee we ow;
  Therfore on thy right hand Religion leans,
  And reckons thee in chief her eldeſt Son.

But after *Charles* the Firſt (ſomtime before judg'd an Enemy by the Parlament) was made a Priſoner by their victorious Army, afterwards judicially try'd and condemn'd, and the form of the Government was chang'd into a Democracy or Free State, the Presbyterian Miniſters, who from the beginning were the King's mortal Enemies, but now inrag'd that the Independents and other Sects ſhould enjoy either Liberty or Life (not angry at the Fact but the Faction) did tragically declaim in their Pulpits, that the King's Uſage was very hard, that his Perſon was ſacred and inviolable, and that any Violence offer'd to him in the field (much leſs by the hands of an Executioner) was contrary to the Doctrin of the Reform'd Churches. This oblig'd *Milton* in the year 49, to write his *Tenure of Kings and Magiſtrats*, wherin he labors to prove that it is not only in it ſelf a moſt equitable thing, but that it has alſo bin ſo eſteem'd by the free and conſidering part of Mankind in all ages, that ſuch as had the Power might call a Tyrant to account for his Maladminiſtration, and after due Conviction to depoſe or put him to death, according to the nature of his Crimes: And further ſhews, that if the ordinary Magiſtrats of any Nation refuſe to do 'em this Juſtice, that then the duty of Self-preſervation, and the good of the whole (which is the ſupreme Law) impowers the People to deliver themſelves from Slavery by the ſafeſt and moſt effectual methods they can. As for the Presbyterians, who were then grown ſo tender of Majeſty (and that only becauſe they could not, abſolutely and excluſively of others, govern all mens Perſons and Conſciences) he evidently ſhews that they were the moſt zealous to take arms againſt the King, to deveſt and diſanoint him of his Dignity, nay to curſe him in all their Sermons and Pamphlets over the Kingdom (wherof there remain numerous Monuments ſtill to be produc'd) that, in a word, after they had join'd with others to a degree from which Men of Honor or Prudence could not retreat, they were louder than the Cavaliers themſelves to cry Diſloyalty and

Treaſon. After proving at large that they broke their Allegiance to him, obey'd another Authority, and had often given Commiſſion to ſlay where they knew his Perſon could not be exemt from danger; and where, if chance or flight had not ſav'd him like others, he muſt be infallibly kil'd, he ſhews how ridiculouſly it became them to pretend a tenderneſs for his Perſon or Character; wheras indeed it was neither Perſuaſion nor Remorſe, but their averſion to civil and religious Liberty that hurry'd 'em to theſe extremes. But becauſe I hope the bulk of thoſe now cal'd *Presbyterians* in *England*, ſom few leading Men excepted, are no ſuch Enemies to a Toleration, and that they underſtand no more of the Conſiſtorian, Claſſical, or Synodical Judicatories, than they allow of the Inquiſition or a Hierarchy, I ſhall in this place to diſabuſe 'em, and to let 'em ſee how much better others foreſaw their Fate than Paſſion would ſuffer themſelves at that time, inſert the following paſſage. "As for the Party cal'd *Presbyterian*, ſays *Milton*, of whom I believe very many to be good and faithful Chriſtians, tho miſled by ſom of turbulent Spirit, I wiſh them earneſtly and calmly not to fall off from their firſt Principles, nor to affect Rigor and Superiority over Men not under them; not to compel unforcible things in Religion eſpecially, which if not voluntary, becoms a Sin; nor to aſſiſt the clamor and malicious drifts of thoſe whom they themſelves have judg'd to be the worſt of Men, the obdurat Enemies of God and his Church: nor to dart againſt the Actions of their Brethren, for want of other Argument, thoſe wreſted Laws and Scriptures thrown by Prelats and Malignants againſt their own ſides, which tho they hurt not otherwiſe, yet taken up by them to the condemnation of their own doings, give ſcandal to all Men, and diſcover in themſelves either extreme Paſſion or Apoſtacy. Let them not oppoſe their beſt Friends and Aſſociats who moleſt 'em not at all, infringe not the leaſt of their Liberties, unleſs they call it their Liberty to bind other Mens Conſciences, but are ſtill ſeeking to live at peace with them, and brotherly Accord. Let them beware an old and perfect Enemy, who tho he hopes by ſowing Diſcord to make them his Inſtruments, yet cannot forbear a minute the open threatning of his deſtin'd Revenge upon them, when they have ſerv'd his purpoſes. Let them fear therfore, if they be wiſe, rather what they have don already, than what remains to do; and be warn'd in time that they put no confidence in Princes whom they have provok'd, leſt they be added to the Examples of thoſe that miſerably have taſted of the event.—I have ſomthing alſo to the Divines, tho brief to what were needful, not to be Diſturbers of the Civil Affairs, being in hands better able, and to whom it more belongs to manage them; but to ſtudy harder, and to attend the Office of good Paſtors, not perform'd by mounting twice into the Chair with a formal Preachment huddled up at the odd hours of a whole lazy Week, but by inceſſant pains and watching——which if they well conſider'd, how little leiſure would they find to be the moſt pragmatical Sideſmen of every popular Tumult and Sedition? And all this while they are to learn what the true end and reaſon is of the Goſpel which they teach, and what a world it differs from the cenſorious and ſupercilious lording over Conſcience. It would be good alſo they liv'd ſo as might perſuade the People they hated Covetouſneſs, which, worſe than Hereſy, is Idolatry; hated Pluralities and all kind of Simony; leſt rambling from Benefice to Benefice, like ravenous Wolves ſeeking where they may devour the biggeſt. Let them be ſorry that, being cal'd to aſſemble about reforming the Church, they fell to progging and ſoliciting the Parlament (tho they had renounc'd the name of Prieſts) for a new ſettling of their Tithes and Oblations, and doublelin'd themſelves with ſpiritual places of Commodity beyond the poſſible diſcharge of their Duty. Let them aſſemble in Conſiſtory with their Elders and Deacons to the preſerving of Church-Diſciplin each in his ſeveral charge, and not a pack of Clergymen by themſelves to bellychear in their preſumptuous *Sion*; or to promote deſigns to abuſe and gull the ſimple Laity, to ſtir up Tumults, as the Prelats did before them, for the maintenance of their Pride and Avarice. On this occaſion I muſt remark, that by reaſon of the *Presbyterians* warmly joining with others the laſt Parlament to promote Penal Laws againſt the *Socinians*, I find few People will believe that thoſe in *England* differ from their Brethren in *Scotland* about Perſecution, nor that their own Sufferings of late have made 'em more tender to the Conſciences of others. This naturally leads men to think that they have not repented of their Rigor in the Civil Wars; and that ſhould the Diſſenters once more get the Secular Sword into their hands, they would preſs Uniformity of Sentiments in Religion as far as any other Proteſtants or Papiſts ever yet have don: witneſs their inhuman

Treatment of *Daniel Williams* (a ſober man and a judicious Divine) for no cauſe that I can diſcern, but that he made Chriſtianity plainer than ſom of his Collegues in the Miniſtry, and that, it may be, he takes a greater latitude than ſuch as thro their ignorance cannot, or will not from deſign. But what renders them moſt ſuſpected of affecting Dominion, is the Project of Comprehenſion now on foot, wherof ſom men of figure among 'em ſeem to be ſo fond, wherby the reſt are eaſily deceiv'd, and like to be left in the lurch by certain Perſons who for ſeveral years paſt made the Hierarchy and Liturgy ſuch ſtrange Bugbears: tho, if the Church will pleaſe to becom a kind Mother to themſelves, and ſhew a little complaiſance for their old Friends, they are ready to pronounce her Orders, her Prayers, and her Ceremonies to be very innocent and harmleſs things; but miſtaken formerly for the Pillars of Antichriſt, the Symbols of Idolatry, the Dregs of Popery, the Rags of Superſtition, and Proteſtant Paint to hide the Deformities of the old *Babyloniſh* Whore. And after all, whatever ours may be, Comprehenſion in all other places of the World has never bin any thing elſe but the Combination of a few Parties to fortify themſelves, and to oppreſs all others by their united Force, or by an abſolute Excluſion from Preferment, and other Advantages to which by Nature or perſonal Merit they had an equal claim with the reſt of their Fellow-Citizens. Tho to be perſecuted in their turn is the juſt Judgment of God upon Perſecutors, yet Vengeance muſt be left to Heaven: and the Wiſhes of all good Men are that the National Church, being ſecur'd in her Worſhip and Emoluments, may not be allow'd to force others to her Communion; and that all Diſſenters from it, being ſecur'd in their Liberty of Conſcience, may not be permitted to meddle with the Riches or Power of the National Church.

After theſe things our Author thinking to have leiſure enough for ſuch an undertaking, apply'd himſelf intirely to the Hiſtory of the *Engliſh* Nation, which he intended from the remoteſt traditional beginning to continue down to his own time, and had already finiſh'd four Books of the ſame, when neither courting nor expecting any ſuch Preferment, he was taken into the Service of the New Commonwealth. Hitherto he gratuitouſly lent his Country the aid of his Pen, content with the eſteem of good Men, and the internal Satisfaction of having perform'd his Duty; while others, that deſerv'd it not ſo well, were variouſly rewarded, ſom with Riches, ſom with Honors, and all with Liberty. But the Publication of the *Tenure of Kings and Magiſtrats* reviving the fame of his other Books, and as well ſhewing the Excellency of his Stile and Capacity, as his Affection to the good old Cauſe, he was made Secretary to the Council of State for all foren Affairs: for the Republic ſcorn'd to acknowlege that ſort of Tribute to any Prince in the World, which is now paid to the *French* King, of managing their Matters only in his Language; and took up a noble Reſolution, to which they firmly adher'd, that they would neither write to others, nor receive their Anſwers, except in the *Latin* Tongue, as being common to them all, and the propereſt in it ſelf to contain great things, or the Subject of future Pens. But this Proceding could not be acceptable to thoſe whoſe Tranſactions were aſham'd or afraid to ſee the light, and whoſe Names will not be tranſmitted to Poſterity, unleſs for dextrouſly cheating their own People, and laying the Springs of their Tyranny or Neglect in the dark, tho the Effects are ſufficiently felt by their deluded Subjects, and the Injuſtice viſibly expos'd to all diſcerning eys. None could be found more fitted for ſuch a Poſt than *Milton*, who quickly gain'd no leſs Reputation to himſelf than Credit to the State that imploy'd ſo able a Perſon. Of this the Letters he wrote under that and the ſucceding Adminiſtrations (for he ſerv'd *Oliver*, *Richard*, and the *Rump*) are abundant evidence, being for different Reaſons admir'd by Critics and Stateſmen, as they are certain and authentic Materials for ſuch as may hereafter write the Hiſtory of thoſe times.

But it was not only in foren Diſpatches that the Government made uſe of his Pen; for juſt after the King's Death appear'd a Book under his Name, intitul'd, *Eikon Baſilike*, wherin he vindicats himſelf in ſo many diſtinct Chapters from the chief Heads of thoſe Tyrannies charg'd upon him by the People, either as occaſions of the Civil War, or as Inhumanities committed during the ſame. This piece, like *Ceſar*'s laſt Will, doing more execution upon the Enemy than its Author when alive, *Milton* was commanded to prevent by an Anſwer thoſe ill effects the *Eikon Baſilike* might produce. Having undertaken this task, he obſerves that Kings indeed have gain'd glorious Titles from their Flatterers or Favorers for writing againſt privat men, as our *Henry* the Eighth was ſtil'd *Defender of the Faith* for ingaging *Luther*; yet that no man can expect much Honor by writing againſt a

King, as not uſually meeting with that force of Argument in ſuch courtly Antagoniſts,
which to confute might add to his fame. “ Kings, ſays he, tho ſtrong in
“ Legions, are moſt commonly but weak at Arguments. As they who ever
“ have accuſtom'd from the Cradle to uſe their Will only as their right hand, their
“ Reaſon always as their left: whence unexpectedly conſtrain'd to that kind of
“ Combat, they prove but weak and puny Adverſaries. Nevertheleſs, continues
“ he, for their ſakes, who thro Cuſtom, Simplicity, or want of better teaching,
“ have not more ſeriouſly conſider'd Kings than in the gaudy name of Majeſty,
“ and admire them and their doings, as if they breath'd not the ſame Breath with
“ other mortal men, I ſhall make no ſcruple to take up this Gauntlet, tho a Kings,
“ in the behalf of Liberty and the Commonwealth. Having thus accepted the
Challenge, he fairly meaſures Weapons, and anſwers all the Allegations of that
Book beyond the poſſibility of a Reply. But every Chapter of it ending with
Devotion, model'd into the form of a privat Pſalter, he once for all gives his
judgment of it in theſe words. “ They, who ſo much admire the Archbiſhops
“ late Breviary, and many other as good Manuals and Handmaids of Devotion,
“ the Lipwork of every prelatical Liturgiſt, clapt this together, and quilted it out
“ of Scripture Phraſe, with as much eaſe, and as little need of Chriſtian Diligence
“ or Judgment, as belongs to the compiling of any ordinary and ſalable piece of
“ Engliſh Divinity that the Shops value. But he who from ſuch a kind of Pſalmiſtry,
“ or any other verbal Devotion, without the pledg and earneſt of ſutable
“ Deeds, can be perſuaded of a Zeal and true Righteouſneſs in the Perſon, has
“ much yet to learn; and knows not that the deepeſt Policy of a Tyrant has bin
“ ever to counterfeit Religion: and *Ariſtotle* in his Politics has mention'd that ſpecial
“ Craft among twelve other tyrannical Sophiſms. Neither want we Examples.
“ *Andronicus Comnenus* the *Byzantin* Emperor, tho a moſt cruel Tyrant, is
“ reported by *Nicetas* to have bin a conſtant Reader of St. *Paul*'s Epiſtles; and by
“ continual Study had ſo incorporated the Phraſe and Stile of that Apoſtle into all
“ his familiar Letters, that the Imitation ſeem'd to vy with the Original. Then
having inſtanced our *Richard* the Third, to whom he might have added *Tarquin*
who built the ſtately Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, and the *Ruſſian Baſilowitz* that
pray'd ſeven times a day, he diſcovers a piece of Royal Plagiariſm, or (to be more
charitable) of his Chaplains Prieſtcraft; for one of King *Charles*'s Prayers, ſtil'd
*a Prayer in the time of Captivity*, deliver'd by himſelf to Dr. *Juxon*, and twice
printed among his Works in Folio, is plainly ſtolen and taken without any conſiderable
Variation from the mouth of *Pamela*, an imaginary Lady, to a Heathen Deity
in Sir *Philip Sidney*'s *Arcadia*. This has bin mention'd by others after *Milton*, and
thoſe Prayers laid parallel together on divers occaſions. One of *Milton*'s Sagacity
could not but perceive by the Compoſition, Stile, and timing of this Book,
that it was rather the production of ſom idle Clergyman, than the Work of a
diſtreſt Prince, either in perpetual hurry at the head of a flying Army, or remov'd
from one Priſon to another during his unfortunat Captivity till his Death.
Beſides the Theological Phraſes frequently interſpers'd, there are ſuch fanciful
Alluſions and bold Comments in it upon the ſecret Judgments of God, as
ſmell rankly of a Syſtem or the Pulpit. When he mentions the fate of the *Hothams*,
by whom he was repuls'd at *Hull*, he ſays of the Father, *That his Head was
divided from his Body, becauſe his Heart was divided from the King; and that two Heads
were cut off in one Family for affronting the Head of the Commonwealth; the eldeſt Son being
infected with the Sin of the Father, againſt the Father of his Country.* Theſe and ſuch Arguments
drawn only from the Book it ſelf, without any further light, induc'd a
great many at that time to ſuſpect the Impoſture; and that becauſe *Cromwel* got
ſuch a Reputation among the People for his ſuppos'd Piety, the Royaliſts would
repreſent the King to be a wiſer Man and better Chriſtian. But in the year 1686,
Mr. *Millington* happening to ſell the late Lord *Angleſey*'s Library by Auction, put up
an *Eikon Baſilike*; and a few bidding very low for it, he had leiſure to turn over the
Leaves, when to his great Surprize he perceiv'd written with the ſame noble Lords
own hand the following *Memorandum*.

*King* Charles *the Second, and the Duke of* York, *did both (in the laſt Seſſions of Parlament,* 1675. *when I ſhew'd them in the Lords Houſe the written Copy of this Book, wherin are ſom Corrections and Alterations written with the late King* Charles *the Firſt's own hand) aſſure me, that this was none of the ſaid King's compiling, but made by Dr.* Gauden *Biſhop of* Exeter: *which I here inſert for the undeceiving of others in this point, by atteſting ſo much under my own hand.*

Angleſey.

This occaſion'd the World to talk; and ſeveral knowing the Relation which the late Dr. *Anthony Walker* an *Eſſex*-Divine had to Biſhop *Gauden*, they inquir'd of him what he knew concerning this Subject, which he then verbally communicated to them: but being afterwards highly provok'd by Dr. *Hollingworth*'s harſh and injurious Reflections, he was oblig'd in his own defence to print an account of that Book, wherin are ſufficient Anſwers to all the Scruples or Objections that can be made, and wherof I here inſert an exact Epitome. He tells us in the firſt place that Dr *Gauden* was pleas'd to acquaint him with the whole deſign, and ſhew'd him the Heads of divers Chapters, with ſom others that were quite finiſh'd: and that Dr. *Gauden* asking his opinion of the thing, and he declaring his Diſſatisfaction that the World ſhould be ſo impos'd upon, *Gauden* bid him look on the Title, which was *the King's Portraiture*; for that no man is ſuppos'd to draw his own Picture. A very nice Evaſion! He further acquaints us, that ſom time after this, being both in *London*, and having din'd together, Dr. *Gauden* took him along with him to Dr. *Duppa* the Biſhop of *Salisbury* (whom he made alſo privy to his deſign) to fetch what Papers he had left before for his Peruſal, or to ſhew him what he had ſince written: and that upon their return from that place, after *Gauden* and *Duppa* were a while in privat together, the former told him the Biſhop of *Salisbury* wiſh'd he had thought upon two other Heads, the Ordinance againſt the Common-Prayer-Book, and the denying his Majeſty the attendance of his Chaplains; but that *Duppa* deſir'd him to finiſh the reſt, and he would take upon him to write two Chapters on thoſe Subjects, which accordingly he did. The reaſon, it ſeems, why Dr. *Gauden* himſelf would not perform this, was, firſt, that during the Troubles he had forborn the uſe of the Liturgy, which he did not extraordinarily admire; and, Secondly, that he had never bin the King's Chaplain, wheras Dr. *Duppa* was both his Chaplain, his Tutor, and a Biſhop, which made him more concern'd about theſe Particulars. Thirdly, Dr. *Walker* informs us that Dr. *Gauden* told him he had ſent a Copy of *Eikon Baſilike* by the Marquiſs of *Hartford* to the King in the *Ile of Wight*; where it was, we may be ſure, that he made thoſe Corrections and Alterations with his own Pen, mention'd in my Lord *Angleſey*'s *Memorandum*: and which gave occaſion to ſom then about him that had accidentally ſeen, or to whom he had ſhown the Book, to believe the whole was his own. Fourthly, Dr. *Gauden*, after the Reſtoration, told Dr. *Walker*, that the Duke of *York* knew of his being the real Author, and had own'd it to be a great ſervice; in conſideration of which, it may be, the Biſhoprick of *Wincheſter*, tho he was afterwards put off with that of *Worceſter*, was promis'd him. And, notwithſtanding it was then a Secret, we now know that in expectation of this Tranſlation, the great Houſe on *Clapham*-Common was built indeed in the name of his Brother Sir *Denis*, but really to be a Manſionhouſe for the Biſhops of *Wincheſter*. Fifthly, Dr. *Walker* ſays, that Mr. *Gauden* the Doctor's Son, his Wife, himſelf, and Mr. *Gifford* who tranſcrib'd it, did believe it as firmly as any fact don in the place where they were; and that in that Family they always ſpoke of it among themſelves (whether in Dr. *Gauden*'s Preſence or Abſence) as undoubtedly written by him, which he never contradicted. We learn, Sixthly, that Dr. *Gauden*, after part of it was printed, gave to Dr. *Walker* with his own hand what was laſt ſent to *London*; and after ſhewing him what it was, ſeal'd it, giving him cautionary Directions how to deliver it, which he did on Saturday the 23d of *December*, 1648. for Mr. *Royſton* the Printer, to Mr. *Peacock* Brother to Dr. *Gauden*'s Steward, who, after the Impreſſion was finiſh'd, gave him, for his trouble, ſix Books, wherof he always kept one by him. To theſe Particulars Dr. *Walker* adds that the Reaſon why the Covenant is more favorably mention'd in *Eikon Baſilike*, than the King or any other of his Party would do, was becauſe Dr. *Gauden* himſelf had taken it: That in the devotional part of this

Book there occur ſeveral Expreſſions which were habitual to Dr. *Gauden* in his Prayers, which always in privat and public were conceiv'd or extemporary: and that to his knowlege it was Dr. *Gauden*, being beſt acquainted with the Beauty of his own Sayings, who made that Collection of Sentences out of *Eikon Baſilike*, entitul'd, *Apophthegmata Caroliniana*. Theſe and ſom Obſervations about the ſame individual Perſons variation of Stile on different Subjects, with the facility and frequency of perſonating others, may be further conſider'd in Dr. *Walker*'s original account. In this condition ſtood the Reputation of this Book, till the laſt and finiſhing diſcovery of the Impoſture was made after this manner. Mr. *Arthur North*, a Merchant now living on *Towerhill*, *London*, a man of good Credit, and a Member of the Church of *England*, marry'd the Siſter of her that was Wife to the Doctor's Son *Charles Gauden*, who dying left ſom Papers with his Widow, among which Mr. *North*, being concern'd about his Siſter in Law's Affairs, found a whole bundle relating to *Eikon Baſilike*: Theſe Papers old Mrs. *Gauden* left to her darling Son *John*, and he to his Brother *Charles*. There is firſt a Letter from Secretary *Nicholas* to Dr. *Gauden*. 2. The Copy of a Letter from Biſhop *Gauden* to Chancellor *Hyde*, where, among his other Deſerts, he pleads that what was don like a King, ſhould have a Kinglike Retribution, and that his deſign in it was to comfort and incourage the King's Friends, to expoſe his Enemies, and to convert, *&c.* There is, 3. The Copy of a Letter from the Biſhop to the Duke of *York*, wherin he ſtrongly urges his Services. 4. A Letter under Chancellor *Hyde*'s own hand, dated the 13*th* of *March*, 1661. wherin he expreſſes his uneaſineſs under the Biſhop's importunity, and excuſes his inability yet to ſerve him: but towards the Concluſion it contains theſe remarkable words; *The Particular you mention has indeed bin imparted to me as a Secret; I am ſorry I ever knew it: and when it ceaſes to be a Secret, it will pleaſe none but Mr.* Milton. There are other Papers in this bundle, but particularly a long Narrative of Mrs. *Gauden*'s own Writing, irrefragably ſhewing her Husband to be Author of *Eikon Baſilike*. It entirely confirms Dr. *Walker*'s account, and contains moſt of the facts we have hitherto related, with many other curious Circumſtances too long to be here inſerted, yet too extraordinary not to be known; wherfore I refer the Reader to the original Papers, or to the faithful extract made out of it before ſeveral learned and worthy Perſons, and which is printed in a Paper intitul'd, *Truth brought to light*. Thus came all the World to be convinc'd of this notorious Impoſture; but which as it was dexterouſly contriv'd, and moſt cunningly improv'd by a Party whoſe Intereſt oblig'd 'em to keep the Secret, ſo it happen'd to be diſcover'd by very nice and unforeſeen Accidents. Had not *Gauden* bin diſappointed of *Wincheſter*, he had never pleaded his Merit in this affair; nor would his Wife have written her Narrative, had King *Charles* the Second beſtow'd one half years Rent upon her after her Husband's deceaſe, which upon her Petition, and conſidering her numerous Family, none could imagin ſhould be refuſ'd. It was a ſlighter accident that begot a Confeſſion from two Kings, and *Charles*'s own Sons: and I doubt if any other than one of Mr. *Millington*'s great Curioſity, and no Bigotry, had the diſpoſal of my Lord *Angleſey*'s Books, we ſhould never have heard of the *Memorandum*. Had not *Hollingworth*'s indiſcrete Zeal provok'd the only Man then alive who had any perſonal knowlege of this buſineſs, Dr. *Walker* had never publiſh'd his Account; nor could the whole diſcovery be ſo complete, without the leaſt intricacy or queſtion, without Mr. *North*'s Papers. When I ſeriouſly conſider how all this happen'd among our ſelves within the compaſs of forty years, in a time of great Learning and Politeneſs, when both Parties ſo narrowly watch'd over one another's Actions, and what a great Revolution in Civil and Religious Affairs was partly occaſion'd by the Credit of that Book, I ceaſe to wonder any longer how ſo many ſuppoſititious pieces under the name of Chriſt, his Apoſtles, and other great Perſons, ſhould be publiſh'd and approv'd in thoſe primitive times, when it was of ſo much importance to have 'em believ'd; when the Cheats were too many on all ſides for them to reproach one another, which yet they often did; when Commerce was not near ſo general, and the whole Earth intirely overſpread with the darkneſs of Superſtition. I doubt rather the Spuriouſneſs of ſeveral more ſuch Books is yet undiſcover'd, thro the remoteneſs of thoſe Ages, the death of the Perſons concern'd, and the decay of other Monuments which might give us true Information; eſpecially when we conſider how dangerous it was always for the weaker ſide to lay open the tricks of their Adverſaries, tho never ſo groſs: and that the prevailing Party did ſtrictly order all thoſe Books which offended them to be burnt, or otherwiſe ſuppreſt, which was accordingly perform'd, as well in obedience to the Laws by ſom, as out of conſcientious Obligations by others, which made the execution more effectual than uſually happens in caſes of an ordinary Nature. Of this we are furniſh'd with numberleſs Examples by Church-Hiſtorians, who have preſerv'd intire ſeveral of the Laws and Orders enacted to this purpoſe. From theſe general Remarks I muſt obſerve in particular, that it's likely when *Charles* the Second knew the forgery of this Book, he was fully confirm'd in the Popiſh Religion, which in his Childhood he learnt of his Mother, and in his Exile by his Foren Converſation. The Author of *Eikon Baſilike* deſires him to adhere to the Church of *England*, as neceſſary both for his Soul's peace, and that of the Kingdom. This and the like Exhortations of Reſpect for the Liturgy and Clergy, might ſhew, at leaſt, the Judgment of his dying Father; but from Dr. *Gauden* it was mere Intereſt and Impoſture. *Charles* therfore, who knew *Morley*, *Duppa*, and others, to approve of this Fraud to which they were privy, and for whoſe Advantage the belief of it was ſerviceable, muſt either ſuſpect the Forgeries laid by Proteſtants to the charge of Popery, when he actually knew the Proteſtants to play the ſame Game: or not being able to deny the Popiſh Cheats, 'tis moſt probable the Opinion which his intimat Friends had of him was too true, that he was really of neither Church, but believed the Pretences of both to be Credulity or Craft; and that the tranſactions of his laſt Minutes were only the effects of a weak Mind in a diſtemper'd Body.

*Milton* wrote alſo in the year 48. *Obſervations* upon the Repreſentation of the Preſbytery of *Belfaſt* in *Ireland*, concerning the King's Death, the breaking of the Covenant, and the Toleration of different Perſuaſions, to which theſe Prieſtlings, as he calls them, were mortal Enemies; while they call'd their own Presbyterian Government the Hedg and Bulwark of Religion, which is exactly the language of the Popiſh Inquiſition. In the ſame *Obſervations* he examins the Duke of *Ormond*'s Letter to Colonel *Jones* Governor of *Dublin*, perſuading him to revolt from the Parlament. *Milton* is very angry that *Ormond* made a contemtuous mention of General *Cromwel*, “ who, according to him, had don in a few years more eminent and remarkable Deeds wheron to found Nobility in his Houſe tho it were wanting, and perpetual Renown to Poſterity, than *Ormond* and all his Anceſtors put together could ſhew from any Record of their *Iriſh* Exploits, the wideſt Scene of their Glory. But his chiefeſt Remarks are upon the Articles of Peace which *Ormond* concluded in the King's Name, and by his Authority, with the Popiſh *Iriſh* Rebels, wherin they are pardon'd for the Maſſacre and Depredation of the *Engliſh* Proteſtants; acknowleg'd to be dutiful and loyal Subjects; are diſcharg'd from taking the Oath of Supremacy, principally fram'd on the account of Papiſts; and, in a word, ſuch Freedoms and Privileges were granted to thoſe inhuman Butchers, as were never injoy'd by their *Engliſh* Conquerors. The Second Article empowers the *Iriſh* Parlament to repeal or ſuſpend (as they think fit) *Poyning*'s Act, the only ſecurity of their dependence on *England*. They are intruſted by him with the Militia; and ſo indulgent was he to theſe his choice Favorits, as ridiculouſly to promiſe them the repealing of thoſe Acts which prohibited their plowing with Horſes by the Tail, or burning of Oats in the Straw, marks of their ſottiſh and indocil Barbarity.

And now we com to his Maſter-piece, his chief and favorit Work in Proſe, for Argument the nobleſt, as being the Defence of a whole free Nation, the People of *England*; for ſtile and diſpoſition the moſt eloquent and elaborat, equalling the old *Romans* in the purity of their own Language, and their higheſt Notions of Liberty; as univerſally ſpread over the learned World as any of their Compoſitions; and certain to endure while Oratory, Politics, or Hiſtory, bear any eſteem among Men. *It cannot be deny'd*, ſays that excellent Critic *Monſieur Baile*, *that* Milton*'s Latin ſtile is eaſy, briſk, and elegant; nor that he defended the Republican Cauſe with a world of Addreſs and Wit*: Agreable to which Judgment is the unanimous Suffrage of Foreners, not excepting the moſt zealous Aſſertors of Monarchy. It was written upon this occaſion. *Charles* eldeſt Son to the King of the ſame name living in Exile, and wanting ſom body to paint the Death of his Father in the blackeſt Colors, either to render the Authors of it odious, the better to bring about his own return; or, if that effect did not anſwer, to move the Compaſſion of Foren Potentats to procure his Reſtoration, was told of *Salmaſius* a Profeſſor of the Univerſity of *Leyden* in *Holland*, as the fitteſt perſon for his purpoſe. This Man had got ſuch a mighty Name from his *Plinian Exercitations*, and his critical Notes on ſeveral *Latin* and *Greec* Authors, that none was thought ſo knowing to equal, or ſo hardy to incounter him. This Man therfore *Charles* the Second hir'd for a hundred *Jacobuſes* to write that bulky Volume, which in the year 49 appear'd under the Title of *Defenſio Regia*, or a Defence of *Charles* the Firſt to *Charles* the Second. *Salmaſius* being better verſt in the Writings of Grammarians, and Lexicographers (which ſort of Men were his chief Admirers) than in thoſe of Legiſlators and Politicians, gave a true Demonſtration that mere Scholars, when they meddle with any thing that requires Reaſoning or Thought, are but mere Aſſes: For being wholly occupy'd about frivolous Etymologies, or the bare ſound of words, and living moſt of their time excluded from Converſation, bury'd in duſt among Worms and mouldy Records, they have no exact knowlege of things, and are perfect ſtrangers to all the uſeful buſineſs of the World. Accordingly the Royal Defence was deſtitute of Eloquence or Art, being nothing elſe but a huge heap of Rubbiſh, conſiſting of injudicious Quotations, very diſorderly piec'd together, ſeldom making for his purpoſe; and, when they ſeem'd to favor him, quite ſpoil'd again by his own impertinent Comments. But what's worſe than all the reſt, he appear'd on this occaſion ſuch an abſolute ſtranger and bungler in his own Province, as to open a large Field for *Milton* to divert himſelf with his barbarous Phraſes and Soleciſms. Nor had he more Wit likewiſe than to publiſh his *Defence* of Monarchy in *Holland*, at the ſame time that he had a Penſion from that Free State, and was actually entertain'd in their Service; for tho the *Dutch* were then no good Friends to the *Engliſh*, being jealous of their growing Power, yet they could not be pleas'd with any Writing oppos'd to the common Cauſe of Liberty, and accordingly they blam'd *Salmaſius*, and order'd the *Defence* to be ſuppreſt. No ſooner did this Book appear in *England*, but *Milton* being then preſent, was unanimouſly nam'd by every Member of the Council of State to anſwer it; ſo good an opinion they had of his Capacity, neither did he fail their Expectations: for within a very ſhort time he publiſh'd his *Defenſio pro Populo Anglicano*, or the Defence of the People of *England*; wherin, to ſpeak no more of his admirable Stile than we have don already, nor of his handſomly expoſing the Ignorance or Fury of *Salmaſius*, he defended the Procedings of the People of *England* from the beginning of the Civil War to that time, with ſuch Force of Arguments and Authority of Examples, that ſince there could be no diſpute about the Victory he obtain'd over his Adverſary, the only doubt remaining with his Readers was, which ſhould be counted ſuperior, his own great Reading, Politeneſs, or Judgment. The Subject is too nice for me to make any extract of it according to the method I obſerv'd in ſom of his other Books; and beſides it deſerves ſo much to be conſider'd at length in the Original, or in the *Engliſh* Verſion by Mr. *Waſhington* of the *Temple*, that I will not deprive any body of that pleaſure. It's true indeed, that ſom have blam'd *Milton* for his rough uſage of *Salmaſius*, nor herein will I pretend wholly to excuſe him: But when I conſider how baſely the whole *Engliſh* Nation was abus'd by *Salmaſius*, as ſo many Barbarians or Enthuſiaſts, fiercer than their own Maſtifs and yet ſillier than *Athenian* Owls, it gos a great way with me towards *Milton*'s Juſtification; and if we add to this, that he ſpeaks not in his own Perſon, but as the Mouth of a potent State traduc'd by a pitiful Profeſſor, there be thoſe in the World that will poſitively commend him. Two paſſages only I ſhall inſert here out of his Book; wherof the firſt ſhall be an Epigram he made to ridicule his Adverſary for medling with Affairs to which he was a ſtranger, having all his intelligence from inrag'd and partial Exiles; but particularly for his miſtaking of *Engliſh* Names, and his mentioning of the County Court, and Hundred.

*Quis expedivit Salmaſio ſuam Hundredam?*
*Picamque docuit verba noſtra conari?*
*Magiſter artis venter, & Jacobæi*
*Centum, exulantis viſcera Marſupii regis.*
*Quod ſi doloſi ſpes refulſerit nummi,*
*Ipſe, Antichriſti modo qui primatum Papæ*
*Minatus uno eſt diſſipare ſufflatu,*
*Cantabit ultro Cardinalitium Melos.*

*Engliſh'd.*

Who taught *Salmaſius*, that *French* chattring Py,
To aim at *Engliſh*, and *Hundreda* cry?
The ſtarving Raſcal, fluſht with juſt a hundred
Engliſh *Jacobuſſes*, *Hundreda* blunder'd;

An outlaw'd King's laſt Stock. A hundred more
Would make him pimp for th'Antichriſtian Whore;
And in *Rome*'s praiſe imploy his poiſon'd Breath,
Who threaten'd once to ſtink the Pope to death.

In theſe Verſes he reflects on *Salmaſius* for declaring himſelf againſt any ſort of Hierarchy in his Book *de Primatu Papæ*, and yet being a mighty ſtickler for Biſhops in his Defence of the King. The other Paſſage ſhall be the Epilogue or Concluſion of *Milton*'s Book. “And now I think, ſays he, that by God's Aſſiſtance I have finiſh'd the Work I undertook, namely, to defend the noble Actions of my Countrymen at home and abroad, againſt the raging and envious madneſs of this diſtracted Sophiſter; and to aſſert the common Rights of the People againſt the unjuſt domination of Kings, not out of any hatred to Kings, but Tyrants: nor have I purpoſely left unanſwer'd any one Argument alleg'd by my Adverſary, nor any Example or Authority quoted by him, that ſeem'd to have any force in it, or the leaſt color of a proof; perhaps I have bin guilty rather of the other extreme, of replying to ſom of his Fooleries and Trifles as if they were ſolid Arguments, and therby may ſeem to have attributed more to them than they deſerv'd. One thing yet remains to be don, which perhaps is of the greateſt concern of all, and that is, that you my Countrymen confute this Adverſary of yours your ſelves; which I do not ſee any other means of your effecting than by a conſtant indeavor to outdo all Mens bad words by your own good Deeds. When you labor'd under more ſorts of Oppreſſion than one, you betook your ſelves to God for Refuge, and he was graciouſly pleas'd to hear your moſt earneſt Prayers and Deſires. He gloriouſly deliver'd you, the firſt of Nations, from the two greateſt Miſchiefs of this Life, and the moſt pernicious to Virtue, Tyranny and Superſtition; he indu'd you with that Greatneſs of Soul to be the firſt of Mankind, who, after having conquer'd and captivated their own King, have not ſcrupl'd to condemn him judicially, and, according to that juſt Sentence, to put him to death. After performing ſo illuſtrious an Action as this, you ought to do nothing that's mean and little, not even to think, much leſs to do any thing but what is great and ſublime. To attain which Praiſe there is only this one way, that as you have ſubdu'd your Enemies in the field, ſo to make it appear that unarm'd and in full Peace you of all Mankind are ableſt to conquer Ambition, Avarice, the love of Riches, and can beſt avoid thoſe Corruptions of Proſperity which are apt to get the better of other Nations; to ſhew as great Juſtice, Temperance, and Moderation, in preſerving your Liberty, as you have don Courage in freeing your ſelves from Slavery. Theſe are the only Arguments and Authorities by which you will be able to evince that you are not ſuch perſons as this Fellow repreſents you, Traitors, Robbers, Murderers, Parricides, Madmen; that you did not put your King to death out of any ambitious deſign or a deſire of invading the Rights of others, not out of any ſeditious Principles or ſiniſter Ends, not agitated by Fury or Madneſs; but that it was wholly out of love to your Liberty, Religion, Juſtice, Virtue, and inflam'd with an Affection for your Country, that you puniſh'd a Tyrant. But if it ſhould happen otherwiſe (which I pray God mercifully to forbid) if as you have bin valiant in War, you ſhould grow debauch'd in Peace, you that have had ſuch viſible Demonſtrations of the Goodneſs of God to your ſelves, and his Wrath againſt your Enemies, and that you ſhould not learn by ſo eminent and memorable an Example before your eys, to fear God and work Righteouſneſs, for my part, I ſhall eaſily grant and confeſs (for I cannot deny it) all the ill that Liers and Slanderers now think or ſpeak of you to be true. And you will find in a little time that God's Diſpleaſure againſt you will be greater than it has bin againſt your Adverſaries, greater than his benign Favor and paternal Care which you have experienc'd above all the Nations under Heaven. *Milton* was rewarded with a thouſand Pounds for this performance; and how differently his Defence of the People, and that of *Salmaſius* for the King were entertain'd by the curious, we may learn from the mouth of him that next appear'd for the Royal Cauſe. “What the moſt accompliſh'd *Salmaſius*, ſays he, has diſcretely written in defence of the Right and Honor of *Charles* the *Britiſh* Monarch, murder'd by wicked Men, has born but one Impreſſion, and ſaw the Light with great difficulty; with ſo much hatred dos the World perſecute Truth in theſe latter times: but of what the moſt execrable *Milton* has ſpitefully elaborated to ruin the Reputation of the deceas'd King, and to deſtroy the hereditary Suc-

“ ceſſion of the Crown, there are ſo many Editions, that I am uncertain to “ which of them I ſhould refer my Reader; ſo paſſionatly fond are Men grown “ now of Lies and Calumnies! On this Book our Author did not think it worth his while to animadvert, but delegated that eaſy taſk to his younger Nephew *John Philips*, now alive, who ſoon wrote a ſufficient Anſwer to Biſhop *Bramhal*: for ſo this new Antagoniſt was ſuppos'd to be cal'd.

*Salmaſius* made a huge figure at this time in the *Swediſh* Court, whither Queen *Chriſtina* invited all the Men of Letters in *Europe*, ſo that her whole Train was compos'd in a manner of Grammarians, Rhetoricians, Philoſophers, Aſtrologers, and Critics: nor was her Adminiſtration unanſwerable to her Attendents; for beſides a total neglect of good Laws for the public Benefit, and her imprudent preferring of Strangers before the Natives of the Country, ſhe led a mere romantic Life, ſomtimes frolicſomly diſguiſing her ſelf in Mens Clothes, and then gravely diſputing with her Doctors, till at laſt ſhe was forc'd to a ſhameful Abdication of the Government; and the end of all her Learning was to turn Papiſt for a Penſion from the Pope, or to have an old meager Frier to pardon her Sins, and a brawny Cardinal for her Stallion. Now no ſooner had the Defence of the *Engliſh* Nation reach'd *Sweden*, and was read to the Queen at her own deſire, but *Salmaſius*, who till then had bin as it were her prime Miniſter, and who, when he firſt ſaw the Book, fooliſhly ſwore he would deſtroy *Milton* and the whole Parlament, decreas'd ſo much in her eſteem, and dwindled to ſuch a degree in the opinion of all others, that he thought it not for his Intereſt to continue longer there, and was diſmiſt with extraordinary Coldneſs and Contemt. And not expecting to be better receiv'd in *Holland*, or any where elſe, he left an imperfect poſthumous Reply, and had recourſe to Death, the laſt refuge of the Miſerable, and the ſafeſt ſhelter to cover them from Infamy and Diſgrace. *Milton*, on the other hand, was, on the firſt appearance of his Book, viſited or invited by all the Ambaſſadors at *London*, not excepting thoſe of Crown'd Heads, and particularly eſteem'd by *Adrian Paw* the Ambaſſador of the flouriſhing Republic of *Holland*. His Book indeed was burnt at *Paris*, not by order of the Parlament, but, at the inſtigation of the Prieſts, by the Lieutenant Civil, and likewiſe at *Tholouſe*, which ſerv'd only to procure it more Readers: for he was highly extol'd at the ſame time, or complemented by Letters from the moſt ingenious Perſons in *Germany* or *France*; and, as if the old *Grecian* Republics had reviv'd to decree the accuſtom'd Honors to the Aſſertors of Liberty, *Leonardus Philaras*, an *Athenian* born, and Ambaſſador from the Duke of *Parma* to the *French* King, wrote a fine Commendation of his Defence, and ſent him his Picture, together with a perſonal Elogium. From theſe undeniable Matters of Fact (without deciding the merit of the cauſe on either ſide) it is plain that in the judgment of all *Europe*, *Milton* got infinitly the better of *Salmaſius*; for it could not be Partiality to a Free Government, but the reſiſtleſs Light of Truth, that obtain'd ſuch a Confeſſion from the Miniſters or Subjects of abſolute Princes.

Now he had ſom leiſure again to follow his other Studies of a more delightful and peaceable nature than theſe Controverſies, and had alſo a Son born to him, who dy'd in his Infancy. In the year 52, he remov'd for his Health from his Lodgings at *Whitehal* to a Houſe opening into St. *James*'s Park, which ſhall be the Scene of all his Actions till the Reſtoration of the Royal Family. In this place his firſt Wife dying in Childbed, he, after a convenient ſpace, marry'd a ſecond, *Catharine* the Daughter of Captain *Woodcock* of *Hackney*, who within a year dy'd alſo in the ſame condition, and was about a month after follow'd by her Child, which was a Girl. His Sight was quite gon before this Match; for by reaſon of his continual Studies, and the Headach, to which he was ſubject from his Youth, his Eys were decaying for a dozen years before: but we ſhall have an occaſion by and by to give a further account of this matter.

The ſame year appear'd a bitter Invective from abroad againſt the Parlamentarians. The Title of it was, * *The Cry of the King's Blood for Vengeance to Heaven againſt the Engliſh Parricides.* In this Book *Milton* is particularly traduc'd, and accus'd to have bin expel'd out of the Univerſity of *Cambridg* for ſom Miſdemeanors, wherupon he retir'd into *Italy*: but the falſity of this Story is already prov'd. Several other frivolous things are laid to his charge, which he on the other hand denies; nor do his Adverſaries inſiſt upon them in their Anſwers: now there cannot be a clearer proof of his Innocence, than that being accus'd he publicly denies the fact, and his Enemies can't contradict him. But Envy and Malice often carry ſuch as have got the worſe to affirm moſt abſurd and ridiculous things: So *Salmaſius* in his dying Reply fooliſhly reports that *Milton* wrote not the Defence himſelf, but lent

* Clamor Regii Sanguinis ad Cœlum,&c.

his Name to the Hand of a little *French* Schoolmaſter at *London*. But, as it always happens in ſuch caſes, he got nothing by this ſilly figment, but gave *Milton* an opportunity of making his own Ability, and the Weakneſs of *Salmaſius*, further known to the World. Thus ſom People think to gratify an offended Perſon with telling him a hundred ilnatur'd Stories of his Antagoniſt, to which his Paſſion makes him give credit without due Examination,and then becoms a Fool by aſſerting them. The true Author of the *Clamor Regii Sanguinis* was *Peter du Moulin* the younger, a Prebendary of *Canterbury*; but *Alexander Morus* a *French* Miniſter being the Publiſher of it, and having prefix'd a Dedication in the Printer's Name to *Charles* II. he was generally thought to be the Writer of the whole. This *Morus* was the Son of a learned *Scot*, who was Principal of the Proteſtant College formerly at *Caſtres* in *Languedoc*. His inſufferable Haughtineſs, immoderat Inclination for Women, and Contemt of his Collegues, made him odious and uneaſy wherever he liv'd. He was haſty, ambitious, ſatyrical, and could never commend any thing but his own Works, or thoſe of his Admirers. He was cry'd up for a Seraphic Preacher; but, as *Baile* judiciouſly ſays, his Talent muſt have conſiſted in the Gracefulneſs of his Pronunciation and Geſture, or in thoſe Flouriſhes and Puns wherof his Sermons are full: for 'tis certain that they retain not thoſe Charms now on Paper which they were ſaid to have formerly in the Pulpit. Againſt him therfore *Milton* by public Command publiſhes a ſecond Defence for the People of *England*, which, beſides what the Title promiſes, contains a bloody Satyr upon *Morus*, nor dos he deny himſelf to have bin the occaſion of *Salmaſius*'s Death. I ſhall not rake into the Aſhes of the Dead, but content my ſelf with inſerting here two pieces of *Milton*'s Wit. The firſt is a Diſtich made upon *Morus* for getting *Pontia* the Maid of his Friend *Salmaſius* with Child.

*Galli ex Concubitu gravidam te, Pontia, Mori,*
*Quis bene moratam, morigeramque neget?*

The other ſhall be an Epigram wherin *Milton* laughs at *Morus* for threatning him with a ſecond Edition of *Salmaſius*'s Defence of the King, augmented with Animadverſions on his Defence of the People.

*Gaudete Scombri, & quicquid eſt piſcium Salo,*
*Qui frigida Hyeme incolitis algentes freta,*
*Veſtrûm miſertus ille Salmaſius Eques*
*Bonus amicire nuditatem cogitat;*
*Chartæque largus apparat papyrinos*
*Vobis cucullos præferentes Claudii*
*Inſignia, nomenque, & Decus Salmaſii:*
*Geſtetis ut per omne cetarium forum*
*Equitis clientes, ſcriniis mungentium*
*Cubito virorum, & capſulis gratiſſimos.*

The Author of the *Clamor Regii Sanguinis* having barbarouſly objected to *Milton* his Blindneſs, and that he was meager and pale, he gives him an Anſwer in theſe words: " I was never counted deform'd, as I know, by any. that ever ſaw me; but whether to be counted handſom or not is none of my concern. My Stature, I confeſs, is not extraordinary tall, yet I am rather a middleſiz'd than little Man. But what if little I were? Have not many Perſons eminent in the Arts of War and Peace bin ſo before me? tho I ſee no reaſon why that ſhould be cal'd little which in Courage is ſufficiently great. Neither am I ſo ſlender; for I was ſtrong and capable enough in my Youth to handle my Weapons, and to exerciſe daily Fencing; ſo that wearing a Sword by my ſide, as became a Gentleman, I thought my ſelf a match for thoſe that were much ſtronger, and was not afraid of receiving an affront from any body. I have ſtill the ſame Soul and Vigor, but not the ſame Eyes; yet to all outward appearance ſo ſound, ſo clear, and free from the leaſt ſpot, as theirs who ſee furtheſt: and herein only, in ſpite of my ſelf, I am a Deceiver. My Countenance, than which he ſays there's nothing paler, is ſtill of a Color ſo contrary to wan and bloodleſs, that tho I am above forty, any body would think me ten years younger, being neither contracted in Body or Skin. If in any of theſe Particulars I told a Ly, I ſhould be deſervedly ridiculous to many thouſands of my own Countrymen, and to ſeveral Strangers that perſonally know me. As for his Blindneſs, he ſays that ſuch a condition is not miſerable, but not to be able to bear it; and then quotes the Examples of valiant, learned, wiſe, and holy Men of all times that have bin blind. But the loſs of his Eys being objected to him as an effect of divine Vengeance, after ſolemnly proteſting that he's not conſcious of any thing for which he ſhould deſerve that puniſhment more than other Men, he adds, “ As for what I wrote at “ any time (ſince the Royaliſts think I now ſuffer on that account, and triumph “ over me) I call God to witneſs that I did not write any thing but what I then “ thought, and am ſtill perſuaded to be right, and true, and acceptable to God; “ not led by any ſort of Ambition, Profit, or Vainglory; but have don all from “ a ſenſe of Duty and Honor, out of piety to my Country, and for the Liberty of “ Church and State. On the contrary, when that Task of anſwering the King's “ Defence was injoin'd me by public Authority, being both in an ill ſtate of “ Health, and the Sight of one Ey almoſt gon already, the Phyſicians openly “ predicting the loſs of both if I undertook this Labor; yet nothing terrify'd by “ their Premonition, I did not long balance whether any Duty ſhould be prefer'd to my Eys. And what he really thought of his Blindneſs, and how he bore it, may be further perceiv'd by this Sonnet to his Friend *Cyriac Skinner*, never printed with his other Poems.

*Cyriac*, this three years day, theſe Eys, tho clear
To outward view of blemiſh or of ſpot,
Bereſt of ſight, their ſeeing have forgot.
Nor to their idle Orbs dos Day appear,
Or Sun, or Moon, or Star, throout the year;
Or Man, or Woman. Yet I argue not
Againſt Heaven's hand, or will, nor bate one jot
Of Heart or Hope; but ſtill bear up, and ſteer
Right onward. What ſupports me, doſt thou ask?
The Conſcience, Friend, t'have loſt them overply'd
In Liberty's Defence, my noble Task,
Wherof all *Europe* rings from ſide to ſide.
This Thought might lead me thro this World's vain Mask,
Content, tho blind, had I no other Guide.

*Morus* publiſht his *Fides publica* in anſwer to *Milton*'s ſecond Defence, to which the latter oppos'd a * *Defence of himſelf*; and by Original Letters, or the like Authentic Pieces, made good all his Aſſertions againſt his Adverſary: wherupon *Morus* vanquiſht and baffled, quitted the Field. Our Author was now *Latin* Secretary to the Protector *Oliver Cromwel*, who, he confidently hop'd, would imploy his Truſt and Power to extinguiſh the numerous Factions of the State, and to ſettle ſuch a perfect Form of a Free Government, wherin no ſingle Perſon ſhould injoy any Power above or beſide the Laws: but he particularly expected his eſtabliſhing an impartial Liberty of Conſcience, to which he incourages him by theſe Lines, never printed among his Poems.

* Defenſio pro ſe.

*Cromwel*, our chief of Men, that thro a croud
Not of War only, but Diſtractions rude,
(Guided by Faith and matchleſs Fortitude)
To Peace and Truth thy glorious Way haſt plow'd,
And fought God's Battles, and his Work purſu'd,
While *Darwent* ſtreams with Blood of *Scots* imbru'd,
And *Dunbar* Field reſound thy Praiſes loud,
And *Worc'ſters* Laureat Wreath. Yet much remains
To conquer ſtill; Peace has her Victories,
No leſs than thoſe of War. New Foes ariſe
Threatning to bind our Souls in ſecular Chains:
Help us to ſave free Conſcience from the Paw
Of Hireling Wolves, whoſe Goſpel is their Maw.

He had leiſure enough now from his Imployment in the State (no Adverſary daring to appear any more) to purſue his *Hiſtory of Britain*, and his new *Theſaurus Linguæ Latinæ*: but what took up moſt of his time was the Epic Poem he had ſo long deſign'd, and which is ſince printed under the Title of *Paradiſe Loſt*, wherof in due order. But the next Book he publiſht was *a Treatiſe*, dedicated to the Parlament, *of Civil Power in Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes*, ſhewing that it is not lawful for any Power on Earth to compel in Matters of Religion, whether Speculative or Practical; or in any thing except Immorality, or what evidently ſubverts the Foundations of Civil Society: for which reaſon he juſtly excludes Popery from this Toleration, for being not ſo much a Religion, as a Politic Faction wherof the Members, wherſoever they are, own the Pope for their Superior, to the prejudice of the Allegiance due to their Natural Soverains. Beſides, that they never tolerat others where they have the maſtery; and that their Doctrin of Diſpenſations, or keeping no Faith with ſuch as they count Heretics, renders 'em worſe than Atheiſts, and the declar'd Enemies of all Mankind beſides thoſe of their own Communion.

After this he addreſt to the Parlament, *Conſiderations touching the likelieſt means to remove Hirelings out of the Church*; not that he was againſt all ſort of Maintenance for the public miniſtry of Religion, which he acknowleges due by the Light of Reaſon, as well as the Examples of all Ages; but he proves that Tithes were inconvenient, and not of Divine Right, which was then ſtrongly aſſerted even by the Presbyterians and Independents. He obſerves, that two things do mainly corrupt Religion, and hinder the advancement of Truth, Force on the one ſide reſtraining the Profeſſors, and Hire on the other ſide corrupting the Teachers of it. “ The latter of theſe, ſays he, is by much the more dangerous: for
“ under Force, tho no thanks to the Forcers, true Religion ofttimes beſt thrives
“ and flouriſhes; but the corruption of Teachers, moſt commonly the effect of
“ Hire, is the very bane of Truth in them who are ſo corrupted. There is much curious Hiſtory in this Book concerning Church Revenues, to which I refer thoſe who have not read Father *Paul* of Beneficiary Matters, nor Father *Simon* who wrote after him. Speaking of the Miniſters, “ They pretend, ſays he, that their
“ Education, either at School or the Univerſity, has bin very chargeable, and
“ therfore ought to be repair'd afterwards by a fruitful Maintenance: wheras it is
“ well known that the better half of them (and ofttimes poor and pitiful Boys,
“ of no merit or promiſing hopes that might intitle them to the public Proviſion,
“ but their poverty and the unjuſt favor of Friends) have had the moſt of their
“ breeding, both at School and Univerſity, by Scholarſhips, Exhibitions, and Fellowſhips,
“ at the public Coſt, which might ingage them the rather to give freely
“ as they freely receiv'd. Or if they have miſs'd of theſe Helps at the latter place,
“ they have after two or three years left the courſe of their Studies there (if they
“ ever well began them) and undertaken, tho furniſht with little elſe but ignorance,
“ boldneſs, and ambition, if with no worſe Vices, a Chaplainſhip in ſom
“ Gentleman's Houſe, to the frequent imbaſing of his Sons with illiterat and
“ narrow Principles. Or if they have liv'd there upon their own, who knows
“ not that ſeven years charge of living there, to them who fly not from the Government
“ of their Parents to the Licenſe of a Univerſity, but com ſeriouſly to
“ ſtudy, is no more than may be well defray'd and reimburſt by one year's Revenue
“ of an ordinary good Benefice? If they had then Means of breeding from
“ their Parents, 'tis likely they have more now; and if they have, it muſt needs
“ be mechanic and diſingenuous in them to bring a Bill of Charges for the learning
“ thoſe liberal Arts and Sciences which they have learnt (if they have indeed
“ learnt them, as they ſeldom have) to their own benefit and accompliſhment.
Towards the concluſion he has theſe words; “ I have thus at large examin'd the
“ uſual Pretences of Hirelings, color'd over moſt commonly with the Cauſe of
“ Learning and Univerſities; as if with Divines Learning ſtood and fell, wherin
“ for the moſt part their Pittance is ſo ſmall; and, to ſpeak freely, it were much
“ better there were not one Divine in the Univerſity, nor no School Divinity
“ known, the idle Sophiſtry of Monks, the Canker of Religion; and that they
“ who intended to be Miniſters, were train'd up in the Church only by the Scripture,
“ and in the Original Languages therof at School, without fetching the
“ compaſs of other Arts and Sciences more than what they can well learn at ſecondary
“ leiſure, and at home. Neither ſpeak I this in contemt of Learning,
“ or the Miniſtry, but hating the common cheats of both; hating that they who
“ have preacht out Biſhops, Prelats, and Canoniſts, ſhould, in what ſerves their
“ own ends, retain their falſe Opinions, their phariſaical Leven, their Avarice,
“ and cloſely their Ambition, their Pluralities, their Nonreſidences, their odious
“ Fees, and uſe their Legal and Popiſh Arguments for Tithes: That Independents
“ ſhould take that name, and ſeek to be Dependents on the Magiſtrat for their
“ Maintenance; which two things, Independence and Statehire in Religion, can
“ never conſiſt long or certainly together. For Magiſtrats at one time or other,

"not like theſe at preſent our Patrons of Chriſtian Liberty, will pay none but ſuch whom by their Committees of Examination, they find conformable to their Intereſt and Opinions: And Hirelings will ſoon frame themſelves to that Intereſt and thoſe Opinions which they ſee beſt pleaſing to their Paymaſters; and, to ſeem right themſelves, will force others as to the Truth. After proving the Chriſtian Religion not to be more difficult than any other Art or Science, nay, and that the knowlege of it may be much ſooner attain'd; "We may conclude, ſays he, that if Men be not all their lifetime under a Teacher to learn Logic, Natural Philoſophy, Ethics, or Mathematics, which are more difficult; that certainly it is not neceſſary to the attainment of Chriſtian Knowlege, that Men ſhould ſit all their life long at the feet of a pulpited Divine, while he, a Lollard indeed over his elbow Cuſhion, in almoſt the ſeventh part of forty or fifty years, teaches them ſcarce half the Principles of Religion: And his Sheep oftimes ſit all the while to as little purpoſe of benefiting, as the Sheep in their pews at *Smithfield*, and for the moſt part are by ſom Simony or other bought and ſold like them; or, if this Compariſon be too low, like thoſe Women, mention'd by St. *Paul*, ever learning and never attaining; yet not ſo much thro their own Fault, as thro the unſkilful and immethodical Teaching of their Paſtor, preaching here and there at random out of this or that Text, as his eaſe or fancy, and ofttimes as his health guides him.

*Cromwel* being dead, *Richard* depoſ'd, and the Army having reſtor'd the old famous Parlament, but almoſt as ſoon diſſolv'd it, *Milton* wrote a Letter to ſom Stateſman, with whom he had a ſerious diſcourſe about the lamentable Confuſions of that time. It is in a very pathetic Stile, and contains a true Repreſentation of what the Soldiers had don; to whom he tells, that it is ſcarce to be exampled, even among Barbarians, that an Army duly paid ſhould, for no cauſe at all, ſubdue the Supreme Power that ſet them up. "This, ſays he, other Nations will judg to the ſad diſhonor of that Army, lately renown'd for the civileſt and beſt order'd in the Univerſe, and by us here at home for the moſt conſcientious. Now, if an Army deſerving this Character was capable of inſlaving their Country, what may be expected from any other, as moſt are, of a worſe diſpoſition? In this Letter he delivers the Model of a Commonwealth; not ſuch as he thought the beſt, but what might be readieſt ſettled at that time to prevent the reſtitution of Kingſhip and Domeſtic Diſorders, till a more favorable Seaſon, or better Diſpoſitions for erecting a perfect Democracy. This and another ſmall Piece to the ſame purpoſe, addreſt I ſuppoſe to *Monk*, were communicated to me by a worthy Friend, who, a little after the Author's Death, had them from his Nephew; and I imparted them to the Publiſhers of the new Edition of his Works in Folio.

His laſt Piece before the Reſtoration of the Royal Family, except the *brief Notes* he publiſht on Dr. *Griffith*'s Sermon, was intitul'd, *The ready and eaſy Way to eſtabliſh a Free Commonwealth, and the Excellence therof compar'd with the Inconveniences and Dangers of readmitting Kingſhip in this Nation.* This Book appear'd in Sixty, when he perceiv'd that noxious humor of returning to Bondage, as he calls it, to prevail, which was inſtil'd by ſom Deceivers, and nouriſht by the bad Principles or falſe Apprehenſions of the People. "If their abſolute Determination be to enthral us, ſays he; before ſo long a *Lent* of Servitude, they may permit us a little Shroving time firſt, wherin to ſpeak freely and take our leaves of Liberty. He indeavors to ſet before the Eys of the Nation the folly and unreaſonableneſs of all they had ſo valiantly don for ſeveral years, if they at laſt readmitted Kingſhip; that they would be the ſhame of all free Countrys, and the Laughingſtock of all Monarchies. "Where is this goodly Tower of a Commonwealth, will Foreners ſay, which the *Engliſh* boaſted they would build to overſhadow Kings, and be another *Rome* in the Weſt? The Foundation indeed they laid gallantly, but fell into a worſe Confuſion, not of Tongues but of Factions, than thoſe at the Tower of *Babel*; and have left no Memorial of their Work behind them remaining, but in the common laughter of *Europe*. Which muſt needs redound the more to our ſhame, if we but look on our Neighbors the *United Provinces*, to us inferior in all outward Advantages; who notwithſtanding, in the midſt of greater Difficulties, couragiouſly, wiſely, conſtantly went thro with the ſame Work, and are ſettled in all the happy injoyments of a potent and flouriſhing Republic to this day. Beſides this, if we return to Kingſhip, and ſoon repent (as undoubtedly we ſhall when we find the old Incroachments coming by little and little upon our Conſciences, which

“ muſt neceſſarily procede ſrom King and Biſhop united inſeparably in one Intereſt) we may be forc'd perhaps to fight over again all that we have fought. ——A Free Commonwealth was not only held by wiſeſt Men in all Ages, the nobleſt, the manlieſt, the equalleſt, the juſteſt Government, the moſt agreable to due Liberty, and proportion'd Equality, both Human, Civil, and Chriſtian, moſt cheriſhing to Virtue and true Religion, but alſo plainly commended, or rather injoin'd by our Savior himſelf to all Chriſtians, not without a remarkable diſallowance, and the brand of Gentiliſm upon Kingſhip. God in much diſpleaſure gave a King to the *Iſraelits*, and imputed it a Sin to them that they ſought one: but Chriſt apparently forbids his Diſciples to admit of any ſuch Heatheniſh Government. *The Kings of the* Gentils, ſays he, *exerciſe Lordſhip over them, and they that exerciſe Authority upon them are cal'd Benefactors: But you ſhall not do ſo, but he that is greateſt among you, let him be as the younger; and he that is chief, as he that ſerves.* The occaſion of theſe words was the ambitious deſire of *Zebedees* two Sons to be exalted above their Brethren in the Kingdom, which they thought was to be er'e long upon Earth. That he ſpeaks of Civil Government is manifeſt by the former part of the Compariſon, which infers the other part to be always of the ſame kind. And what Government coms nearer to this Precept of Chriſt, than a Free Commonwealth? Wherin they who are greateſt are perpetual Servants and Drudges to the Public at their own coſt and charges, neglecting their own Affairs, yet are not elevated above their Brethren, live ſoberly in their Families, walk the Streets as other Men, may be ſpoken to freely, familiarly, friendly, without Adoration. Wheras a King muſt be ador'd like a Demigod, with a diſſolute and haughty Court about him, of vaſt Expence and Luxury, Masks and Revels, to the debauching of our prime Gentry both Male and Female, not in their Paſtimes only, but in earneſt by the looſe Imployments of Court-Service, which will be then thought honorable. There will be a Queen of no leſs charge; in moſt likelihood outlandiſh and a Papiſt, beſides a Queenmother ſuch already, together with both their Courts and numerous Train. Then a Royal Iſſue, and e're long ſeverally their ſumtuous Courts, to the multiplying of a ſervil Crew, not of Servants only, but of Nobility and Gentry bred up then, not to the hopes of Public, but of Court Offices; to be Stewards, Chamberlains, Uſhers, Grooms, even of the Cloſeſtool: And the lower their Minds are debas'd with Court opinions contrary to all Virtue and Reformation, the haughtier will be their Pride and Profuſeneſs. As to the burden of Expence, we ſhall ſoon know it to our coſt; for any good to us, deſerving to be term'd no better than the vaſt and laviſh price of our Subjection, and their Debauchery, which we are now ſo greedily cheapening, and would ſo fain be paying moſt inconſideratly to a ſingle Perſon, who, for any thing wherin the Public really needs him, will have little elſe to do but to beſtow the eating and drinking of exceſſive Dainties, to ſet a pompous face upon the ſuperficial actings of State, to pageant himſelf up and down in progreſs among the perpetual Bowings and Cringings of an abject People, on either ſide deifying and adoring him for nothing don that can deſerve it. In this Book he delivers the Model of a Commonwealth, well ſuted perhaps to the Circumſtances of that time, but inferior in all reſpects to *Harrington*'s *Oceana*, which for the Practicableneſs, Equality, and Completeneſs of it, is the moſt perfect form of ſuch a Government that was ever delineated by any antient or modern Pen.

And now, the King being ready to land, our Author was diſcharg'd from his Office of Latin Secretary, and oblig'd for the Safety of his Perſon to leave his Houſe near St. *James*'s Park, where for eight years before he was viſited by all Foreners of Note, by ſeveral Perſons of Quality, and by the Ingenious of every Perſuaſion or Party. *Andrew Marvel*, who by his Parts and Probity made himſelf ſo much known ſince that time in *England*, us'd to frequent him the ofteneſt of any body; and whether it was he or *Milton* (for both are nam'd for it) that made the Verſes ſent with *Cromwel*'s Picture to the Queen of *Sweden*, I am uncertain: but whoever was the Author, they deſerve a room in this place.

*Cromwel* ſpeaks:

*Bellipotens virgo, ſeptem Regina Trionum*
*Chriſtina, Arctoi lucida ſtella poli;*

*Cernis quas merui dura ſub Caſſide rugas,*
*Utque ſenex armis impiger ora tero:*
*Invia fatorum dum per veſtigia nitor,*
*Exequor & populi fortia juſſa manu.*
*Aſt tibi ſubmittit frontem reverentior umbra,*
*Nec ſunt hi vultus regibus uſque truces.*

*Engliſh'd.*

Bright martial Maid, Queen of the frozen Zone,
The Northern Pole ſupports thy ſhining Throne;
Behold what Furrows Age and Steel can plow,
The Helmet's weight oppreſt this wrinkled Brow.
Thro Fate's untrodden Paths I move, my Hands
Still act my freeborn Peoples bold Commands:
Yet this ſtern ſhade to you ſubmits his Frowns,
Nor are theſe looks always ſevere to Crowns.

From the year 52, to that of 60, he correſponded much with learned Foreners, as appears by his Letters to *Millius*, *Oldenburg*, *Heimbachius*, *De Braſs*, *Leo ab Aizema*, and *Emeric Bigot*. His Admirer *Leonardus Philaras* coming upon ſom occaſions to *London*, went to ſee *Milton*, who, tho he could not ſee him again, was extremely pleas'd with his Converſation. He afterwards acquainted *Milton* by a Letter, that there was a Phyſician who perform'd Wonders on blind People at *Paris*, and requeſts him to ſend in writing the ſtate and progreſs of his Diſtemper, which to gratify his Friend our Author perform'd, yet without expreſſing any hopes of a cure. *Cyriac Skinner* was one of his conſtant Viſiters, which Honor he not ſeldom receiv'd alſo from the pious and virtuous Lady *Ranelagh*, whoſe Son, the preſent Earl of *Ranelagh*, he inſtructed for ſom time, and ſent him ſeveral Letters of Advice during his Travels abroad; but in one directed to him at the Univerſity, he uſes theſe words: "As for what you write to me, that you are ſo much pleas'd "with *Oxford*, you cannot perſuade me the more that you receiv'd any Improve"ment there, or art becom a bit the wiſer, unleſs you ſhew me ſom other Rea"ſons for it. Thoſe Victories of Princes which you extol, and ſuch other things, "wherin Force has the greateſt ſhare, I would not have you too much admire, "eſpecially now being a Hearer of Philoſophers: where's the wonder if in the "Country of Rams there grow ſtrong Horns, which are able to batter Towns "and Cities with ſuch violence? But learn thou from thy Childhood to diſ"cern and judg of great Examples, not from Violence and Force, but by Juſtice "and Temperance.

But, as I ſaid before, he was now oblig'd to abſcond till the Act of Oblivion was publiſh'd, wherin he and *John Goodwin* (the great ſpreader of Arminianiſm, and who in writing alſo juſtify'd the Death of *Charles* the Firſt) were only excepted from bearing any Office in the Nation. Our Author had many good Friends to intercede for him both in the Privy Council and in the Houſe of Commons; nor was *Charles* the Second ſuch an Enemy to the Muſes as to require his Deſtruction, tho ſom are of opinion that he was more oblig'd to that Prince's Forgetfulneſs than to his Clemency.

As ſoon as his Pardon was paſt the Seals, he appear'd again, and marry'd his third Wife *Elizabeth*, the Daughter of Mr. *Minſhal* of *Cheſhire*, recommended to him by his Friend Dr. *Paget*. He had no Children by this laſt Wife, nor any living by his ſecond; but of his three Daughters by the firſt, he made two very ſerviceable to himſelf, and, in ſo doing, to the reſt of the World. For tho many ſent their Sons to read for him, and ſeveral grown Perſons were ambitious of obliging him that way for their own Improvement; yet he taught theſe young Women to read and pronounce with great exactneſs the *Engliſh*, *Italian*, *Spaniſh*, *French*, *Hebrew*, *Greec*, and *Latin* Languages. So that whatever Book he had occaſion to uſe, one of 'em was forc'd to read it to him, tho neither of 'em underſtood a word of thoſe Writings, except *Engliſh* their Mother Tongue. This Drudgery could not but render them in time very uneaſy; and accordingly when he underſtood their Murmurs, he diſpens'd with their Duty in this caſe, and ſent them out to learn other things more becoming their Sex and Condition.

What imploy'd a good part of his Thoughts for many years before, and was at firſt only deſign'd to be a Tragedy, I mean his incomparable Epic Poem, intitul'd, *Paradiſe Loſt*, he now had ſufficient leiſure to proſecute and finiſh. It is a great wonder that this piece ſhould ever be brought to perfection, conſidering the many Interruptions that obſtructed it. His Youth was ſpent in Study, Travelling, and religious Controverſy; his Manhood was imploy'd in Affairs of State, or thoſe of his Family; and in his latter years, to ſpeak nothing of a decaying Fancy, nor of his perſonal Troubles, he was by reaſon of his Blindneſs oblig'd to write by whatſoever hand came next, ten, or twenty, or thirty Verſes at a time; and conſequently muſt truſt the judgment of others at leaſt for the Pointing and Orthography. But another difficulty that ſtopt its paſſage to the World was very ſingular: for his Vein never happily flow'd but from the Autumnal to the Vernal Equinox, as his Nephew *Edward Philips* affirms, who ſays he was told this particular by *Milton* himſelf; and yet I fancy he might be miſtaken as to the time, becauſe our Author in his *Latin* Elegy on the approach of the Spring ſeems to ſay juſt the contrary, as if he could not make any Verſes to his ſatisfaction till the Spring begun, according to theſe lines.

*Fallor? An & nobis redeunt in carmina vires,*
*Ingeniumque mihi munere veris adeſt?*
*Munere veris adeſt, iterumque vigeſcit ab illo,*
*(Quis putet) atque aliquod jam ſibi poſcit opus.*

A more judicious Friend of his informs me, that he could never compoſe well but in the Spring and Autumn: And let it be which way you will, it follows that this Piece was compos'd in half the time he was thought to be about it. As to the choice of his Subject, or the Particulars of his Story, I ſhall ſay nothing in defence of them againſt thoſe People who brand 'em with Hereſy and Impiety: for to incur the Diſpleaſure of certain ignorant and ſupercilious Critics, argues free Thinking, accurat Writing, and a generous Profeſſion of Truth. I'm ſure if *Heſiod*, or ſuch other fabulous Authors in the rude ages of the World, had given ſo intelligible, coherent, and delightful an account of the Creation of the Univerſe, and the Origin of Mankind their Syſtem had paſt for Divine Inſpiration; and the Unbelievers of it would appear to be ſo few, that any of 'em might well be ſhewn for a Monſter rather than be thought worthy of Puniſhment or Confutation. As to the regularity of the Poem, I never knew it queſtion'd by any but ſuch as would build themſelves a Reputation on the flaws and miſtakes they diſcover in other Mens Labors. But the unparallel'd Sublimity and Force of the Expreſſion, with the delicacy of his Thoughts, and the copiouſneſs of his Invention, are unanimouſly own'd by all ranks of Writers. He has inconteſtably exceded the fecundity of *Homer*, whoſe two Poems he could almoſt repeat without book: nor did he com much ſhort of the correctneſs of *Virgil*; which is affirm'd by one whoſe judgment in this Province will be acknowleg'd by every man that is not willing to expoſe the defect of his own. I mean the famous *John Dryden*, the beſt *Engliſh* Poet alive, the preſent Glory of our Stage, and the Model of the ſame to future Ages; for he (having abſolutely maſter'd theſe three Originals by framing a Tragedy out of *Paradiſe Loſt*, making the Charms of *Virgil* appear in the *Engliſh* Tongue, and ſtudying *Homer* for the ſame purpoſe) pronounces his Judgment in favor of *Milton* by this incomparable and envy'd Epigram.

Three Poets in three diſtant Ages born,
*Greece*, *Italy*, and *England* did adorn:
The firſt in Loftineſs of Thought ſurpaſt;
The next in Majeſty; in both the laſt.
The Force of Nature could no further go:
To make a Third, ſhe join'd the other Two.

The firſt Edition of *Paradiſe Loſt* was publiſh'd in the year 1666, in ten Books; but afterwards, amended and inlarg'd by himſelf, it was diſpos'd according to his Direction into twelve Books, as it is read at preſent. I muſt not forget that we had like to be eternally depriv'd of this Treaſure by the Ignorance or Malice of the Licenſer; who, among other frivolous Exceptions, would needs ſuppreſs the whole Poem for imaginary Treaſon in the following lines.

—As, when the Sun new riſen
Looks thro the Horizontal miſty Air

Shorn of his Beams, or from behind the Moon
In dim Eclipſe diſaſtrous Twilight ſheds
On half the Nations, and with fear of change
Perplexes Monarchs.

*Milton*, taking an occaſion from *Satan's* aſcending out of infernal Darkneſs towards the Light of this World then newly created, perpetuats the Hiſtory of his own Blindneſs in this admirable Paſſage.

Hail, holy Light; Oſpring of Heaven Firſtborn,
Or of th' eternal coeternal Beam,
May I expreſs thee unblam'd? Since God is Light,
And never but in unapproached Light
Dwelt from Eternity, dwelt then in thee
Bright Effluence of bright Eſſence increate.
Or hearſt thou rather pure ethereal Stream,
Whoſe Fountain who ſhall tell? Before the Sun,
Before the Heavens thou wert; and at the Voice
Of God, as with a Mantle, didſt inveſt
The riſing World of Waters dark and deep,
Won from the void and formleſs Infinite.
Thee I reviſit now with bolder Wing,
Eſcap'd the *Stygian* Pool, tho long detain'd
In that obſcure Sojourn; while in my flight
(Thro utter and thro middle Darkneſs born)
I ſung of *Chaos* and eternal Night,
Taught by the heavenly Muſe to venture down
The dark Deſcent, and up to reaſcend
Tho hard and rare. Thee I reviſit ſafe,
And feel thy ſovrain vital Lamp; but thou
Reviſit'ſt not theſe Eys that roll in vain
To find thy piercing Ray, and find no dawn:
So thick a Drop ſerene has quench'd their Orbs
Or dim Suffuſion veil'd! Yet not the more
Ceaſe I to wander where the Muſes haunt
Clear Spring, or ſhady Grove, or ſunny Hill,
Smit with the Love of ſacred Song; but chief,
Thee, *Sion*, and thy flowry Brooks beneath
That waſh thy hallowed Feet, and warbling flow,
Nightly I viſit. Nor ſomtimes forget
Thoſe other two equal'd with me in Fate
(So were I equal'd with them in Renown)
Blind *Thamyris* and blind *Mæonides*,
And *Tyreſias* and *Phineus*, Prophets old.
Then feed on Thoughts that voluntary move
Harmonious Numbers; as the wakeful Bird
Sings darkling, and, in ſhadyeſt Coverts hid,
Tunes her nocturnal Note. Thus with the Year
Seaſons return, but not to me returns
Day, or the ſweet approach of Ev'n, or Morn,
Or ſight of vernal Bloom, or Summers Roſe,
Or Flocks, or Herds, or human Face divine:
But Cloud inſtead, and everduring Dark
Surrounds me, from the chearful ways of Men
Cut off; and, for the Book of Knowlege fair,
Preſented with an univerſal Blank
Of Nature's Works to me expung'd and raz'd,
And Wiſdom at one entrance quite ſhut out.
So much the rather, thou Celeſtial Light,
Shine inward, and the Mind thro all her Powers
Irradiat: there plant Eys, all Miſt from thence
Purge and diſperſe, that I may ſee and tell
Of things inviſible to mortal ſight.

An Epic Poem is not a bare Hiſtory delightfully related in harmonious Numbers, and artfully diſpos'd; but it always contains, beſides a general repreſentation of Paſſions and Affections, Virtues and Vices, ſom peculiar Allegory or Moral. *Homer* therfore, according to *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſæus*, expreſſes ſtrength of Body in his *Iliad* by the Wars of the *Greecs* and *Trojans*, but particularly by the valiant Deeds of *Achilles*; and in his *Odyſſeus* he deſcribes generoſity of Mind by the Adventures and Wandrings of *Ulyſſes* in his return from *Troy*. Thus *Torquato Taſſo* has prefixt an Explication to his *Gieruſalemme Liberata*: Nor was *Milton* behind any body in the choice or dignity of his Inſtruction; for to diſplay the different Effects of Liberty and Tyranny, is the chief deſign of his *Paradiſe Loſt*. This in the concluſion of his ſecond Book of *Reformation*, publiſh'd in 41, he tells us was his Intention at that time; and he afterwards made this promiſe good. His own words, being part of a Prayer to God, deſerve ſerious conſideration. “Then, “ ſays he, amidſt the Hymns and Hallelujahs of Saints, ſom one may perhaps be “ heard offring at high ſtrains in new and lofty meaſures, to ſing and celebrat “ thy divine Mercies, and marvellous Judgments in this Land throout all “ Ages, wherby this great and warlike Nation (inſtructed and inur'd to the fer- “ vent and continual practice of Truth and Righteouſneſs, and caſting far from “ it the Rags of its old Vices) may preſs on hard to that high and happy Emula- “ tion to be found the ſobereſt, wiſeſt, and moſt Chriſtian People at that day, “ when Thou, the eternal and ſhortly expected King, ſhalt open the Clouds to “ judg the ſeveral Kingdoms of the World; and, diſtributing national Honors and “ Rewards to religious and juſt *Commonwealths*, ſhalt put an end to all earthly “ *Tyrannies*, proclaiming thy univerſal and mild Monarchy thro Heaven and “ Earth. Where they undoubtedly, that by their Labors, Counſels, and Prayers, “ have bin earneſt for the common Good of Religion and their Country, ſhall “ receive (above the inferior Orders of the Bleſſed) the regal addition of Princi- “ palities, Legions, and Thrones into their glorious Titles; and in ſupereminence “ of beatific Viſion, progreſſing the dateleſs and irrevoluble Circle of Eternity, “ ſhall clap inſeparable hands with joy and bliſs in overmeaſure for ever. But “ they on the contrary, that by the impairing and diminution of the true Faith, “ by the Diſtreſſes and Servitude of their Country, aſpire to high Dignity, Rule, “ and Promotion here, after a ſhameful end in this life (which God grant them) “ ſhall be thrown down eternally into the darkeſt and deepeſt Gulf of Hell: “ where under the deſpitful controul, the trample, and ſpurn of all the other “ Damn'd, that in the anguiſh of their torture ſhall have no other eaſe than to “ exerciſe a raving and beſtial Tyranny over them as their Slaves and Negros, “ they ſhall remain in that plight for ever, the baſeſt, the lowermoſt, the moſt de- “ jected, moſt underfoot, and downtrodden Vaſſals of Perdition. I ſhall end my account of this Divine Poem with a Copy of *Latin* Verſes made upon it by *Samuel Barrow*, a Doctor of Phyſic.

*Qui Legis amiſſam Paradiſum, grandia magni*  
*Carmina Miltoni, quid niſi cuncta Legis?*  
*Res cunctas, & cunctarum primordia rerum,*  
*Et fata, & fines, continet iſte Liber.*  
*Intima panduntur magni penetralia mundi,*  
*Scribitur & toto quicquid in orbe latet.*  
*Terræque tractuſque maris, cœlumque profundum,*  
*Sulphureumque Erebi flammivomumque ſpecus.*  
*Quæque colunt terras, pontumque, & tartara cæca,*  
*Quæque colunt ſummi lucida regna poli.*  
*Et quodcunque ullis concluſum eſt finibus uſquam,*  
*Et ſine fine Chaos, & ſine fine Deus:*  
*Et ſine fine magis (ſiquid magis eſt ſine fine)*  
*In Chriſto erga homines conciliatus amor.*  
*Hæc qui ſperaret, quis crederet eſſe futurum?*  
*Et tamen hæc hodie Terra Britanna Legit.*  
*O quantus in bella duces! quæ protulit arma!*  
*Quæ canit, & quanta prælia dira tuba!*  
*Cœleſtes acies! atque in certamine cœlum!*  
*Et quæ cœleſtes pugna deceret agros!*  
*Quantus in ætheriis tollit ſe Lucifer armis!*  
*Atque ipſo graditur vix Michaele minor!*

*Quantis ac quam funeſtis concurritur iris!*
*Dum ferus hic ſtellas protegit, ille rapit!*
*Dum vulſos montes, ceu tela reciproca, torquent;*
*Et non mortali deſuper igne pluunt:*
*Stat dubius cui ſe parti concedat Olympus,*
*Et metuit pugnæ non ſupereſſe ſuæ.*
*At ſimul in cœlis Meſſiæ inſignia fulgent,*
*Et currus animes, armaque digna Deo,*
*Horrendumque rotæ ſtrident, & ſæva rotarum*
*Erumpunt torvis fulgura luminibus,*
*Et flammæ vibrant, & vera tonitrua rauco*
*Admiſtis flammis inſonuere polo:*
*Excidit attonitis mens omnis, & impetus omnis,*
*Et caſſis dextris irrita tela cadunt.*
*Ad pœnas fugiunt, &, ceu foret Orcus Aſylum,*
*Infernis certant condere ſe tenebris.*
*Cedite Romani ſcriptores, Cedite Graii,*
*Et quot recens fama, vel celebravit anus.*
*Hæc quicunque leget tantum ceciniſſe putabit*
*Mæonidem ranas, Virgilium Culices.*

In the year 1670 he publiſh'd his *Paradiſe Regain'd*, conſiſting of four Books; but generally eſteem'd much inferior to *Paradiſe Loſt*, which he could not endure to hear, being quite of another mind: yet this occaſion'd ſom body to ſay wittily enough that *Milton* might be ſeen in *Paradiſe Loſt*, but not in *Paradiſe Regain'd*. With this laſt Book he publiſht his *Samſon Agoniſtes*, an admirable Tragedy, not a ridiculous mixture of Gravity and Farce according to moſt of the Modern, but after the Example of the yet unequal'd Antients, as they are juſtly cal'd, *Æſchylus*, *Sophocles*, and *Euripides*.

In the year 70 alſo came abroad his *Hiſtory* of *Britain*, wherof we had occaſion to ſpeak before. He deduc'd it only to the *Norman* Conqueſt, and yet we have it not as it came out of his hands; for the Licenſers, thoſe ſworn Officers to deſtroy Learning, Liberty, and good Senſe, expung'd ſeveral paſſages of it wherin he expos'd the Superſtition, Pride, and Cunning of the Popiſh Monks in the *Saxon* Times, but apply'd by the ſagacious Licenſers to *Charles* the Second's Biſhops. This puts me in mind of a *Reply* to a certain Perſon by Sir *Robert Howard* lately deceaſt, a Gentleman of great Generoſity, a Patron of Letters, and a hearty Friend to the Liberty of his Country. Being told that he was charg'd in a Book with whipping the Proteſtant Clergy on the back of the Heathen and Popiſh Prieſts, he preſently ask'd what they had to do there? He was a great admirer of *Milton* to his dying day; and, being his particular Acquaintance, would tell many pleaſant Stories of him, as that he himſelf having demanded of him once what made him ſide with the *Republicans?* *Milton* anſwer'd, among other Reaſons, becauſe theirs was the moſt frugal Government; for that the Trappings of a Monarchy might ſet up an ordinary Commonwealth. But not to digreſs too far, our Author beſtow'd a Copy of the unlicens'd Papers of his Hiſtory on the Earl of *Angleſey*, who, as well as ſeveral of the Nobility and Gentry, was his conſtant Viſitor. Nor was he leſs frequented by Foreners to the laſt, than in the time of his flouriſhing condition before the Reſtoration. It is an irreparable loſs to this moſt potent Nation, that *Milton* did not find leiſure to bring down his Hiſtory to his own times: For (as the nobleſt Ornament of all Politeneſs and Literature Sir *William Temple* juſtly complains) "tho the *Engliſh* are ſo renown'd by the Fame of their Arms and Exploits "abroad, ſo applauded and envy'd for their wiſe and happy Inſtitutions at home, "ſo flouriſhing in Arts and Learning, and ſo adorn'd by excellent Writers in o"ther Kinds, yet none of 'em has produc'd one good or approv'd general Hiſtory "of *England*. But our Hiſtories (continues he) have bin written by ſuch mean "and vulgar Authors, ſo tedious in their Relations, or rather Collections; ſo in"judicious in the choice of what was fit to be told or to be let alone; with ſo little "order, and in ſo wretched a Stile; that as it is a ſhame to be ignorant in the "Affairs of our own Country, ſo 'tis hardly worth the time or pains to be inform'd, "ſince for that end a Man muſt read over a Library, rather than a Book: and after "all, muſt be content to forget more than he remembers. This Charge is too true, and yet it's very ſtrange it ſhould be ſo, ſeeing no Country in the World has afforded a greater diverſity or a better choice of Actions, nor is furniſht with more ample or authentic Materials for framing a juſt and full body of Hiſtory. Would Sir *William* be pleaſ'd to continue ſo uſeful a Work, according to the inimitable Specimen he has publiſht for encouraging ſom other to purſue this Attemt, *England* might boldly compare with *Rome*, and himſelf be reckon'd equal with *Livy*. But tho he gos no further than the *Norman* Conqueſt, which is the period of *Milton*, yet we expect a larger Account from *James Tyrrel*, the worthy Grandſon of Archbiſhop *Vſher*. This learned Gentleman, to ſupply the Defects wherof Sir *William Temple* complains, has undertaken to write a General Hiſtory of *England*, from the remoteſt traditional Beginnings to this time. The firſt Volume of it is already abroad, which reaches likewiſe to *William* the Firſt; the Second is now finiſht; and I hope he'l meet with ſufficient encouragement to make a ſpeedy publication of the reſt. For tho his Work may not perfectly reach Sir *William*'s Plan in the niceſt exactneſs of Order, Stile, and Compoſition; yet it muſt be confeſt by all true Judges to be the moſt impartial and complete, the faithfulleſt, the moſt methodical, and in all reſpects the beſt Collection that was ever made in *England*. All our Manuſcript hiſtorical Records, and the numerous company of our particular Hiſtorians, can ſerve for little more to poſterity than to verify the Contents of this Book; nor will any body be at the trouble to preſerve 'em for this purpoſe, that is not a ſtranger to Mr. *Tyrrel*'s Diligence and Integrity.

*Milton* wrote ſom Miſcellaneous Pieces much inferior to his other Works, as a *Grammar* for learning the *Latin* Tongue; a *Logic* after the method of *Petrus Ramus*; a brief Hiſtory of *Muſcovy*, and of other leſs known Countries lying eaſtward of it as far as *Cathay*, collected from the Relations of ſeveral Travellers: he tranſlated out of *Latin* into *Engliſh* the Declaration of the *Poles* concerning the Election of their King *John* the Third, containing an Account of the Virtues and Merits of the ſaid Prince; he publiſht Sir *Walter Raleigh*'s *Prince*, or his *Maxims* and *Aphoriſms of State*; and he alſo printed his *Cabinet Council*. More pieces of this rarely accompliſht, tho unfortunat Gentleman, were made public by other perſons; and I daily expect ſom more from *James Tyrrel*, who has the Manuſcript Copies in his hands, and, I dare affirm, will not envy ſuch a bleſſing to the Nation.

Our Author's Juvenil and Occaſional Poems, both in *Engliſh* and *Latin*, were printed in one ſmall Volume. I took notice of the beſt of 'em in many places of this Diſcourſe; but the Monody wherin he bewails his Learned Friend Mr. *King* drown'd in the *Iriſh* Seas, is one of the fineſt he ever wrote.

The *Daniſh* Reſident prevail'd with *Milton* to get the Letters of State (formerly mention'd) tranſcrib'd, and which were publiſht after his death; as were alſo his *Familiar Letters* in 74, wherin, to uſe the words of *Morhof*, there are many Characters of Antient and Modern, of Domeſtic and Foren Authors, very fit to be read and underſtood. The laſt thing he wrote, and that was publiſht a little before his Death, is his *Treatiſe of true Religion, Hereſy, Schiſm, Toleration, and the beſt means that may be uſ'd to prevent the growth of Popery.* He obſerv'd (as all diſcerning Men muſt have don at that time) the prodigious increaſe of the *Romiſh* Superſtition, occaſion'd partly by the Perſecution againſt Diſſenting *Proteſtants*, but more by the incouragement it receiv'd from the Royal Brothers *Charles* and the Duke of *York*. From the Principles which our Author lays in his Book (and which, I think, are thoſe of the firſt Reformers) he infers that no true *Proteſtant* can perſecute any perſons for ſpeculative Points of Conſcience, much leſs not tolerat his fellow *Proteſtant*, tho in ſom things diſſenting from his own Judgment. After ſhewing that falſe Religion conſiſts in the corrupt Traditions of Men, and their arbitrary Additions to the divine Rule or Standard of all Truth, he was at no great labor to prove the Members of the *Roman* Church to be the greateſt Heretics in the World. As for Schiſm, or the diviſion of Congregations from their difference in Opinions, he ſhews it may happen in the true Church as well as in the falſe; but that in the firſt it need not break Communion or brotherly Love, no more than among the *Phariſes* and *Sadduces*, who amicably met at their common Worſhip in *Jeruſalem*. “It is human frailty to err, ſays he, and no Man is infallible
“ here on Earth. But ſo long as the *Lutherans*, *Calviniſts*, *Anabaptiſts*, *Socinians*,
“ and *Arminians*, profeſs to ſet the Word of God only before them as the Rule
“ of their Faith and Obedience; and uſe all diligence and ſincerity of heart by
“ reading, by learning, by ſtudy, by prayer for illumination of the Holy Spirit, to
“ underſtand this Rule and obey it, they have don whatever Man can do. God
“ will aſſuredly pardon them, as he did the Friends of *Job*, good and pious Men,

“ tho much miſtaken (as there it appears) in ſom points of Doctrin. But ſom will ſay, with *Chriſtians* it is otherwiſe, whom God has promis'd by his Spirit to teach all things. True, all things abſolutely neceſſary to Salvation: But the hotteſt Diſputes among *Proteſtants*, calmly and charitably examin'd, will be found leſs than ſuch. The *Lutheran* holds Conſubſtantiation; an error indeed, but not mortal. The *Calviniſt* is tax'd with Predeſtination, and to make God the Author of Sin; not with any diſhonorable thoughts of God, but, it may be, overzealouſly aſſerting his abſolute Power, not without plea from Scripture. The *Anabaptiſt* is accus'd of denying Infants their right to Baptiſm; they ſay again, that they deny nothing but what the Scripture denys them. The *Arian* and *Socinian* are charg'd to diſpute againſt the Trinity; yet they affirm to believe the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, according to Scripture and the Apoſtolic Creed. As for the terms of Trinity, Triunity, Coeſſentiality, Triperſonality, and the like, they reject them as Scholaſtic Notions not to be found in Scripture, which, by a general *Proteſtant* Maxim, is plain and perſpicuous abundantly to explain its own meaning in the propereſt words belonging to ſo high a matter, and ſo neceſſary to be known; a myſtery indeed in their Sophiſtic Subtilties, but in Scripture a plain Doctrin. The *Arminian* laſtly is condemned for ſetting up Free Will againſt Free Grace; but that imputation he diſclaims in all his Writings, and grounds himſelf largely upon Scripture only. It cannot be deny'd that the Authors or late Revivers of all theſe Sects or Opinions were learned, worthy, zealous, and religious Men, as appears by their Lives written, and the Fame of their many eminent and learned Followers, perfect and powerful in the Scriptures, holy and unblamable in their Actions: And it cannot be imagin'd that God would deſert ſuch painful and zealous Laborers in his Church, and ofttimes great ſufferers for their Conſcience, to damnable Errors and a reprobat Senſe, who had ſo often implor'd the aſſiſtance of his Spirit; but rather, having made no Man infallible, that he has pardon'd their Errors, and accepts their pious Endeavors, ſincerely ſearching all things according to the Rule of Scripture, with ſuch guidance and direction as they can obtain of God by Prayer. What *Proteſtant* then, who himſelf maintains the ſame Principles, and diſavows all implicit Faith, would perſecute, and not rather charitably tolerat ſuch men as theſe, unleſs he means to abjure the Principles of his own Religion? If it be ask'd how far they ſhould be tolerated? I anſwer, doutleſs equally, as being all *Proteſtants*; that is, on all occaſions to be permitted to give an account of their Faith, either by arguing, preaching in their ſeveral Aſſemblies, by public writing, and the freedom of printing. Nothing can be imagin'd more reaſonable, honeſt, or pious, than this paſſage; and I don't remember ever to have met with any perſon who ſpoke with ſuch diſintereſtedneſs and impartiality of our various Sects in Religion except *Thomas Firmin*, whoſe Charity was as much extended to men of different Opinions, as it was to the Poor of all ſorts in good Works; but in this laſt reſpect he was never yet equal'd, nor likely to be eaſily exceded by any hereafter: tho his excellent Example is admir'd by ſeveral, and deſerves to be imitated by all. In the laſt place, *Milton* ſhews that *Popery* (not as it is a Religion, but as a tyrannical Faction oppreſſing all others) is intolerable, and that the beſt method of keeping it from ever increaſing in this Nation, is by the toleration of all kinds of *Proteſtants*, or any others whoſe Principles do not neceſſarily lead 'em to Sedition or Vice. But this Subject is ſince perfectly exhauſted, and treated with greater clearneſs and brevity than ever before in a Letter concerning *Toleration* by *John Lock*, who in his Book of *Human Underſtanding* muſt be confeſt to be the greateſt Philoſopher after *Cicero* in the World; for he's perfectly acquainted with human Nature, well vers'd in the uſeful Affairs of the World, a great Maſter of Eloquence (Qualities in which the *Roman* Conſul excel'd) and like him alſo a hearty lover of his Country, as appears by his Treatiſes of *Government* and *Education*, not inferior in their kind to the divineſt Pieces of *Tully*. *Milton*'s *Theſaurus Lingua Latina*, deſign'd as a Supplement to *Stephanus*, was never publiſht, and has bin of great uſe to Dr. *Littleton* in compiling his Dictionary. He wrote likewiſe a *Syſtem of Divinity*, but whether intended for public view, or collected merely for his own uſe, I cannot determin. It was in the hands of his Friend *Cyriac Skinner*; and where at preſent is uncertain.

This is a full and true account of his genuin Works and Sentiments, not putting the Directions or Aſſiſtance, which he frequently gave other Writers, to his account. Towards the latter part of his time he contracted his Library, both becauſe

cauſe the Heirs he left could not make a right uſe of it, and that he thought he might ſell it more to their advantage than they could be able to do themſelves. His Enemies reported that Poverty conſtrain'd him thus to part with his Books: and were this true, it would be indeed a great diſgrace, not to him (for Perſons of the higheſt Merits have bin often reduc'd to that condition) but to any Country that ſhould have no more regard to Probity or Learning: this Story however is ſo falſe, that he dy'd worth fifteen hundred Pounds, beſides all his Goods. The Houſe wherin he was born, and which Strangers us'd to viſit before the Fire, was part of his Eſtate as long as it ſtood. He put two thouſand Pounds into the Exciſe, which he loſt when that Bank fail'd; not to mention another great Sum which was gon for want of management and good advice. He was never very healthy, nor too ſickly; and the Diſtemper that troubled him moſt of any other was the Gout, of which he dy'd without much pain in the year from the birth of Chriſt 1674, and in the ſix and ſixtieth of his own Age. All his learned and great Friends in *London*, not without a friendly concourſe of the Vulgar, accompany'd his Body to the Church of S. *Giles* near *Cripplegate*, where he lies buried in the Chancel, and where the Piety of his Admirers will ſhortly erect a Monument becoming his worth, and the incouragement of Letters in King *William*'s Reign.

Thus liv'd and dy'd *JOHN MILTON*, a Perſon of the beſt Accompliſhments, the happieſt Genius, and the vaſteſt Learning which this Nation, ſo renown'd for producing excellent Writers, could ever yet ſhew: eſteem'd indeed at home, but much more honor'd abroad, where almoſt in his very Childhood he made a conſiderable figure, and continues to be ſtill reputed one of the brighteſt Luminaries of the Sciences. He was middleſiz'd and well proportion'd, his Deportment erect and manly, his Hair of a light brown, his Features exactly regular, his Complexion wonderfully fair when a Youth, and ruddy to the very laſt. He was affable in Converſation, of an equal and chearful Temper, and highly delighted with all ſorts of Muſic, in which he was himſelf not meanly ſkil'd. He was extraordinary temperat in his Diet, which was any thing moſt in ſeaſon or the eaſieſt procur'd, and was no Friend to ſharp or ſtrong Liquors. His Recreations, before his Sight was gon, conſiſted much in feats of Activity, particularly in the exerciſe of his Arms, which he could handle with dexterity: but when Blindneſs and Age confin'd him, he play'd much upon an Organ he kept in the Houſe; and had a Pully to ſwing and keep him in motion. But the love of Books exceded all his other Paſſions. In Summer he would be ſtirring at four in the Morning, and in Winter at five; but at Night he us'd to go to bed by nine, attributing the loſs of his Eys to his late watching when he was a Student, and looking on this cuſtom as very pernicious to Health at any time: but when he was not diſpos'd to riſe at his uſual hours, he always had one to read to him by his bedſide. As he look'd upon true and abſolute Freedom to be the greateſt Happineſs of this Life, whether to Societies or ſingle Perſons, ſo he thought Conſtraint of any ſort to be the utmoſt Miſery: for which Reaſon he us'd frequently to tell thoſe about him the intire Satiſfaction of his Mind, that he had conſtantly imploy'd his Strength and Faculties in the defence of Liberty, and in a direct oppoſition to Slavery. He ever expreſt the profoundeſt Reverence to the Deity as well in Deeds as Words; and would ſay to his Friends, that the divine Properties of Goodneſs, Juſtice, and Mercy, were the adequat Rule of human Actions, nor leſs the Object of Imitation for privat Advantages, than of Admiration or Reſpect for their own Excellence and Perfection. In his early days he was a Favorer of thoſe Proteſtants then opprobriouſly cal'd by the name of *Puritans*: In his middle years he was beſt pleas'd with the *Independents* and *Anabaptiſts*, as allowing of more Liberty than others, and coming neareſt in his opinion to the primitive practice: but in the latter part of his Life, he was not a profeſt Member of any particular Sect among Chriſtians, he frequented none of their Aſſemblies, nor made uſe of their peculiar Rites in his Family. Whether this proceded from a diſlike of their uncharitable and endleſs Diſputes, and that Love of Dominion, or Inclination to Perſecution, which, he ſaid, was a piece of Popery inſeparable from all Churches; or whether he thought one might be a good Man, without ſubſcribing to any Party; and that they had all in ſom things corrupted the Inſtitutions of Jeſus Chriſt, I will by no means adventure to determin: for Conjectures on ſuch occaſions are very uncertain, and I never met with any of his Acquaintance who could be poſitive in aſſigning the true Reaſons of his Conduct.

I ſhall now conclude this Diſcourſe with a Character given of him by a Man of unparallel'd Diligence and Induſtry, who has diſoblig'd all ſides merely for telling the Truth either intirely, or without diſguiſe; and who, ſince moſt Men have the frailty of ingaging in Factions, cannot be ſuſpected of Partiality in favor of *Milton.* He was a Perſon, ſays *Anthony Wood* in the firſt Volume of his *Athenæ Oxonienſes,* of wonderful Parts, of a very ſharp, biting, and ſatyrical Wit; he was a good Philoſopher and Hiſtorian; an excellent Poet, Latiniſt, Grecian, and Hebrician; a good Mathematician and Muſician; and ſo rarely endow'd by Nature, that had he bin but honeſtly principled, he might have bin highly uſeful to that Party, againſt which he all along appear'd with much Malice and Bitterneſs.

AND now, *Sir*, I end with you, with whom I begun, not doubting but this ſmall Preſent, both from the dignity of the Subject and your Favor to the Writer, will be kindly accepted. It may indeed be the more plain and unpoliſh'd, but not the leſs uſeful or ſincere for coming out of a Country Retirement. The moſt knowing Perſons acknowlege that Divine Philoſophy her ſelf was begot in the Woods, where agreably paſſing her Infancy, and growing up in the neighboring Fields, ſhe became gentle in time, and ſo ventur'd to com into Towns and Cities; but being quickly weary'd there with the Tumult of Buſineſs or Faction, and longing for her former Tranquillity, ſhe ſtraight retir'd into Gardens or Groves, to her Fields and Woods again. 'Tis probable that you (as well as I or any other) may diſapprove of *Milton*'s Sentiments in ſeveral caſes, but, I'm ſure, you are far from being diſpleas'd to find 'em particulariz'd in the Hiſtory of his Life; for we ſhould have no true Account of things, if Authors related nothing but what they lik'd themſelves: one Party would never ſuffer the Lives of *Tarquin*, or *Phalaris*, or *Sylla*, or *Cæſar*, to appear; while another would be as ready to ſuppreſs thoſe of *Cicero*, of *Cato*, of *Trajan*, or *Brutus*. But a Hiſtorian ought to conceal or diſguiſe nothing, and the Reader is to be left Judg of the Virtues he ſhould imitate, or the Vices he ought to deteſt and avoid, without ever loving his Book the leſs: for (as the Lord *Bacon* truly ſaid) *a forbidden Writing is thought to be a certain Spark of Truth that flies up in the faces of them who ſeek to tread it out.* But your extraordinary Judgment and Candor, join'd to the beſt Learning, and an exact Knowlege of Men and Affairs, render my further inculcating of theſe Maxims very needleſs; and therfore I ſhall only put you in mind, *Sir*, that my deſire of gratifying your Curioſiry conquer'd my Averſion to write any thing during this pleaſanteſt Seaſon of the Year.

*Sept.* 3. 1698.

*I. T.*

*FINIS.*

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## Al Signor Gio. Miltoni Nobile Ingleſe.

### O D E.

*Ergimi all' Etra o Clio*
*Perche di ſtelle intrecciero corona*
*Non piu del Biondo Dio*
*La Fronde eterna in Pindo, e in Elicona,*
*Dienſi a merto maggior, maggiori i fregi,*
*A' celeſte virtu celeſti pregi.*

*Non puo del tempo edace*
*Rimaner preda, eterno alto valore*
*Non puo l' oblio rapace*
*Furar dalle memorie eccelſo onore,*
*Su l' arco di mia cetra un dardo forte*
*Virtu m' addatti, e feriro la morte.*

*Del Ocean profondo*
*Cinta dagli ampi gorghi Anglia reſiede*
*Separata dal mondo,*
*Pero che il ſuo valor l'umano eccede:*
*Queſta feconda ſa produrre Eroi,*
*Ch' hanno a ragion del ſovruman tra noi.*

*Alla virtu sbandita*
*Danno ne i petti lor fido ricetto,*
*Quella gli e ſol gradita,*
*Perche in lei ſan trovar gioia, e diletto;*
*Ridillo tu, Giovanni, e moſtra in tanto*
*Con tua vera virtu, vero il mio Canto.*

*Lungi dal Patrio lido*
*Spinſe Zeuſi l' induſtre ardente brama;*
*Ch' udio d' Helena il grido*
*Con aurea tromba rimbombar la fama,*
*E per poterla effigiare al paro*
*Dalle piu belle Idee traſſe il piu raro.*

*Coſi l' Ape Ingegnoſa*
*Trae con induſtria il ſuo liquor pregiato*
*Dal giglio e dalla roſa,*
*E quanti vaghi fiori ornano il prato;*
*Formano un dolce ſuon diverſe Chorde,*
*Fan varie voci melodia concorde.*

*Di bella gloria amante*
*Milton dal Çiel natio per varie parti*
*Le peregrine piante*
*Volgeſti a ricercar ſcienze, ed arti;*
*Del Gallo regnator vedeſti i Regni,*
*E dell' Italia ancor gl' Eroi piu degni.*

*Fabro quaſi divino*
*Sol virtu rintracciando il tuo penſiero*
*Vide in ogni confino*
*Chi di nobil valor calca il ſentiero;*
*L' ottimo dal miglior dopo ſcegliea*
*Per fabbricar d' ogni virtu l' Idea.*

*Quanti nacquero in Flora*
*O in lei del parlar Toſco appreſer l' arte,*
*La cui memoria ancora*
*Il mondo fatta eterna in dotte carte,*
*Voleſti ricercar per tuo teſoro,*
*E parlaſti con lor nell' opre loro.*

*Nell' altera Babelle*
*Per te il parlar confuſe Giove in vano,*
*Che per varie favelle*
*Di ſe ſteſſa trofeo cadde ſu'l piano:*
*Ch' Ode oltr' all' Anglia il ſuo piu degno Idioma*
*Spagna, Francia, Toſcana, e Grecia e Roma.*

*I piu profondi arcani*
*Ch' occulta la natura e in cielo e in terra*
*Ch' a Ingegni ſovrumani*
*Troppo avara tal' hor gli chiude, e ſerra,*
*Chiaramente conoſci, e giungi al fine*
*Della moral virtude al gran confine.*

*Non batta il Tempo l' ale,*
*Fermiſi immotto, e in un fermin ſi gl' anni,*
*Che di virtu immortale*
*Scorron di troppo ingiurioſi a i danni;*
*Che s' opre degne di Poema e ſtoria*
*Furon gia, l' hai preſenti alla memoria.*

*Dammi tua dolce Cetra*
*Se vuoi ch' io dica del tuo dolce canto,*
*Ch' inalzandoti all' Etra*
*Di farti huomo celeſte ottiene il vanto,*
*Il Tamigi il dira che gl' e conceſſo*
*Per te ſuo cigno pareggiar Permeſſo.*

*Io che in riva del Arno*
*Tento ſpiegar tuo merto alto, e preclaro*
*So che fatico indarno,*
*E ad ammirar, non a lodarlo imparo;*
*Freno dunque la lingua, e aſcolto il core*
*Che ti prende a lodar con lo ſtupore.*

Del ſig. Antonio Francini gentilhuomo
Florentino.

# A Complete Collection OF THE Hiſtorical, Political, and Miſcellaneous WORKS OF John Milton,

Both ENGLISH and LATIN.
With ſom PAPERS never before Publiſh'd.
OF ALL WHICH
An Exact Catalogue follows in the next Leaf.

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**The Firſt Volume.**

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*AMSTERDAM*,
Finiſh'd in the Year M. DC. XC. VIII.

All imaginable care was taken by the Publiſhers to acquit themſelves as they ought in this Edition of *Milton*'s Works, which is not only a complete Collection of all his printed Pieces, but augmented alſo with an addition of two Letters never before publiſh'd, and a correct Tranſlation of his Defence of the People, and his Letters of State for the benefit of Engliſh Readers. The Printer indeed has tranſpos'd ſome of the Books, which ſhould have bin inſerted according to the Order of Time as they were ſeverally written; this Neglect however is of ſmall importance, becauſe few of theſe Books have any dependence one upon another: Yet leſt any Confuſion might procede from hence, here follows an exact Catalogue of *Milton*'s Works in their true Order, as they are found in the Hiſtory of his Life. The firſt Figure ſtands for the Page of the *Life*, wherein each Book is treated of, and the ſecond for the Page of the enſuing Volumes where the ſame Book begins.

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# THE HISTORY OF BRITAIN,

That Part eſpecially now call'd

# ENGLAND,

From the firſt Traditional Beginning,

Continu'd to the

# Norman Conqueſt.

Collected out of the antienteſt and beſt Authors therof.

*Publiſh'd from a Copy corrected by the Author himſelf.*

AMSTERDAM, MDCXCIV.

B

# THE HISTORY OF BRITAIN,

## That Part eſpecially now call'd *ENGLAND*;

## Continu'd to the *Norman Conqueſt*.

## BOOK I.

THE beginning of Nations, thoſe excepted of whom ſacred Books have ſpok'n, is to this day unknown. Nor only the beginning, but the Deeds alſo of many ſucceeding Ages, yea periods of Ages, either wholly unknown, or obſcur'd and blemiſh'd with Fables. Whether it were that the uſe of Letters came in long after, or were it the violence of barbarous Inundations, or they themſelves at certain Revolutions of Time, fatally decaying, and degenerating into Sloth and Ignorance; wherby the Monuments of more ancient Civility have bin ſom deſtroy'd, ſom loſt. Perhaps Diſeſteem and Contempt of the public Affairs then preſent, as not worth recording, might partly be in cauſe. Certainly oft-times we ſee that wiſe Men, and of beſt Ability, have forborn to write the Acts of thir own days, while they beheld with a juſt Loathing and Diſdain, not only how unworthy, how pervers, how corrupt, but often how ignoble, how petty, how below all Hiſtory the Perſons and thir Actions were; who either by Fortune, or ſom rude Election, had attain'd as a ſore Judgment and Ignominy upon the Land, to have chief ſway in managing the Commonwealth. But that any Law or Superſtition of our old Philoſophers the *Druids* forbad the *Britans* to write thir memorable Deeds, I know not why any out of *Cæſar* ſhould allege: he indeed ſaith, that thir Doctrin they thought not lawful to commit to Letters; but in moſt Matters elſe, both privat and public, among which well may Hiſtory be reck'nd, they us'd the Greek Tongue: and that the *Britiſh Druids* who taught thoſe in *Gaul* would be ignorant of any Language known and us'd by thir Diſciples, or ſo frequently writing other things, and ſo inquiſitive into higheſt, would for want of recording be ever Children in the Knowledg of Times and Ages, is not likely. Whatever might be the reaſon, this we find, that of *Britiſh Affairs*, from the firſt peopling of the Iland to the coming of *Julius Cæſar*, nothing certain, either by Tradition, Hiſtory, or ancient Fame hath hitherto bin left us. That which we have of oldeſt ſeeming, hath by the greater part of judicious Antiquaries bin long rejected for a modern Fable.

Cæſ. l. 6.

Nevertheleſs there being others beſides the firſt ſuppos'd Author, Men not unread, nor unlerned in Antiquity, who admit that for approved Story, which the former explode for Fiction; and ſeeing that oft-times Relations heertofore accounted fabulous have bin after found to contain in them many Footſteps and Reliques of ſomthing true, as what we read in Poets of the Flood, and Giants little beleev'd, till undoubted Witneſſes taught us, that all was not fain'd ; I have therfore determin'd to beſtow the telling over ev'n of theſe reputed Tales ; be it for nothing elſe but in favour of our Engliſh Poets and Rhetoricians, who by thir Art will know how to uſe them judiciouſly.

I might alſo produce example, as *Diodorus* among the *Greeks*, *Livie* and others of the *Latins*, *Polydore* and *Virunnius* accounted among our own Writers. But I intend not with Controverſies and Quotations to delay or interrupt the ſmooth courſe of Hiſtory ; much leſs to argue and debate long who were the firſt Inhabitants, with what Probabilities, what Authorities each Opinion hath bin upheld, but ſhall endevor that which hitherto hath bin needed moſt, with plain and lightſom Brevity, to relate well and orderly things worth the noting, ſo as may beſt inſtruct and benefit them that read. Which, imploring divine Aſſiſtance, that it may redound to his Glory, and the Good of the *Britiſh* Nation, *I now begin.*

That the whole Earth was inhabited before the Flood, and to the utmoſt point of habitable Ground, from thoſe effectual Words of *God* in the Creation, may be more then conjectur'd. Hence that this Iland alſo had her Dwellers, her Affairs, and perhaps her Stories, ev'n in that old World thoſe many hunderd years, with much reaſon we may infer. After the Flood, and the diſperſing of Nations, as they journey'd leaſurely from the Eaſt, *Gomer* the eldeſt Son of *Japhet*, and his Off-ſpring, as by Authorities, Arguments, and Affinity of divers Names is generally beleev'd, were the firſt that peopl'd all theſe Weſt and Northern Climes. But they of our own Writers, who thought they had don nothing, unleſs with all circumſtance they tell us when, and who firſt ſet foot upon this Iland, preſume to name out of fabulous and counterfet Authors a certain *Samothes* or *Dis*, a fourth or ſixt Son of *Japhet*, whom they make about 200 years after the Flood, to have planted with Colonies, firſt the Continent of *Celtica*, or *Gaul*, and next *this Iland* ; thence to have nam'd it *Samothea*, to have reign'd heer, and after him lineally four Kings, *Magus*, *Saron*, *Druis*, and *Bardus*. But the forg'd *Beroſus*, whom only they have to cite, no where mentions that either he, or any of thoſe whom they bring, did ever paſs into *Britain*, or ſend thir People hither. So that this outlandiſh Figment may eaſily excuſe our not allowing it the room heer ſo much as of a *Britiſh* Fable.

That which follows, perhaps as wide from Truth, though ſeeming leſs impertinent, is, that theſe *Samotheans* under the Reign of *Bardus* were ſubdu'd by *Albion* a Giant, Son of *Neptune* ; who call'd the Iland after his own Name, and rul'd it 44 years. Till at length paſſing over into *Gaul*, in aid of his Brother *Leſtrygon*, againſt whom *Hercules* was haſting out of *Spain* into *Italy*, he was there ſlain in fight, and *Bergion* alſo his Brother.

Sure anough we are that *Britain* hath bin anciently term'd *Albion*, both by the *Greeks* and *Romans*. And *Mela* the Geographer makes mention of a ſtony ſhoar in *Languedoc*, where by report ſuch a Battel was fought. The reſt, as his giving name to the Ile, or ever landing heer, depends altogether upon late Surmiſes. But too abſurd, and too unconſcionably groſs is that fond Invention that wafted hither the fifty Daughters of a ſtrange *Diocleſian King of Syria* ; brought in doubtleſs by ſom illiterat Pretender to ſomthing miſtak'n in the common poetical Story of *Danaus King of Argos*, while his Vanity, not pleas'd with the obſcure beginning which trueſt Antiquity affords the Nation, labour'd to contrive us a Pedigree, as he thought, more noble. Theſe Daughters by appointment of *Danaus* on the Marriage-night having murder'd all thir Husbands, except *Linceus*, whom his Wifes Loyalty ſav'd, were by him at the ſuit of his Wife thir Siſter, not put to Death, but turn'd out to Sea in a Ship unmann'd ; of which whole Sex they had incurr'd the hate : and as the Tale goes, were driv'n on *this Iland*. Where the Inhabitants, none but Devils, as ſom write, or as others, a lawleſs crew left heer by *Albion* without Head or Governour, both entertain'd them, and had iſſue by them a ſecond Breed of Giants, who tyranniz'd *the Ile*, till *Brutus* came.

The eldeſt of theſe Dames in thir Legend they call *Albina* ; and from thence, for which cauſe the whole Scene was fram'd, will have the name *Albion* deriv'd. Incredible it may ſeem ſo ſluggiſh a Conceit ſhould prove ſo ancient, as to be authoriz'd by the Elder *Ninnius*, reputed to have liv'd above a thouſand years ago. This I find not in him ; but that *Hiſtion* ſprung of *Japhet*,

Holinſhed.

*phet*, had four Sons; *Francus*, *Romanus*, *Alemannus*, and *Britto*, of whom the *Britans*; as true, I believe, as that thoſe other Nations whoſe names are reſembl'd, came of the other three; if theſe Dreams give not juſt occaſion to call in doubt the Book it ſelf, which bears that title.

Hitherto the things themſelves have giv'n us a warrantable diſpatch to run them ſoon over. But now of *Brutus* and his Line, with the whole Progeny of Kings, to the entrance of *Julius Cæſar*, we cannot ſo eaſily be diſcharg'd; Deſcents of Anceſtry, long continu'd, Laws and Exploits not plainly ſeeming to be borrow'd, or deviſ'd, which on the common belief have wrought no ſmall impreſſion; defended by many, deny'd utterly by few. For what though *Brutus*, and the whole *Trojan* pretence were yeelded up, ſeeing they who firſt deviſ'd to bring us from ſom noble Anceſtor, were content at firſt with *Brutus* the Conſul; till better invention, although not willing to forgo the name, taught them to remove it higher into a more fabulous Age, and by the ſame remove lighting on the *Trojan* Tales in affectation to make the *Britan* of one Original with the *Roman*, pitch'd there, yet thoſe old and inborn names of ſucceſſive Kings, never any to have bin real Perſons, or don in thir lives at leaſt ſom part of what ſo long hath bin remember'd, cannot be thought without too ſtrict an incredulity.

For theſe, and thoſe cauſes above mention'd, that which hath receiv'd Approbation from ſo many, I have choſ'n not to omit. Certain or uncertain, be that upon the Credit of thoſe whom I muſt follow; ſo far as keeps alooff from impoſſible and abſurd, atteſted by antient Writers from Books more antient, I refuſe not, as the due and proper ſubject of Story. The principal Author is well known to be *Geoffrey* of *Monmouth*; what he was, and whence his Authority, who in his Age, or before him, have deliver'd the ſame matter, and ſuch like general Diſcourſes, will better ſtand in a Treatiſe by themſelves. All of them agree in this, that *Brutus* was the Son of *Silvius*; he of *Aſcanius*; whoſe Father was *Æneas a Trojan Prince*, who at the burning of that City, with his Son *Aſcanius*, and a collected number that eſcap'd, after long wandering on the Sea, arriv'd in *Italy*. Where at length by the aſſiſtance of *Latinus* King of *Latium*, who had giv'n him *his Daughter Lavinia*, he obtain'd to ſucceed in that Kingdom, and left it to *Aſcanius*, whoſe Son *Silvius* (though *Roman* Hiſtories deny *Silvius* to be Son of *Aſcanius*) had maried ſecretly a Neece of *Lavinia*.

Henry *of* Huntingdon, Matthew *of* Weſtminſter.

She being with Child, the matter became known to *Aſcanius*. Who commanding his *Magicians to enquire by Art, what Sex the Maid had conceiv'd*, had anſwer, *that it was one who ſhould be the death of both his Parents; and baniſh'd for the Fact, ſhould after all in a far Country, attain to higheſt Honour*. The Prediction fail'd not, for in Travel the Mother di'd. And *Brutus* (the Child was ſo call'd) at fifteen years of Age, attending his Father to the Chace, with an Arrow unfortunately kill'd him.

Baniſh'd therfore by his kindred, he retires into *Greece*. Where meeting with the race of *Helenus* King *Priams* Son, held there in ſervile Condition by *Pandraſus* then King, with them he abides. For *Pirrhus* in revenge of his Father ſlain at *Troy*, had brought thither with him *Helenus*, and many others into ſervitude. There *Brutus* among his own Stock ſo thrives in Vertue and in Arms, as renders him belov'd to Kings, and great Captains above all the Youth of that Land. Wherby the *Trojans* not only begin to hope, but ſecretly to move him, that he would lead them the way to liberty. They allege thir numbers, and the promis'd help of *Aſſaracus* a Noble Greekiſh Youth, by the Mothers ſide a *Trojan*; whom for that cauſe his Brother went about to diſpoſſeſs of certain Caſtles bequeath'd him by his Father. *Brutus* conſidering both the Forces offer'd him, and the ſtrength of thoſe Holds, not unwillingly conſents.

Firſt therfore having fortifi'd thoſe Caſtles, he with *Aſſaracus* and the whole Multitude betake them to the Woods and Hills, as the ſafeſt place from whence to expoſtulate; and in the name of all ſends to *Pandraſus* this Meſſage; *That the* Trojans *holding it unworthy thir Anceſtors to ſerv in a Foren Kingdom, had retreated to the Woods; chooſing rather a ſavage life then a ſlaviſh: If that diſpleas'd him, that then with his leave they might depart to ſome other Soil.*

As this may paſs with good allowance, that the *Trojans* might be many in theſe parts, for *Helenus* was by *Pirrhus* made King of the *Chaonians*, and the Sons of *Pirrhus* by *Andromache Hectors* Wife, could not but be powerful through all *Epirus*, ſo much the more it may be doubted, how theſe *Trojans* could be thus in Bondage, where they had Friends and Country-men ſo potent. But to examin theſe things with diligence, were but to confute the Fables of *Britain*, with the Fables of *Greece* or *Italy*; for of this Age, what we have to ſay, as well concerning moſt other Countries, as this Iland, is equally under queſtion. Be how it will, *Pandraſus* not expecting ſo bold a Meſſage from the Sons of Captives, gathers an Army; and marching toward the Woods, *Brutus* who had notice of his approach nigh to a Town call'd *Sparatinum*, (I know not what Town, but certain of no Greek name) over night planting himſelf there with good part of his men, ſuddenly ſets upon him, and with ſlaughter of the *Greeks* purſues him to the paſſage of a River, which mine Author names *Akalon*, meaning perhaps *Achelous*, or *Acheron*: where at the Ford he overlaies them afreſh. This victory obtain'd, and a ſufficient ſtrength left in *Sparatinum*, *Brutus* with *Antigonus*, the Kings Brother, and his Friend *Anacletus*, whom he had tak'n in the Fight, returns to the reſidue of his Friends in the thick Woods; while *Pandraſus* with all ſpeed recollecting, beſeiges the Town. *Brutus* to relieve his men beſeig'd, who earneſtly call'd him, diſtruſting the ſufficiency of his Force, bethinks himſelf of this Policy. Calls to him *Anacletus*, and threatning inſtant death elſe, both to him and his friend *Antigonus*, enjoyns him, that he ſhould go at the ſecond Hour of Night to the Greekiſh Leagre, and tell the Guards he had brought *Antigonus* by ſtealth out of Priſon to a certain woody Vale, unable through the waight of his Fetters to move furder; entreating them to come ſpeedily and fetch him in. *Anacletus* to ſave both himſelf and his friend *Antigonus*, ſwears this, and at fit Hour ſets on alone toward the Camp; is met, examin'd, and at laſt unqueſtionably known. To whom, great profeſſion of Fidelity firſt made, he frames his Tale, as had bin taught him; and they now fully aſſur'd, with a credulous raſhneſs leaving thir Stations, far'd accordingly by the Ambuſh that there awaited them. Forthwith *Brutus* dividing his men into three parts, leads on in ſilence to the Camp; commanding firſt each part at a ſeveral place to enter, and forbear Execution, till he with his Squadron poſſeſs'd of the King's Tent, gave Signal to them by Trumpet. The ſound wherof no ſooner heard, but huge Havock begins upon the ſleeping, and unguarded Enemy; whom the beſeiged alſo now ſallying forth, on the other ſide aſſail. *Brutus* the while had ſpecial care to ſeiſe and ſecure the *Kings Perſon*; whoſe Life ſtill within his Cuſtody, he knew was the ſureſt pledg to obtain what he ſhould demand. Day appearing, he enters the Town, there diſtributes the *Kings Treaſury*, and leaving the place better fortifi'd, returns with the King his Priſner to the Woods. Strait the antient and grave men he ſummons to Counſel, what they ſhould now demand of the *King*.

After long debate *Mempricius*, one of the graveſt, utterly diſſuading them from thought of longer ſtay in *Greece*, unleſs they meant to be deluded with a ſuttle Peace, and the awaited revenge of thoſe whoſe Friends they had ſlain, adviſes them to demand firſt the *Kings Eldeſt Daughter Innogen* in mariage to thir Leader *Brutus* with a rich Dowry, next Shipping, Money, and fit Proviſion for them all to depart the Land.

This reſolution pleaſing beſt, the King now brought in, and plac'd in a high Seat, is briefly told, that on theſe Conditions granted, he might be free; not granted, he muſt prepare to die.

Preſt with fear of death, the *King* readily yeelds; eſpecially to beſtow his Daughter on whom he confeſs'd ſo Noble and ſo Valiant: offers them alſo the third part of his Kingdom, if they like to ſtay; if not, to be thir Hoſtage himſelf, till he had made good his word.

The Mariage therfore ſolemniz'd, and ſhipping from all parts got together, the *Trojans* in a Fleet, no leſs writt'n then three hunderd four and twenty Sail, betake them to the wide Sea: where with a proſperous Courſe two days and a Night bring them on a certain Iland long before diſpeopl'd and left waſt by Sea-Rovers, the name wherof was then *Leogecia*, now unknown. They who were ſent out to diſcover, came at length to a ruin'd City, where was a

Temple and Image of *Diana* that gave Oracles: but not meeting firſt or laſt ſave wild Beaſts, they return with this notice to thir Ships: Wiſhing thir General would enquire of that Oracle what Voiage to purſue.

Conſultation had, *Brutus* taking with him *Gerion* his Diviner, and twelv of the ancienteſt, with wonted Ceremonies before the inward ſhrine of the Goddeſs, in Verſe, as it ſeems the manner was, utters his requeſt, *Diva potens nemorum*, &c.

*Goddeſs of Shades, and Huntreſs, who at will*
*Walk'ſt on the rowling Sphear, and through the deep,*
*On thy third Reign the Earth look now, and tell*
*What Land, what Seat of reſt thou bidſt me ſeek,*
*What certain Seat, where I may worſhip thee*
*For aye, with Temples vow'd, and Virgin quires.*

To whom ſleeping before the Altar, *Diana* in a Viſion that night thus anſwer'd, *Brute ſub occaſum Solis*, &c.

Brutus *far to the Weſt, in th' Ocean wide*
*Beyond the Realm of* Gaul, *a Land there lies,*
*Sea-girt it lies, where Giants dwelt of old,*
*Now void, it fits thy People; thether bend*
*Thy courſe, there ſhalt thou find a laſting ſeat,*
*There to thy Sons another* Troy *ſhall riſe,*
*And* Kings *be born of thee, whoſe dredded might*
*Shall aw the World, and conquer Nations bold.*

Theſe Verſes originally Greek, were put in Latin, ſaith *Virunnius*, by *Gildas* a Britiſh Poet, and him to have liv'd under *Claudius*. Which granted true, adds much to the Antiquity of this Fable; and indeed the Latin Verſes are much better, then for the Age of *Geoffrey* ap-*Arthur*, unleſs perhaps *Joſeph of Exeter*, the only ſmooth Poet of thoſe times, befriended him: in this *Diana* overſhot her Oracle thus ending, *Ipſis totius terræ ſubditus orbis erit*, That to the Race of *Brute* Kings of this Iland, the whole Earth ſhall be ſubject.

But *Brutus* guided now, as he thought, by divine Conduct, ſpeeds him towards the Weſt; and after ſom encounters on the *Afric* ſide, arrives at a place on the *Tyrrhen* Sea; where he happ'ns to find the Race of thoſe *Trojans*, who with *Antenor* came into *Italy*; and *Corineus* a man much fam'd, was thir Chief: though by ſurer Authors it be reported, that thoſe *Trojans* with *Antenor*, were ſeated on the other ſide of *Italy*, on the *Adriatic*, not the *Tyrrhen* Shoar. But theſe joining Company, and paſt the *Herculean Pillars*, at the mouth of *Ligeris* in *Aquitania* caſt Anchor: Where after ſom diſcovery made of the Place, *Corineus* hunting nigh the ſhoar with his Men, is by Meſſengers of the King *Goffarius Pictus* met, and queſtion'd about his Errand there. Who not anſwering to thir mind, *Imbertus*, one of them, lets fly an Arrow at *Corineus*, which he avoiding, ſlaies him: and the *Pictavian* himſelf heerupon levying his whole Force, is overthrown by *Brutus*, and *Corineus*; who with the Battel Ax which he was wont to manage againſt the *Tyrrhen Giants*, is ſaid to have done marvels. But *Goffarius* having drawn to his aid the whole Country of *Gaul*, at that time govern'd by *twelv Kings*, puts his Fortune to a ſecond Trial; wherin the *Trojans* over-born by Multitude, are driv'n back, and beſeig'd in thir own Camp, which by good foreſight was ſtrongly ſituate. Whence *Brutus* unexpectedly iſſuing out, and *Corineus* in the mean while, whoſe device it was, aſſaulting them behind from a Wood, where he had convay'd his men the Night before: The *Trojans* are again Victors, but with the loſs of *Turon* a Valiant Nefew of *Brutus*; whoſe Aſhes left in that place, gave name to the City of *Tours*, built there by the *Trojans*. *Brutus* finding now his Powers much leſſn'd, and this yet not the place foretold him, leavs *Aquitain*, and with an eaſy Courſe, arriving at *Totneſs* in *Dev'nſhire*, quickly perceivs heer to be the promis'd end of his Labours.

The Iland not yet *Britain* but *Albion*, was in a manner deſert and inhoſpitable; kept only by a remnant of *Giants*, whoſe exceſſive Force and Tyranie had conſum'd the reſt. Them *Brutus* deſtroys, and to his People divides the Land, which with ſome reference to his own Name he thenceforth calls *Britain.* To *Corineus*, *Cornwal*, as now we call it, fell by Lot; the rather by him lik't, for that the hugeſt Giants, in Rocks and Caves were ſaid to lurk ſtill there; which kind of Monſters to deal with was his old Exerciſe.

And heer with leave be ſpok'n to recite a grand Fable, though dignifi'd by our beſt Poets, while *Brutus* on a certain Feſtival Day ſolemnly kept on that ſhoar, where he firſt landed, was with the People in great jollity and mirth, a crew of theſe Savages breaking in upon them, began on the ſudden another ſort of Game then at ſuch a meeting was expected. But at length by many hands overcom, *Goemagog* the hugeſt, in higth twelv Cubits, is reſerv'd alive, that with him *Corineus*, who deſir'd nothing more, might try his ſtrength; whom in a Wreſtle the Giant catching aloft, with a terrible hugg broke three of his Ribs: nevertheleſs *Corineus* enrag'd, heaving him up by main force, and on his Shoulders bearing him to the next high Rock, threw him headlong all ſhatter'd into the Sea, and left his Name on the Cliff, call'd ever ſince *Langoemagog*, which is to ſay, the Giant's Leap.

After this, *Brutus* in a choſen place builds *Troia nova*, chang'd in time to *Trinovantum*, now *London:* and began to enact Laws; *Heli* being then high Prieſt in *Judæa:* and having govern'd the whole Ile 24 Years, dy'd, and was buried in his new *Troy*. His three Sons *Locrine*, *Albanact*, and *Camber* divide the Land by conſent. *Locrine* had the middle part *Loegria*; *Camber* poſſeſs'd *Cambria* or *Wales*; *Albanact Albania*, now *Scotland*. But he in the end by *Humber* King of the *Hunns*, who with a Fleet invaded that Land, was ſlain in fight, and his People driv'n back into *Loegria*. *Locrine* and his Brother go out againſt *Humber*; who now marching onward, was by them defeated, and in a River drown'd, which to this day retains its name. Among the ſpoils of his Camp and Navy, were found certain young Maids, and *Eſtrildis*, above the reſt, paſſing fair, the Daughter of a King in *Germany*; from whence *Humber*, as he went waſting the Sea-Coaſt, had led her Captive: whom *Locrine*, though before contracted to the Daughter of *Corineus*, reſolvs to marry. But being forc'd and threatn'd by *Corineus*, whoſe Autority, and Power he fear'd, *Guendolen* the Daughter he yeelds to marry, but in ſecret loves the other: and oft-times retiring as to ſom privat Sacrifice, through Vaults and Paſſages made under ground, and ſeven Years thus enjoying her, had by her a Daughter equally fair, whoſe Name was *Sabra*. But when once his fear was off by the Death of *Corineus*, not content with ſecret Enjoyment, divorcing *Guendolen*, he makes *Eſtrildis* now his Queen. *Guendolen* all in rage departs into *Cornwall*, where *Madan*, the Son ſhe had by *Locrine*, was hitherto brought up by *Corineus* his Grandfather. And gathering an Army of her Father's Friends and Subjects, gives Battel to her Husband by the River *Sture*; wherein *Locrine* ſhot with an Arrow ends his Life. But not ſo ends the fury of *Guendolen*; for *Eſtrildis* and her Daughter *Sabra*, ſhe throws into a River: and to leave a Monument of Revenge, proclaims, that the ſtream be thenceforth call'd after the Damſel's Name; which by length of time is chang'd now to *Sabrina*, or *Severn*.

Fifteen Years ſhe governs in behalf of her Son; then reſigning to him at Age, retires to her Father's Dominion. This ſaith my Author, was in the days of *Samuel*. *Madan* hath the praiſe to have well and peacefully rul'd the ſpace of 40 Years; leaving behind him two Sons, *Mempricius*, and *Malim*. *Mempricius* had firſt to do with the ambition of his Brother, aſpiring to ſhare with him in the Kingdom; whom therfore at a meeting to compoſe matters, with a treachery which his cauſe needed not, he ſlew.

Nor was he better in the ſole poſſeſſion, wherof ſo ill he could endure a Partner, killing his Nobles, and thoſe eſpecially next to ſucceed him; till laſtly giv'n over to unnatural Luſt, in the twentieth of his Reign, hunting in a Foreſt, he was devour'd by Wolves.

His Son *Ebranc*, a Man of mighty Strength and Stature, reign'd 40 Years. He firſt after *Brutus* waſted *Gaul*; and returning rich and proſperous, builded *Caerebranc*, now *York*; in *Albania*, *Alclud*, *Mount Agned*, *or the Caſtle of Maydens*, now *Edinburgh*. He had 20 Sons and 30 Daughters by 20 Wives. His Daughters he ſent to *Silvius Alba* into *Italy*, who beſtow'd them on his Peers of the

*Trojan* Line. His Sons under the leading of *Aſſaracus* thir Brother, won them Lands and Signiories in *Germany*; thence call'd, from theſe Brethren *Germania*: a Derivation too haſtily ſuppos'd, perhaps before the word *Germanus* or the Latin Tongue was in uſe. Som who have deſcrib'd *Henault*, as *Jacobus Bergomas*, and *Leſſabeus*, are cited to affirm that *Ebranc* in his War there, was by *Brunchildis Lord of Henault* put to the worſe.

*Brutus* therfore ſurnam'd *Greenſhield* ſucceeding, to repair his Father's Loſſes, as the ſame *Leſſabeus* reports, fought a ſecond Battail in *Henault* with *Brunchild* at the mouth of *Scaldis*, and encamp'd on the River *Hania*. Of which our *Spencer* alſo thus ſings.

> *Let* Scaldis *tell, and let tell* Hania,
> *And let the Marſh of* Eſthambruges *tell*
> *What colour were thir Waters that ſame day,*
> *And all the Moar twixt* Elverſham *and* Dell,
> *With Blood of* Henalois *which therin fell*;
> *How oft that day did ſad* Brunchildis *ſee*
> *The* Greenſhield *dy'd in dolorous Vermeil*, &c.

But *Henault*, and *Brunchild*, and *Greenſhield*, ſeem newer Names then for a Story pretended thus antient.

Him ſucceeded *Leil*, a maintainer of Peace and Equity; but ſlackn'd in his latter end, whence aroſe ſom civil Diſcord. He built in the North *Cairleil*; and in the days of *Solomon*.

*Rudhuddibras*, or *Hudibras*, appeaſing the Commotions which his Father could not, founded *Caerkeynt* or *Canturbury*, *Caergueni*, or *Winchester*, and *Mount Paladur*, now *Septonia* or *Shaftsbury*: but this by others is contradicted.

*Bladud* his Son built *Caerbadus* or *Bathe*, and thoſe medcinable Waters he dedicated to *Minerva*, in whoſe Temple there he kept Fire continually burning. He was a Man of great Invention, and taught Necromancy: till having made him Wings to fly, he fell down upon the Temple of *Apollo* in *Trinovant*, and ſo dy'd after twenty Years reign.

Hitherto from Father to Son the direct Line hath run on: but *Leir* who next reign'd, had only three Daughters, and no Male Iſſue: govern'd laudably, and built *Caer-Leir*, now *Leiceſtre*, on the bank of *Sora*. But at laſt, failing through Age, he determins to beſtow his Daughters, and ſo among them to divide his Kingdom. Yet firſt to try which of them lov'd him beſt (a Trial that might have made him, had he known as wiſely how to try, as he ſeem'd to know how much the trying behoov'd him) *he reſolves a ſimple Reſolution, to ask them ſolemnly in order; and which of them ſhould profeſs largeſt, her to believ. Gonorill* th' eldeſt, apprehending too well her Father's weakneſs, makes anſwer invoking Heav'n, *That ſhe lov'd him above her Soul. Therfore*, quoth the old Man overjoy'd, *ſince thou ſo honourſt my declin'd Age, to thee and the Husband whom thou ſhalt chooſe, I give the third part of my Realm.* So fair a ſpeeding for a few words ſoon utter'd, was to *Regan* the ſecond, ample inſtruction what to ſay. She on the ſame demand ſpares no proteſting, and the Gods muſt witneſs, that otherwiſe to expreſs her thoughts ſhe knew not, but that *ſhe lov'd him above all Creatures*; and ſo receavs an equal reward with her Siſter. But *Cordeilla* the youngeſt, though hitherto beſt belov'd, and now before her Eyes the rich and preſent hire of a little eaſie ſoothing, the danger alſo, and the loſs likely to betide plain dealing, yet moves not from the ſolid purpoſe of a ſincere and vertuous Anſwer. *Father*, ſaith ſhe, *my love towards you, is as my Duty bids; what ſhould a Father ſeek, what can a Child promiſe more? they who pretend beyond this, flatter.* When the old Man, ſorry to hear this, and wiſhing her to recal thoſe words, perſiſted asking, with a loial ſadneſs at her Father's infirmity, but ſomthing on the ſudden, harſh, and glancing rather at her Siſters, then ſpeaking her own mind, *Two waies only*, ſaith ſhe, *I have to anſwer what you require me; the former, your command is, I ſhould recant; accept then this other which is left me; look how much you have, ſo much is your value, and ſo much I love you. Then hear thou*, quoth *Leir* now all in paſſion, *what thy Ingratitude hath gain'd thee; becauſe thou haſt not reverenc'd thy aged Father equal to thy Siſters, part in my Kingdom, or what* what *elſe is mine reck'n to have none.* And without delay gives in Marriage his other Daughters, *Gonorill* to *Maglaunus* Duke of *Albania*, *Regan* to *Henninus* Duke of *Cornwall*; with them in preſent half his Kingdom; the reſt to follow at his Death. In the mean while Fame was not ſparing to divulge the Wiſdom and other Graces of *Cordeilla*, inſomuch that *Aganippus a great King in Gaul* (however he came by his Greek Name not found in any Regiſter of French Kings) ſeeks her to Wife, and nothing alter'd at the loſs of her Dowry, receavs her gladly in ſuch manner as ſhe was ſent him. After this King *Leir* more and more drooping with Years, became an eaſy Prey to his Daughters and thir Husbands; who now by daily encroachment had ſeis'd the whole Kingdom into thir hands: and the old King is put to ſojorn with his eldeſt Daughter, attended only by threeſcore Knights. But they in a ſhort while grudg'd at, as too numerous and diſorderly for continual Gueſts, are reduc'd to thirty. Not brooking that Affront, the old King betakes him to his ſecond Daughter: but there alſo Diſcord ſoon ariſing between the Servants of differing Maſters in one Family, five only are ſuffer'd to attend him. Then back again he returns to the other; hoping that ſhe his eldeſt could not but have more pity on his gray Hairs: but ſhe now refuſes to admit him, unleſs he be content with one only of his Followers. At laſt the remembrance of his youngeſt *Cordeilla* comes to his thoughts; and now acknowledging how true her words had bin, though with little hope from whom he had ſo injur'd, be it but to pay her the laſt recompence ſhe can have from him, his confeſſion of her wiſe forewarning, that ſo perhaps his Miſery, the proof and experiment of her Wiſdom, might ſomthing ſoft'n her, he takes his Journy into *France*. Now might be ſeen a difference between the ſilent, or down-right ſpok'n Affection of ſom Children to thir Parents, and the talkative Obſequiouſneſs of others; while the hope of Inheritance over-acts them, and on the Tongues end enlarges thir Duty. *Cordeilla* out of meer love, without the ſuſpicion of expected Reward, at the meſſage only of her Father in diſtreſs, pours forth true filial Tears. And not enduring either that her own, or any other Eye ſhould ſee him in ſuch forlorn condition as his Meſſenger declar'd, diſcreetly appoints one of her truſted Servants, firſt to convay him privatly towards ſom good Sea Town, there to array him, bathe him, cheriſh him, furniſh him with ſuch Attendance and State, as beſeem'd his Dignity, that then, as from his firſt landing, he might ſend word of his Arrival to her Husband *Aganippus*. Which don with all mature, and requiſit contrivance, *Cordeilla* with the King her Husband, and all the Barony of his Realm, who then firſt had news of his paſſing the Sea, go out to meet him; and after all honourable and joyful Entertainment, *Aganippus*, as to his Wives Father, and his Royal Gueſt, ſurrenders him, during his abode there, the power, and diſpoſal of his whole Dominion: permitting his Wife *Cordeilla* to go with an Army, and ſet her Father upon his Throne. Wherin her Piety ſo proſper'd, as that ſhe vanquiſh'd her impious Siſters with thoſe Dukes; and *Leir* again, as ſaith the Story, three Years obtain'd the Crown. To whom dying, *Cordeilla* with all regal Solemnities gave Burial in the Town of *Leiceſtre*. And then as right Heir ſucceeding, and her Huſband dead, rul'd the Land five Years in Peace. Until *Marganus* and *Cunedagius* her two Siſters Sons, not bearing that a Kingdom ſhould be govern'd by a Woman, in the unſeaſonableſt time to raiſe that quarrel againſt a Woman ſo worthy, make War againſt her, depoſe her, and impriſon her; of which impatient, and now long unexercis'd to ſuffer, ſhe there, as is related, kill'd her ſelf. The Victors between them part the Land: but *Marganus* the eldeſt Siſter's Son, who held by agreement from the North-ſide of *Humber* to *Cathneſs*, incited by thoſe about him to invade all as his own right, wars on *Cunedagius*, who ſoon met him, overcame, and overtook him in a Town of *Wales*, where he left his Life, and ever ſince his Name to the place.

*Cunedagius* was now ſole King, and govern'd with much praiſe many Years, about the time when *Rome* was built.

Him ſucceeded *Rivallo* his Son, wiſe alſo and fortunat; ſave what they tell us of three days raining Blood, and ſwarms of ſtinging Flies, wherof Men di'd. In order then *Gurguſtius*, *Jago* or *Lago*, his Nefew; *Siſilius*, *Kinmarcus*. Then *Gorboguda*, whom others name *Gorbodego*, and *Gorbodion*, who had two Sons, *Ferrex* and *Porrex*. They in the old Age of thir Father falling to contend who ſhould ſucceed, *Porrex* attempting by Treachery his Brother's Life, drives him into *France*; and in his return, though aided with the Force of that Country, defeats and ſlays him. But by his Mother *Videna* who leſs lov'd him, is himſelf, with the aſſiſtance of her Women, ſoon after ſlain in his Bed: With whom ended, as is thought, the Line of *Brutus*. Wherupon, the whole Land with civil Broils was rent into five Kingdoms, long time waging War each on other; and ſom ſay 50 Years. At length *Dunwallo Molmutius* the Son of *Cloten* King of *Cornwal*, one of the foreſaid five, excelling in Valour, and goodlineſs of Perſon, after his Father's deceaſe, found means to reduce again the whole Iland into a Monarchy; ſubduing the reſt at opportunities. Firſt, *Ymner* King of *Loegria* whom he ſlew; then *Rudaucus* of *Cambria*, *Statcrius* of *Albania*, confederat together. In which fight *Dunwallo* is reported, while the Victory hung doubtful, to have us'd this Art. He takes with him 600 ſtout Men, bids them put on the Armour of thir ſlain Enemies; and ſo unexpectly approaching the Squadron, where thoſe two Kings had plac'd themſelves in fight, from that part which they thought ſecureſt, aſſaults and diſpatches them. Then diſplaying his own Enſigns which before he had conceal'd, and ſending notice to the other part of his Army what was don, adds to them new Courage, and gains a final Victory. This *Dunwallo was the firſt in* Britain *that wore a Crown of Gold; and therfore by ſome reputed the firſt King*. He eſtabliſhed the *Molmutine* Laws, famous among the Engliſh to this day; writt'n long after in Latin by *Gildas*, and in Saxon by King *Alfred*: So ſaith *Geofry*, but *Gildas* denies to have known aught of the *Britans* before *Cæſar*; much leſs knew *Alfred*. Theſe Laws, whoever made them, beſtow'd on Temples the Privilege of Sanctuary; to Cities alſo, and the ways thither leading, yea to Plows granted a kind of like refuge; and made ſuch riddance of Thieves and Robbers, that all Paſſages were ſafe. Forty Years he govern'd alone, and was buried nigh to *the Temple of Concord*; which he, to the memory of Peace reſtor'd, had built in *Trinovant*.

His two Sons, *Belinus* and *Brennus*, contending about the Crown, by deciſion of Friends, came at length to an Accord; *Brennus* to have the North of *Humber*, *Belinus* the Sov'rainty of all. But the younger not long ſo contented, that he, as they whiſper'd to him, whoſe Valour had ſo oft repell'd the Invaſions of *Ceulphus the Morine Duke*, ſhould now be ſubject to his Brother, upon new Deſign ſails into *Norway*; enters League and Affinity with *Elſing* that King: which *Belinus* perceaving, in his abſence diſpoſſeſſes him of all the North. *Brennus* with a Fleet of *Norwegians*, makes toward *Britain*; but encounter'd by *Guithlac* the Daniſh King, who laying claim to his Bride, purſu'd him on the Sea; his haſte was retarded, and he bereft of his Spouſe: who from the Fight by a ſudden Tempeſt, was with the *Daniſh* King driv'n on *Northumberland*, and brought to *Belinus*. *Brennus* nevertheleſs finding means to recollect his Navy, lands in *Albania*, and gives Battel to his Brother in the Wood *Calaterium*; but loſing the day, eſcapes with one ſingle Ship into *Gaul*. Mean while the *Dane*, upon his own offer to become tributary, ſent home with his new Prize, *Belinus* returns his thoughts to the adminiſtring of Juſtice, and the perfecting of his Father's Law. And to explain what High-ways might enjoy the foreſaid Privileges, he caus'd to be drawn out and pav'd four main Roads to the utmoſt length and bredth of the Iland, and two others athwart; which are ſince attributed to the *Romans*. *Brennus* on the other ſide ſolliciting to his Aid the Kings of *Gaul*, happ'ns at laſt on *Seginus Duke of the Allobroges*; where his worth, and comelineſs of Perſon, wan him the Duke's Daughter and Heir. In whoſe Right he ſhortly ſucceeding, and by obtain'd leave paſſing with a great Hoſt through the length of *Gaul*, gets footing once again in *Britain*. Now was *Belinus* unprepar'd: And now the Battel ready to join, *Conuvenna* the Mother of them both, all in a fright, throws her ſelf between; and calling earneſtly to *Brennus* her Son, whoſe abſence had ſo long depriv'd her of his ſight, after imbracements and tears, aſſails him with ſuch a motherly Power, and the mention of things ſo dear and reverend, as irreſiſtibly wrung from him all his Enmity againſt *Belinus*.

Then are hands join'd, Reconciliation made firm, and Counſel held to turn thir united Preparations on Foren parts. Thence that by theſe two all *Gallia* was over-run, the Story tells; and what they did in *Italy*, and at *Rome*, if theſe be they, and not *Gauls*, who took that City, the Roman Authors can beſt relate. So far from home I undertake not for the *Monmouth Chronicle*; which here againſt the ſtream of Hiſtory carries up and down theſe Brethren, now into *Germany*, then again to *Rome*, purſuing *Gabius* and *Porſena*, two unheard of Conſuls. Thus much is more generally believ'd, that both this *Brennus*, and another famous Captain, *Britomarus*, whom the Epitomiſt *Florus* and others mention, were not *Gauls* but *Britains*; the name of the firſt in that Tongue ſignifying a King, and of the other a Great *Britain*. However *Belinus* after a while returning home, the reſt of his days rul'd in Peace, Wealth, and Honour, above all his Predeceſſors; building ſom Cities, of which one was *Caeroſe* upon *Oſca*, ſince *Caerlegion*; beautifying others, as *Trinovant*, with a Gate, a Hav'n, and a Towr, on the *Thames*, retaining yet his Name; on the top wherof his Aſhes are ſaid to have bin laid up in a Golden Urn.

After him *Gurguntius Barbirus* was King, mild and juſt, but yet inheriting his Father's Courage; he ſubdu'd the *Dacian*, or *Dane*, who refus'd to pay the Tribute cov'nanted to *Belinus* for his Enlargement. In his return finding about the *Orkneies* 30 Ships of *Spain*, or *Biſcay*, fraught with Men and Women for a Plantation, whoſe Captain alſo *Bartholinus* wrongfully baniſh't, as he pleaded, beſought him that ſom part of his Territory might be aſſign'd them to dwell in, he ſent with them certain of his own Men to *Ireland*, which then lay unpeopl'd; and gave them that Iland to hold of him as in Homage. He was buried in *Caerlegion*, a City which he had wall'd about.

*Guitheline* his Son is alſo remember'd as a juſt and good Prince, and his Wife *Martia* to have excell'd ſo much in Wiſdom, as to venture upon a new Inſtitution of Laws. Which King *Alfred* tranſlating, call'd *Marchen Leage*; but more truly therby is meant, the Mercian Law; not tranſlated by *Alfred*, but digeſted or incorporated with the Weſt-Saxon. In the minority of her Son ſhe had the Rule; and then, as may be ſuppos'd, brought forth theſe Laws, not her ſelf, for Laws are Maſculine Births, but by the Advice of her ſageſt Counſellors; and therin ſhe might do vertuouſly, ſince it befel her to ſupply the Nonage of her Son: elſe nothing more awry from the Law of God and Nature, then that a Woman ſhould give Laws to Men.

Her Son *Siſilius* coming to Years, receiv'd the Rule; then in order *Kimarus*, then *Danius* or *Elanius* his Brother. Then *Morindus*, his Son by *Tangueſtela* a Concubin, who is recorded a Man of exceſſive Strength, Valiant, Liberal, and fair of Aſpect, but immanely Cruel; not ſparing in his Anger Enemy or Friend, if any Weapon were in his hand. A certain King of the *Morines*, or *Picards*, invaded *Northumberland*; whoſe Army this King, though not wanting ſufficient Numbers, chiefly by his own Proweſs overcame: But diſhonour'd his Victory by the cruel uſage of his Priſners, whom his own hands, or others in his preſence put all to ſeveral Deaths: well fitted to ſuch a beſtial Cruelty was his end; for hearing of a huge Monſter that from the Iriſh Sea infeſted the Coaſt, and in the pride of his Strength fooliſhly attempting to ſet manly Valour againſt a brute Vaſtneſs, when his Weapons were all in vain, by that horrible Mouth he was catch't up and devour'd.

*Gorbonian* the eldeſt of his five Sons, then whom a juſter Man liv'd not in his Age, was a great builder of Temples, and gave to all what was thir due; to his Gods devout Worſhip, to Men of deſert Honor and Preferment, to the Commons encouragement in thir Labours and Trades, defence and protection from Injuries and Oppreſſions; ſo that the Land floriſh'd above her Neighbours, Violence and Wrong ſeldom was heard of. His Death was a general Loſs: he was buried in *Trinovant*.

*Archigallo* the ſecond Brother follow'd not his Example; but depreſs'd the ancient Nobility; and by peeling the wealthier ſort, ſtuff'd his Treaſury, and took the right way to be depos'd.

*Elidure* the next Brother, ſurnam'd *the Pious*, was ſet up in his place; a Mind ſo noble, and ſo moderat, as almoſt is incredible to have bin ever found. For having held the Scepter five Years, hunting one day in the Foreſt of *Calater*, he chanc'd to meet his depoſed Brother, wandring in mean condition; who had bin long in vain beyond the Seas, importuning Foren Aids to his Reſtorement; and was now in a poor Habit, with only ten Followers, privatly return'd to find Subſiſtence among his ſecret Friends. At the unexpected ſight of him, *Elidure* himſelf alſo then but thinly accompanied, runs to him with open Arms; and after many dear and ſincere Welcomings, conveys him to the City *Alclud*; there hides him in his own Bed-chamber. Afterwards faining himſelf ſick, ſummons all his Peers as about greateſt Affairs; where admitting them one by one, as if his Weakneſs endur'd not the diſturbance of more at once, cauſes them, willing or unwilling, once more to ſwear Allegiance to *Archigallo*. Whom after Reconciliation made on all ſides, he leads to *York*; and from his own head, places the Crown on the head of his Brother. Who thenceforth, Vice it ſelf diſſolving in him, and forgetting her firmeſt hold with the admiration of a Deed ſo Heroic, became a true converted Man; rul'd worthily ten Years, dy'd, and was buried in *Caerleir*. Thus was a Brother ſav'd by a Brother, to whom love of a Crown, the thing that ſo often dazles, and vitiats mortal Men, for which thouſands of neareſt Blood have deſtroy'd each other, was in reſpect of Brotherly dearneſs, a contemptible thing.

*Elidure* now in his own behalf reaſſumes the Government, and did as was worthy ſuch a Man to do. When Providence, that ſo great Vertue might want no ſort of trial to make it more illuſtrious, ſtirs up *Vigenius*, and *Peredure* his youngeſt Brethren, againſt him who had deſerv'd ſo nobly of that Relation, as leaſt of all by a Brother to be injur'd. Yet him they defeat, him they impriſon in the Towr of *Trinovant*, and divide his Kingdom; the North to *Peredure*, the South to *Vigenius*. After whoſe Death *Peredure* obtaining all; ſo much the better us'd his Power, by how much the worſe he got it: So that *Elidure* now is hardly miſs't. But yet in all right owing to his Elder the due place wherof he had depriv'd him, Fate would that he ſhould die firſt: And *Elidure* after many years Impriſonment, is now the third time ſeated on the Throne; which at laſt he enjoy'd long in Peace, finiſhing the interrupted courſe of his mild and juſt Reign, as full of vertuous Deeds, as Days to his end.

After theſe five Sons of *Morindus*, ſucceded alſo thir Sons in order. * *Regin* of *Gorbonian*, *Marganus* of *Archigallo*, both good Kings. But *Enniaunus* his Brother taking other courſes, was after ſix Years depos'd. Then *Idwallo* taught by a near Example, govern'd ſoberly. Then *Runno*, then *Geruntius*, He of *Peredure*, this laſt the Son of *Elidure*. From whoſe Loyns (for that likely is the durable, and ſurviving Race that ſprings of juſt Progenitors) iſſu'd a long deſcent of Kings, whoſe Names only for many Succeſſions, without other memory, ſtand thus regiſter'd; *Catellus*, *Coillus*, *Porrex*, *Cherin*, and his three Sons, *Fulgenius*, *Eldadus*, and *Andradius*, his Son *Vrianus*; *Eliud*, *Eledaucus*, *Clotenus*, *Gurguntius*, *Merianus*, *Bleduno*, *Capis*, *Oenus*, *Siſillius*, twenty Kings in a continu'd row, that either did nothing, or liv'd in Ages that wrote nothing, at leaſt a foul pretermiſſion in the Author of this, whether Story or Fable; himſelf weary, as ſeems, of his own tedious Tale.

* Matth. Weſtm.

But to make amends for this Silence, *Blegabredus* next ſucceeding, is recorded to have excell'd all before him in the Art of Muſic; opportunely, had he but left us one Song of his 20 Predeceſſors doings.

Yet after him nine more ſucceeded in Name; His Brother *Archimailus*, *Eldol*, *Redion*, *Rederchius*, *Samulius*, *Peniſſel*, *Pir*, *Capoirus*; but *Cliguellius*, with the addition of Modeſt, Wiſe, and Juſt.

His Son *Heli* reign'd 40 Years, and had three Sons, *Lud*, *Caſſibelan*, and *Nennius*. This *Heli* ſeems to be the ſame whom *Ninnius* in his Fragment calls *Minocan*; for him he writes to be the Father of *Caſſibelan*. *Lud* was he who enlarg'd, and wall'd about *Trinovant*; there kept his Court, made it the prime City, and call'd it from his own Name *Caer-Lud*, or *Lud's Town*, now *London*. Which, as is alledg'd out of *Gildas*, became matter of great diſſention betwixt him, and his Brother *Nennius*; who took it hainouſly that the Name of *Troy* thir ancient Country ſhould be aboliſh'd for any new one. *Lud* was hardy, and bold in War, in Peace a jolly Feaſter. He conquer'd many Ilands of the Sea, ſaith *Huntingdon*, and was buried by the Gate which from thence we call *Ludgate*. His two Sons, *Androgeus* and *Tenuantius*, were

Huntingd. l. 1.

were left to the Tuition of *Caſſibelan*; whoſe Bounty and high Demeanor, ſo wraught with the common People, as got him eaſily the Kingdom transfer'd upon himſelf. He neverthleſs continuing to favour and ſupport his Nefews, confers freely upon *Androgeus*, *London* with *Kent*; upon *Tenuantius*, *Cornwal*; reſerving a Superiority both over them, and all the other Princes to himſelf, till the *Romans* for a while circumſcrib'd his Power. Thus far, though leaning only on the Credit of *Geffrey Monmouth*, and his Aſſertors, I yet for the ſpecified Cauſes have thought it not beneath my purpoſe, to relate what I found. Wherto I neither oblige the belief of other Perſon, nor over-haſtily ſubſcribe mine own. Nor have I ſtood with others computing or collating Years and Chronologies, leſt I ſhould be vainly curious about the Time and Circumſtance of things wherof the Subſtance is ſo much in doubt. By this time, like one who had ſet out on his way by Night, and travail'd through a Region of ſmooth or idle Dreams, our Hiſtory now arrives on the Confines, where Daylight and Truth meet us with a clear Dawn, repreſenting to our view, though at a far diſtance, true Colours and Shapes. For albeit *Cæſar*, whoſe Autority we are now firſt to follow, wanted not who tax'd him of miſreporting in his Commentaries, yea in his Civil Wars againſt *Pompey*, much more, may we think, in the *Britiſh Affairs*, of whoſe little skill in writing he did not eaſily hope to be contradicted; yet now in ſuch variety of good Authors, we hardly can miſs, from one hand or other, to be ſufficiently inform'd as of things paſt ſo long ago. But this will better be referr'd to a ſecond Diſcourſe.

*The End of the firſt Book.*

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# THE HISTORY OF BRITAIN.

## The Second Book.

I Am now to write of what befel the *Britains* from *fifty and three years before the Birth of our Saviour*, when firſt the *Romans* came in, till the decay and ceaſing of that Empire; a Story of much Truth, and for the firſt hunderd years and ſomwhat more, collected without much Labour. So many and ſo prudent were the Writers, which thoſe two, the civileſt and the wiſeſt of *European Nations*, both *Italy* and *Greece*, afforded to the Actions of that puiſſant City. For worthy Deeds are not often deſtitute of worthy Relaters: as by a certain Fate great Acts and great Eloquence have moſt commonly gon hand in hand, equalling and honoring each other in the ſame Ages. 'Tis true that in obſcureſt times, by ſhallow and unskilful Writers, the indiſtinct noiſe of many Battels, and Devaſtations of many Kingdoms over-run and loſt, hath come to our ears. For what wonder, if in all Ages Ambition and the love of Rapine hath ſtirr'd up greedy and violent Men to bold Attempts in waſting and ruining Wars, which to Poſterity have left the Work of wild Beaſts and Deſtroyers, rather then the Deeds and Monuments of Men and Conquerors? But he whoſe juſt and true Valour uſes the neceſſity of War and Dominion, not to deſtroy but to prevent Deſtruction, to bring in Liberty againſt Tyrants, Law and Civility among barbarous Nations, knowing that when he conquers all things elſe, he cannot conquer *Time* or *Detraction*, wiſely conſcious of this his want as well as of his Worth not to be forgott'n or conceal'd, honours and hath recourſe to the aid of Eloquence, his freindlieſt and beſt Supply; by whoſe immortal Record his noble Deeds, which elſe were tranſitory, becoming fixt and durable againſt the Force of Years and Generations, he fails not to continue through all Poſterity, over *Envy*, *Death*, and *Time*, alſo victorious. Therfore when the Eſteem of Science and liberal Study waxes low in the Commonwealth, we may preſume that alſo there all civil Vertue, and worthy Action is grown as low to a decline: and then Eloquence, as it were conſorted in the ſame Deſtiny, with the decreaſe and fall of Vertue corrupts alſo and fades; at leaſt reſigns her Office of relating to illiterat and frivolous Hiſtorians, ſuch as the Perſons themſelvs both deſerv, and are beſt pleas'd with; whilſt they want either the underſtanding to chooſe better, or the Innocence to dare invite the examining, and ſearching Stile of an intelligent and faithful Writer to the Survay of thir unſound Exploits, better befreinded by Obſcurity then Fame. As for theſe, the only Authors we have of *Britiſh* Matters, while the Power of *Rome* reach'd hither, (for *Gildas* affirms that of the *Roman* times no *Britiſh* Writer was in his days extant, or if any ever were, either burnt by Enemies, or tranſported with ſuch as fled the *Pictiſh* and *Saxon* Invaſions) theſe therfore only *Roman* Authors ther be who in the Engliſh Tongue have laid together as much, and perhaps more then was requiſite to a Hiſtory of *Britain*. So that were it not for leaving an unſightly gap ſo neer to the beginning, I ſhould have judg'd this Labour, wherin ſo little ſeems to be requir'd above Tranſcription, almoſt ſuperfluous. Notwithſtanding ſince I muſt through it, if ought by Diligence may be added or omitted, or by other diſpoſing may be more explain'd, or more expreſs'd, I ſhall aſſay.

Sueton. vit. Cæſ.

*Year before Chriſt* 53.

Suetonius.

Cæſ. Com. *l.* 1.

Cæſ. Com. *l.* 4.

Cic. Att. *l.* 4. *Ep.* 17.

*Julius Cæſar* (of whom, and of the *Roman* Free State, more then what appertains, is not here to be diſcours'd) having ſubdu'd moſt part of *Gallia*, which by a potent Faction he had obtain'd of the Senat as his Province for many years, ſtirr'd up with a deſire of adding ſtill more Glory to his Name, and the whole *Roman* Empire to his Ambition, ſom ſay, with a far meaner and ignobler, the deſire of *Britiſh* Pearls, whoſe bigneſs he delighted to ballance in his hand, determins, and that upon no unjuſt pretended occaſion, to try his Force in the Conqueſt alſo of *Britain*. For he underſtood that the *Britains* in moſt of his *Gallian* Wars had ſent Supplies againſt him, had receiv'd Fugitives of the *Bellovaci* his Enemies, and were call'd over to aid the Cities of *Armorica*, which had the year before conſpir'd all in a new Rebellion. Therfore *Cæſar*, though now the Summer well nigh ending, and the Seaſon unagreeable to tranſport a War, yet judg'd it would be great Advantage, only to get entrance into the *Ile*, Knowledg of the Men, the Places, the Ports, the Acceſſes; which then, it ſeems, were ev'n to the *Gauls* thir Neighbours almoſt unknown. For except Merchants and Traders, it is not oft, ſaith he, that any uſe to travel thether; and to thoſe that do, beſides the Sea Coaſt, and the Ports next to *Gallia*, nothing elſe is known. But heer I muſt require, as *Pollio* did, the Diligence, at leaſt the Memory of *Cæſar*: for if it were true, as they of *Rhemes* told him, that *Divitiachus*, not long before a puiſſant King of the *Soiſſons*, had *Britain* alſo under his Command, beſides the *Belgian Colonies* which he affirms to have nam'd, and peopl'd many Provinces there; if alſo the *Britans* had ſo frequently giv'n them aid in all thir Wars; if laſtly the *Druid* Learning honour'd ſo much among them, were at firſt taught them out of *Britain*, and they who ſooneſt would attain that Diſciplin, ſent hether to learn; it appears not how *Britain* at that time ſhould be ſo utterly unknown in *Gallia*, or only known to Merchants, yea to them ſo little, that being call'd together from all parts, none could be found to inform *Cæſar* of what bigneſs the Ile, what Nations, how great, what uſe of War they had, what Laws, or ſo much as what commodious Havens for bigger Veſſels. Of all which things as it were then firſt to make diſcovery, he ſends *Caius Voluſenus*, in a long Galley, with Command to return as ſoon as this could be effected. He in the mean time with his whole Power draws nigh to the *Morine* Coaſt, whence the ſhorteſt Paſſage was into *Britain*. Hether his Navy which he us'd againſt the *Armoricans*, and what elſe of Shipping can be provided, he draws together. This known in *Britain*, Embaſſadors are ſent from many of the States there, who promiſe Hoſtages and Obedience to the *Roman Empire*. Them, after Audience giv'n, *Cæſar* as largely promiſing and exhorting to continue in that mind, ſends home, and with them *Comius* of *Arras*, whom he had made King of that Country, and now ſecretly employ'd to gain a *Roman* Party among the *Britans*, in as many Cities as he found inclinable, and to tell them, that he himſelf was ſpeeding thether. *Voluſenus* with what Diſcovery of the *Iland* he could make from aboard his Ship, not daring to venture on the ſhoar, within five days returns to *Cæſar*. Who ſoon after, with two Legions, ordnarily amounting, of *Romans* and thir Allies, to about 25000 Foot, and 4500 Horſe, the Foot in 80 Ships of Burden, the Horſe in 18, beſides what Gallies were appointed for his chief Commanders, ſets off about the third watch of Night with a good Gale to Sea; leaving behind him *Sulpitius Rufus* to make good the Port with a ſufficient Strength. But the Horſe whoſe appointed Shipping lay Wind-bound 8 Mile upward in another Hav'n, had much trouble to imbark. *Cæſar* now within ſight of *Britain* beholds on every Hill multitudes of armed Men, ready to forbid his Landing; and *Cicero* writes to his Friend *Atticus*, that the Acceſſes of the Iland were wondrouſly fortify'd with ſtrong Works or Moles. Heer from the fourth to the ninth hour of day he awaits at Anchor the coming up of his whole Fleet. Mean while with his Legats and Tribuns conſulting and giving order to fit all things for what might happ'n in ſuch a various and floating Water-fight as was to be expected. This place, which was a narrow Bay, cloſe environ'd with Hills, appearing no way commodious, he removes to a plain and open ſhoar 8 Mile diſtant; commonly ſuppos'd about *Deal* in *Kent*. Which when the *Britans* perceav'd, thir Horſe and Chariots, as then they us'd in fight, ſcowring before, thir main Powr ſpeeding after, ſom thick upon the ſhoar, others not tarrying to be aſſail'd, ride in among the Waves to encounter, and aſſault the *Romans* ev'n under thir Ships, with ſuch a bold and free Hardihood, that *Cæſar* himſelf between confeſſing and excuſing that his Souldiers were to com down from thir Ships, to ſtand in Water heavy arm'd, and to fight at once, denies not but that the Terror of ſuch new and reſolute Oppoſition made them forget thir wonted Valour. To ſuccour which he commands his Gallies, a ſight unuſual to the *Britans*, and more apt for Motion, drawn from the bigger Veſſels, to row againſt the op'n ſide of the Enemy, and thence with Slings, Engines, and Darts, to beat them back. But neither yet, though amaz'd at the ſtrangeneſs of thoſe new Sea-Caſtles, bearing up ſo neer, and ſo ſwiftly as almoſt to over-whelm them, the hurtling of Oars, the battring of feirce Engines againſt thir Bodies barely expos'd, did the *Britans* give much ground, or the *Romans* gain; till *he who bore the Eagle of the tenth Legion*, yet in the Gallies, firſt beſeeching his Gods, ſaid, thus alow'd, *Leap down Souldiers, unleſs ye mean to betray your Enſign; I for my part will perform what I ow to the Commonwealth and my General.* This utter'd, over-board he leaps, and with his Eagle feircly advanc'd runs upon the Enemy; the reſt hartning one another not to admit the Diſhonour of ſo nigh loſing thir cheif Standard, follow him reſolutely. Now was fought eagerly on both ſides. Ours who well knew thir own Advantages, and expertly us'd them, now in the Shallows, now on the Sand, ſtill as the *Romans* went trooping to thir Enſigns, receav'd them, diſpatch'd them, and with the help of thir Horſe, put them every where to great Diſorder. But *Cæſar* cauſing all his Boats and Shallops to be fill'd with Souldiers, commanded to ply up and down continually with Relief where they ſaw need; wherby at length all the Foot now diſ-imbark'd, and got together in ſom order on firm ground, with a more ſteddy charge put the *Britans* to flight: but wanting all thir Horſe, whom the Winds yet with-held from ſailing, they were not able to make purſuit. In this confuſed Fight *Scæva* a Roman Souldier having preſs'd too far among the *Britans*, and beſet round, after incredible Valour ſhewn, ſingle againſt a multitnde, ſwom back ſafe to his General; and in the place that rung with his Praiſes, earneſtly beſought Pardon for his raſh Adventure againſt Diſciplin: which modeſt confeſſing after no bad Event, for ſuch a Deed wherin Valour and Ingenuity ſo much out-weigh'd Tranſgreſſion, eaſily made amends and preferr'd him to be a Centurion. *Cæſar* alſo is brought in by *Julian*, attributing to himſelf the Honour (if it were at all an Honour to that Perſon which he ſuſtain'd) of being the firſt that left his Ship, and took Land: but this were to make *Cæſar* leſs underſtand what became him than *Scæva*. The *Britans* finding themſelvs maſter'd in fight, forthwith ſend Embaſſadors to treat of Peace, promiſing to give Hoſtages, and to be at Command. With them *Comius* of *Arras* alſo return'd; whom hitherto ſince his firſt coming from *Cæſar*, they had detain'd in Priſon as a Spy: the blame wherof they lay on the common People; for whoſe Violence, and thir own Imprudence they crave Pardon. *Cæſar* complaining they had firſt ſought Peace, and then without cauſe had begun War, yet content to pardon them, commands Hoſtages: wherof part they bring in ſtrait, others far up in the Country to be ſent for, they promiſe in a few days. Mean while the People disbanded and ſent home, many Princes and cheif Men from all parts of the Ile ſubmit themſelves and thir Cities to the Diſpoſe of *Cæſar*, who lay then encamp'd, as is thought, on *Baram-down*. Thus had the *Britans* made thir Peace; when ſuddenly an Accident unlook'd for put new Counſels into thir Minds. Four days after the coming of *Cæſar*, thoſe 18 Ships of burden, which from the upper Hav'n had tak'n in all the *Roman Horſe*, born with a ſoft Wind to the very Coaſt, in ſight of the *Roman Camp*, were by a ſudden Tempeſt ſcatter'd and driv'n back, ſom to the Port from whence they loos'd, others down into the Weſt Country; who finding there no Safety either to land or to caſt Anchor, choſe rather to commit themſelvs again to the troubl'd Sea; and as *Oroſius* reports, were moſt of them caſt away. The ſame Night, it being full Moon, the Gallies left upon dry Land, were, una-

Camden.

Valer. Max.
Plutarch.

In Cæſar. ib.

ware to the Romans, cover'd with a Spring-tide, and the greater Ships that lay off at Anchor torn and beat'n with Waves, to the great perplexity of *Cæſar*, and his whole Army; who now had neither Shipping left to convay them back, nor any proviſion made to ſtay heer, intending to have winter'd in *Gallia*. All this the *Britans* well perceaving, and by the Compaſs of his Camp, which without Baggage appear'd the ſmaller, gueſſing at his Numbers, conſult together, and one by one ſlily withdrawing from the Camp, where they were waiting the concluſion of a Peace, reſolve to ſtop all Proviſions, and to draw out the buſineſs till Winter. *Cæſar*, though ignorant of what they intended, yet from the condition wherin he was, and thir other Hoſtages not ſent, ſuſpecting what was likely, begins to provide apace, all that might be, againſt what might happ'n; lays in Corn, and with Materials fetch'd from the Continent, and what was left of thoſe Ships which were paſt help, he repairs the reſt. So that now by the inceſſant Labour of his Souldiers, all but twelv were again made ſerviceable. While theſe things are doing, one of the Legions being ſent out to forage, as was accuſtom'd, and no ſuſpicion of War, while ſom of the *Britans* were remaining in the Country about, others alſo going and coming freely to the *Roman Quarters*, they who were in ſtation at the Camp Gates ſent ſpeedy Word to *Cæſar*, that from that part of the Country, to which the Legion went, a greater Duſt than uſual was ſeen to riſe. *Cæſar* gueſſing the matter, commands the Cohorts of Guard to follow him thether, two others to ſucceed in thir ſtead, the reſt all to arm and follow. They had not march'd long, when *Cæſar* diſcerns his Legion ſore over-charg'd: for the *Britans* not doubting but that thir Enemies on the morrow would be in that place which only they had left unreap'd of all thir Harveſt, had plac'd an Ambuſh; and while they were diſperſt and buſieſt at thir Labour, ſet upon them, kill'd ſom, and routed the reſt. The manner of thir fight was from a kind of Chariots; wherin riding about, and throwing Darts, with the clutter of thir Horſe, and of thir Wheels, they ofttimes broke the rank of thir Enemies; then retreating among the Horſe, and quitting thir Chariots, they fought on foot. The Charioters in the mean while ſomwhat aſide from the Battel, ſet themſelves in ſuch order, that thir Maſters at any time oppreſs'd with odds, might retire ſafely thether, having perform'd with one Perſon both the nimble Service of a Horſe-man, and the ſtedfaſt Duty of a Foot-Souldier. So much they could with thir Chariots by uſe and exerciſe, as riding on the ſpeed down a ſteep Hill, to ſtop ſuddenly, and with a ſhort rein turn ſwiftly, now running on the Beam, now on the Yoke, then in the Seat. With this ſort of new skirmiſhing the *Romans* now over-match'd and terrify'd, *Cæſar* with opportune Aid appears; for then the *Britans* make a ſtand: but he conſidering that now was not fit time to offer Battel, while his Men were ſcarce recover'd of ſo late a fear, only keeps his ground, and ſoon after leads back his Legions to the Camp. Furder Action for many days following was hinder'd on both ſides by foul Weather; in which time the *Britans* diſpatching Meſſengers round about, to how few the *Romans* were reduc'd, what hope of Priſe and Booty, and now if ever of freeing themſelvs from the fear of like Invaſions heerafter, by making theſe an example, if they could but now uncamp thir Enemies, at this intimation multitudes of Horſe and Foot coming down from all parts make towards the Romans. *Cæſar* foreſeeing that the *Britans*, tho beat'n and put to flight, would eaſily evade his Foot, yet with no more then 30 Horſe, which *Comius* had brought over, draws out his Men to Battel, puts again the *Britans* to flight, purſues with Slaughter, and returning burns and lays waſte all about. Wherupon Embaſſadors the ſame day being ſent from the *Britans* to deſire Peace, *Cæſar*, as his Affairs at preſent ſtood, for ſo great a breach of Faith, only impoſes on them double the former Hoſtages, to be ſent after him into *Gillia*: And becauſe *September* was nigh half ſpent, a ſeaſon not fit to tempt the Sea with his weather-beat'n Fleet, the ſame Night with a fair Wind he departs towards *Belgia*; whether two only of the *Britain* Cities ſent Hoſtages, as they promis'd, the reſt neglected. But at *Rome* when the News came of *Cæſar*'s Acts here, whether it were eſteem'd a Conqueſt or a fair Eſcape, Supplication of twenty days is decreed by the Senat, as either for an Exploit done, or a Diſcovery made, wherin both *Cæſar* and the *Romans* gloried not a little,

tle, though it brought no benefit either to him, or to the Commonwealth.

Dion.
Cæſar Com.

The Winter following, *Cæſar*, as his Cuſtom was, going into *Italy*, when as he ſaw that moſt of the *Britans* regarded not to ſend thir Hoſtages, appoints his Legats whom he left in *Belgia*, to provide what poſſible Shipping they could either build, or repair. Low built they were to be, as therby eaſier both to fraught, and to hale aſhoar; nor needed to be higher, becauſe the Tide ſo often changing, was obſerv'd to make the Billows leſs in our Sea then thoſe in the Mediterranean: broader likewiſe they were made, for the better tranſporting of Horſes, and all other fraughtage, being intended chiefly to that end. Theſe all about 600 in a readineſs, with 28 Ships of burden, and what with Adventurers, and other Hulks above 200, *Cotta* one of the Legates wrote them, as *Athæneus* affirms, in all 1000; *Cæſar* from Port *Iccius*, a Paſſage of ſom 30 mile over, leaving behind him *Labienus* to guard the Hav'n, and for other ſupply at need, with five Legions, though but 2000 Horſe, about Sun ſet hoyſing Sail with a ſlack South-Weſt, at midnight was becalm'd. And finding when it was Light, that the whole Navy lying on the Current, had fal'n off from the Ile, which now they could deſcry on thir left hand, by the unwearied labour of his Souldiers, who refus'd not to tug the Oar, and kept courſe with Ships under ſayl, he bore up as neer as might be, to the ſame place where he had landed the yeer before; where about Noon arriving, no Enemy could be ſeen. For the *Britans*, which in great number, as was after known, had bin there, at ſight of ſo huge a Fleet durſt not abide. *Cæſar* forthwith landing his Army, and encamping to his beſt advantage, ſom notice being giv'n him by thoſe he took, where to find the Enemy, with his whole Power, ſave only ten Cohorts, and 300 Horſe, left to *Quintus Atrius* for the guard of his Ships, about the third watch of the ſame Night marches up twelv Mile into the Country. And at length by a River, commonly thought the *Stowre* in *Kent*, eſpies embattail'd *the Britiſh Forces*. They with thir Horſes and Chariots advancing to the higher Banks, oppoſe the *Romans* in thir March, and begin the Fight; but repuls't by the *Roman Cavalry* give back into the Woods to a place notably made ſtrong both by Art and Nature; which, it ſeems, had bin a Fort, or Hold of ſtrength rais'd heertofore in time of Wars among themſelvs. For entrance, and acceſs on all ſides, by the felling of huge Trees overthwart one another, was quite barr'd up; and within theſe the *Britans* did thir utmoſt to keep out the Enemy. But the Souldiers of the ſeventh Legion locking all thir Shields together like a Rooff cloſe over head, and others rayſing a Mount, without much loſs of Blood took the Place, and drove them all to forſake the Woods. Purſuit they made not long, as being through ways unknown; and now Ev'ning came on, which they more wiſely ſpent, in chooſing out where to pitch and fortify thir Camp that Night. The next Morning *Cæſar* had but newly ſent out his men in three Bodies to purſue, and the laſt no furder gon then yet in ſight, when Horſemen all in Poſt from *Quintus Artrius* bring word to *Cæſar*, that almoſt all his Ships in a Tempeſt that Night had ſuffer'd wrack, and lay brok'n upon the ſhoar. *Cæſar* at this news recalls his Legions, himſelf in all haſt riding back to the Sea-ſide, beheld with his own Eyes the ruinous proſpect. About forty Veſſels were ſunk and loſt, the reſidue ſo torn and ſhak'n, as not to be new rigg'd without much labour. Strait he aſſembles what number of Ship-wrights either in his own Legions or from beyond Sea, could be ſummon'd; appoints *Labienus* on the *Belgian* ſide to build more; and with a dreadful induſtry of ten days, not reſpiting his Souldiers day or night, drew up all his Ships, and entrench'd them round within the circuit of his Camp. This don, and leaving to thir defence the ſame Strength as before, he returns with his whole Forces to the ſame Wood, where he had defeated the *Britans*; who preventing him with greater Powers then before, had now repoſſeſs'd themſelves of that place, under *Caſſibelan* thir chief Leader. Whoſe Territory from the States bordering on the Sea was divided by the *River Thames* about 80 mile inward. With him formerly other Cities had continual War; but now in the common danger had all made choiſe of him to be thir General. Heer the *Britiſh* Horſe and Charioters meeting with the Roman Cavalry, fought ſtoutly; and at firſt, ſomthing overmatch'd they retreat to the neer advantage of thir Woods and Hills, but ſtill follow'd by the *Romans*, make head again, cut off the forwardeſt among them, and after ſome pauſe, while *Cæſar*,

*Before the Birth of Chriſt*, 52.

who thought the days work had bin don, was buſied about the entrenching of his Camp, march out again, give feirce aſſault to the very Stations of his Guards and Senteries; and while the main Cohorts of two Legions that were ſent to the Alarm, ſtood within a ſmall diſtance of each other terrifi'd at the newneſs and the boldneſs of thir fight, charg'd back again through the midſt, without loſs of a man. Of the Romans that day was ſlain *Quintus Laberius Durus* a Tribune; the *Britans* having fought thir fill at the very entrance of *Cæſars* Camp, and ſuſtain'd the reſiſtance of his whole Army entrench'd, gave over the Aſſault. *Cæſar* heer acknowledges that the *Roman* way both of arming, and of fighting, was not ſo well fitted againſt this kind of Enemy; for that the Foot in heavy Armour could not follow thir cunning flight, and durſt not by antient Diſciplin ſtir from thir Enſign; and the Horſe alone, disjoin'd from the Legions, againſt a Fo that turn'd ſuddenly upon them with a mixt encounter both of Horſe and Foot, were in equal danger both following and retiring. Beſides thir faſhion was, not in great Bodies, and cloſe Order, but in ſmall Diviſions, and open Diſtances to make thir onſet; appointing others at certain ſpaces, now to releev and bring off the weary, now to ſucceed and renew the Conflict; which argu'd no ſmall experience, and uſe of Arms. Next day the *Britans* afar off upon the Hills begin to ſhew themſelves heer and there, and though leſs boldly then before, to skirmiſh with the *Roman* Horſe. But at Noon *Cæſar* having ſent out 3 Legions, and all his Horſe with *Trebonius* the Legat, to ſeek Fodder, ſuddenly on all ſides they ſet upon the Foragers, and charge up after them to the very Legions, and thir Standards. The *Romans* with great Courage beat them back, and in the Chace, being well ſeconded by the Legions, not giving them time either to rally, to ſtand, or to deſcend from thir Chariots as they were wont, ſlew many. From this overthrow, the *Britans*, that dwelt farder off, betook them home; and came no more after that time with ſo great a Power againſt *Cæſar*. Wherof advertis'd he marches onward to the Frontiers of *Caſſibelan*, which on this ſide were bounded by the *Thames*, not paſſable except in one place and that difficult, about *Coway ſtakes neer Oatlands*, as is conjectur'd. Hither coming he deſcries on the other ſide great Forces of the Enemy, plac'd in good Array; the Bank ſet all with ſharp Stakes, others in the bottom, cover'd with Water; wherof the marks in *Beda*'s time, were to be ſeen, as he relates. This having learnt by ſuch as were tak'n, or had run to him, he firſt commands his Horſe to paſs over; then his Foot, who wading up to the Neck went on ſo reſolutely, and ſo faſt, that they on the furder ſide not enduring the Violence, retreated and fled. *Caſſibelan* no more now in hope to contend for Victory, diſmiſſing all but 4000 of thoſe Charioters, through Woods, and intricate waies attends thir Motion; where the *Romans* are to paſs, drives all before him; and with continual Sallies upon the Horſe, where they leaſt expected, cutting off ſome and terrifying others, compels them ſo cloſe together, as gave them no leave to fetch in prey or booty without ill ſucceſs. Wherupon *Cæſar* ſtrictly commanding all not to part from the Legions, had nothing left him in his way but empty Fields and Houſes, which he ſpoil'd and burnt. Mean while the *Trinobantes*, a State, or Kingdom, and perhaps the greateſt then among the *Britans*, leſs favouring *Caſſibelan*, ſend Embaſſadors, and yeild to *Cæſar* upon this reaſon. *Immanuentius* had bin thir King: him *Caſſibelan* had ſlain, and purpos'd the like to *Mandubratius* his Son, whom *Oroſius* calls *Androgorius*, Beda *Androgius*; but the youth eſcaping by flight into *Gallia*, put himſelf under the protection of *Cæſar*. Theſe entreat that *Mandubratius* may be ſtill defended, and ſent home to ſucceed in his Fathers right. *Cæſar* ſends him, demands 40 Hoſtages and Proviſion for his Army, which they immediately bring in, and have thir Confines protected from the Souldier. By thir example the *Cenimagni*, *Segontiaci*, *Ancalites*, *Bibroci*, *Caſſi* (ſo I write them, for the Modern names are but gueſs'd) on like terms make thir Peace. By them he learns that the Town of *Caſſibelan*, ſuppos'd to be *Verulam*, was not far diſtant; fenc't about with Woods and Marſhes, well ſtuff't with men and much Cattel. For Towns then in *Britain* were only Woody places Ditch't round, and with a Mud Wall encompaſs'd againſt the inrodes of Enemies. Thether goes *Cæſar* with his Legions, and though a place of great Strength both by Art and Nature, aſſaults it in two

Camden.

places. The *Britans* after ſome defence fled out all at another end of the Town; in the flight many were taken, many ſlain, and great ſtore of Cattel found there. *Caſſibelan* for all theſe Loſſes yet deſerts not himſelf; nor was yet his Authority ſo much impair'd, but that in *Kent*, though in a manner poſſeſt by the Enemy, his Meſſengers and Commands find obedience anough to raiſe all the People. By his direction, *Cingetorix*, *Carvilius*, *Taximagulus* and *Segonax*, *four Kings* reigning in thoſe Countries which ly upon the Sea, lead them on to aſſault that Camp wherin the *Romans* had entrench'd thir Shipping: but they whom *Cæſar* left there, iſſuing out, ſlew many, and took Priſners *Cingetorix* a noted Leader, without loſs of thir own. *Caſſibelan* after ſo many defeats, mov'd eſpecially by revolt of the Cities from him, thir inconſtancie and falſhood one to another, uſes mediation by *Comius of Arras* to ſend Embaſſadors about Treatie of yielding. *Cæſar* who had determin'd to winter in the Continent, by reaſon that *Gallia* was unſettl'd, and not much of the Summer now behind, commands him only Hoſtages, and what yearly Tribute the Iland ſhould pay to *Rome*, forbids him to moleſt the *Trinobants*, or *Mandubratius*; and with his Hoſtages, and great number of Captives he puts to Sea, having at twiſe embark't his whole Armie. *At his return to* Rome, *as from a glorious enterpriſe, he offers to* Venus *the Patroneſs of his Family, a Corſlet of Britiſh Pearles.*

Pliny.

Howbeit other antient Writers have ſpok'n more doubtfully of *Cæſars* Victories heer; and that in plain terms he fled from hence; for which the common Verſe in *Lucan*, with divers paſſages heer and there in *Tacitus*, is alleg'd. *Paulus Oroſius*, who took what he wrote from a Hiſtorie of *Suetonius* now loſt, writes that *Cæſar* in his firſt journey entertain'd with a ſharp Fight, loſt no ſmall number of his Foot, and by Tempeſt nigh all his Horſe. *Dion* affirms that once in the ſecond Expedition all his Foot were routed; *Oroſius* that another time all Horſe. The *Britiſh* Author, whom I uſe only then when others are all ſilent, hath many trivial diſcourſes of *Cæſars* being heer, which are beſt omitted. Nor have we more of *Caſſibelan*, then what the ſame Story tells, how he warr'd ſoon after with *Androgeus*, about his Neſew ſlain by *Evelinus* Neſew to the other; which buſineſs at length compos'd, *Caſſibelan* dies, and was buried in *York*, *if the Monmouth Book fable not*. But at *Cæſars* coming hither, ſuch likelieſt were the *Britans*, as the Writers of thoſe times, and thir own actions repreſent them; in courage and warlike readineſs to take advantage by Ambuſh or ſudden Onſet, not inferiour to the *Romans*; nor *Caſſibelan* to *Cæſar*; in Weapons, Arms, and the skill of Encamping, Embattailing, Fortifying, overmatch't; thir Weapons were a ſhort Spear and light Target, a Sword alſo by thir ſide, thir fight ſometimes in Chariots phangd at the Axle with Iron Sithes, thir Bodies moſt part naked, only painted with woad in ſundry figures to ſeem terrible as they thought, but purſu'd by Enemies, not nice of thir painting to run into Bogs, worſe then *wild Iriſh* up to the Neck, and there to ſtay many daies holding a certain Morſel in thir Mouths no bigger then a Bean, to ſuffice hunger; but that receit, and the Temperance it taught, is long ſince unknown among us: thir Towns and ſtrong holds were ſpaces of ground fenc't about with a Ditch and great Trees fell'd overthwart each other, thir Buildings within were thatch't Houſes for themſelves and thir Cattel: in peace the Upland Inhabitants beſides Hunting, tended thir Flocks and Herds, but with little skill of Countrie Affairs; the making of Cheeſe they commonly knew not, Wool or Flax they ſpun not, Gardning and Planting many of them knew not; Clothing they had none, but what the skins of Beaſts afforded them, and that not alwaies; yet gallantrie they had, painting thir own skins with ſeveral Portratures of Beaſt, Bird, or Flower, *a Vanitie which hath not yet left us, remov'd only from the skin to the skirt behung now with as many colour'd Ribands and Gewgawes:* towards the Sea ſide they till'd the Ground, and liv'd much after the manner of *Gauls* thir Neighbours, or firſt Planters: thir Money was brazen pieces or Iron Rings, thir beſt Merchandiſe Tin, the reſt Trifles of Glaſs, Ivory, and ſuch like; yet Gems and Pearls they had, ſaith *Mela*, in ſome Rivers: thir Ships of light timber wicker'd with Oyſier between, and cover'd over with Leather, ſerv'd not therfore to tranſport them far, and thir Commodities were fetch't away by foren Merchants:

Oroſ. *Lib. 6. C. 7. & 8.*
Dion.
Mela.
Cæſar.
Herodian.
Dion.
Cæſar.
Strabo.
Dion.
Strabo.
Herodian.
Solinus.
Cæſar.
Tacitus, Diodor. Strabo.
Lucan.

Tacitus.
Mela.
Dion.
Cæſar.
Cæſar.
Strabo l. 2.
*Year before the Birth of Chriſt*, 32.
Dion. l. 49.
*Year before the Birth of Chriſt*, 25.
Dion. l. 53.
24.
Strabo l. 4.

thir dealing, ſaith *Diodorus*, plain and ſimple without fraud; thir Civil Government under many Princes and States, not confederate or conſulting in common, but miſtruſtful, and oft-times warring one with the other, which gave them up one by one an eaſie Conqueſt to the *Romans*: thir Religion was govern'd by a ſort of Prieſts or Magicians, call'd *Druides* from the Greek name of an *Oke*, which Tree they had in great reverence, and the *Miſleto* eſpecially growing thereon. *Pliny* writes them skill'd in Magic no leſs then thoſe of *Perſia*: by thir abſtaining from a Hen, a Hare, and a Gooſe, from Fiſh alſo, ſaith *Dion*, and thir opinion of the Soul's paſſing after Death into other Bodies, they may be thought to have ſtudied *Pythagoras*; yet Philoſophers I cannot call them, reported Men factious and ambitious, contending ſomtimes about the Archprieſthood not without Civil War and Slaughter; nor reſtrain'd they the People under them from a lewd adulterous and inceſtuous Life, ten or twelve Men abſurdly againſt Nature, poſſeſſing one Woman as thir common Wife, though of neareſt kin, Mother, Daughter or Siſter; Progenitors not to be glori'd in. But the Goſpel, not long after preach'd heer, aboliſh'd ſuch Impurities, and of the *Romans* we have cauſe not to ſay much worſe, then that they beat us into ſome Civility; likely elſe to have continu'd longer in a barbarous and ſavage manner of Life. After *Julius* (for *Julius* before his Death tyrannouſly had made himſelf Emperor of the *Roman* Commonwealth, and was ſlain in the Senat for ſo doing) he who next obtain'd the Empire, *Octavianus Cæſar Auguſtus*, either contemning the *Iland*, as *Strabo* would have us think, whoſe neither Benefit was worth the having, nor Enmity worth the fearing; or out of a wholſom State Maxim, as ſom ſay, to moderate and bound the Empire from growing vaſt and unweildy, made no attempt againſt the *Britans*. But the truer cauſe was partly civil War among the *Romans*, partly other Affairs more urging. For about 20 Years after, all which time the *Britans* had liv'd at thir own diſpoſe, *Auguſtus* in imitation of his Uncle *Julius*, either intending or ſeeming to intend an Expedition hither, was come into *Gallia*, when the news of a Revolt in *Pannonia* diverted him: about ſeven Years after in the ſame Reſolution, what with the unſetl'dneſs of *Gallia*, and what with Embaſſadors from *Britain* which met him there, he proceeded not. The next year, difference ariſing about Cov'nants, he was again prevented by other new Commotions in *Spain*. Nevertheleſs ſom of the *Britiſh Potentates* omitted not to ſeek his friendſhip by gifts offer'd in the Capitol, and other obſequious Addreſſes. Inſomuch that the whole *Iland* became ev'n in thoſe days well known to the *Romans*; too well perhaps for them, who from the knowledg of us were ſo like to prove Enemies. But as for Tribute, the *Britains* paid none to *Auguſtus*, except what eaſie Cuſtoms were levied on the ſlight Commodities wherwith they traded into *Gallia*.

After *Caſſibelan*, *Tenantius* the younger Son of *Lud*, according to the *Monmouth* Story, was made King. For *Androgeus* the elder, conceaving himſelf generally hated for ſiding with the *Romans*, forſook his Claim here, and follow'd *Cæſar*'s Fortune. *This King is recorded Juſt and Warlike.*

Tacit. an. l. 2.
*Year after the Birth of Chriſt*, 16.
Dion. Sueton. Cal.
An. Dom. 40.

His Son *Kymbeline* or *Cunobeline* ſucceeding, was brought up, as is ſaid, in the Court of *Auguſtus*, and with him held friendly Correſpondences to the end; was a warlike Prince, his chief Seat *Camalodunum*, or *Maldon*, as by certain of his Coins, yet to be ſeen, appears. *Tiberius* the next Emperor, adhering always to the Advice of *Auguſtus*, and of himſelf leſs caring to extend the Bounds of his Empire, ſought not the *Britans*; and they as little to incite him, ſent home courteouſly the Souldiers of *Germanicus*, that by Shipwrack had bin caſt on the *Britan ſhoar*. But *Caligula* his Succeſſor, a wild and diſſolute Tyrant, having paſt the *Alps* with intent to rob and ſpoil thoſe Provinces, and ſtir'd up by *Adminius* the Son of *Cunobeline*; who by his Father baniſh'd, with a ſmall number fled thither to him, made ſemblance of marching toward *Britain*; but being come to the Ocean, and there behaving himſelf madly, and ridiculouſly, went back the ſame way: yet ſent before him boaſting Letters to the Senate, as if all *Britain* had bin yeilded him. *Cunobeline* now dead, *Adminius* the eldeſt by his Father baniſh'd from his Country, and by his own practice againſt it from the Crown, though by an old Coin ſeeming to have alſo reign'd; *Togodumnus*, and *Caractacus* the two younger, uncertain whether equal or ſubordinat in Power, were advanc'd into his place.

But

Dion. 43.
Sueton.

But through civil diſcord, *Bericus* (what he was furder, is not known) with others of his party flying to *Rome*, perſwaded *Claudius* the Emperor to an Invaſion. *Claudius* now Conſul the third time, and deſirous to do ſomthing, whence he might gain the honour of a Triumph, at the perſuaſion of theſe Fugitives, whom the *Britans* demanding, he had deny'd to render, and they for that cauſe had deny'd furder Amity with *Rome*, makes choiſe of *this Iland* for his Province: and ſends before him *Aulus Plautius* the *Prætor*, with this Command, if the buſineſs grew difficult to give him notice. *Plautius* with much ado perſuaded the Legions to move out of *Gallia*, murmuring that now they muſt be put to make War beyond the World's end, for ſo they counted *Britain*; and what welcom *Julius* the Dictator found there, doubtleſs they had heard. At laſt prevail'd with, and hoiſſing ſail from three ſeveral Ports, leſt thir landing ſhould in any one place be reſiſted, meeting croſs Winds, they were caſt back and diſheartn'd: till in the night a meteor ſhooting flames from the Eaſt, and, as they fanci'd, directing thir courſe, they took heart again to try the Sea, and without oppoſition landed. For the *Britans* having heard of thir unwillingneſs to com, had bin negligent to provide againſt them; and retiring to the Woods and Mores, intended to fruſtrate, and wear them out with delays, as they had ſerv'd *Cæſar* before. *Plautius* after much trouble to find them out, encountring firſt with *Caractacus*, then with *Togodumnus*, overthrew them; and receaving into conditions part of the *Boduni*, who then were ſubject to the *Catuellani*, and leaving there a Gariſon, went on toward a River; where the *Britans* not imagining that *Plautius* without a Bridg could paſs, lay on the furder ſide careleſs and ſecure. But he ſending firſt the *Germans*, whoſe Cuſtom was, arm'd as they were, to ſwim with eaſe the ſtrongeſt Current, commands them to ſtrike eſpecially at the Horſes, wherby the Chariots, wherin conſiſted thir chief art of fight, became unſerviceable. To ſecond them he ſent *Veſpatian*, who in his latter days obtain'd the Empire, and *Sabinus* his Brother; who unexpectedly aſſailing thoſe who were leaſt aware, did much execution. Yet not for this were the *Britans* diſmaid; but reuniting the next day, fought with ſuch a Courage, as made it hard to decide which way hung the Victory: till *Caius Sidius Geta*, at point to have bin tak'n, recover'd himſelf ſo valiantly, as brought the day on his ſide; for which at *Rome* he receav'd high honours. After this the *Britans* drew back toward the mouth of *Thames*, and acquainted with thoſe places, croſs'd over; where the *Romans* following them through Bogs and dangerous Flats, hazarded the loſs of all. Yet the *Germans* getting over, and others by a Bridg at ſome place above, fell on them again with ſundry Alarms and great Slaughter; but in the heat of purſuit running themſelves again into Bogs and Mires, loſt as many of thir own. Upon which ill ſucceſs, and ſeeing the *Britans* more enrag'd at the Death of *Togodumnus*, who in one of theſe Battels had bin ſlain, *Plautius* fearing the worſt, and glad that he could hold what he held, as was enjoyn'd him, ſends to *Claudius*. He who waited ready with a huge Preparation, as if not ſafe anough amidſt the flowr of all his *Romans*, like a great Eaſtern King, with armed Elephants marches through *Gallia*. So full of peril was this Enterpriſe eſteem'd, as not without all this Equipage, and ſtranger Terrors then *Roman* Armies to meet the native and the naked *Britiſh Valour* defending thir Country. Join'd with *Plautius*, who encamping on the Bank of *Thames* attended him, he paſſes the River. The *Britans*, who had the Courage, but not the wiſe Conduct of old *Caſſibelan*, laying all Stratagem aſide, in downright Manhood ſcrupl'd not to affront in op'n field almoſt the whole Power of the *Roman Empire*. But overcom and vanquiſh'd, part by Force, others by Treaty com in and yeild. *Claudius* therfore who took *Camalodunum*, the Royal Seat of *Cunobeline*, was oft'n by his Army ſaluted *Imperator*; a Military Title which uſually they gave thir General after any notable Exploit; but to others not above once in the ſame War; as if *Claudius* by theſe Acts had deſerv'd more then the Laws of *Rome* had provided honour to reward. Having therfore diſarm'd the *Britans*, but remitted the Confiſcation of thir Goods, for which they worſhip'd him with Sacrifice and Temple as a God, leaving *Plautius* to ſubdue what remain'd; he returns to *Rome*, from whence he had bin abſent only ſix Months, and in *Britain* but ſixteen days; ſending the News before him of his Victories, though in a ſmall part of the *Iland*. By which

Dion. l. 62.
Tacit. an. 14.
44.

is manifeſtly refuted that which *Eutropius* and *Oroſius* write of his conquering at that time alſo the *Orcades* Ilands lying to the North of *Scotland*; and not conquer'd by the *Romans* (for aught found in any good Author) till above forty Years after, as ſhall appear. To *Claudius* the Senat, as for Atchievments of higheſt merit, decreed exceſſive Honours; *Arches, Triumphs, annual Solemnities, and the Sirname of* Britannicus *both to him and his Son.*

*Suetonius* writes that *Claudius* found here no Reſiſtance, and that all was don without ſtroke: but this ſeems not probable. *The Monmouth Writer* names theſe two Sons of *Cunobeline*, *Guiderius*, and *Arviragus*; that *Guiderius* being ſlain in fight, *Arviragus* to conceal it, put on his Brother's Habillements, and in his Perſon held up the Battel to a Victory; the reſt, as of *Hamo* the *Roman Captain*, *Genuiſſa* the Emperors Daughter, and ſuch like ſtuff, is too palpably untrue to be worth reherſing in the midſt of Truth. *Plautius* after this, employing his freſh Forces to conquer on, and quiet the rebelling Countries, found work anough to deſerve at his return a kind of Triumphant riding Sueton. Claud. 5. 24. into *the Capital* ſide by ſide with the Emperour. *Veſpatian* alſo under *Plautius* had thirty conflicts with the Enemie; in one of which encompaſs'd, and in Sueton. Veſp. Dio. l. 60. great danger, he was valiantly and piouſly reſcu'd by his Son *Titus*: two powerful Nations he ſubdu'd heer, above 20 Towns and *the Ile of Wight*; for 47. which he receav'd at *Rome* Triumphal Ornaments, and other great Dignities. *For that Citie in reward of Vertue was ever magnificent; and long after when true merit was ceas't among them, leſt any thing reſembling Vertue ſhould want honour, the ſame rewards were yet allow'd to the very ſhadow and oſtentation of Merit.* 50. *Oſtorius* in the room of *Plautius* Vice-prætor, met with turbulent Affairs; the Tacit. an. 12. *Britans* not ceaſing to vex with inrodes all thoſe Countries that were yielded to the *Romans*; and now the more eagerly, ſuppoſing that the new General Eutropius. unacquainted with his Armie, and on the edg of Winter, would not haſtily oppoſe them. But he waighing that firſt events were moſt available to breed fear or contempt, with ſuch Cohorts as were next at hand ſets out againſt them: whom having routed, ſo cloſe he follows, as one who meant not to be every day moleſted with the Cavils of a ſlight Peace, or an embolden'd Enemy. Leſt they ſhould make head again, he diſarms whom he ſuſpects; and to ſurround them, places many Gariſons upon the Rivers of *Antona* and *Sabrina*. But the *Icenians*, a ſtout People untouch'd yet by theſe Wars, as having before ſought Alliance with the *Romans*, were the firſt that brook'd not this. By thir Example others riſe; and in a choſen place, fenc't with high Banks of Earth, and narrow Lanes to prevent the Horſe, warily encamp. *Oſtorius*, though yet not ſtrengthn'd with his Legions, cauſes the Auxiliar Bands, his Troops alſo alighting, to aſſault the rampant. They within, though peſter'd with thir own number, ſtood to it like Men reſolv'd, and in a narrow compaſs did remarkable Deeds. But overpower'd at laſt, and others by thir ſucceſs quieted, who till then waver'd, *Oſtorius* next bends his Force upon the *Cangians*, waſting all ev'n to the Sea of *Ireland*, without Fo in his way, or them, who durſt, ill handl'd; when the *Brigantes* attempting new matters, drew him back to ſettle firſt what was unſecure behind him. They, of whom the chief were puniſh'd, the reſt forgiv'n, ſoon gave over, but the *Silures* no way tractable were not to be repreſs'd without a ſet War. To furder this, *Camalodunum* was planted with a Colony of *Veteran Souldiers*; to be a firm and ready Aid againſt Revolts, and a means to teach the Natives *Roman* Law and Civility. *Cogidunus* alſo a *Britiſh* Tacit. vit. Agric. *King*, thir faſt Friend, had to the ſame intent certain Cities giv'n him: a haughtie Craft, which the *Romans* us'd, to make Kings alſo the ſervile Agents of enſlaving others. But the *Silures* hardy of themſelves, rely'd more on the Valour of *Caractacus*; whom many doubtful, many proſperous Succeſſes had made eminent above all that rul'd in *Britain*. He adding to his Courage Policy, and knowing himſelf to be of Strength inferior, in other Advantages the better, makes the Seat of his War among the *Ordovices*; a Country wherin all the odds were to his own Party, all the difficulties to his Enemie. The Hills and every Acceſs he fortifi'd with heaps of Stones, and Guards of Men; to com at whom a River of unſafe Paſſage muſt be firſt waded. The place, as *Camden* conjectures, had thence the name of *Caer-Caradoc* on the

*Weſt edg of Shropſhire.* He himſelf continually went up and down, animating his Officers and Leaders, that *this was the Day, this the Field, either to defend thir Libertie, or to die free*; calling to mind the Names of his glorious Anceſtors, who drove *Cæſar* the Dictator out of *Britain*, whoſe Valour hitherto had preſerv'd them from Bondage, thir Wives and Children from Diſhonour. Inflam'd with theſe words, they all vow thir utmoſt, with ſuch undaunted reſolution as amaz'd the *Roman General*; but the Souldier leſs weighing, becauſe leſs knowing, clamour'd to be led on againſt any Danger. *Oſtorius* after wary Circumſpection bids them paſs the River: The *Britains* no ſooner had them within reach of thir Arrows, Darts, and Stones, but ſlew and wounded largly of the *Romans*. They on the other ſide cloſing thir Ranks, and over head cloſing thir Targets, threw down the looſe Rampires of the *Britains*, and purſue them up the Hills, both light armed and Legions; till what with gauling Darts and heavy Strokes, the *Britains* who wore neither Helmet nor Cuiraſs to defend them, were at laſt overcom. This the *Romans* thought a famous Victory; wherin the Wife and Daughter of *Caractacus* were tak'n, his Brothers alſo reduc'd to obedience; himſelf eſcaping to *Cartiſmandua* Queen of the *Brigantes*, againſt Faith giv'n was to the Victors deliver'd bound; having held out againſt the *Romans nine Years*, ſaith *Tacitus*, but by truer computation, *Seven.* Wherby his Name was up through all the adjoining Provinces, ev'n to *Italy* and *Rome*; many deſiring to ſee who he was, that could withſtand ſo many Years the *Roman* Puiſſance: and *Cæſar*, to extol his own Victory, extoll'd the Man whom he had vanquiſh'd. Being brought to *Rome*, the People as to a ſolemn Spectacle were call'd together, the Emperor's Guard ſtood in Arms. In Order came firſt the King's Servants, bearing his Trophies won in other Wars, next his Brothers, Wife, and Daughter, laſt himſelf. The Behaviour of others, through fear, was low and degenerate; he only neither in Countenance, Word, or Action, ſubmiſſive ſtanding at the Tribunal of *Claudius*, briefly ſpake to this purpoſe. *If my mind,* Cæſar, *had bin as moderate in the height of Fortune, as my Birth and Dignity was eminent, I might have come a Friend rather then a Captive into this City. Nor couldſt thou have diſlik'd him for a confederate, ſo noble of deſcent, and ruling ſo many Nations. My preſent Eſtate to me diſgraceful, to thee is glorious. I had Riches, Horſes, Arms, and Men; no wonder then if I contended, not to loſe them. But if by Fate, yours only muſt be Empire, then of neceſſity ours among the reſt muſt be ſubjection. If I ſooner had bin brought to yield, my Misfortune had bin leſs notorious, your Conqueſt had been leſs renown'd; and in your ſevereſt determining of me, both will be ſoon forgott'n. But if you grant that I ſhall live, by me will live to you for ever that praiſe which is ſo near Divine, the clemency of a Conquerour.* *Cæſar* mov'd at ſuch a Spectacle of Fortune, but eſpecially at the nobleneſs of his bearing it, gave him pardon, and to all the reſt. They all unbound, ſubmiſly thank him, and did like reverence to *Agrippina* the Emperor's Wife, who ſat by in State; a new and diſdained ſight to the manly Eyes of *Romans*, a Woman ſitting public in her female Pride among Enſigns and armed Cohorts. To *Oſtorius* Triumph is decreed; and his Acts eſteem'd equal to thirs, that brought in Bonds to *Rome* famouſeſt Kings. But the ſame Proſperity attended not his later Actions here; for the *Silures*, whether to revenge thir loſs of *Caractacus*, or that they ſaw *Oſtorius*, as if now all were done, leſs earneſt to reſtrain them, beſet the Prefect of his Camp, left there with Legionary Bands to appoint Gariſons: And had not ſpeedy Aid com in from the neighbouring Holds and Caſtles, had cut them all off; notwithſtanding which, the *Prefect with eight Centurions*, and many thir ſtouteſt Men, were ſlain: and upon the neck of this, meeting firſt with *Roman* Foragers, then with other Troops haſting to thir relief, utterly foil'd and broke them alſo. *Oſtorius* ſending more after, could hardly ſtay thir flight; till the weighty Legions coming on, at firſt pois'd the Battel, at length turn'd the Scale: to the *Britans* without much loſs, for by that time it grew Night. Then was the War ſhiver'd, as it were, into ſmall Frays and Bickerings; not unlike ſomtimes to ſo many Robberies, in Woods, at Waters, as Chance or Valour, Advice or Raſhneſs, led them on, commanded or without command. That which moſt exaſperated the *Silures*, was a Report of certain words caſt out by the *Emperor*, *That he would root them out to the very Name.* Therfore two Cohorts more of Auxiliars, by the avarice of thir Leaders too ſecurely pillaging, they quite intercepted; and beſtowing liberally the Spoils and Captives, wherof they took plenty, drew other Countries to join with them. Theſe Loſſes falling ſo thick upon the *Romans*, *Oſtorius* with the thought and anguiſh therof ended his days; the *Britans* rejoicing, although no Battel, that yet adverſe War had worn out ſo great a Souldier. *Cæſar* in his place ordains *Aulus Didius*: but ere his coming, though much haſtn'd, that the Province might not want a Governour, the *Silures* had giv'n an overthrow to *Manlius Valens* with his Legion, rumor'd on both ſides greater then was true, by the *Silures* to amate the new General; by him in a double reſpect, of the more praiſe if he quel'd them, or the more excuſe if he fail'd. Mean time the *Silures* forget not to infeſt the *Roman* Pale with wide Excurſions; till *Didius* marching out, kept them ſomwhat more within Bounds. Nor were they long to ſeek, who after *Caractacus* ſhould lead them; for next to him in worth and skill of War, *Venutius* a Prince of the *Brigantes* merited to be thir Chief. He at firſt faithful to the *Romans*, and by them protected, was the Husband of *Cartiſmandua* Queen of the *Brigantes*, himſelf perhaps reigning elſwhere. She who had betray'd *Caractacus* and her Country to adorn the Triumph of *Claudius*, therby grown powerful and gracious with the *Romans*, preſuming on the hire of her Treaſon, deſerted her Husband; and marrying *Vellocatus* one of his Squires, confers on him the Kingdom alſo. This Deed ſo odious and full of Infamy, diſturb'd the whole State; *Venutius* with other Forces, and the help of her own Subjects, who deteſted the Example of ſo foul a Fact, and withal the uncomlineſs of thir Subjection to the Monarchy of a Woman, a piece of Manhood not every day to be found among *Britans*, though ſhe had got by ſuttle train his Brother with many of his Kindred into her hands, brought her ſoon below the confidence of being able to reſiſt longer. When imploring the *Roman* Aid, with much ado, and after many a hard Encounter, ſhe eſcap'd the Puniſhment which was ready to have ſeiz'd her. *Venutius* thus debar'd the Autority of ruling his own Houſhold, juſtly turns his Anger againſt the *Romans* themſelves; whoſe Magnanimity not wont to undertake diſhonourable Cauſes, had arrogantly intermedl'd in his Domeſtic Affairs, to uphold the Rebellion of an Adultreſs againſt her Husband. And the Kingdom he retain'd againſt thir utmoſt oppoſition; and of War gave them thir fill: firſt in a ſharp Conflict of uncertain Event, then againſt the Legion of *Cæſius Naſica*. Inſomuch that *Didius* growing old, and managing the War by Deputies, had work anough to ſtand on his Defence, with the gaining now and then of a ſmall Caſtle. And *Nero* (for in that part of the *Ile* things continu'd in the ſame plight to the reign of *Veſpatian*) was minded but for ſhame to have withdrawn the *Roman* Forces out of *Britain*: In other parts wherof, about the ſame time, other things befel. *Verannius*, whom *Nero* ſent hither to ſucceed *Didius*, dying in his firſt Year, ſave a few inrodes upon the *Silures*, left only a great Boaſt behind him, *That in two Years, had he liv'd, he would have conquer'd all.* But *Suetonius Paulinus*, who next was ſent hither, eſteem'd a Souldier equal to the beſt in that Age, for two Years together went on proſperouſly, both confirming what was got, and ſubduing onward. At laſt overconfident of his preſent Actions, and æmulating others, of whoſe Deeds he heard from abroad, marches up as far as *Mona*, the *Ile of Angleſey*, a populous place. For they it ſeems had both entertain'd Fugitives, and giv'n good Aſſiſtance to the reſt that withſtood him. He makes him Boats with flat bottoms, fitted to the Shallows which he expected in that narrow Frith; his Foot ſo paſs'd over, his Horſe waded or ſwom. Thick upon the Shoar ſtood ſeveral groſs Bands of Men well weapn'd, many Women like Furies running to and fro in diſmal Habit, with Hair looſe about thir Shoulders, held Torches in thir hands. The *Druids*, thoſe were thir Prieſts, of whom more in another place, with hands lift up to Heav'n uttering direful Prayers, aſtoniſh'd the *Romans*; who at ſo ſtrange a ſight ſtood in amaze, though wounded: At length awak'd and encourag'd by thir General, not to fear a barbarous and lunatic Rout, fall on, and beat them down ſcorch't and rouling in thir own Fire. Then were they yok'd with Gariſons, and the Places conſecrate to thir bloody Superſtitions deſtroy'd. For whom they took in War, they held it lawful to ſacrifice; and by the Entrails of Men us'd Divination.

Tacit. vit. Agric.

Tacit. Hiſt. 3. Sueton.

While thus *Paulinus* had his thought ſtill fix'd before to go on winning, his back lay broad op'n to occaſion of loſing more behind: For the *Britans*, urg'd and oppreſs'd with many unſufferable Injuries, had all banded themſelves to a general Revolt. The particular Cauſes are not all writt'n by one Author; *Tacitus* who liv'd next thoſe Times of any to us extant, writes that *Praſutagus* King of the *Icenians*, abounding in Wealth, had left *Cæſar* Coheir with his two Daughters; therby hoping to have ſecur'd from all wrong both his Kingdom and his Houſe; which fell out far otherwiſe. For under colour to overſee and take poſſeſſion of the Emperor's new Inheritance, his Kingdom became a Prey to Centurions, his Houſe to rav'ning Officers, his Wife *Boadicea* violated with Stripes, his Daughters with Rape, the wealthieſt of his Subjects, as it were, by the Will and Teſtament of thir King thrown out of thir Eſtates, his Kindred made little better then Slaves. The new Colony alſo at *Camalodunum* took Houſe or Land from whom they pleas'd, terming them Slaves and Vaſſals; the Souldiers complying with the Colony, out of hope hereafter to uſe the ſame Licenſe themſelves. Moreover the Temple erected to *Claudius* as a Badg of thir eternal Slavery, ſtood a great Eye-ſore; the Prieſts wherof, under pretext of what was due to the religious Service, waſted and imbezl'd each Man's Subſtance upon themſelves. And *Catus Decianus* the Procurator, endeavour'd to bring all thir Goods within the compaſs of a Dion. new Confiſcation, by diſavowing the remitment of *Claudius*. Laſtly, *Seneca*, in his Books a Philoſopher, having drawn the *Britans* unwillingly to borrow of him vaſt Sums upon fair Promiſes of eaſy Loan, and for repaiment to take thir own time, on a ſudden compels them to pay in all at once with great Extortion. Thus provok't by heavieſt Sufferings, and thus invited by Opportunities in the abſence of *Paulinus*, the *Icenians*, and by thir Example the *Trinobantes*, and as many elſe as hated Servitude, riſe up in Arms. Of theſe enſuing Troubles many foregoing Signs appear'd; the Image of Victory at *Camalodunum* fell down of it ſelf with her Face turn'd, as it were, to the *Britans*; certain Women, in a kind of Extaſy, foretold of Calamities to come: In the Council-houſe were heard by night barbarous Noiſes; in the Theater hideous Howlings, in the Creek horrid Sights, betok'ning the deſtruction of that Colony; hereto the Ocean ſeeming of a bloody hew, and human ſhapes at a low ebb, left imprinted on the Sand, wrought in the *Britans* new Courage, in the *Romans* unwonted Fears. *Camalodunum*, where the *Romans* had ſeated themſelves to dwell pleaſantly, rather then defenſively, was not fortifi'd; againſt that therfore the *Britans* make firſt aſſault. The Souldiers within were not very many. *Decianus* the Procurator could ſend them but 200, thoſe ill arm'd: and through the Treachery of ſom among them, who ſecretly favour'd the Inſurrection, they had defer'd both to entrench, and to ſend out ſuch as bore not Arms; ſuch as did, flying to the Temple, which on the ſecond day was forcibly tak'n, were put all to the Sword, the Temple made a heap, the reſt rifl'd and burnt. *Petilius Cerealis* coming to his Succour, is in his way met, and overthrown, his whole Legion cut to pieces; he with his Horſe hardly eſcaping to the *Roman* Camp. *Decianus*, whoſe rapine was the cauſe of all this, fled into *Gallia*. But *Suetonius* at theſe tidings not diſmay'd, through the midſt of his Enemies Country, marches to *London* (though not term'd a Colony, yet full of *Roman* Inhabitants, and for the frequency of Trade, and other Commodities, a Town ev'n then of principal note) with purpoſe to have made there the ſeat of War. But conſidering the ſmalneſs of his Numbers, and the late raſhneſs of *Petilius*, he chuſes rather with the loſs of one Town to ſave the reſt. Nor was he flexible to any Prayers or Weeping of them that beſought him to tarry there; but taking with him ſuch as were willing, gave ſignal to depart; they who through weakneſs of Sex or Age, or love of the place went not along, periſh'd by the Enemy; ſo did *Verulam* a *Roman free Town*. For the *Britans* omitting Forts and Caſtles, flew thither firſt where richeſt Booty, and the hope of pillaging toald them on. In this Maſſacre about 70000 *Romans* and thir Aſſociats, in the places above-mention'd, of a certain loſt thir lives. None might be ſpar'd, none ranſom'd, but taſted all either a preſent or a lingring Death; no cruelty that either outrage, or the inſolence of Succeſs put into thir heads, was left unacted. The *Roman* Wives and Virgins hang'd up all naked, had thir Dion. l. 62.

Breaſts cut off, and ſow'd to thir Mouths; that in the grimneſs of Death they might ſeem to eat thir own Fleſh; while the *Britans* fell to feaſting and carouſing in the Temple of *Andate* thir Goddeſs of Victory. *Suetonius* adding to his Legion other old Officers and Souldiers therabout, which gather'd to him, were neer upon ten thouſand; and purpoſing with thoſe not to defer Battel, had chos'n a place narrow, and not to be over-wing'd, on his rear a Wood; being well inform'd that his Enemies were all in front on a Plain unapt for Ambuſh: the Legionaries ſtood thic in order, impal'd with light armed; the Horſe on either Wing. The *Britans* in Companies and Squadrons were every where ſhouting and ſwarming, ſuch a multitude as at other time never; no leſs reckon'd then 200 and 30 thouſand, ſo feirce and confident of Victory, that thir Wives alſo came in Waggons to ſit and behold the ſport, as they made full account of killing *Romans*: a Folly doubtleſs for the ſerious *Romans* to ſmile at, as a ſure Tok'n of proſpering that day: a Woman alſo was thir Commander in Chief. For *Boadicea* and her Daughters ride about in a Chariot, telling the tall Champions as a great Encouragement, that with the *Britans* it was uſual for Women to be thir Leaders. A deal of other Fondneſs they put into her Mouth, not worth recital; how ſhe was laſh'd, how her Daughters were handl'd, things worthier Silence, Retirment, and a Vail, then for a Woman to repeat, as don to hir own Perſon, Dion. or to hear repeated before an Hoſt of Men. The *Greek Hiſtorian* ſets her in the Field on a high heap of Turves, in a looſe-bodied Gown declaming, a Spear in her hand, a Hare in her Boſom, which after a long Circumlocution ſhe was to let ſlip among them for luck's ſake; then praying to *Andate* the *Britiſh Goddeſs*, to talk again as fondly as before. And this they do out of a Vanity, hoping to embelliſh and ſet out thir Hiſtory with the ſtrangneſs of our manners, not caring in the mean while to brand us with the rankeſt note of Barbariſm, as if in *Britain* Women were Men, and Men Women. I affect not ſet Speeches in a Hiſtory, unleſs known for certain to have bin ſo ſpok'n in effect as they are writ'n, nor then, unleſs worth rehearſal; and to invent ſuch, though eloquently, as ſome Hiſtorians have don, is an Abuſe of Poſterity, raiſing in them that read other Conceptions of thoſe Times and Perſons then were true. Much leſs therfore do I purpoſe heer or elſwhere to copy out tedious Orations without Decorum, though in thir Authors compos'd ready to my hand. Hitherto what we have heard of *Caſſibelan*, *Togadumnus*, *Venuſius*, and *Caractacus*, hath bin full of Magnanimity, Soberneſs, and martial Skill: but the truth is, that in this Battel and whole Buſineſs the *Britans* never more plainly manifeſted themſelves to be right *Barbarians*; no Rule, no Foreſight, no Forecaſt, Experience or Eſtimation, either of themſelves or of thir Enemies; ſuch Confuſion, ſuch Impotence, as ſeem'd likeſt not to a War, but to the wild hurry of a diſtracted Woman, with as mad a Crew at her heels. Therfore *Suetonius*, contemning thir unruly Noiſes and fierce looks, heart'ns his Men but to ſtand cloſe a while, and ſtrike manfully this headleſs Rabble that ſtood neereſt, the reſt would be a purchaſe rather then a toil. And ſo it fell out; for the Legion, when they ſaw thir time, burſting out like a violent wedg, quickly broke and diſſipated what oppos'd them; all elſe held only out thir Necks to the Slayer, for thir own Carts and Waggons were ſo plac'd by themſelves, as left them but little room to eſcape between. The *Roman* ſlew all; Men, Women, and the very drawing Horſes lay heap'd along the Field in a gory mixture of Slaughter. About fourſcore thouſand *Britans* are ſaid to have bin ſlain on the place; of the Enemy ſcarſe 400, and not many more wounded. *Boadicea* poyſon'd her ſelf, or, as others ſay, Dion. ſick'nd and dy'd. She was of Stature big and tall, of Viſage grim and ſtern, harſh of Voice, her Hair of bright colour flowing down to her Hips; ſhe wore a plighted Garment of divers Colours, with a great gold'n Chain; button'd over all a thick robe. *Gildas* calls her the crafty Lioneſs, and leaves an ill fame upon her doings. *Dion* ſets down otherwiſe the Order of this Fight, and that the Field was not won without much Difficulty, nor without intention of the *Britans* to give another Battel, had not the Death of *Boadicea* come between. Howbeit *Suetonius*, to preſerve Diſciplin, and to diſpatch the Reliques of War, lodg'd with all his Army in the op'n Field; which was ſupply'd out of *Germany* with 1000 Horſe and 10000 Foot; thence diſpers'd to

winter, and with Incurſions to waſt thoſe Countries that ſtood out. But to
the *Britans* Famin was a worſe Affliction; having left off during this uproar,
to till the Ground, and made reck'ning to ſerve themſelves on the Proviſions
of thir Enemy. Neverthleſs thoſe Nations that were yet untam'd, hearing
of ſome Diſcord ris'n between *Suetonius* and the new Procurator *Claſſicianus*,
were brought but ſlowly to terms of Peace; and the Rigor us'd by *Suetonius* on
them that yeilded, taught them the better Courſe to ſtand on thir Defence.
For it is certain that *Suetonius*, though elſe a worthy Man, over-proud of his Tacit. vit. A-
Victory, gave too much way to his Anger againſt the *Britans*. *Claſſician* gric.
therfore ſending ſuch word to *Rome*, that theſe ſevere Proceedings would beget
an endleſs War, *Polycletus*, no *Roman* but a Courtier, was ſent by *Nero* to
examin how things went. He admoniſhing *Suetonius* to uſe more Mildneſs,
aw'd the Army, and to the *Britans* gave matter of Laughter. Who ſo much
even till then were nurs'd up in thir nativ Liberty, as to wonder that ſo
great a General with his whole Army ſhould be at the Rebuke and ordering of
a Court Servitor. But *Suetonius* a while after, having loſt a few Gallies on the 62.
ſhoar, was bid reſign his Command to *Petronius Turpilianus*, who not provoking
the *Britans*, nor by them provok'd, was thought to have pretended the Love
of Peace to what indeed was his Love of Eaſe and Sloth. *Trebellius Maximus*
follow'd his ſteps, uſurping the name of Gentle Government to any Remiſneſs
or Neglect of Diſciplin; which brought in firſt Licence, next Diſobedience
into his Camp; incens'd againſt him partly for his Covetouſneſs, partly
by the Incitement of *Roſcius Cælius*, Legat of a Legion; with whom formerly
diſagreeing, now that civil War began in the Empire, he fell to op'n Diſcord; Tacit. Hiſt. *l.* 1.
charging him with Diſorder and Sedition, and him *Cælius* with peeling & vit. Agric.
and defrauding the Legions of thir Pay; inſomuch that *Trebellius* hated and deſerted
of the Souldiers, was content a while to govern by baſe Entreaty, and
forc'd at length to fly the Land. Which notwithſtanding remain'd in good
quiet, govern'd by *Cælius* and the other Legat of a Legion, both faithful to
*Vitellius* then Emperor; who ſent hither *Vettius Bolanus*; under whoſe Lenity, 69.
though not tainted with other Fault, againſt the *Britans* nothing was don, Tacit. Hiſt. 2.
nor in thir own Diſciplin reform'd, *Petilius Cerealis* by appointment of *Veſpaſian* & vit. Agric.
ſucceeding, had to do with the populous *Brigantes* in many Battels, and 70.
ſom of thoſe not unbloody. For as we heard before, it was *Venuſius* who 74.
even to theſe times held them tack, both himſelf remaining to the end unvanquiſh'd, Calvis.
and ſom part of his Country not ſo much as reach'd. It appears alſo Tacit. Hiſt. 3.
by ſeveral Paſſages in the Hiſtories of *Tacitus*, that no ſmall number of *Britiſh* & vit. Agric.
*Forces* were commanded over Sea the Year before to ſerve in thoſe bloody
Wars between *Otho* and *Vitellius*, *Vitellius* and *Veſpaſian* contending for the
Empire. To *Cerealis* ſucceeded *Julius Frontinus* in the Government of *Britain*,
who by taming the *Silures*, a People warlike and ſtrongly inhabiting, augmented
much his Reputation. But *Julius Agricola*, whom *Veſpaſian* in his laſt 79.
Year ſent hither, train'd up from his Youth in the *Britiſh* Wars, extended
with Victories the *Roman* Limit beyond all his Predeceſſors. His coming was
in the midſt of Summer; and the *Ordovices* to welcom the new General had
hew'n in peeces a whole Squadron of Horſe which lay upon thir Bounds, few
eſcaping. *Agricola*, who perceav'd that the noiſe of this Defeat had alſo in
the Province deſirous of Novelty ſtirr'd up new Expectations, reſolves to be
before-hand with the danger: and drawing together the choice of his Legions
with a competent number of Auxiliars, not being met by the *Ordovices*, who
kept the Hills, himſelf in the head of his Men, hunts them up and down
through difficult places, almoſt to the final extirpating of that whole Nation.
With the ſame current of Succeſs, what *Paulinus* had left unfiniſh'd he conquers
in the *Ile of Mona*: for the Ilanders altogether fearleſs of his Approach,
whom they knew to have no Shipping, when they ſaw themſelves invaded on
a ſudden by the Auxiliars, whoſe Country Uſe had taught them to ſwim over
with Horſe and Arms, were compell'd to yeild. This gain'd *Agricola* much
opinion; who at his very entrance, a time which others beſtow'd of courſe
in hearing Complements and Gratulations, had made ſuch early Progreſs into
laborious and hardeſt Enterpriſes. But by far not ſo famous was *Agricola* in
bringing War to a ſpeedy end, as in cutting off the Cauſes from whence War
ariſes. For he knowing that the end of War was not to make way for Injuries

in Peace, began Reformation from his own Houſe; permitted not his Attendants
and Followers to ſway, or have to do at all in public Affairs: lays on
with Equality the Proportions of Corn and Tribute that were impos'd; takes
off Exactions, and the Fees of encroaching Officers, heavier than the Tribute
it ſelf. For the Countries had bin compell'd before, to ſit and wait the op'ning
of public Granaries, and both to ſell and to buy thir Corn at what rate
the Publicans thought fit; the Pourveyers alſo commanding when they pleas'd
to bring it in, not to the neereſt, but ſtill to the remoteſt places, either by
the compounding of ſuch as would be excus'd, or by cauſing a Dearth, where
none was, made a particular Gain. Theſe Greevances and the like, he in
the time of Peace removing, brought Peace into ſome Credit; which before,
80. ſince the *Romans* coming, had as ill a name as War. The Summer following,
*Titus* then Emperor, he ſo continually with Inroads diſquieted the Enemy
over all the Ile, and after Terror ſo allur'd them with his gentle Demeanour,
that many Cities which till that time would not bend, gave Hoſtages, admitted
Gariſons, and came in voluntarily. The Winter he ſpent all in worthy
Actions; teaching and promoting like a public Father the Inſtitutes and Cuſtoms
of civil Life. The Inhabitants rude and ſcatter'd, and by that the
proner to War, he ſo perſwaded as to build Houſes, Temples, and Seats of
Juſtice; and by praiſing the forward, quick'ning the ſlow, aſſiſting all, turn'd
the name of Neceſſity into an Emulation. He caus'd moreover the Noblemens
Sons to be bred up in liberal Arts; and by preferring the Wits of
*Britain* before the Studies of *Gallia*, brought them to affect the Latin Eloquence,
who before hated the Language. Then were the *Roman* Faſhions imitated,
and the Gown; after a while the Incitements alſo and Materials of
Vice, and voluptuous Life, proud Buildings, Baths, and the Elegance of Banqueting;
which the fooliſher ſort call'd Civility, but was indeed a ſecret Art
81. to prepare them for Bondage. Spring appearing, he took the Field, and
with a proſperous Expedition waſted as far Northward as the Frith of *Taus*
all that obey'd not, with ſuch a Terror, as he went, that the *Roman* Army,
though much hinder'd by tempeſtuous Weather, had the leaſure to build
Forts and Caſtles where they pleas'd, none daring to oppoſe them. Beſides,
*Agricola* had this Excellence in him, ſo providently to chooſe his Places where
to fortify, as not another General then alive. No Sconce or Fortreſs of his
raiſing was ever known either to have bin forc'd, or yeilded up, or quitted.
Out of theſe impregnable by Seige, or in that caſe duly releev'd, with continual
Irruptions he ſo prevail'd, that the Enemy, whoſe manner was in Winter
to regain what in Summer he had loſt, was now alike in both Seaſons kept
ſhort and ſtrait'n'd. For theſe Exploits, then eſteem'd ſo great and honourable,
Dion. *l.* 66. *Titus* in whoſe Reign they were atcheev'd was the fifteenth time ſaluted
Imperator; and of him *Agricola* receav'd triumphal Honours. The fourth
82. Summer, *Domitian* then ruling the Empire, he ſpent in ſetling and confirming
what the Year before he had travail'd over with a running Conqueſt. And
had the Valour of his Souldiers bin anſwerable, he had reach'd that Year, as
was thought, the utmoſt Bounds of *Britain*. For *Glota* and *Bodotria*, now
*Dunbritton*, and the Frith of *Edinburrow*, two oppoſite Arms of the Sea, divided
only by a neck of Land, and all the Creeks and Inlets on this ſide, were
held by the *Romans*, and the Enemy driv'n as it were into another Iland. In
83. his fift Year he paſs'd over into the *Orcades*, as we may probably gueſs, and
other Scotch Iles; diſcovering and ſubduing Nations, till then unknown. He
gain'd alſo with his Forces that part of *Britain* which faces *Ireland*, as aiming
alſo to conquer that Iland; where one of the Iriſh Kings driv'n out by civil
Wars coming to him, he both gladly receav'd and retain'd him as againſt a
84. fit time. The Summer enſuing, on miſtruſt that the Nations beyond *Bodotria*
would generally riſe, and forelay the Paſſages by Land, he caus'd his Fleet,
making a great ſhew, to bear along the Coaſt, and up the Friths and Harbours;
joining moſt commonly at Night on the ſame ſhoar both Land and Sea
Forces, with mutual Shouts and loud Greetings. At ſight wherof the *Britans*,
not wont to ſee thir Sea ſo ridd'n, were much daunted. Howbeit the
*Caledonians* with great Preparation, and by Rumor, as of things unknown
much greater, taking Arms, and of thir own Accord beginning War by the
Aſſault of ſundry Caſtles, ſent back ſome of thir Fear to the *Romans* themſelves:

ſelves: and there were of the Commanders, who cloking thir fear under ſhew of ſage Advice, counſel'd the General to retreat back on this ſide *Bodotria.* He in the mean while having intelligence, that the Enemy would fall on in many Bodies, divided alſo his Armie into three parts. Which advantage the *Britans* quickly-ſpying, and on a ſudden uniting what before they had diſjoin'd, aſſail by Night with all thir Forces that part of the Roman Armie which they knew to be the weakeſt; and breaking in upon the Camp, ſurpris'd between ſleep and fear, had begun ſom Execution. When *Agricola*, who had learnt what way the Enemies took, and follow'd them with all ſpeed, ſending before him the lighteſt of his Horſe and Foot to charge them behind, the reſt as they came on to afright them with clamour, ſo ply'd them without reſpit, that by approach of day the *Roman* Enſigns glittering all about, had encompaſs'd the *Britans:* who now after a ſharp fight in the very Ports of the Camp, betook them to thir wonted refuge, the Woods and Fens, purſu'd a while by the Romans; that day elſe in all appearance had ended the War. The Legions reincourag'd by this event, they alſo now boaſting, who but lately trembl'd, cry all to be led on as far as there was *Britiſh* ground. The *Britans* alſo not acknowledging the loſs of that day to *Roman* valour, but to the policy of thir Captain, abated nothing of thir ſtoutneſs; but arming thir youth, conveying thir Wives and Children to places of ſafety, in frequent Aſſemblies, and by ſolemn Cov'nants bound themſelves to mutual aſſiſtance againſt the common Enemy. About the ſame time a Cohort of *Germans* having ſlain thir Centurion with other *Roman* Officers in a Mutiny, and for fear of puniſhment fled a Shipboard, launch'd forth in three light Gallies without Pilot; and by Tide or Weather carried round about the Coaſt, uſing Piracy Dion. *l.* 66. where they landed, while thir Ships held out, and as thir skill ſerv'd them, with various fortune, were the firſt diſcoverers to the *Romans* that *Britain* was an Iland. The following Summer, *Agricola* having before ſent his Navie to hover on the 85. Coaſt, and with ſundrie and uncertain Landings to divert and diſunite the *Britans*, himſelf with a power beſt appointed for Expedition, wherin alſo were many *Britans*, whom he had long try'd both valiant and faithful, marches onward to the Mountain *Grampius*, where the *Britiſh*, above 30 thouſand, were now lodg'd, and ſtill encreaſing; for neither would thir old men, ſo many as were yet vigorous and luſty, be left at home, long practis'd in War, and every one adorn'd with ſome Badg, or cogniſance of his warlike deeds long ago. Of whom *Galgacus*, both by Birth and Merit the prime Leader to thir courage, though of it ſelf hot and violent, is by his rough Oratory, in deteſtation of ſervitude and the *Roman* yoke, ſaid to have added much more eagerneſs of Fight, teſtifi'd by thir ſhouts and barbarous applauſes. As much did on the other ſide *Agricola* exhort his Souldiers to Victory and Glorie; as much the Soldiers by his firm and well grounded Exhortations were all on a fire to the Onſet. But firſt he orders them in this ſort: Of 8000 Auxiliar Foot he makes his middle ward, on the Wings 3000 Horſe, the Legions as a Reſerve, ſtood in array before the Camp; either to ſeiſe the Victory won without thir own hazard, or to keep up the Battle if it ſhould need. The *Britiſh* powers on the Hill ſide, as might beſt ſerve for ſhew and terrour, ſtood in thir Battalions; the firſt on even Ground, the next riſing behind, as the Hill aſcended. The Field between rung with the noiſe of Horſemen and Chariots ranging up and down. *Agricola* doubting to be over wing'd, ſtretches out his Front, though ſomwhat with the thinneſt, inſomuch that many advis'd to bring up the Legions: yet he not altering, alights from his Horſe, and ſtands on foot before the Enſigns. The fight began aloof, and the *Britans* had a certain skill with thir broad ſwaſhing Swords and ſhort Bucklers either to ſtrike aſide, or to bear off the Darts of thir Enemies; and withal to ſend back ſhowers of thir own. Until *Agricola* diſcerning that thoſe little Targets and unweildie Glaves ill pointed, would ſoon become ridiculous againſt the thruſt and cloſe, commanded three *Batavian* Cohorts, and two of the *Tungrians* exercis'd and arm'd for cloſe fight, to draw up, and come to handy-ſtrokes. The *Batavians*, as they were commanded, running in upon them, now with thir long Tucks thruſting at the face, now with thir piked Targets bearing them down, had made good riddance of them that ſtood below; and for haſt omitting furder Execution, began apace to advance up Hill, ſeconded now by all the other Cohorts. Mean while the Horſe-men fly, the Charioters mix themſelves to fight among the Foot, where many of thir Horſe alſo fall'n in diſorderly, were now more a miſchief to thir own, then before a terrour to thir Enemies. The Battle was a confuſ'd heap, the ground unequal; Men, Horſes, Chariots crowded Pelmel; ſomtimes in little room, by and by in large, fighting, ruſhing, felling, over-bearing, over-turning. They on the Hill, which were not yet com to blows, perceaving the fewneſs of thir Enemies, came down amain; and had encloſ'd the *Romans* unawares behind, but that *Agricola* with a ſtrong Body of Horſe, which he reſerv'd for ſuch a purpoſe, repell'd them back as faſt; and others drawn off the Front, were commanded to wheel about and charge them on the backs. Then were the *Romans* clearly Maſters; they follow, they wound, they take, and to take more, kill whom they take: the *Britans* in whole Troops with weapons in thir Hands, one while flying the purſuer, anon without Weapons deſperately running upon the Slayer. But all of them, when once they got the Woods to thir ſhelter, with freſh boldneſs made head again, and the forwardeſt on a ſudden they turn'd and ſlew, the reſt ſo hamper'd, as had not *Agricola*, who was every where at hand, ſent out his readieſt Cohorts, with part of his Horſe to alight and ſcowr the Woods, they had receiv'd a foyl in the midſt of Victorie; but following with a cloſe and orderly purſuit, the *Britans* fled again, and were totally ſcatter'd; till Night and wearineſs ended the chaſe. And of them that day 10 thouſand fell; of the *Romans* 340, among whom *Aulus Atticus* the Leader of a Cohort; carried with heat of Youth, and the firceneſs of his Horſe too far on. The *Romans* jocond of this Victorie, and the ſpoil they got, ſpent the Night; the vanquiſh'd wandring about the Field, both Men and Women, ſom lamenting, ſom calling thir loſt Friends, or carrying off thir Wounded; others forſaking, ſom burning thir own Houſes; and it was certain enough, that there were who with a ſtern Compaſſion laid violent hands on thir Wives and Children, to prevent the more violent hands of hoſtile Injury. Next day appearing manifeſted more plainly the greatneſs of thir loſs receav'd; every where ſilence, deſolation, Houſes burning afar off, not a man ſeen, all fled, and doubtful whether: ſuch word the Scouts bringing in from all parts, and the Summer now ſpent, no fit ſeaſon to diſperſe a War, the *Roman* General leads his Armie among the *Horeſtians*; by whom Hoſtages being giv'n, he commands his Admiral with a ſufficient Navie to ſail round the Coaſt of *Britain*; himſelf with ſlow marches, that his delay in paſſing might ſerve to aw thoſe new conquer'd Nations, beſtows his Army in thir Winter-quarters. The Fleet alſo having fetch't a proſperous and Camden. ſpeedy compaſs about the Ile, put in at the Haven *Trutulenſis*, now *Richborrow* Juvenal, ſat. 2. near *Sandwich*, from whence it firſt ſet out: and now likelieſt, if not two years before, as was mention'd, the *Romans* might diſcover and ſubdue the Iles of Eutrop. *l.* 7. *Orkney*; which others with leſs reaſon following *Euſebius* and *Oroſius*, attribute to the deeds of *Claudius*. Theſe perpetual Exploits abroad won him wide fame; with *Domitian*, under whom great Virtue was as puniſhable as op'n Dion. *l.* 66. Crime, won him Hatred. For he maligning the renown of theſe his acts, in 86. ſhew decreed him honours, in ſecret deviſ'd his ruin. *Agricola* therfore, commanded home for doing too much of what he was ſent to do, left the Province to his Succeſſor quiet and ſecure. Whether he, as is conjectured, were *Saluſtius Lucullus*, or before him ſom other, for *Suetonius* only names him Legat of *Britain* under *Domitian*; but furder of him, or ought elſe don here until the time of *Hadrian*, is no where plainly to be found. Som gather by a Preface in *Tacitus* to the Book of his Hiſtories, that what *Agricola* won here, was ſoon after by *Domitian* either through want of Valour loſt, or through Envy neglected. And *Juvenal* the Poet ſpeaks of *Arviragus* in theſe days, and not before, King of *Britain*; who ſtood ſo well in his reſiſtance, as not only to be talk'd of at *Rome*, but to be held matter of a glorious Triumph, if *Domitian* could take him Captive, or overcom him. Then alſo *Claudia Rufina* the Daughter of a *Britan*, and Wife of *Pudence* a *Roman* Senator, liv'd at *Rome*; famous by the Verſe of *Martial* for Beauty, Wit, and Learning. The next we hear of *Britain*, is that when *Trajan* was Emperor, it revolted, Spartianus in vit. Hadrian. and was ſubdued. But *Hadrian* next entring on the Empire, they ſoon unſubdu'd themſelves. *Julius Severus*, ſaith *Dion*, then govern'd the Iland, a prime Soul-

dier of that Age: he being call'd away to ſuppreſs the Jews then in Tumult,
left things at ſuch a paſs, as caus'd the Emperor in Perſon to take a Journey 122.
hither; where many things he reform'd, and, as *Auguſtus*, and *Tiberius* counſel'd Spartianus
to gird the Empire within moderate Bounds, he rais'd a Wall with ibid.
great ſtakes driv'n in deep, and faſtn'd together, in manner of a ſtrong
Mound, fourſcore mile in length, to divide what was *Roman* from *Barbarian*;
as his manner was to do in other Frontiers of his Empire, where great Rivers
divided not the Limits. No antient Author names the place, but old Inſcriptions,
and ruin it ſelf yet teſtifies where it went along between *Solway* Frith by
*Carlile*, and the Mouth of *Tine*. *Hadrian* having quieted the Iland, took it Camden.
for honour to be titl'd on his Coin, The Reſtorer of *Britain*. In his time alſo
*Priſcus Licinius*, as appears by an old Inſcription, was Lieutenant heer. *Antoninus Pius*
reigning, the *Brigantes* ever leaſt patient of Foren ſervitude, breaking Pauſan. arcad.
in upon *Genounia* (which *Camden* gueſſes to be *Guinethia* or *North-Wales*)
part of the *Roman* Province, were with the loſs of much Territory driv'n back
by *Lollius Urbicus*, who drew another Wall of Turves; in likelihood much Capit.vit. Ant.
beyond the former, and as *Camden* proves, between the Frith of *Dunbritton*, 144.
and of *Edinborrow*; to hedg out incurſions from the North. And *Seius Saturninus*, Capit. Marc.
as is collected from the digeſts, had charge heer of the *Roman* Navie. Ant. Philoſ.
With like ſucceſs did *Marcus Aurelius*, next Emperor, by his Legat *Calphurnius* 162.
*Agricola*, finiſh heer a new War: *Commodus* after him obteining the Empire. Digeſt l. 36.
In his time, as among ſo many different accounts may ſeem moſt probable,
*Lucius* a ſuppos'd King in ſome part of *Britain*, the firſt of any King in *Europe*, Beda.
that we read of, receav'd the Chriſtian Faith, and this Nation the firſt by
public Authority profeſs'd it: a high and ſingular Grace from above, if ſinceritie
and perſeverance went along, otherwiſe an empty boaſt, and to be
fear'd the verifying of that true ſentence, *The firſt ſhall be laſt*. And indeed
the praiſe of this action is more proper to King *Lucius*, then common to the
*Nation*; whoſe firſt profeſſing by public Authority was no real commendation
of thir true Faith, which had appear'd more ſincere and praiſe-worthy,
whether in this or other Nation, firſt profeſs'd without public Authority or
againſt it, might elſe have bin but outward conformity. *Lucius* in our *Monmouth*
Story is made the ſecond by Deſcent from *Marius*; *Marius* the Son of
*Arviragus* is there ſaid to have overthrown the *Picts* then firſt coming out of
*Scythia*, ſlain *Roderic* thir King; and in ſign of Victorie to have ſet up a Monument
of Stone in the Country ſince call'd *Weſtmaria*; but theſe things have no
Foundation. *Coilus* the Son of *Marius*, all his Reign which was juſt and
peaceable, holding great amity with the *Romans*, left it Hereditary to *Lucius*.
He (if *Beda* err not, living neer 500 years after, yet our antienteſt Author
of this report) ſent to *Eleutherius* then Biſhop of *Rome*, an improbable Letter,
as ſom of the Contents diſcover, deſiring that by his appointment he 181.
and his People might receave Chriſtianity. From whom two religious Doctors,
nam'd in our Chronicles *Faganus* and *Deruvianus*, forthwith ſent, are
ſaid to have converted and baptiz'd well nigh the whole Nation: thence *Lucius* Nennius.
to have had the ſirname of *Levermaur*, that is to ſay, Great light. Nor
yet then firſt was the Chriſtian Faith heer known, but ev'n from the latter daies
of *Tiberius*, as *Gildas* confidently affirms, taught and propagated, and that as
ſom ſay by *Simon Zelotes*, as others by *Joſeph* of *Arimathæa*, *Barnabas*, *Paul*,
*Peter*, and thir prime Diſciples. But of theſe matters, variouſly written and
believ'd, Eccleſiaſtic Hiſtorians can beſt determin; as the beſt of them do,
with little Credit giv'n to the particulars of ſuch uncertain relations. As for
*Lucius*, they write, that after a long Reign he was buried in *Gloſter*; but dying Geff. Mon.
without Iſſue, left the Kingdom in great Commotion. By truer teſtimony
we find that the greateſt War which in thoſe days buſy'd *Commodus*, was in Dion. l. 72.
this Iland. For the Nations Northward, notwithſtanding the Wall rais'd to
keep them out, breaking in upon the *Roman* Province, waſted wide; and both
the Army and the Leader that came againſt them wholly routed, and deſtroy'd;
which put the Emperor in ſuch a fear, as to diſpatch hither one of
his beſt Commanders, *Ulpius Marcellus*. He a man endu'd with all nobleneſs 183.
of mind, frugal and temperate, mild and magnanimous, in War bold and
watchful, invincible againſt Lucre, and the aſſault of Bribes; what with his
Valour, and theſe his other Virtues, quickly ended this War that look'd ſo

dangerous, and had himſelf like to have been ended by the Peace which he
brought home, for preſuming to be ſo worthy and ſo good under the envy
of ſo worthleſs and ſo bad an Emperor. After whoſe departure the *Roman*
Lamprid. in comm. Legions fell to Sedition among themſelves; fifteen hundred of them went to
*Rome* in name of the reſt, and were ſo terrible to *Commodus* himſelf, as that
186. to pleaſe them he deliver'd up to thir care *Perennis* the Captain of his
Guard, for having in the *Britiſh* War remov'd thir Leaders, who were
Senators, and in thir places put thoſe of the Equeſtrian Order. Notwithſtanding
which compliance, they endeavour'd here to ſet up another
Emperor againſt him; and *Helvius Pertinax* who ſucceeded Governour, found
it a work ſo difficult to appeaſe them, that once in a Mutiny he was left for
dead among many ſlain; and though afterwards he ſeverely puniſh'd the
Capitolin. in Pert. Tumulters, was fain at length to ſeek a diſmiſſion from his Charge. After
him *Clodius Albinus* took the Government; but he, for having to the Souldiers
Capitolin. in Alb. made an Oration againſt Monarchy, by the appointment of *Commodus*
193. was bid reſign to *Junius Severus*. But *Albinus* in thoſe troubleſom times enſuing
Dion. under the ſhort Reign of *Pertinax* and *Didius Julianus*, found means to
Did. Jul. keep in his hands the Government of *Britain*; although *Septimius Severus* who
Spartian. in Sever. next held the Empire, ſent hither *Heraclitus* to diſplace him; but in vain, for
Herod. l. 3. *Albinus* with all the *Britiſh* Powers and thoſe of *Gallia* met *Severus* about
*Lyons* in *France*, and fought a bloody Battail with him for the Empire, though
Herod. l. 3. at laſt vanquiſh'd and ſlain. The Government of *Britain*, *Severus* divided
Digeſt. l. 28. tit. 6. between two Deputies; till then one Legat was thought ſufficient; the North
he committed to *Virius Lupus*. Where the *Meatæ* riſing in Arms, and the
*Caledonians*, though they had promis'd the contrary to *Lupus*, preparing to
Dion. defend them, ſo hard beſet, he was compell'd to buy his Peace, and a few
of Priſ'ners with great Sums of Money. But hearing that *Severus* had now
Herod. l. 3. brought to an end his other Wars, he writes him plainly the ſtate of things
here, that the *Britans* of the North made War upon him, broke into the
Province, and haraſs'd all the Countries nigh them, that there needed ſuddenly
either more Aid, or himſelf in Perſon. *Severus*, though now much
weaken'd with Age and the Gout, yet deſirous to leav ſom Memorial of his
warlike Acheevments here, as he had don in other places, and beſides to withdraw
by this means his two Sons from the Pleaſures of *Rome*, and his Souldiers
from Idleneſs, with a mighty power far ſooner than could be expected,
208. arrives in *Britain*. The Northern People much daunted with the report of
ſo great Forces brought over with him, and yet more preparing, ſend Embaſſadors
to treat of Peace, and to excuſe thir former doings. The Emperor
now loth to return home without ſom memorable thing don, wherby he
might aſſume to his other Titles the addition of *Britannicus*, delays his Anſwer,
and quick'ns his Preparations; till in the end, when all things were in
readineſs to follow them, they are diſmiſs't without effect. His principal
care was to have many Bridges laid over Bogs and rotten Mores, that his
Souldiers might have to fight on ſure footing. For it ſeems through lack of
Tillage, the Northern parts were then, as *Ireland* is at this day; and the
Inhabitants in like manner wonted to retire, and defend themſelves in ſuch
209. watery places half naked. He alſo being paſt *Adrian*'s Wall, cut down Woods,
made way through Hills, faſt'nd and fill'd up unſound and plaſhy Fens. Notwithſtanding
all this Induſtry us'd, the Enemy kept himſelf ſo cunningly
within his beſt Advantages, and ſeldom appearing, ſo opportunely found
his times to make Irruption upon the *Romans*, when they were moſt in ſtraits
and difficulties, ſomtimes training them on with a few Cattel turn'd out, and
drawn within Ambuſh cruelly handling them, that many a time enclos'd in
Dion. the midſt of Sloughs and Quagmires, they choſe rather themſelves to kill
ſuch as were faint and could not ſhift away, then leave them there a Prey to
the *Caledonians*. Thus loſt *Severus*, and by Sickneſs in thoſe noiſom places,
no leſs then fifty thouſand Men: and yet deſiſted not, though for Weakneſs
carried in a Litter, till he had march'd through with his Army to the utmoſt
Northern Verge of the Ile: and the *Britans* offering Peace, were compell'd
to loſe much of thir Country not before ſubject to the *Romans*. *Severus* on
210. the Frontiers of what he had firmly conquer'd, builds a Wall croſs the Iland
Spartianus in Sever. from Sea to Sea; which one Author judges the moſt magnificent of all his

other Deeds; and that he thence receav'd the ſtile of *Britannicus*; in length
132 Miles. *Oroſius* adds it fortify'd with a deep Trench, and between certain Eutropii Pean.
ſpaces many Towers, or Battlements. The place wherof ſom will have Oroſ. l. 7.
to be in *Scotland*, the ſame which *Lollius Urbicus* had wall'd before. Others Caſſidor. chro.
affirm it only *Hadrians* Work re-edifi'd; both plead Authorities and the Buchanan.
ancient Tract yet viſible: but this I leave among the ſtudious of theſe Antiquities
to be diſcus't more at large. While Peace held, the Empreſs *Julia*
meeting on a time certain *Britiſh* Ladies, and diſcourſing with the Wife of
*Argentocoxus* a *Caledonian*, caſt out a Scoff againſt the Looſeneſs of our Iland
Women; whoſe manner then was to uſe promiſcuouſly the company of divers
Men. Whom ſtraight the *Britiſh* Woman boldly thus anſwer'd: *Much better*
*do we* Britans *fulfil the work of Nature then you* Romans; *we with the beſt Men*
*accuſtom op'nly; you with the baſeſt commit private Adulteries.* Whether ſhe
thought this Anſwer might ſerve to juſtifie the practice of her Country, as
when Vices are compar'd, the greater ſeems to juſtifie the leſs, or whether
the Law and Cuſtom wherin ſhe was bred, had whip't out of her Conſcience
the better Dictate of Nature, and not convinc't her of the ſhame; certain
it is that wheras other Nations us'd a liberty not unnatural for one Man to
have many Wives, the *Britans* altogether as licentious, but more abſurd and Cæſar.
prepoſterous in thir licence, had one or many Wives in common among ten
or twelve Husbands; and thoſe for the moſt part inceſtuouſly. But no ſooner
was *Severus* return'd into the Province, then the *Britans* take Arms again.
Againſt whom *Severus*, worn out with Labours and Infirmity, ſends *Antoninus*
his eldeſt Son, expreſly commanding him to ſpare neither Sex nor Age. But
*Antoninus*, who had his wicked thoughts tak'n up with the contriving of his
Father's Death, a ſafer Enemy then a Son, did the *Britans* not much detriment.
Wherat *Severus*, more overcom with Grief then any other Malady,
ended his Life at *York*. After whoſe deceaſe *Antoninus Caracalla* his impious 211.
Son, concluding Peace with the *Britans*, took Hoſtages and departed to *Rome*. Spartianus in
The Conductor of all this Northern War *Scotiſh* Writers name *Donaldus*, he Sever.
of *Monmouth Fulgenius*, in the reſt of his relation nothing worth. From
hence the *Roman* Empire declining apace, good Hiſtorians growing ſcarce, or
loſt, have left us little elſe but Fragments for many years enſuing. Under
*Gordian* the Emperour we find by the Inſcription of an Altar-ſtone, that *Nonius* 242. Camd. Cumber.
*Philippus* govern'd here. Under *Galienus* we read there was a ſtrong and general
revolt from the *Roman* Legat. Of the thirty Tyrants which not long 259.
after took upon them the ſtile of Emperor, by many Coins found among us, Eumen. Paneg.
*Lollianus*, *Victorinus*, *Poſthumus*, the *Tetrici* and *Marius* are conjectured to Conſt.
have ris'n or born great ſway in this Iland. Whence *Porphyrius*, a Philoſopher 267.
then living, ſaid that *Britain* was a Soil fruitful of Tyrants; and is Camden. Gildas.
noted to be the firſt Author that makes mention of the *Scotiſh* Nation. Hieronym.
While *Probus* was Emperor, *Bonoſus* the Son of a Rhetorician, bred up a 282.
*Spaniard*, though by deſcent a *Britan*, and a matchleſs Drinker, nor much to be Vapiſc. in
blam'd, if, as they write, he were ſtill wiſeſt in his Cups, having attain'd in Bonoſ.
warfare to high Honours, and laſtly in his Charge over the *German* ſhipping,
willingly, as was thought, miſcarried, truſting on his Power with the Weſtern
Armies, and join'd with *Proculus*, bore himſelf a while for Emperor;
but after a long and bloody fight at *Cullen*, vanquiſh'd by *Probus* he hang'd
himſelf, and gave occaſion of a ready Jeſt made on him for his much drinking;
*Here hangs a Tankard, not a Man.* After this, *Probus* with much Wiſdom Zozim. l. 1.
prevented a new riſing here in *Britain* by the ſevere Loyalty of *Victorinus*
a *Moor*, at whoſe entreaty he had plac'd here that Governour which rebell'd.
For the Emperor upbraiding him with the Diſloyalty of whom he had commended,
*Victorinus* undertaking to ſet all right again, haſtes hither, and finding
indeed the Governour to intend Sedition, by ſom contrivance not mention'd
in the Story, ſlew him, whoſe name ſom imagin to be *Cornelius Lelianus*. Camd.
They write alſo that *Probus* gave leave to the *Spaniards*, *Gauls* and
*Britans* to plant Vines, and to make Wine; and having ſubdu'd the *Vandals*,
and *Burgundians* in a great Battail, ſent over many of them hither to inhabit, Zozimus.
where they did good Service to the *Romans* when any Inſurrection
happen'd in the Ile. After whom *Carus* Emperor going againſt the *Perſians*, 283. Vopiſc. in
left *Carinus* one of his Sons to govern among other Weſtern Provinces this Carin.

Iland with Imperial Authority; but him *Diocleſian*, ſaluted Emperor by the
284. Eaſtern Arms, overcame and ſlew. About which time *Carauſius*, a Man of
Aurel. victor. low Parentage, born in *Menapia*, about the parts of *Cleves* and *Juliers*, who
de Cæſar. through all military degrees was made at length Admiral of the *Belgic* and
*Armoric* Seas, then much infeſted by the *Franks* and *Saxons*, what he took
285. from the Pyrats, neither reſtoring to the Owners, nor accounting to the
Eutrop. Oroſ. Public, but enriching himſelf, and yet not ſcowring the Seas, but conniving
rather at thoſe Sea-Robbers, was grown at length too great a Delinquent
to be leſs then an Emperor: for fear and guiltineſs in thoſe days made
Emperors ofter then merit: And underſtanding that *Maximianus Herculius*,
Eumen. Paneg. 2. *Diocleſian*'s adopted Son, was com againſt him into *Gallia*, paſs'd over with
the Navy which he had made his own, into *Britain*, and poſſeſs'd the Iland.
286. Where he built a new Fleet after the *Roman* faſhion, got into his Power the
Legion that was left here in Gariſon, other outlandiſh Cohorts detain'd,
liſted the very Merchants and Factors of *Gallia*, and with the allurement of
Spoil invited great numbers of other barbarous Nations to his part, and
train'd them to Sea-Service, wherin the *Romans* at that time were grown
ſo out of skill, that *Carauſius* with his Navy did at Sea what he liſted, robbing
on every Coaſt; wherby *Maximian*, able to com no nearer then the
Victor. Eutrop. ſhoar of *Boloigne*, was forc't to conclude a Peace with *Carauſius*, and yeild
him *Britain*; as one fitteſt to guard the Province there againſt Inroads from
291. the North. But not long after having aſſum'd *Conſtantius Chlorus* to the dignity
of *Cæſar*, ſent him againſt *Carauſius*; who in the mean while had made
Buchanan. himſelf ſtrong both within the Land and without. *Galfred* of *Monmouth*
writes that he made the *Picts* his Confederates; to whom lately com out
of *Scythia* he gave *Albany* to dwell in: and it is obſerv'd that before his time
the *Picts* are not known to have bin any where mention'd, and then firſt by
Paneg. 2. *Eumenius* a Rhetorician. He repair'd and fortifi'd the Wall of *Severus* with
ſeven Caſtles, and a round Houſe of ſmooth Stone on the Bank of *Carron*,
which River, ſaith *Ninnius*, was of his Name ſo call'd; he built alſo a Triumphal
Arch in remembrance of ſom Victory there obtain'd. In *France* he
Paneg. Sigonius. held *Geſſoriacum*, or *Boloigne*; and all the *Franks* which had by his permiſſion
ſeated themſelves in *Belgia*, were at his devotion. But *Conſtantius* haſting
into *Gallia*, beſieges *Boloigne*, and with Stones and Timber obſtructing the
Port, keeps out all Relief that could be ſent in by *Carauſius*. Who ere *Conſtantius*
with the great Fleet which he had prepar'd, could arrive hither, was
292. ſlain treacherouſly by *Alectus* one of his Friends, who long'd to ſtep into his
place; when he ſeven Years, and worthily as ſom ſay, as others tyrannically,
had rul'd the Iland. So much the more did *Conſtantius* proſecute that opportunity,
Camd. ex before *Alectus* could well ſtrengthen his Affairs: and though in
Nin. Eumen. ill weather, putting to Sea with all urgency from ſeveral Hav'ns to ſpread the
Pan. 3. terror of his landing, and the doubt where to expect him, in a Miſt paſſing
Oroſ. l. 7. the *Britiſh* Fleet unſeen, that lay ſcouting near the Ile of *Wight*, no ſooner got
cap. 25. a ſhoar, but fires his own Ships, to leave no hope of Refuge but in Victory.
*Alectus* alſo, though now much diſmaid, transfers his Fortune to a Battel on
the ſhoar; but encounter'd by *Aſclepiodotus* Captain of the *Prætorian* Bands,
and deſperately ruſhing on, unmindful both of ordering his Men, or bringing
them all to fight, ſave the Acceſſories of his Treaſon, and his outlandiſh
Hirelings, is overthrown, and ſlain with little or no loſs to the *Romans*, but
great execution on the *Franks*. His Body was found almoſt naked in the
field, for his Purple Robe he had thrown aſide, leſt it ſhould deſcry him, unwilling
to be found. The reſt taking flight to *London*, and purpoſing with the
Pillage of that City to eſcape by Sea, are met by another part of the *Roman*
Army, whom the Miſt at Sea disjoining had by chance brought thither, and
with a new ſlaughter chas'd through all the Streets. The *Britans*, thir Wives
alſo and Children, with great joy go out to meet *Conſtantius*, as one whom
they acknowledg thir Deliverer from Bondage and Inſolence. All this ſeems
by *Eumenius*, who then liv'd, and was of *Conſtantius*'s Houſhold, to have bin
don in the courſe of one continu'd Action; ſo alſo thinks *Sigonius* a learned
Eumen. Writer: though all others allow three Years to the Tyranny of *Alectus*. In
theſe days were great ſtore of Workmen, and excellent Builders in this
Iland, whom after the alteration of things here, the *Æduans* in *Burgundy*
enter-

entertain'd to build thir Temples and public Edifices. *Diocleſian* having
hitherto ſucceſsfully us'd his Valour againſt the Enemies of his Empire, uſes
now his Rage in a bloody Perſecution againſt his obedient and harmleſs
Chriſtian Subjects: from the feeling wherof neither was this Iland, though Gildas.
moſt remote, far anough remov'd. Among them here who ſuffer'd gloriouſly,
*Aron*, and *Julius* of *Caer leon* upon *Usk*, but chiefly *Alban* of *Verulam*, were
moſt renown'd: The ſtory of whoſe Martyrdom ſoil'd, and worſe martyr'd
with the fabling Zeal of ſom idle Fancies, more fond of Miracles,
then apprehenſive of Truth, deſerves not longer digreſſion. *Conſtantius*
after *Diocleſian*, dividing the Empire with *Galerius*, had *Britain* among
his other Provinces; where either preparing or returning with
Victory from an Expedition againſt the *Caledonians*, he died at *York*. His
Son *Conſtantine*, who happily came poſt from *Rome* to *Boloigne*, juſt about the Author. ignot.
time, ſaith *Eumenius*, that his Father was ſetting ſail his laſt time poſt Marcellin.
hither, and not long before his Death, was by him on his Deathbed Valeſii.
nam'd, and after his Funeral, by the whole Army ſaluted Emperor. 306.
There goes a fame, and that ſeconded by moſt of our own Hiſtorians, though Eutrop. Eumen.
not thoſe the ancienteſt, that *Conſtantine* was born in this Iland, his Mother idem Auth. ignot.
*Helena* the Daughter of *Coilus* a *Britiſh* Prince, not ſure the Father of King
*Lucius*, whoſe Siſter ſhe muſt then be, for that would detect her too old by
a hundred Years to be the Mother of *Conſtantine*. But to ſalve this Incoherence,
another *Coilus* is feign'd to be then Earl of *Colcheſter*. To this therfore Idem vit.
the *Roman* Authors give no teſtimony, except a Paſſage or two in the *Panegyrics*, Auth. ignot.
about the ſenſe wherof much is argu'd: Others neareſt to thoſe times Euſeb. Conſt.
clear the Doubt, and write him certainly born of a mean Woman, *Helena*, the Oroſ. l. 7.
Concubine of *Conſtantius*, at *Naiſus* in *Dardania*. Howbeit, ere his departure 25. cap. Caſſ. chron.
hence, he ſeems to have had ſome Bickerings in the North, which by reaſon
of more urgent Affairs compos'd, he paſſes into *Gallia*; and after four Years 307.
returns either to ſettle or to alter the ſtate of things here, until a new War againſt Sigon.
*Maxentius* call'd him back, leaving *Pacatianus* his Vicegerent. He deceaſing, 311. Camd.
*Conſtantine* his eldeſt Son enjoy'd for his part of the Empire, with all Ammian. l.
the Provinces that lay on this ſide the *Alps*, this Iland alſo. But falling to 20. & in eum
Civil War with *Conſtans* his Brother, was by him ſlain; who with his third Valeſius.
Brother *Conſtantius* coming into *Britain*, ſeiz'd it as Victor. Againſt him 340. Libanius in
roſe *Magnentius*, one of his chief Commanders, by ſom affirm'd the Son of Baſilico.
a *Britan*, he having gain'd on his ſide great Forces, conteſted with *Conſtantius*
in many Battels for the ſole Empire; but vanquiſh't, in the end ſlew himſelf. 343. Camb. ex
Somwhat before this time *Gratianus Funarius*, the Father of *Valentinian*, Firmico.
afterwards Emperor, had chief command of thoſe Armies which the *Romans* 350.
kept here. And the *Arian* Doctrin which then divided Chriſtendom, Camden.
wrought alſo in this Iland no ſmall Diſturbance; a Land, ſaith *Gildas*, greedy 353.
of every thing new, ſtedfaſt in nothing. At laſt *Conſtantius* appointed a *Synod* Ammian.
of more then 400 Biſhops to aſſemble at *Ariminum* on the Emperor's 359.
Charges, which the reſt all refuſing, three only of the *Britiſh*, poverty conſtraining
them, accepted; though the other Biſhops among them offer'd to
have born thir Charges; eſteeming it more honourable to live on the Public,
then to be obnoxious to any private Purſe. Doubtleſs an ingenuous Mind, and
far above the Presbyters of our Age; who like well to ſit in Aſſembly on the
public Stipend, but lik'd not the Poverty that caus'd theſe to do ſo. After
this *Martinus* was Deputy of the Province; who being offended with the
Cruelty which *Paulus*, an Inquiſitor ſent from *Conſtantius*, exercis'd in his enquiry
after thoſe Military Officers who had conſpir'd with *Mag*[illegible]*tius*, was
himſelf laid hold on as an Acceſſory; at which enrag'd he r[illegible]at *Paulus*
with his drawn Sword; but failing to kill him, turns it on himſelf. Next to
whom, as may be gueſs'd, *Alipius* was made Deputy. In the mean time *Julian*,
whom *Conſtantius* had made *Cæſar*, having recover'd much Territory Liban. Orat. 10.
about the *Rhine*, where the *German* Inrodes before had long inſulted, to relieve Zozim. l. 3.
thoſe Countries almoſt ruin'd, cauſes 800 Pinaces to be built; and with them, Marcel. l. 18.
by frequent Voyages, plenty of Corn to be fetch'd in from *Britain*; which
ev'n then was the uſual bounty of this Soil to thoſe parts, as oft as *French* and Amm. l. 23.
*Saxon* Pirats hinder'd not the tranſportation. While *Conſtantius* yet reign'd, 360.
the *Scots* and *Picts* breaking in upon the Northern Confines, *Julian*, being at Amm. l. 20.

*Paris*, ſends over *Lupicinus*, a well-try'd Souldier, but a proud and covetous
Man, who with a Power of light-arm'd *Herulians*, *Batavians*, and *Mæſians*,
in the midſt of Winter ſailing from *Bologne*, arrives at *Rutupiæ* ſeated on the
oppoſite Shoar, and comes to *London*, to conſult there about the War; but
ſoon after was recal'd by *Julian* then choſen Emperor. Under whom we read
not of ought hapning here, only that *Palladius* one of his great Officers was
364. hither baniſh'd. This Year *Valentinian* being Emperor, the *Attacots*, *Picts*,
Amm. *l.* 26, and *Scots*, roving up and down, and laſt the *Saxons* with perpetual Land-
27. ings and Invaſions harryed the South Coaſt of *Britain*; ſlew *Nectaridius* who
govern'd the Sea-Borders, and *Bulchobaudes* with his Forces by an Ambuſh.
With which News *Valentinian* not a little perplext, ſends firſt *Severus* high
Steward of his Houſe, and ſoon recals him; then *Jovinus*, who intimating
the neceſſity of greater Supplies, he ſends at length *Theodoſius*, a Man of
try'd Valour and Experience, Father to the firſt Emperor of that Name.
367. He with ſelected Numbers out of the Legions, and Cohorts, croſſes the Sea
from *Bologne* to *Rutupiæ*; from whence with the *Batavians*, *Herulians*, and
other Legions that arriv'd ſoon after, he marches to *London*; and dividing
his Forces into ſeveral Bodies, ſets upon the diſpers'd and plundring Enemy,
lad'n with ſpoil; from whom recovering the Booty which they led away,
and were forc'd to leave there with thir lives, he reſtores all to the right
Owners, ſave a ſmall Portion to his wearied Souldiers, and enters *London*
victoriouſly; which before in many Straits and Difficulties, was now reviv'd
as with a great deliverance. The numerous Enemy with whom he had to
deal, was of different Nations, and the War ſcatter'd: Which *Theodoſius*,
getting daily ſome intelligence from Fugitives and Priſoners, reſolves to carry
on by ſudden Parties and Surpriſals, rather then ſet Battels; nor omits he to
proclaim Indemnity to ſuch as would lay down Arms, and accept of Peace,
which brought in many. Yet all this not ending the Work, he requires that
*Civilis*, a Man of much Uprightneſs, might be ſent him, to be as Deputy of
the Iland, and *Dulcitius* a famous Captain. Thus was *Theodoſius* buſy'd, be-
ſetting with Ambuſhes the roving Enemy, repreſſing his Roads, reſtoring
Cities and Caſtles to thir former Safety and Defence, laying every where the
368. firm Foundation of a long Peace, when *Valentinus* a *Pannonian*, for ſom great
Amm. *l.* 28. Offence baniſh'd into *Britain*, conſpiring with certain Exiles and Souldiers
Zozim. *l.* 4. againſt *Theodoſius*, whoſe Worth he dreaded as the only Obſtacle to his great-
er Deſign of gaining the Ile into his Power, is diſcover'd, and with his chief
Accomplices deliver'd over to condign Puniſhment: Againſt the reſt, *Theo-
doſius* with a wiſe Lenity ſuffer'd not Inquiſition to proceed too rigorouſly,
leſt the fear therof appertaining to ſo many, occaſion might ariſe of new
Trouble in a time ſo unſetl'd. This don, he applies himſelf to reform
things out of order, raiſes on the Confines many ſtrong holds; and in them
appoints due and diligent Watches: and ſo reduc'd all things out of danger,
that the Province which but lately was under command of the Enemy, be-
came now wholly *Roman*, new nam'd *Valentia* of *Valentinian*, and the City of
*London*, *Auguſta*. Thus *Theodoſius* nobly acquitting himſelf in all Affairs,
with general applauſe of the whole Province, accompanied to the Sea-ſide,
373. returns to *Valentinian*. Who about five Years after ſent hither *Fraomarius*, a
Amm. *l.* 29. King of the *Almans*, with Authority of a Tribune over his own Country
Forces; which then both for number and good Service, were in high eſteem.
Againſt *Gratian* who ſucceeded in the Weſtern Empire, *Maximus* a *Spaniard*,
Zozim. *l.* 4. and one who had ſerv'd in the *Britiſh* Wars with younger *Theodoſius*, (for he
Sigon. alſo, either with his Father, or not long after him, ſeems to have don ſom-
thing in this Iland) and now General of the *Roman* Armies here, either diſ-
contented that *Theodoſius* was prefer'd before him to the Empire, or con-
Proſper. Aqui- ſtrain'd by the Souldiers who hated *Gratian*, aſſumes the Imperial Purple;
tanic. chron. and having attain'd Victory againſt the *Scots* and *Picts*, with the flow'r and
383. ſtrength of *Britain*, paſſes into *France*; there ſlays *Gratian*, and without much
Gildas. difficulty, the ſpace of five Years, obtains his part of the Empire, over-
388. thrown at length, and ſlain by *Theodoſius*. With whom periſhing moſt of his
Beda. Followers, or not returning out of *Armorica*, which *Maximus* had giv'n them
Ninn. to poſſeſs, the South of *Britain* by this means exhauſted of her Youth, and what
there was of *Roman* Souldiers on the Confines drawn off, became a Prey to ſa-
vage

vage Invaſions; of *Scots* from the *Iriſh* Seas, of *Saxons* from the *German*, of 389.
*Picts* from the North. Againſt them, firſt *Chryſanthus* the Son of *Marcian* a
Biſhop, made Deputy of *Britain* by *Theodoſius*, demean'd himſelf worthily: Socrat. *l.* 7.
then *Stilicho* a Man of great Power, whom *Theodoſius* dying, left Protector of Claudian. de
his Son *Honorius*, either came in Perſon, or ſending over ſufficient Aid, re- laud. Stil. *l.* 2.
preſs'd them, and as it ſeems new fortifi'd the Wall againſt them. But that & de bello
Legion being call'd away, when the *Roman* Armies from all parts haſted to Get.
releeve *Honorius* then beſieg'd in *Aſta* of *Piemont*, by *Alaric* the *Goth*, *Britain* 402.
was left expos'd as before, to thoſe barbarous Robbers. Leſt any wonder
how the *Scots* came to infeſt *Britain* from the *Iriſh* Sea, it muſt be underſtood,
that the *Scots* not many Years before had been driv'n all out of *Britain* by Ethelwerd.
*Maximus*; and thir King *Eugenius* ſlain in Fight, as thir own Annals report: Sax. an.
wherby, it ſeems, wandring up and down, without certain Seat, they liv'd Bede epit. *in*
by ſcumming thoſe Seas and Shoars as Pirats. But more authentic Writers *the Year* 565,
confirm us, that the *Scots*, whoever they be originally, came firſt into *Ireland*, *and* Bede, *l.* 2.
and dwelt there, and nam'd it *Scotia* long before the North of *Britain* took *c.* 4.
that Name. *Oroſius* who liv'd at this time writes, that *Ireland* was then inha-
bited by *Scots*. About this time, though troubleſom, *Pelagius* a *Britain* found Oroſ. l. 1. cap. 2.
the leaſure to bring new and dangerous Opinions into the Church, and is 405.
largely writ againſt by St. *Auſtin*. But the *Roman* Powers which were call'd
into *Italy*, when once the fear of *Alaric* was over, made return into ſeveral
Provinces; and perhaps *Victorinus* of *Toloſa*, whom *Rutilius* the Poet much
commends, might be then Prefect of this Iland; if it were not he whom *Sti-*
*licho* ſent hither. **Buchanan** writes, that endeavouring to reduce the *Picts* in-
to a Province, he gave the occaſion of thir calling back *Ferguſius* and the *Scots*,
whom *Maximus* with thir help had quite driv'n out of the Iland: and indeed
the Verſes of that Poet ſpeak him to have bin active in thoſe parts. But the
time which is aſſign'd him later by *Buchanan* after *Gratianus Municeps*, by
*Camden* after *Conſtantine* the Tyrant, accords not with that which follows in the
plain courſe of Hiſtory. For the *Vandals* having broke in and waſted all *Bel-* 407.
*gia*, ev'n to thoſe places from whence eaſieſt paſſage is into *Britain*, the *Roman* Zozim. l. 6.
Forces here, doubting to be ſuddenly invaded, were all in uproar, and in tu-
multuous manner ſet up *Marcus*, who it may ſeem was then Deputy. But
him not found agreeable to thir heady courſes, they as haſtily kill; for the Sozom. l. 9.
giddy favour of a mutining Rout is as dangerous as thir Fury. The like they
do by *Gratian* a *Britiſh Roman*, in four Months advanc't, ador'd, and de- Oroſ. l. 7.
ſtroy'd. There was among them a common Souldier whoſe name was *Con-*
*ſtantine*, with him on a ſudden ſo taken they are, upon the Conceit put in
them of a luckineſs in his Name, as without other viſible Merit to create him
Emperor. It fortun'd that the Man had not his Name for nought; ſo well
he knew to lay hold, and make good uſe of an unexpected Offer. He ther-
fore with a wak'nd ſpirit, to the extent of his Fortune dilating his mind,
which in his mean condition before lay contracted and ſhrunk up, orders with
good Advice his Military Affairs: and with the whole Force of the Province,
and what of *Britiſh* was able to bear Arms, he paſſes into *France*, aſpiring at
leaſt to an equal ſhare with *Honorius* in the Empire. Where, by the Valour
of *Edobecus* a *Frank*, and *Gerontius* a *Britain*, and partly by perſwaſion, gain-
ing all in his way, he comes to *Arles*. With like felicity by his Son *Conſtans*, 408.
whom of a Monk he had made a *Cæſar*, and by the Conduct of *Gerontius* he
reduces all *Spain* to his Obedience. But *Conſtans* after this diſplacing *Geron-*
*tius*, the Affairs of *Conſtantine* ſoon went to wrack; for he by this means a-
lienated, ſet up *Maximus* one of his Friends againſt him in *Spain*; and paſ- 409.
ſing into *France*, took *Vienna* by aſſault, and having ſlain *Conſtans* in that Ci-
ty, calls on the *Vandals* againſt *Conſtantine*; who by him incited, as by him
before they had bin repreſ't, breaking forward, over-run moſt part of *France*.
But when *Conſtantius Comes*, the Emperor's General, with a ſtrong Power
came out of *Italy*, *Gerontius* deſerted by his own Forces, retires into *Spain*; Sozom. l. 9.
where alſo growing into contempt with the Souldiers, after his flight out of
*France*, by whom his Houſe in the night was beſet, having firſt with a few of Olympiodor.
his Servants defended himſelf valiantly, and ſlain above 300, though when apud Photi-
his Darts and other Weapons were ſpent, he might have ſcap'd at a private um.
Door, as all his Servants did, not enduring to leave his Wife *Nonnichia*,

whoſe

whom he lov'd, to the violence of an enraged Crew, he firſt cuts off the Head of his Friend *Alanus*, as was agreed; next his Wife, though loth and delaying, yet by her entreated and importun'd, refuſing to outlive her Huſband, he diſpatches: for which her Reſolution, *Sozomenus* an Eccleſiaſtic Writer gives her high praiſe, both as a Wife, and as a Chriſtian. Laſt of all againſt himſelf he turns his Sword; but miſſing the mortal place, with his Poinard finiſhes the Work. Thus far is purſu'd the ſtory of a famous *Britan*, related negligently by our other Hiſtorians. As for *Conſtantine*, his ending was not anſwerable to his ſetting out; for he with his other Son *Julian* beſieg'd by *Conſtantius* in *Arles*, and miſtruſting the change of his wonted Succeſs, to ſave his head, poorly turns Prieſt; but that not availing him, is carried into *Italy*, and there put to death; having four Years acted the Emperor. While theſe things were doing, the *Britans* at home, deſtitute of *Roman* Aid, and the chief ſtrength of thir own Youth, that went firſt with *Maximus*, then with *Conſtantine*, not returning home, vext and haras'd by thir wonted Enemies, had ſent Meſſages to *Honorius*; but he at that time not being able to defend *Rome* it ſelf, which the ſame Year was taken by *Alaric*, adviſes them by his Letter to conſult how beſt they might for thir own Safety, and acquits them of the *Roman* Juriſdiction. They therfore thus relinquiſht, and by all Right the Government relapſing into thir own hands, thenceforth betook themſelves to live after thir own Laws, defending thir Bounds as well as they were able; and the *Armoricans*, who not long after were call'd the *Britans* of *France*, follow'd thir Example. Thus expir'd this great Empire of the *Romans*; firſt in *Britain*, ſoon after in *Italy* it ſelf: having born chief ſway in this Iland, though never throughly ſubdu'd, or all at once in ſubjection, if we reck'n from the coming in of *Julius* to the taking of *Rome* by *Alaric*, in which Year *Honorius* wrote thoſe Letters of Diſcharge into *Britain*, the ſpace of 462 Years. And with the Empire fell alſo what before in this Weſtern World was chiefly *Roman*; Learning, Valour, Eloquence, Hiſtory, Civility, and ev'n Language it ſelf, all theſe together, as it were, with equal pace, diminiſhing and decaying. Henceforth we are to ſtear by another ſort of Authors; near anough to the things they write, as in thir own Country, if that would ſerve; in time not much belated, ſom of equal Age, in expreſſion barbarous; and to ſay how judicious, I ſuſpend a while: This we muſt expect; in Civil Matters to find them dubious Relaters, and ſtill to the beſt advantage of what they term Holy Church, meaning indeed themſelves: in moſt other Matters of Religion, blind, aſtoniſh'd, and ſtrook with Superſtition as with a Planet; in one word, Monks. Yet theſe Guides, where can be had no better, muſt be follow'd; in groſs, it may be true anough; in circumſtance each Man as his Judgment gives him, may reſerve his Faith, or beſtow it. But ſo different a ſtate of things requires a ſeveral relation.

Gildas.
Beda.
Zozim. l. 6.

Procopius
vandalic.

Calviſ.
Sigon.

THE

# THE HISTORY OF BRITAIN.

## The Third Book.

THIS third Book having to tell of Accidents as various and exemplary as the Intermiſſion or Change of Government hath any where brought forth, may deſerve Attention more than common, and repay it with like benefit to them who can judiciouſly read: conſidering eſpecially that the late civil Broils had caſt us into a condition not much unlike to what the *Britans* then were in, when the imperial Juriſdiction departing hence left them to the ſway of thir own Councils; which times by comparing ſeriouſly with theſe later, and that confuſed Anarchy with this Interreign, we may be able from two ſuch remarkable turns of State, producing like Events among us, to raiſe a Knowledg of our ſelves both great and weighty, by judging hence what kind of Men the *Britans* generally are in Matters of ſo high Enterpriſe, how by Nature, Induſtry, or Cuſtom, fitted to attempt or undergo Matters of ſo main Conſequence: for if it be a high point of Wiſdom in every private Man, much more is it in a Nation to know it ſelf; rather then puft up with vulgar Flatteries and Encomiums, for want of ſelf-knowledg, to enterpriſe raſhly and come off miſerably in great Undertakings. The *Britans* thus as we heard being left without protection from the Empire, and the Land in a manner emptied of all her Youth, conſum'd in Wars abroad, or not caring to return home, themſelves through long Subjection, ſervile in Mind, ſlothful of Body, and with the uſe of Arms unacquainted, ſuſtain'd but ill for many Years the Violence of thoſe barbarous Invaders, who now daily grew upon them. For although at firſt greedy of Change, and to be thought the leading Nation to Freedom from the Empire, they ſeem'd a while to beſtir them with a ſhew of Diligence in thir new Affairs, ſom ſecretly aſpiring to rule, others adoring the name of Liberty, yet ſo ſoon as they felt by proof the weight of what it was to govern well themſelves, and what was wanting within them, not ſtomach or the love of Licence, but the Wiſdom, the Vertue, the Labour, to uſe and maintain true Liberty, they ſoon remitted thir heat, and ſhrunk more wretchedly under the Burden of thir own Liberty, then before under a foren Yoke. Inſomuch that the Reſidue of thoſe *Romans* which had planted themſelves heer, deſpairing of thir ill Department at home, and weak Reſiſtance in the Field by thoſe few who had the Courage or the Strength to bear Arms, nine Years after the ſacking of *Rome* remov'd out of *Britain* into *France*, hiding for haſte great part of thir Treaſure, which was never after found. And now again the *Britans*, no longer able to ſupport themſelves againſt the prevailing Enemy, ſolicit *Honorius* to thir aid, with mournful Letters, Embaſſages and Vows of perpetual Subjection to *Rome*, if the *Northern* Fo were but repuls'd. He at thir requeſt ſpares them one Legion, which with great Slaughter of the *Scots* and *Picts* drove them beyond the Borders, reſcu'd the *Britans*, and adviſ'd them to build a Wall croſs the Iland, between Sea and Sea, from the place where

Gild. Bede.
Malmſ.
Zozim. *l.* 6.
418.
Ethelwerd.
annal. Sax.
Gildas.
422.
Diaconus, *l.* 14.

Bede, *l.* 1. *c.* 2. where *Edinburg* now ſtands to the Frith of *Dunbritton*, by the City *Alcluith*. But the Material being only Turf, and by the rude multitude unartificially Gildas. built up without better Direction, avail'd them little. For no ſooner was the Legion departed, but the greedy Spoilers returning, land in great numbers from thir Boats and Pinaces, waſting, ſlaying, and treading down all before them. Then are Meſſengers again poſted to *Rome* in lamentable ſort, beſeeching that they would not ſuffer a whole Province to be deſtroy'd, and the *Roman* Name, ſo honourable yet among them, to become the Subject of 423. Barbarian Scorn and Inſolence. The Emperor, at thir ſad Complaint, with what ſpeed was poſſible, ſends to thir ſuccour. Who coming ſuddenly on thoſe ravenous multitudes that minded only Spoil, ſurpriſe them with a terrible Slaughter. They who eſcap'd fled back to thoſe Seas from whence yearly they were wont to arrive, and return lad'n with Booties. But the *Romans*, who came not now to rule, but charitably to aid, declaring that it ſtood not longer with the eaſe of thir Affairs to make ſuch laborious Voyages in purſuit of ſo baſe and vagabond Robbers, of whom neither Glory was to be got, nor Gain, exhorted them to manage thir own Warfare; and to defend like Men thir Country, thir Wives, thir Children, and what was to be dearer then Life, thir Liberty, againſt an Enemy not ſtronger then themſelves, if thir own Sloth and Cowardiſe had not made them ſo; if they would but only find hands to graſp defenſive Arms, rather then baſely ſtretch them out to receave Bede, ibid. Bonds. They gave them alſo thir help to build a new Wall, not of Earth as Gildas. the former, but of Stone, (both at the public Coſt, and by particular Contributions) traverſing the Ile in direct Line from Eaſt to Weſt between certain Cities plac'd there as Frontiers to bear off the Enemy, where *Severus* had wall'd once before. They rais'd it 12 foot high, 8 broad. Along the South Shoar, becauſe from thence alſo like Hoſtility was fear'd, they place Towers by the Sea-ſide at certain diſtances, for Safety of the Coaſt. Withal they inſtruct them in the Art of War, leaving Patterns of thir Arms and Weapons behind them; and with animating Words, and many Leſſons of Valour to a faint-hearted Audience, bid them finally farewel, without purpoſe to return. And theſe two friendly Expeditions, the laſt of any hither by the *Romans*, were perform'd, as may be gather'd out of *Beda* and *Diaconus*, the two laſt Years of *Honorius*. Thir Leader, as ſom modernly write, was *Gallio* of Blond. *Ravenna*; *Buchanan*, who departs not much from the Fables of his Predeceſſor Sabellic. *Boethius*, names him *Maximianus*, and brings againſt him to this Battel *Fergus* firſt King of *Scots*, after thir ſecond ſuppos'd coming into *Scotland*, *Durſtus* King of *Picts*, both there ſlain, and *Dioneth* an imaginary King of *Britain*, or Duke of *Cornwall*, who improbably ſided with them againſt his own Country, Buch. *l.* 5. hardly eſcaping. With no leſs exactneſs of particular Circumſtances he takes upon him to relate all thoſe tumultuary Inrodes of the *Scots* and *Picts* into *Britain*, as if they had but yeſterday happen'd, thir Order of Battel, manner of Fight, number of Slain, Articles of Peace, things wherof *Gildas* and *Beda* are utterly ſilent, Authors to whom the *Scotch* Writers have none to cite comparable in Antiquity; no more therfore to be believ'd for bare Aſſertions, however quaintly dreſt, then our *Geofry* of *Monmouth* when he varies moſt from authentick Story. But either the inbred Vanity of ſom, in that reſpect unworthily call'd Hiſtorians, or the fond Zeal of praiſing thir Nations above Truth, hath ſo far tranſported them, that where they find nothing faithfully to relate, they fall confidently to invent what they think may either beſt ſet off thir Hiſtory, or magnify thir Country.

The *Scots* and *Picts* in Manners differing ſomwhat from each other, but ſtill unanimous to rob and ſpoil, hearing that the *Romans* intended not to return Gildas, Bede. from thir Gorroghs or leathern Frigats, pour out themſelves in Swarms upon the Land more confident then ever: and from the North end of the Ile to the very Wall-ſide, then firſt took poſſeſſion as Inhabitants; while the *Britans* with idle Weapons in thir hands ſtand trembling on the Battlements, till the half-naked Barbarians with thir long and formidable Iron Hooks pull them down headlong. The reſt not only quitting the Wall, but Towns and Cities, leave them to the bloody Purſuer, who follows killing, waſting, and deſtroying all in his way. From theſe Confuſions aroſe a Famin, and from thence Diſcord and civil Commotion among the *Britans*: each Man living by what he robb'd

or took violently from his Neighbour. When all Stores were conſum'd and
ſpent where Men inhabited, they betook them to the Woods, and liv'd by
hunting, which was thir only Suſtainment. To the heaps of theſe Evils from Bede.
without were added new Diviſions within the Church. For *Agricola* the Son Conſtantius.
of *Severianus* a *Pelagian* Biſhop had ſpread his Doctrin wide among the *Britans*
not uninfected before. The ſounder part neither willing to embrace his
Opinion to the overthrow of Divine Grace, nor able to refute him, crave
Aſſiſtance from the Churches of *France:* who ſend them *Germanus* Biſhop of
*Auxerre*, and *Lupus* of *Troyes*. They by continual preaching in Churches, in 429.
Streets, in Fields, and not without Miracles, as is writt'n, confirm'd ſom, Proſp. Aquit.
regain'd others, and at *Verulam* in a public Diſputation put to ſilence thir chief Matth. Weſt.
Adverſaries. This Reformation in the Church was beleev'd to be the cauſe of ad ann. 446.
thir Succeſs a while after in the Field. For the *Saxons* and *Picts* with joint 430.
force, which was no new thing before the *Saxons* at leaſt had any dwelling in
this Iland, during the Abode of *Germanus* heer, had made a ſtrong impreſſion
from the North. The *Britans* marching out againſt them, and miſtruſting Conſtant. vit.
thir own Power, ſend to *Germanus* and his Collegue, repoſing more in the ſpiritual German.
Strength of thoſe two Men, then in thir own thouſands arm'd. They
came, and thir Preſence in the Camp was not leſs then if a whole Army had
com to ſecond them. It was then the time of *Lent*, and the People inſtructed
by the daily Sermons of theſe two Paſtors, came flocking to receave Baptiſm.
There was a place in the Camp ſet apart as a Church, and trick'd up with
Boughs upon *Eaſter-day*. The Enemy underſtanding this, and that the *Britans*
were tak'n up with Religions more then with feats of Arms, advances,
after the Paſchal Feaſt, as to a certain Victory. *German*, who alſo had intelligence
of thir Approach, undertakes to be Captain that day; and riding out
with ſelected Troops to diſcover what Advantages the place might offer,
lights on a Valley compaſs'd about with Hills, by which the Enemy was to paſs.
And placing there his Ambuſh, warns them, that what word they heard him
pronounce aloud, the ſame they ſhould repeat with univerſal ſhout. The Enemy
paſſes on ſecurely, and *German* thrice aloud cries *Hallelujah*; which anſwer'd
by the Souldiers with a ſudd'n burſt of Clamour, is from the Hills and
Valleys redoubled. The *Saxons* and *Picts* on a ſudden ſuppoſing it the noiſe
of a huge Hoaſt, throw themſelves into flight, caſting down thir Arms, and
great numbers of them are drown'd in the River which they had newly paſs'd.
This Victory, thus won without hands, left to the *Britans* plenty of Spoil,
and to the Perſon and the Preaching of *German* greater Authority and Reverence
then before. And the Exploit might paſs for current, if *Conſtantius*,
the Writer of his Life in the next Age, had reſolv'd us how the *Britiſh* Army
came to want baptizing; for of any Paganiſm at that time, or long before,
in the Land, we read not, or that *Pelagianiſm* was re-baptiz'd. The place of
this Victory, as is reported, was in *Flintſhire*, by a Town call'd *Guid-cruc*, Uſſer.Primord.
and the River *Allen*, where a Field retains the name of *Maes German* to this p. 333.
day. But ſo ſoon as *German* was return'd home, the *Scots* and *Picts*, though 431.
now ſo many of them Chriſtians, that *Palladius* a Deacon was ordain'd and Proſp. Aquit.
ſent by *Celeſtine* the Pope to be a Biſhop over them, were not ſo well reclaim'd, Ethelwerd.
or not ſo many of them as to ceaſe from doing Miſchief to thir Neighbours, Florent.
where they found no Impeachment to fall in yearly as they were wont. They Gild. Bede.
therfore of the *Britans* who perhaps were not yet wholly ruin'd, in the ſtrongeſt
and South-weſt parts of the Ile, ſend Letters to *Ætius*, then third time Malmsbury,
Conſul of *Rome*, with this Superſcription; *To* Ætius *thrice Conſul, the Groans* l.1. c.1. p.8.
*of the* Britans. And after a few words thus: *The Barbarians drive us to the* 446.
*Sea, the Sea drives us back to the Barbarians; thus bandied up and down between
two Deaths, we periſh either by the Sword or by the Sea.* But the Empire, at that
time overſpread with *Hunns* and *Vandals*, was not in condition to lend them
aid. Thus rejected and wearied out with continual flying from place to place,
but more afflicted with Famin, which then grew outrageous among them,
many for Hunger yielded to the Enemy, others either more reſolute, or leſs
expos'd to wants, keeping within Woods and mountainous places, not only
defended themſelves, but ſallying out at length gave a ſtop to the inſulting
Fo, with many ſeaſonable Defeats; led by ſom eminent Perſon, as may be
thought, who exhorted them not to truſt in thir own Strength, but in Di-

vine Aſſiſtance. And perhaps no other heer is meant then the foreſaid Deliverance by *German*, if computation would permit, which *Gildas* either not much regarded, or might miſtake; but that he tarried ſo long heer, the Gildas. Writers of his Life aſſent not. Finding therfore ſuch oppoſition, the *Scots* or *Iriſh* Robbers, for ſo they are indifferently term'd, without delay get them home. The *Picts*, as before was mention'd, then firſt began to ſettle in the utmoſt parts of the Iland, uſing now and then to make Inroads upon the *Britans*. But they in the mean while thus rid of thir Enemies, begin afreſh to till the Ground; which after Ceſſation yields her Fruit in ſuch abundance, as had not formerly bin known for many Ages. But Wantonneſs and Luxury, the wonted Companions of Plenty, grow up as faſt, and with them, if *Gildas* deſerve belief, all other Vices incident to human Corruption. That which he notes eſpecially to be the chief perverting of all Good in the Land, and ſo continued in his days, was the hatred of Truth, and all ſuch as durſt appear to vindicate and maintain it. Againſt them, as againſt the only Diſturbers, all the Malice of the Land was bent. Lies and Falſities, and ſuch as could beſt invent them, were only in requeſt. Evil was embrac'd for Good, Wickedneſs honour'd and eſteem'd as Vertue. And this quality thir Valour had, againſt a foren Enemy to be ever backward and heartleſs; to civil Broils eager and prompt. In Matters of Government, and the ſearch of Truth, weak and ſhallow, in Falſhood and wicked Deeds pregnant and induſtrious. Pleaſing to God, or not pleaſing, with them weighed alike; and the worſe moſt an end was the weightier. All things were don contrary to public Welfare and Safety; nor only by ſecular Men, for the Clergy alſo, whoſe Example ſhould have guided others, were as vitious and corrupt. Many of them beſotted with continual Drunkenneſs; or ſwoln with Pride and Wilfulneſs, full of Contention, full of Envy, indiſcreet, incompetent Judges to determin what in the practice of Life is good or evil, what lawful or unlawful. Thus furniſh'd with Judgment, and for Manners thus qualify'd both Prieſt and Lay, they agree to chuſe them ſeveral Kings of thir own; as neer as might be, likeſt themſelves; and the words of my Author import as much. Kings were anointed, ſaith he, not of God's anointing, but ſuch as were cruelleſt, and ſoon after as inconſiderately, without examining the truth, put to death by thir Anointers, to ſet up others more fierce and proud. As for the Election of thir Kings (and that they had not all one Monarch, appears both in Ages paſt and by the Sequel) it began, as nigh as may be gueſs'd, either this 447. Year or the following, when they ſaw the *Romans* had quite deſerted thir Conſtant. claim. About which time alſo *Pelagianiſm* again prevailing by means of ſom Bede. few, the *Britiſh* Clergy too weak, it ſeems, at diſpute, entreat the ſecond time *German* to thir Aſſiſtance. Who coming with *Severus* a Diſciple of *Lupus* that was his former Aſſociate, ſtands not now to argue, for the People generally continu'd right; but enquiring thoſe Authors of new Diſturbance, ad- 448. judges them to Baniſhment. They therfore by conſent of all were deliver'd Sigon. to *German*; who carrying them over with him, diſpos'd of them in ſuch Gildas. place where neither they could infect others, and were themſelves under cure of better Inſtruction. But *Germanus* the ſame year dy'd in *Italy*; and the *Britans* not long after found themſelves again in much perplexity, with no ſlight rumour that thir old Troublers the *Scots* and *Picts* had prepar'd a ſtrong Invaſion, purpoſing to kill all, and dwell themſelves in the Land from end to end. But e're thir coming in, as if the Inſtruments of Divine Juſtice had bin at ſtrife, which of them firſt ſhould deſtroy a wicked Nation, the Peſtilence foreſtalling the Sword, left ſcarce alive whom to bury the dead; and for that time, as one Extremity keeps off another, preſerv'd the Land from a worſe Incumbrance of thoſe barbarous Diſpoſſeſſors, whom the Contagion gave not Malmſ. *l.* 1. leave now to enter far. And yet the *Britans*, nothing better'd by theſe heavy Judgments, the one threatn'd, the other felt, inſtead of acknowledging the hand of Heaven, run to the Palace of thir King *Vortigern* with Complaints and Cries of what they ſuddenly fear'd from the *Pictiſh* Invaſion. *Vortigern*, who at that time was chief rather then ſole King, unleſs the reſt had perhaps left thir Dominions to the common Enemy, is ſaid by him of *Monmouth* to have procur'd the Death firſt of *Conſtantine*, then of *Conſtance* his Son, who of a Monk was made King, and by that means to have uſurp'd the Crown. But they who can remember how *Conſtantine* with his Son *Conſtance* the Monk, the one made Emperor, the other *Cæſar*, periſh'd in *France*, may diſcern the ſimple fraud of this Fable. But *Vortigern* however coming to reign, is decipher'd by truer ſtories a proud unfortunate Tyrant, and yet of the People much belov'd, becauſe his Vices ſorted ſo well with theirs. For neither was he ſkill'd in War, nor wiſe in Counſel, but covetous, luſtful, luxurious, and prone to all Vice; waſting the public Treaſure in Gluttony and Riot, careleſs of the common danger, and through a haughty Ignorance, unapprehenſive of his own. Nevertheleſs importun'd and awak'd at length by unuſual clamours of the People, he ſummons a general Council, to provide ſome better means then heertofore had been us'd againſt theſe continual annoyances from the North. Wherin by advice of all it was determin'd, that the *Saxons* be invited into *Britain* againſt the *Scots* and *Picts*; whoſe breaking in they either ſhortly expected, or already found they had not ſtrength anough to oppoſe. The *Saxons* were a barbarous and heathen Nation, famous for nothing elſe but Robberies and Cruelties done to all thir Neighbours, both by Sea and Land; in particular to this Iland, witneſs that military Force which the *Roman* Emperors maintain'd heer purpoſely againſt them, under a ſpecial Commander, whoſe title, as is found on good record, was Count of the *Saxon* ſhoar in *Britain*; and the many miſchiefs done by thir landing heer, both alone and with the *Picts*, as above hath bin related, witneſs as much. They were a People thought by good Writers, to be deſcended of the *Sacæ*, a kind of *Scythian* in the North of *Aſia*, thence call'd *Sacaſons*, or Sons of *Sacæ*, who with a Flood of other Northern Nations came into *Europe*, toward the declining of the *Roman* Empire; and uſing Pyracy from *Denmark* all along theſe Seas, poſſeſs'd at length by intruſion all that Coaſt of *Germany* and the *Nether-lands*, which took thence the name of old *Saxony*, lying between the *Rhene* and *Elve*, and from thence North as far as *Eidora*, the River bounding *Holſatia*, though not ſo firmly, or ſo largely, but that thir multitude wander'd yet uncertain of Habitation. Such Gueſts as theſe the *Britans* reſolve now to ſend for, and entreat into thir Houſes and Poſſeſſions, at whoſe very name heertofore they trembl'd afar off. So much do men through impatience count ever that the heavieſt which they bear at preſent, and to remove the evil which they ſuffer, care not to pull on a greater; as if variety and change in evil alſo were acceptable. Or whether it be that men in the deſpair of better, imagin fondly a kind of refuge from one miſery to another.

Notitiæ imperii.

Florent. Wigorn. ad an. 370.

Ethelwerd.

The *Britans* therfore, with *Vortigern*, who was then accounted King over them all, reſolve in full Council to ſend Embaſſadors of thir choiceſt men with great Gifts, and ſaith a *Saxon* Writer in theſe words, deſiring thir aid. *Worthy* Saxons, *hearing the fame of your proweſs, the diſtreſſed* Britains *wearied out, and overpreſt by a continual invading Enemy, have ſent us to beſeech your aid. They have a Land fertile and ſpatious, which to your commands they bid us ſurrender. Heertofore we have liv'd with freedom, under the obedience and protection of the* Roman *Empire. Next to them we know none worthier then your ſelves; and therfore become ſuppliants to your Valour. Leave us not below our preſent Enemies, and to ought by you impos'd, willingly we ſhall ſubmit.* Yet *Ethelwerd* writes not that they promis'd ſubjection, but only Amity and League. They therfore who had chief Rule among them, hearing themſelves entreated by the *Britans*, to that which gladly they would have wiſh't to obtain of them by entreating, to the *Britiſh* Embaſſy return this anſwer: Be aſſur'd henceforth of the *Saxons*, as of faithful Friends to the *Britans*, no leſs ready to ſtand by them in thir need, then in thir beſt of fortune. The Embaſſadors return joyful, and with news as welcom to thir Country, whoſe ſiniſter fate had now blinded them for deſtruction. The *Saxons*, conſulting firſt thir Gods (for they had anſwer, that the Land wherto they went, they ſhould hold 300 years, half that time conquering, and half quietly poſſeſſing) furniſh out three long Gallies, or Kyules, with a choſ'n company of warlike Youth, under the conduct of two Brothers, *Hengiſt* and *Horſa*, deſcended in the fourth degree from *Woden*; of whom, deify'd for the fame of his Acts, moſt Kings of thoſe Nations derive thir Pedigree. Theſe, and either mixt with theſe, or ſoon after by themſelves, two other Tribes, or neighbouring People, *Jutes* and *Angles*, the one from *Jutland*, the other from *Anglen* by the City of *Sleſwich*, both Provinces of *Denmark*,

Ethelwerd. Malmsb. Witichind. geſt. Sax. l. 1. p. 3.

Malmſ.

Witichind.

Gildas.

Bede.

*mark*, arrive in the firſt year of *Martian* the *Greek* Emperor, from the Birth
450. of Chriſt 450, receav'd with much good will of the People firſt, then of the
Nennius. King, who after ſome aſſurances giv'n and tak'n, beſtows on them the Ile of
Malmſ. *Tanet*, where they firſt landed, hoping they might be made heerby more eager
againſt the *Picts*, when they fought as for thir own Country, and more loyal
to the *Britans*, from whom they had receav'd a place to dwell in, which before
they wanted. The *Britiſh Nennius* writes, that theſe Brethren were
driv'n into Exile out of *Germany*, and to *Vortigern* who reign'd in much fear,
one while of the *Picts*, then of the *Romans* and *Ambroſius*, came opportunely
Malmsb. into the Hav'n. For it was the cuſtom in old *Saxony*, when thir numerous Offſpring
overflow'd the narrowneſs of thir bounds, to ſend them out by lot into
new Dwellings wherever they found room, either vacant or to be forc't.
But whether ſought, or unſought, they dwelt not heer long without Employment.
Henry Huntingd. For the *Scots* and *Picts* were now com down, ſom ſay, as far as *Stamford*
in *Lincoln-ſhire*, whom, perhaps not imagining to meet new oppoſition,
Ethelwerd. the *Saxons*, though not till after a ſharp Encounter, put to flight; and that
Bed. Nin. more then once; ſlaying in fight, as ſome *Scotch* writers affirm, thir King *Eugenius*
Nenn. the Son of *Fergus*. *Hengiſt* perceaving the Iland to be rich and fruitful,
but her Princes and other Inhabitants giv'n to vicious eaſe, ſends word
home, inviting others to a ſhare of his good ſucceſs. Who returning with
17 Ships, were grown up now to a ſufficient Army, and entertain'd without
ſuſpicion on theſe terms, that they ſhould bear the brunt of War againſt the
*Picts*, receaving ſtipend and ſome place to inhabit. With theſe was brought
over the Daughter of *Hengiſt*, a Virgin wondrous fair, as is reported, *Rowen*
the *Britiſh* call her: ſhe by commandment of her Father, who had invited the
King to a Banquet, coming in preſence with a Bowl of Wine to welcom him,
and to attend on his Cup till the Feaſt ended, won ſo much upon his fancy,
though already wiv'd, as to demand her in mariage upon any Conditions.
*Hengiſt* at firſt, though it fell out perhaps according to his drift, held off, excuſing
his meanneſs; then obſcurely intimating a deſire and almoſt a neceſſity,
by reaſon of his augmented numbers, to have his narrow bounds of *Tanet* enlarg'd
to the Circuit of *Kent*, had it ſtreit by Donation; though *Guorangonus*
till then was King of that place; and ſo, as it were overcom by the great
munificence of *Vortigern*, gave his Daughter. And ſtill encroaching on the
Kings Favour, got furder leave to call over *Octa* and *Ebiſſa*, his own and his
Brothers Son; pretending that they, if the North were giv'n them, would
ſit there as a continual defence againſt the *Scots*, while himſelf guarded the
Gildas. Bed. Ninn. Eaſt. They therfore ſayling with forty Ships ev'n to the *Orcades*, and every
way curbing the *Scots* and *Picts*, poſſeſs'd that part of the Ile which is now
*Northumberland*. Notwithſtanding this they complain that thir Monthly pay
was grown much into Arrear; which when the *Britans* found means to ſatisfy,
though alleging withal that they to whom promiſe was made of Wages, were
nothing ſo many in number: quieted with this a while, but ſtill ſeeking occaſion
to fall off, they find fault next, that thir Pay is too ſmall for the danger
they undergo, threatning op'n War unleſs it be augmented. *Guortimer* the
Kings Son perceaving his Father and the Kingdom thus betray'd, from that
time bends his utmoſt endeavour to drive them out. They on the other ſide
making League with the *Picts* and *Scots*, and iſſuing out of *Kent*, waſted without
reſiſtance almoſt the whole Land ev'n to the Weſtern Sea, with ſuch a horrid
devaſtation, that Towns and Colonies overturn'd, Prieſts and People ſlain,
Temples and Palaces, what with Fire and Sword, lay altogether heap'd in one
mixt ruin. Of all which multitude, ſo great was the ſinfulneſs that brought
this upon them, *Gildas* adds that few or none were likely to be other then lewd
and wicked Perſons. The reſidue of theſe, part overtak'n in the Mountains
were ſlain; others ſubdu'd with Hunger preferr'd ſlavery before inſtant Death;
ſom getting to Rocks, Hills, and Woods inacceſſible, preferr'd the fear and
danger of any Death before the ſhame of a ſecure Slavery; many fled over
Primord. Sea into other Countries; ſome into *Holland*, where yet remain the ruins of
*pag.* 418. *Brittenburgh*, an old Caſtle on the Sea, to be ſeen at low Water not far from
*Leiden*, either built, as Writers of thir own affirm, or ſeiz'd on by thoſe
Malms. *l.* 1. *Britans* in thir eſcape from *Hengiſt*: Others into *Armorica*, peopl'd, as ſom
c. 1. think, with *Britans* long before, either by gift of *Conſtantine* the *Great*, or
elſe

elſe of *Maximus* to thoſe *Britiſh* Forces which had ſerv'd them in Foren Wars, Huntingd.
to whom thoſe alſo that miſcarried not with the latter *Conſtantine* at *Arles*; l. 1.
and laſtly, theſe Exiles driv'n out by *Saxons*, fled for Refuge. But the antient
Chronicles of thoſe Provinces atteſt thir coming thether to be then firſt
when they fled the *Saxons*, and indeed the name of *Britain* in *France* is not read
till after that time. Yet how a ſort of Fugitives, who had quitted without
ſtroke thir own Country, ſhould ſo ſoon win another, appears not, unleſs
join'd to ſom party of thir own ſetl'd there before. *Vortigern* nothing better'd Ninn.
by theſe Calamities, grew at laſt ſo obdurat as to commit inceſt with his Malmsb.
Daughter, tempted or tempting him out of an ambition to the Crown. For
which being cenſur'd and condemn'd in a great Synod of *Clercs*, and *Laics*,
and partly for fear of the *Saxons*, according to the Counſel of his Peers he retir'd
into *Wales*, and built him there a ſtrong Caſtle in *Radnorſhire*, by the advice
of *Ambroſius* a young Prophet, whom others call *Merlin*. Nevertheleſs *Fauſtus*, Ninn.
who was the Son thus inceſtuouſly begott'n, under the inſtructions of *German*,
or ſom of his Diſciples, for *German* was dead before, prov'd a religious man,
and liv'd in devotion by the River *Remnis* in *Glamorganſhire*. But the *Saxons*, Gildas.
though finding it ſo eaſy to ſubdue the Ile, with moſt of thir Forces, uncertain
for what cauſe, return'd home: when as the eaſineſs of thir Conqueſt might
ſeem rather likely to have call'd in more; which makes more probable that
which the *Britiſh* write of *Guortemir*. For he coming to reign, inſtead of his Ninn.
Father depos'd for Inceſt, is ſaid to have thrice driv'n and beſeig'd the *Saxons*
in the Ile of *Taneth*; and when they iſſu'd out with powerful Supplies ſent
from *Saxony*, to have fought with them four other Battels, wherof three are
nam'd; the firſt on the River *Darwent*, the ſecond at *Episford*, wherin *Horſa*
the Brother of *Hengiſt* fell, and on the *Britiſh* part *Catigern* the other Son of
*Vortigern*. The third in a Feild by *Stonar*, then call'd *Lapis tituli*, in *Tanet*,
where he beat them into thir Ships that bore them home, glad to have ſo
ſcap'd, and not venturing to land again for five years after. In the ſpace wherof
*Guortemir* dying, commanded they ſhould bury him in the Port of *Stonar*;
perſwaded that his Bones lying there would be terror enough to keep the *Saxons*
from ever landing in that place: they, ſaith *Ninnius*, neglecting his command,
buried him in *Lincoln*. But concerning theſe times, antienteſt Annals 455.
of the *Saxons* relate in this manner. In the year 455. *Hengiſt* and *Horſa* Bede.
fought againſt *Vortigern*, in a place call'd *Egleſthrip*, now *Ailsford* in *Kent*, Ethelwerd.
where *Horſa* loſt his Life, of whom *Horſted*, the place of his burial, took Florent.
name. Annal. Sax.

After this firſt Battel and the Death of his Brother, *Hengiſt* with his Son *The Kingdom*
*Eſca* took on him Kingly Title, and peopl'd *Kent* with *Jutes*; who alſo then, *of* Kent.
or not long after poſſeſs'd the Ile of *Wight*, and part of *Hampſhire* lying oppoſite.
Two years after in a fight at *Creganford*, or *Craford*, *Hengiſt* and his 457.
Son ſlew of the *Britains* four chief Commanders, and as many thouſand men;
the reſt in great diſorder flying to *London*, with the total loſs of *Kent*. And
eight years paſſing between, he made new War on the *Britans*; of whom in a 465.
Battel at *Wippeds-fleot*, twelve Princes were ſlain, and *Wipped* the *Saxon* Earl,
who left his name to that place, though not ſufficient to direct us where it now
ſtands. His laſt encounter was at a place not mention'd, where he gave them 473.
ſuch an overthrow, that flying in great fear they left the ſpoil of all to thir
Enemies. And theſe perhaps are the four Battels, according to *Nennius*,
fought by *Guortemir*, though by theſe Writers far differently related; and happ'ning
beſides many other bickerings, in the ſpace of 20 years, as *Malmsbury*
reck'ns. Nevertheleſs it plainly appears that the *Saxons*, by whomſoever,
were put to hard ſhifts, being all this while fought withal in *Kent*, thir own
allotted dwelling, and ſomtimes on the very edg of the Sea, which the word
*Wippeds-fleot* ſeems to intimat. But *Guortemir* now dead, and none of Courage Nennius.
left to defend the Land, *Vortigern* either by the power of his Faction, or
by conſent of all, reaſſumes the Government: and *Hengiſt* thus rid of his grand
oppoſer, hearing gladly the reſtorement of his old favourer, returns again
with great Forces; but to *Vortigern* whom he well knew how to handle without
warring, as to his Son in Law, now that the only Author of diſſention
between them was remov'd by Death, offers nothing but all terms of new
League and Amity. The King both for his Wives ſake and his own ſottiſh-

neſs, conſulting alſo with his Peers not unlike himſelf, readily yields; and
the place of Parly is agreed on; to which either ſide was to repair without
Weapons. *Hengiſt*, whoſe meaning was not Peace, but Treachery, appointed
his men to be ſecretly arm'd, and acquainted them to what intent. The
Malmſ. watch-word was, *Nemet eour Saxes*, that is, *Draw your Daggers*; which they
obſerving, when the *Britans* were throughly heated with Wine (for the Treaty
it ſeems was not without Cups) and provok'd, as was plotted, by ſom Affront,
diſpatch'd with thoſe Poniards every one his next man, to the number
of 300, the chief of thoſe that could do ought againſt him, either in Counſel
or in Field. *Vortigern* they only bound and kept in Cuſtody, until he granted
them for his ranſom three Provinces, which were called afterward *Eſſex*,
*Suſſex*, and *Middleſex*. Who thus diſmiſt, retiring again to his ſolitary abode
in the Country of *Guorthigirniaun*, ſo call'd by his name, from thence to the
Caſtle of his own building in *North Wales*, by the River *Tiebi*; and living
there obſcurely among his Wives, was at length burnt in his Tower by Fire
Nin. ex le- from Heav'n, at the Praier, as ſome ſay, of *German*, but that coheres not; as
gend St. *Ger.* others, by *Ambroſius Aurelian*; of whom as we have heard at firſt, he ſtood
Galfrid. in great fear, and partly for that cauſe invited in the *Saxons*. Who whether
Monmouth. by conſtraint, or of thir own accord after much miſchief don, moſt of them
returning back into thir own Country, left a fair opportunity to the *Britans* of
avenging themſelves eaſier on thoſe that ſtaid behind. Repenting therfore,
and with earneſt ſupplication imploring divine help to prevent thir final rooting
out, they gather from all parts, and under the leading of *Ambroſius Aurelianus*,
a vertuous and modeſt man, the laſt heer of the *Roman* Stock, advancing
now onward againſt the late Victors, defeat them in a memorable Battel.
Common opinion, but grounded chiefly on the *Britiſh* Fables, makes this
*Ambroſius* to be a younger Son of that *Conſtantine*, whoſe eldeſt, as we heard,
was *Conſtance* the Monk; who both loſt thir Lives abroad uſurping the Empire.
But the expreſs words both of *Gildas* and *Bede*, aſſure us, that the
Parents of this *Ambroſius* having heer born regal Dignity, were ſlain in theſe
*Pictiſh* Wars and Commotions in the Iland. And if the fear of *Ambroſe* induc'd
*Vortigern* to call in the *Saxons*, it ſeems *Vortigern* uſurp'd his Right. I
perceave not that *Nennius* makes any difference between him and *Merlin*: for
that Child without Father that propheci'd to *Vortigern*, he names not *Merlin*,
but *Ambroſe*, makes him the Son of a Roman Conſul; but conceal'd by his
Mother, as fearing that the King therfore ſought his Life: yet the Youth no
ſooner had confeſs'd his Parentage, but *Vortigern* either in reward of his Predictions,
or as his Right, beſtow'd upon him all the Weſt of *Britain*; himſelf
Gildas. Bed. retiring to a ſolitary Life. Whoſe ever Son he was, he was the firſt, according
to ſureſt Authors, that led againſt the *Saxons*, and overthrew them;
but whether before this time or after, none have writt'n. This is certain,
that in a time when moſt of the *Saxon* Forces were departed home, the *Britans*
gather'd Strength; and either againſt thoſe who were left remaining,
or againſt thir whole Powers, the ſecond time returning obtain'd this
Victory. Thus *Ambroſe* as chief Monarch of the Ile ſucceeded *Vortigern*;
to whoſe third Son *Paſcentius* he permitted the rule of two Regions in
Nenn. *Wales*, *Buelth*, and *Guorthigirniaun*. In his daies, ſaith *Nennius*, the *Saxons*
prevail'd not much: againſt whom *Arthur*, as being then Chief General
for the *Britiſh* Kings, made great War, but more renown'd in Songs
and Romances, then in true ſtories. And the ſequel it ſelf declares as
477. much. For in the year 477, *Ella* the *Saxon*, with his three Sons, *Cymen*,
Sax. an. *Pleting*, and *Ciſſa*, at a place in *Suſſex* call'd *Cymenſhore*, arrive in three Ships,
Ethelw. kill many of the *Britans*, chaſing them that remain'd into the Wood *Andreds*
Florent. *Leage*. Another Battel was fought at *Mercreds-Burnamſted*, wherin *Ella* had by
485. Florent. far the Victory; but *Huntingdon* makes it ſo doubtful, that the *Saxons* were
Huntingd. conſtrain'd to ſend home for ſupplies. Four year after dy'd *Hengiſt*, the firſt
489. *Saxon* King of *Kent*; noted to have attain'd that Dignity by craft, as much
Malmſ. as Valour, and giving ſcope to his own cruel nature, rather then proceeding
Bed. l. 2. by Mildneſs or Civility. His Son *Oeric* ſurnam'd *Oiſc*, of whom the Kentiſh
c. 5. Kings were call'd *Oiſcings*, ſucceeded him, and ſate content with his Fathers
winnings, more deſirous to ſettle and defend, then to enlarge his Bounds: he
492. reign'd 24 years. By this time *Ella* and his Son *Ciſſa*, beſeiging *Andredcheſter*,

ſuppos'd now to be *Newenden* in *Kent*, take it by force, and all within it put to Camden.
the Sword.

Thus *Ella* three years after the death of *Hengiſt*, began his Kingdom of *The Kingdom of*
the South-Saxons; peopling it with new Inhabitants, from the Country which South-Saxons.
was then old *Saxony*, at this day *Holſtein* in *Denmark*, and had beſides at his
command all thoſe Provinces which the *Saxons* had won on this ſide *Humber*. Bed. l. 1. c. 15
Animated with theſe good Succeſſes, as if *Britain* were becom now the field & l. 2. c. 5.
of Fortune, *Kerdic* another *Saxon* Prince, the tenth by Linage from *Woden*, an Sax. an. omn.
old and practis'd Souldier, who in many proſperous Conflicts againſt the Enemy
in thoſe parts, had nurs'd up a Spirit too big to live at home with Equals,
coming to a certain place which from thence took the name of *Kerdic-ſhoar*, 495.
with five Ships, and *Kenric* his Son, the very ſame day overthrew the *Britans*
that oppos'd him; and ſo effectually, that ſmaller Skirmiſhes after that day
were ſufficient to drive them ſtill furder off, leaving him a large Territory. 501.
After him *Porta*, another *Saxon*, with his two Sons *Bida* and *Megla*, in two Sax. an. omn.
Ships arrive at *Portſmouth* thence call'd, and at thir landing ſlew a young Huntingd.
*Britiſh* Nobleman, with many others who unadviſedly ſet upon them. The
*Britans* to recover what they had loſt, draw together all thir Forces led by 508.
*Natanleod*, or *Nazaleod*, a certain King in *Britain*, and the greateſt ſaith one; Annal. omn.
but with him 5000 of his Men *Kerdic* puts to rout and ſlays. From whence Huntingd.
the place in *Hantſhire*, as far as *Kerdicsford*, now *Chardford*, was call'd of old Camden.
*Nazaleod*. Who this King ſhould be, hath bred much queſtion; ſom think Camd.
it to be the *Britiſh* name of *Ambroſe*; others to be the right name of his Bro- Uſſ. primord.
ther, who for the terror of his eagerneſs in fight, became more known by
the Sirname of *Uther*, which in the Welch Tongue ſignifies Dreadful. And
if ever ſuch a King in *Britain* there were as *Uther Pendragon*, for ſo alſo the
*Monmouth* Book ſurnames him, this in all likelihood muſt be he. *Kerdic* by ſo
great a blow giv'n to the *Britans* had made large room about him; not only
for the Men he brought with him, but for ſuch alſo of his Friends, as he de-
ſir'd to make great; for which cauſe, and withal the more to ſtrengthen
himſelf, his two Nefews *Stuff* and *Withgar*, in three Veſſels bring him new 514.
Levies to *Kerdic* ſhoar. Who that they might not come ſluggiſhly to poſſeſs An. omn.
what others had won for them, either by thir own ſeeking, or by appoint-
ment, are ſet in place where they could not but at thir firſt coming give proof
of themſelves upon the Enemy: and ſo well they did it, that the *Britans*
after a hard encounter left them Maſters of the field. About the ſame time, Huntingdon.
*Ella* the firſt *South-Saxon* King dy'd; whom *Ciſſa* his youngeſt ſucceeded;
the other two failing before him.

Nor can it be much more or leſs then about this time, for it was before the *The Kingdom of*
*Weſt-Saxon* Kingdom, that *Uffa*, the 8th from *Woden*, made himſelf King Eaſt-Angles.
of the *Eaſt-Angles*; who by thir name teſtifie the Country above mention'd;
from whence they came in ſuch multitudes, that thir native Soil is ſaid to Malmſ. l. 1. c. 5.
have remain'd in the days of *Beda* uninhabited. *Huntingdon* defers the time Bed. l. 1. c. 15.
of thir coming in, to the ninth year of *Kerdic*'s Reign: for, ſaith he, at Huntingd.
firſt many of them ſtrove for Principality, ſeiſing every one his Province, l. 2. p. 313,
and for ſom while ſo continu'd making petty Wars among themſeles; till 315.
in the end *Uffa*, of whom thoſe Kings were call'd *Uffings*, over-top'd them Bede l. 2. c. 15.
all in the year 571, then *Titilus* his Son, the Father of *Redwald*, who became Malmſ. l. 1. c. 6.
potent.

And not much after the *Eaſt-Angles*, began alſo the *Eaſt-Saxons* to erect a *The Kingdom of*
Kingdom under *Sleda* the tenth from *Woden*. But *Huntingdon*, as before, will Eaſt-Saxons.
have it later by 11 years, and *Erchenwin* to be the firſt King.

*Kerdic* the ſame in power, though not ſo fond of Title, forbore the name 519.
24 Years after his arrival; but then founded ſo firmly the Kingdom of *Weſt-* *The Kingdom of*
*Saxons*, that it ſubjected all the reſt at length, and became the ſole Monarchy Weſt-Saxons.
of *England*. The ſame year he had a Victory againſt the *Britans* at *Kerdics* Sax. an. omn.
Ford, by the River *Aven*: and after eight years, another great fight at *Kerdics* 527.
Leage, but which won the day is not by any ſet down. Hitherto hath bin
collected what there is of certainty with circumſtance of time and place to be
found regiſter'd, and no more then barely regiſter'd in Annals of beſt note;
without deſcribing after *Huntingdon* the manner of thoſe Battels and Encoun-
ters, which they who compare, and can judg of Books, may be confident he

never found in any current Author whom he had to follow. But this Diſeaſe hath bin incident to many more Hiſtorians: and the Age wherof we now write, hath had the ill hap, more then any ſince the firſt fabulous times, to be ſurcharg'd with all the idle fancies of Poſterity. Yet that we may not rely altogether on *Saxon* Relaters, *Gildas*, in Antiquity far before theſe, and every way more credible, ſpeaks of theſe Wars in ſuch a manner, though nothing conceited of the *Britiſh* Valour, as declares the *Saxons* in his time and before to have bin foil'd not ſeldomer then the *Britans*. For beſides that firſt Victory of *Ambroſe*, and the interchangeable Succeſs long after, he tells that the laſt overthrow which they receav'd at *Badon* Hill, was not the leaſt; which they in thir oldeſt Annals mention not at all. And becauſe the time of this Battel, by any who could do more then gueſs, is not ſet down, or any Foundation giv'n from whence to draw a ſolid compute, it cannot be much wide to inſert it in this place. For ſuch Authors as we have to follow, give the Conduct and Praiſe of this Exploit to *Arthur*; and that this was the laſt of twelve great Battels which he fought victoriouſly againſt the *Saxons*. The ſeveral places writt'n by *Nennius* in thir Welch Names, were many hunder'd years ago unknown, and ſo here omitted. But who *Arthur* was, and whether ever any ſuch reign'd in *Britain*, hath bin doubted hertofore, and may again with good reaſon. For the Monk of *Malmsbury*, and others whoſe Credit hath ſway'd moſt with the learneder ſort, we may well perceave to have known no more of this *Arthur* 500 years paſt, nor of his doings, then we now living; and what they had to ſay, tranſcrib'd out of *Nennius*, a very trivial Writer yet extant, which hath already bin related; or out of a *Britiſh* Book, the ſame which he of *Monmouth* ſet forth, utterly unknown to the World, till more then 600 Years after the days of *Arthur*, of whom (as *Sigebert* in his Chronicle confeſſes) all other Hiſtories were ſilent, both Foren and Domeſtic, except only that fabulous Book. Others of later time have ſought to aſſert him by old Legends and Cathedral Regeſts. But he who can accept of Legends for good Story, may quickly ſwell a Volume with Traſh, and had need be furniſh'd with two only Neceſſaries, Leiſure and Belief, whether it be the Writer, or he that ſhall read. As to *Arthur*, no leſs is in doubt who was his Father; for if it be true as *Nennius* or his Notiſt avers, that *Arthur* was call'd *Mab-Vther*, that is to ſay, a cruel Son, for the fierſeneſs that Men ſaw in him of a Child, and the intent of his Name *Arturus* imports as much, it might well be that ſom in after Ages who ſought to turn him into a Fable, wreſted the word *Vther* into a proper Name, and ſo fain'd him the Son of *Vther*; ſince we read not in any certain Story, that ever ſuch Perſon liv'd till *Geffry* of *Monmouth* ſet him off with the ſirname of *Pendragon*. And as we doubted of his Parentage, ſo may we alſo of his Puiſſance; for whether that Victory at *Badon* Hill were his or no, is uncertain; *Gildas* not naming him, as he did *Ambroſe* in the former. Next, if it be true as *Caradoc* relates, that *Melvas* King of that Country which is now *Summerſet*, kept from him *Gueniver* his Wife a whole Year in the Town of *Glaſton*, and reſtor'd her at the entreaty of *Gildas*, rather then for any enforcment that *Artur* with all his Chivalry could make againſt a ſmall Town defended only by a moory ſituation; had either his knowledg in War, or the force he had to make, bin anſwerable to the Fame they bear, that petty King had neither dar'd ſuch an affront, nor he bin ſo long, and at laſt without effect, in revenging it. Conſidering laſtly how the *Saxons* gain'd upon him every where all the time of his ſuppos'd Reign, which began, as ſom write, in the tenth year of *Kerdic*, who wrung from him by long War the Countries of *Summerſet* and *Hamſhire*; there will remain neither place nor circumſtance in ſtory, which may adminiſter any likelihood of thoſe great Acts that are aſcrib'd him. This only is alledg'd by *Nennius* in *Artur*'s behalf, that the *Saxons*, though vanquiſh'd never ſo oft, grew ſtill more numerous upon him by continual Supplies out of *Germany*. And the truth is, that Valour may be over-toil'd, and overcom at laſt with endleſs overcoming. But as for this Battel of Mount *Badon* where the *Saxons* were hemm'd in, or beſieg'd, whether by *Artur* won, or whenſoever, it ſeems indeed to have giv'n a moſt undoubted and important blow to the *Saxons*, and to have ſtop'd thir proceedings for a good while after. *Gildas* himſelf witneſſing that the *Britans* having thus compell'd them

Ninn.

Caradoc. Llancarvon. Vit. Gild.

Malmſ. Antiquit. Glaſton. 529. Primord. p. 468. Polychronic. l. 5. c. 6.

to ſit down with Peace, fell therupon to civil diſcord among themſelves.
Which words may ſeem to let in ſom light toward the ſearching out when
this Battel was fought. And we ſhall find no time ſince the firſt *Saxon* War,
from whence a longer Peace enſu'd, then from the fight at *Kerdic*'s *Leage*
in the year 527. which all the Chronicles mention, without Victory to
*Kerdic*; and give us argument from the cuſtom they have of magnifying thir
own Deeds upon all occaſions, to preſume here his ill ſpeeding. And if we
look ſtill onward, ev'n to the *44th* year after, wherin *Gildas* wrote, if his
obſcure utterance be underſtood, we ſhall meet with very little War between
the *Britans* and *Saxons*. This only remains difficult, that the Victory firſt Gildas.
won by *Ambroſe*, was not ſo long before this at *Badon* Siege, but that the
ſame Men living might be eye-witneſſes of both; and by this rate hardly can
the latter be thought won by *Artur*, unleſs we reck'n him a grown youth at
leaſt in the days of *Ambroſe*, and much more then a youth, if *Malmsbury* be
heard, who affirms all the Exploits of *Ambroſe* to have bin don chiefly by
*Artur* as his General, which will add much Unbelief to the common Aſſertion
of his reigning after *Ambroſe* and *Uther*, eſpecially the fight at *Badon*, being the
laſt of his twelve Battels. But to prove by that which follows, that the fight
at *Kerdic*'s *Leage*, though it differ in name from that of *Badon*, may be thought
the ſame by all effects; *Kerdic* three years after, not proceeding onward, as 530.
his manner was, on the Continent, turns back his Forces on the Ile of *Wight*; Sax. an. omn.
which with the ſlaying of a few only in *Withgarburgh*, he ſoon maſters; and
not long ſurviving, left it to his Nephews by the Mother's ſide, *Stuff* and
*Withgar*: the reſt of what he had ſubdu'd, *Kenric* his Son held; and reign'd 534.
26 Years, in whoſe tenth Year *Withgar* was buried in the Town of that Iland 544.
which bore his Name. Notwithſtanding all theſe unlikelihoods of *Artur*'s
Reign and great Acheivments, in a Narration crept in I know not how among
the Laws of *Edward* the *Confeſſor*, *Artur* the famous King of *Britans*, is ſaid
not only to have expell'd hence the *Saracens*, who were not then known in
*Europe*, but to have conquer'd *Freeſland*, and all the North Eaſt Iles as far as
*Ruſſia*, to have made *Lapland* the Eaſtern bound of his Empire, and *Norway*
the Chamber of *Britain*. When ſhould this be don? from the *Saxons*,
till after twelve Battels, he had no reſt at home; after thoſe, the *Britans*
contented with the quiet they had from thir Saxon Enemies, were ſo far from
ſeeking Conqueſts abroad, that, by report of *Gildas* above cited, they fell
to civil Wars at home. Surely *Artur* much better had made War in old
*Saxony*, to repreſs thir flowing hither, then to have won Kingdoms as far as
*Ruſſia*, ſcarce able here to defend his own. *Buchanan* our Neighbour Hiſtorian
reprehends him of *Monmouth* and others for fabling in the Deeds of *Artur*;
yet what he writes therof himſelf, as of better Credit, ſhews not whence he
had but from thoſe Fables; which he ſeems content to believe in part, on
condition that the *Scots* and *Picts* may be thought to have aſſiſted *Artur* in all
his Wars, and Achievments; wherof appears as little ground by any credible
Story, as of that which he moſt counts fabulous. But not furder to conteſt
about ſuch Uncertainties.

In the Year 547, *Ida* the *Saxon*, ſprung alſo from *Woden* in the tenth Degree, 547.
began the Kingdom of *Bernicia* in *Northumberland*; built the Town *The Kingdom of*
*Bebenburgh*, which was after wall'd; and had twelve Sons, half by Wives, Northumber-
and half by Concubines. *Hengiſt* by leave of *Vortigern*, we may remember, land.
had ſent *Octave* and *Ebiſſa* to ſeek them Seats in the North, and there by warring Annal omn.
on the *Picts*, to ſecure the Southern parts. Which they ſo prudently effected, Bed. Epit.
that what by Force and fair proceeding, they well quieted thoſe Countries; Malmsb.
and though ſo far diſtant from *Kent*, nor without Power in thir hands,
yet kept themſelves nigh 180 Years within moderation; and as inferior Governors,
they and thir Off-ſpring gave obedience to the Kings of *Kent*, as to the
elder Family. Till at length following the Example of that Age, when no
leſs then Kingdoms were the prize of every fortunate Commander, they
thought it but reaſon, as well as others of thir Nation, to aſſume Royalty.
Of whom *Ida* was the firſt, a Man in the Prime of his Years, and of Parentage Malmsb.
as we heard; but how he came to wear the Crown, aſpiring or by free
choice, is not ſaid. Certain anough it is, that his Vertues made him not
leſs noble then his Birth, in War undaunted, and unfoil'd; in Peace tem-

pering the aw of Magiſtracy, with a natural mildneſs he raign'd about 12
552. Years. In the mean while *Kenric* in a Fight at *Searesbirig*, now *Salisbury*, kill'd
Annal omn. and put to flight many of the *Britans*; and the fourth Year after at *Beranvirig*,
556. now *Banbury*, as ſom think, with *Keaulin* his Son put them again to
Camden. flight. *Keaulin* ſhortly after ſucceeded his Father in the *Weſt-Saxons*. And
*Alla* deſcended alſo of *Woden*, but by another Line, ſet up a ſecond Kingdom
560. in *Deira*, the South part of *Northumberland*, and held it 30 Years; while *Adda*,
Annal. the Son of *Ida*, and five more after him reign'd without other memory in
Florenc. *Bernicia*: And in *Kent*, *Ethelbert* the next Year began. For *Eſca* the Son of
561. *Hengiſt* had left *Otha*, and he *Emeric* to rule after him; both which, without
adding to thir Bounds, kept what they had in Peace 53 Years. But *Ethelbert*
in length of reign equal'd both his Progenitors, and as *Beda* counts, three
Malmſ. Years exceeded. Young at his firſt entrance, and unexperienc'd, he was
the firſt raiſer of Civil War among the *Saxons*; claiming from the priority of
time wherin *Hengiſt* took poſſeſſion here, a kind of Right over the later Kingdoms;
and therupon was troubleſom to thir Confines: but by them twice
defeated, he who but now thought to ſeem dreadful, became almoſt contemptible.
Ann. omn. For *Keaulin* and *Cutha* his Son, perſuing him into his own Territory,
568. ſlew there in Battel, at *Wibbandun*, two of his Earls, *Oſlac* and *Onebban*.
By this means the *Britans*, but chiefly by this Victory at *Badon*, for the
ſpace of 44 Years, ending in 571, receiv'd no great Annoyance from the
*Saxons*: But the Peace they enjoy'd, by ill uſing it, prov'd more deſtructive
to them then War. For being rais'd on a ſudden by two ſuch eminent Succeſſes,
from the loweſt condition of Thraldom, they whoſe Eyes had beheld
both thoſe Deliverances, that by *Ambroſe*, and this at *Badon*, were taught by
the experience of either Fortune, both Kings, Magiſtrates, Prieſts, and privat
Gildas. Men, to live orderly. But when the next Age, unacquainted with paſt
Evils, and only ſenſible of thir preſent eaſe and quiet, ſucceeded, ſtrait follow'd
the apparent ſubverſion of all Truth, and Juſtice, in the minds of moſt
Men: ſcarce the leaſt footſtep, or impreſſion of Goodneſs left remaining
through all Ranks and Degrees in the Land; except in ſom ſo very few, as
to be hardly viſible in a general Corruption: which grew in ſhort ſpace not only
manifeſt, but odious to all the Neighbour Nations. And firſt thir Kings,
among whom alſo the Sons or Grand-children of *Ambroſe*, were fouly degenerated
to all Tyranny and vitious Life. Wherof to hear ſome Particulars
out of *Gildas*, will not be impertinent. They avenge, ſaith he, and they
protect; not the Innocent, but the Guilty: They ſwear oft, but perjure;
they wage War, but civil and unjuſt War. They puniſh rigorouſly them
that rob by the High-way; but thoſe grand Robbers that ſit with them at
Table, they honour and reward. They give Alms largly, but in the face of
thir Alms-deeds, pile up Wickedneſs to a far higher heap. They ſit in the
Seat of Judgment, but go ſeldom by the Rule of Right; neglecting and
proudly overlooking the modeſt and harmleſs, but countenancing the audacious,
though guilty of abominableſt Crimes; they ſtuff thir Priſons, but with
Men committed rather by Circumvention, then any juſt Cauſe. Nothing better
were the Clergy, but at the ſame paſs, or rather worſe then when the
*Saxons* came firſt in; unlearned, unapprehenſive, yet impudent; ſuttle Prowlers,
Paſtors in Name, but indeed Wolves; intent upon all occaſions, not to
feed the Flock, but to pamper and well-line themſelves: not call'd, but ſeiſing
on the Minſtry as a Trade, not as a ſpiritual Charge: teaching the People,
not by ſound Doctrin, but by evil Example: uſurping the Chair of *Peter*,
but through the blindneſs of thir own worldly Luſts, they ſtumble upon the
Seat of *Judas*: deedly haters of Truth, broachers of Lies: looking on the
poor Chriſtian with eyes of Pride and Contempt; but fawning on the wickedeſt
rich Men without ſhame: great promoters of other mens Alms, with thir
ſet Exhortations; but themſelves contributing ever leaſt: ſlightly touching
the many Vices of the Age, but preaching without end thir own Grievances,
as don to Chriſt; ſeeking after Preferments and Degrees in the Church,
more then after Heav'n; and ſo gain'd, make it thir whole ſtudy how to
keep them by any Tyranny. Yet leſt they ſhould be thought things of no
uſe in thir eminent Places, they have thir Niceties and trivial Points to keep
in aw the ſuperſtitious Multitude; but in true ſaving Knowledg leave them
ſtill

ſtill as groſs and ſtupid as themſelves; bunglers at the Scripture, nay, forbidding and ſilencing them that know; but in worldly Matters, practis'd and cunning Shifters; in that only Art and Symony, great Clercs and Maſters, bearing thir heads high, but thir thoughts abject and low. He taxes them alſo as gluttonous, incontinent, and daily Drunkards. And what ſhouldſt thou expect from theſe, poor Laity, ſo he goes on, theſe Beaſts, all Belly? Shall theſe amend thee, who are themſelves laborious in evil doings? Shalt thou ſee with thir Eyes, who ſee right forward nothing but Gain? Leave them rather, as bids our Saviour, leſt ye fall both blindfold into the ſame Perdition. Are all thus? Perhaps not all, or not ſo groſly. But what avail'd it *Eli* to be himſelf blameleſs, while he conniv'd at others that were abominable? Who of them hath been envi'd for his better Life? who of them hath hated to conſort with theſe, or withſtood thir entring the Miniſtry, or endeavour'd zealouſly thir caſting out? Yet ſom of theſe perhaps by others are legended for great Saints. This was the ſtate of Government, this of Religion among the *Britans*, in that long calm of Peace, which the fight at *Badon*-Hill had brought forth. Wherby it came to paſs, that ſo fair a Victory came to nothing. Towns and Cities were not reinhabited, but lay ruin'd and waſt; nor was it long ere Domeſtic War breaking out, waſted them more. For *Britain*, as at other times, had then alſo ſeveral Kings: Five of whom *Gildas*, living then in *Armorica* at a ſafe diſtance, boldly reproves by name; Firſt *Conſtantine* (fabl'd the Son of *Cador*, Duke of *Cornwal*, *Arturs* half Brother by the Mother's ſide) who then reign'd in *Cornwal* and *Devon*, a Tyrannical and Bloody King, polluted alſo with many Adulteries: He got into his Power two young Princes of the Blood Royal, uncertain whether before him in right, or otherwiſe ſuſpected; and after ſolemn Oath giv'n of thir Safety the Year that *Gildas* wrote, ſlew them with thir two Governors in the Church, and in thir Mother's Arms, through the Abbot's Coap which he had thrown over them, thinking by the reverence of his Veſture to have withheld the Murderer. Theſe are commonly ſuppos'd to be the Sons of *Mordred*, *Arturs* Nefew, ſaid to have revolted from his Uncle, giv'n him in a Battel his Death's Wound, and by him after to have bin ſlain. Which things were they true, would much diminiſh the blame of Cruelty in *Conſtantine*, revenging *Artur* on the Sons of ſo falſe a *Mordred*. In another part, but not expreſs'd where, *Aurelius Conanus* was King: him he charges alſo with Adulteries, and Parricide; Cruelties wors then the former; to be a hater of his Country's Peace, thirſting after Civil War and Prey. His Condition it ſeems was not very proſperous, for *Gildas* wiſhes him, being now left alone, like a Tree withering in the midſt of a barren Field, to remember the Vanity and Arrogance of his Father, and elder Brethren, who came all to untimely Death in thir Youth. The third reigning in *Demetia*, or *South Wales*, was *Vortipor*, the Son of a good Father; he was, when *Gildas* wrote, grown old, not in Years only, but in Adulteries; and in governing, full of Falſhood and cruel Actions. In his latter days, putting away his Wife, who di'd in Divorce, he became, if we miſtake not *Gildas*, inceſtuous with his Daughter. The fourth was *Cuneglas*, imbru'd in Civil War; he alſo had divorc'd his Wife, and tak'n her Siſter, who had vow'd Widowhood: he was a great Enemy to the Clergy, high-minded, and truſting to his Wealth. The laſt, but greateſt of all in Power, was *Maglocune*, and greateſt alſo in Wickedneſs: he had driven out, or ſlain, many other Kings or Tyrants, and was call'd the *Iſland Dragon*, perhaps having his Seat in *Angleſey*; a profuſe Giver, a great Warrior, and of a goodly Stature. While he was yet young, he overthrew his Uncle, though in the head of a compleat Army, and took from him the Kingdom: Then touch't with remorſe of his doings, not without deliberation, took upon him the profeſſion of a Monk; but ſoon forſook his Vow, and his Wife alſo; which for that Vow he had left, making Love to the Wife of his Brother's Son then living. Who not refuſing the Offer, if ſhe were not rather the firſt that entic'd, found means both to diſpatch her own Husband, and the former Wife of *Maglocune*, to make her Marriage with him the more unqueſtionable. Neither did he this for want of better Inſtructions, having had the learnedeſt and wiſeſt Man reputed of all *Britain*, the inſtituter of his Youth. Thus

Primord, p. 447.

much, the utmoſt that can be learnt by truer Story, of what paſt among
the *Britains* from the time of thir uſeleſs Victory at *Badon*, to the time that
*Gildas* wrote, that is to ſay, as may be gueſs't, from 527 to 571, is here ſet
down altogether; not to be reduc't under any certainty of Years. But now
the *Saxons*, who for the moſt part all this while had bin ſtill, unleſs among
themſelves, began afreſh to aſſault them, and ere long to drive them out of all
which they yet maintain'd on this ſide *Wales*. For *Cuthulf* the Brother of
571. Camden. *Keaulin*, by a Victory obtain'd at *Bedanford*, now *Bedford*, took from them
Annal. omn. four good Towns, *Liganburgh*, *Eglesburh*, *Beſington*, now *Benſon* in *Oxford-
ſhire*, and *Igneſham*; but outliv'd not many months his good Succeſs. And
577. after ſix Years more, *Keaulin*, and *Cuthwin* his Son, gave them a great over-
throw at *Deorrham* in *Gloſterſhire*, ſlew three of thir Kings, *Comail*, *Condidan*,
and *Farinmaile*; and took three of thir chief Cities, *Gloceſter*, *Cirenceſter*, and
584. *Badenceſter*. The *Britans* notwithſtanding, after ſome ſpace of time, judg-
ing to have out-grown thir Loſſes, gather to a head, and encounter *Keaulin*
with *Cutha* his Son, at *Fethanleage*; whom valiantly fighting, they ſlew among
Huntingd. the thickeſt, and, as is ſaid, forc'd the *Saxons* to retire. But *Keaulin* rein-
forcing the Fight, put them to a main rout; and following his Advantage,
took many Towns, and return'd laden with rich Booty.

*The Kingdom of* Mercia. The laſt of thoſe *Saxons* who rais'd thir own Achievments to a Monarchy,
was *Crida*, much about this time, firſt founder of the *Mercian* Kingdom,
Huntingd. drawing alſo his Pedigree from *Woden*. Of whom all to write the ſeveral
Matt.Weſtm. Genealogies, though it might be don without long ſearch, were, in my opi-
nion, to encumber the Story with a ſort of barbarous Names, to little pur-
poſe. This may ſuffice, that of *Wodens* three Sons, from the eldeſt iſſu'd
Malmsb. l. 1. c. 3. *Hengiſt*, and his Succeſſion; from the ſecond, the Kings of *Mercia*; from
the third, all that reign'd in *Weſt-Saxon*, and moſt of the *Northumbers*, of
whom *Alla* was one, the firſt King of *Deira*; which, after his Death, the
Florent. ad ann. Race of *Ida* ſeiz'd, and made it one Kingdom with *Bernicia*, uſurping on the
Childhood of *Edwin*, *Alla*'s Son: Whom *Ethelric* the Son of *Ida* expel'd.
559. Notwithſtanding others write of him, that from a poor Life, and beyond
hope in his old Age, coming to the Crown, he could hardly, by the Acceſs
of a Kingdom, have overcom his former obſcurity, had not the Fame of his
588. Son preſerv'd him. Once more the *Britans*, ere they quitted all on this ſide
Annal. omn. the Mountains, forgot not to ſhew ſome Manhood: for meeting *Keaulin* at
592. Florent. *Woden*'s Beorth, that is to ſay, *Woden*'s Mount in *Wiltſhire*; whether it were
Bed. l. 2. c. 3. by thir own Forces, or aſſiſted by the *Angles*, whoſe hatred *Keaulin* had in-
Malmſ. cur'd, they ruin'd his whole Army, and chas'd him out of his Kingdom;
Florent. from whence flying, he di'd the next Year in Poverty, who a little before
Sax. an. was the moſt potent, and indeed ſole King of all the *Saxons* on this ſide *Hum-
ber*. But who was chief among the *Britans* in this Exploit, had bin worth re-
membring, whether it were *Maglocune*, of whoſe Proweſs hath bin ſpok'n,
or *Teudric* King of *Glamorgan*, whom the Regeſt of *Landaff* recounts to have
bin always victorious in fight; to have reign'd about this time, and at length
to have exchang'd his Crown for a Hermitage; till in the Aid of his Son
*Mouric*, whom the *Saxons* had reduc'd to extremes, taking Arms again, he
defeated them at *Tinterne* by the River *Wye*; but himſelf receiv'd a mortal
Wound. The ſame Year with *Keaulin*, whom *Keola* the Son of *Cuthulf*, *Keau-
593. lin*'s Brother, ſucceeded, *Crida* alſo the *Mercian* King deceas'd, in whoſe room
*Wibba* ſucceeded; and in *Northumberland*, *Ethelfrid*, in the room of *Ethelric*,
reigning 24 Years. Thus omitting Fables, we have the view of what with
reaſon can be rely'd on for truth, don in *Britain* ſince the *Romans* forſook it.
Wherin we have heard the many Miſeries and Deſolations brought by Divine
Hand on a perverſe Nation; driv'n, when nothing elſe would reform them,
out of a fair Country, into a mountanous and barren Corner, by Strangers
and Pagans. So much more tolerable in the Eye of Heav'n is Infidelity pro-
feſt, then Chriſtian Faith and Religion diſhonour'd by unchriſtian Works.
Yet they alſo at length renounc'd thir Heatheniſm; which how it came to
paſs, will be the Matter next related.

*The End of the third Book.*

# THE
# HISTORY
# OF
# BRITAIN.

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## The Fourth Book.

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THE *Saxons* grown up now to ſeven abſolute Kingdoms, and the lateſt of them eſtabliſh't by Succeſſion, finding thir Power arrive well nigh at the utmoſt of what was to be gain'd upon the *Britans*, and as little fearing to be diſplanted by them, had time now to ſurvey at leaſure one anothers Greatneſs. Which quickly bred among them either Envy or mutual Jealouſies; till the Weſt Kingdom at length grown over powerful, put an end to all the reſt. Mean while, above others, *Ethelbert* of *Kent*, who by this time had well rip'nd his young Ambition, with more Ability of Years and Experience in War, what before he attempted to his Loſs, now ſucceſsfully attains; and by degrees brought all the other Monarchies between *Kent* and *Humber* to be at his devotion. To which deſign the Kingdom of *Weſt-Saxons*, being the firmeſt of them all, at that time ſore ſhak'n by thir overthrow at *Wodens-beorth*, and the Death of *Keaulin*, gave him no doubt a main Advantage; the reſt yeilded not Subjection, but as he earn'd it by continual Victories. And to win him the more regard abroad, he marries *Bertha* the French King's Daughter, though a Chriſtian, and with this condition, to have the free exerciſe of her Faith, under the Care and Inſtruction of *Letardus* a Biſhop, ſent by her Parents along with her; the King notwithſtanding and his People retaining thir own Religion. *Beda* out of *Gildas* lays it ſadly to the *Britans* charge, that they never would voutſafe thir *Saxon* Neighbours the means of Converſion: but how far to blame they were, and what hope there was of converting in the midſt of ſo much Hoſtility, at leaſt Falſhood, from thir firſt Arrival, is not now eaſy to determin. Howbeit not long after they had the Chriſtian Faith preach'd to them by a Nation more remote, and (as a Report went, accounted old in *Beda*'s time) upon this occaſion.

Bed. Malmſ.

Bed. l. 1. c. 25.

Bed. l. 1. c. 22.

Bed. l. 2. c. 1.

Malmſ. l. 1. c. 3.

The *Northumbrians* had a Cuſtom at that time, and many hunder'd years after not aboliſh't, to ſell thir Children for a ſmall value into any foren Land. Of which number two comly Youths were brought to *Rome*, whoſe fair and honeſt Countnances invited *Gregory* Arch-deacon of that City, among others that beheld them, pitying thir condition, to demand whence they were; it was anſwer'd by ſom who ſtood by, that they were *Angli* of the Province *Deira*, Subjects to *Alla* King of *Northumberland*, and by Religion Pagans. Which laſt *Gregory* deploring, fram'd on a ſudden this alluſion to the three names he heard; that the *Angli* ſo like to Angels ſhould be ſnatch't *de ira*, that is, from the Wrath of God, to ſing *Hallelujah*: and forthwith obtaining Licenſe of *Benedict* the Pope, had com and preach't heer among them, had not the *Roman* People, whoſe Love endur'd not the Abſence of ſo vigilant a Paſtor over them, recal'd him then on his Journey, though but defer'd his pious Intention. For a while after, ſucceeding in the Papal Seat, and now in his fourth Year, admoniſh'd, ſaith *Beda*, by divine Inſtinct, he ſent *Auguſtine*, whom he had

596.

deſign'd for Biſhop of the *Engliſh* Nation, and other zealous Monks with him,
to preach to them the Goſpel. Who being now on thir way, diſcourag'd by
ſom Reports, or thir own carnal Fear, ſent back *Auſtin*, in the name of all,
to beſeech *Gregory* they might return home, and not be ſent a Journey ſo full of
hazard, to a fierce and infidel Nation, whoſe Tongue they underſtood not.
*Gregory* with pious and Apoſtolic Perſwaſions exhorts them not to ſhrink back
from ſo good a Work, but cheerfully to go on in the Strength of Divine
Aſſiſtance. The Letter it ſelf yet extant among our Writers of Eccleſiaſtic
Story, I omit here, as not profeſſing to relate of thoſe Matters more then
what mixes aptly with civil Affairs. The Abbot *Auſtin*, for ſo he was ordain'd
over the reſt, reincourag'd by the Exhortations of *Gregory*, and his
597. Fellows by the Letter which he brought them, came ſafe to the Ile of *Tanet*,
in number about 40, beſides ſom of the French Nation whom they took along
as Interpreters. *Ethelbert* the King, to whom *Auſtin* at his Landing had ſent
a new and wondrous Meſſage, that he came from *Rome* to profer Heav'n and
eternal Happineſs in the knowledg of another God then the *Saxons* knew, appoints
them to remain where they landed, and Neceſſaries to be provided
them, conſulting in the mean time what was to be done. And after certain
days coming into the Iland, choſe a place to meet them under the open Sky,
poſſeſt with an old perſwaſion, that all Spels, if they ſhould uſe any to deceive
him, ſo it were not within doors, would be unavailable. They on the other
ſide call'd to his preſence, advancing for thir Standard a Silver Croſs, and the
painted Image of our Saviour, came ſlowly forward, ſinging thir ſolemn Litanies:
which wrought in *Ethelbert* more ſuſpicion perhaps that they us'd Enchantments;
till ſitting down as the King will'd them, they there preach'd
to him, and all in that Aſſembly, the tidings of Salvation. Whom having
heard attentively, the King thus anſwer'd: Fair indeed and ample are the
Promiſes which ye bring, and ſuch things as have the appearance in them of
much good; yet ſuch as being new and uncertain, I cannot haſtily aſſent to,
quitting the Religion which from my Anceſtors, with all the *Engliſh* Nation,
ſo many years I have retain'd. Nevertheleſs becauſe ye are Strangers, and
have endur'd ſo long a Journey, to impart us the knowledg of things, which
I perſwade me you believe to be the trueſt and the beſt, ye may be ſure we
ſhall not recompence you with any Moleſtation, but ſhall provide rather how
we may friendlieſt entertain ye; nor do we forbid whom ye can by preaching
gain to your Belief. And accordingly thir Reſidence he allotted them in *Doroverne*
or *Canturbury* his chief City, and made proviſion for thir maintenance,
with free leave to preach thir Doctrin where they pleaſed. By which, and
by the example of thir holy Life, ſpent in Prayer, Faſting, and continual Labour
in the Converſion of Souls, they won many; on whoſe Bounty and the
King's, receiving only what was neceſſary, they ſubſiſted. There ſtood
without the City, on the Eaſt-ſide, an ancient Church built in honour of
St. *Martin*, while yet the *Romans* remain'd heer: in which *Bertha* the Queen
went out uſually to pray: Heer they alſo began firſt to preach, baptize, and
598. openly to exerciſe Divine Worſhip. But when the King himſelf, convinc't
by thir good Life and Miracles, became Chriſtian, and was baptized, which
came to paſs in the very firſt Year of thir Arrival, then multitudes daily,
conforming to thir Prince, thought it honour to be reckon'd among thoſe of
his Faith. To whom *Ethelbert* indeed principally ſhewed his Favour, but compell'd
Bed. l. 2. c. 5. none. For ſo he had bin taught by them who were both the Inſtructors
and the Authors of his Faith, that Chriſtian Religion ought to be voluntary,
not compell'd. About this time *Kelwulf* the Son of *Cutha*, *Keaulins* Brother,
Sax. an. Malmſ. reign'd over the *Weſt-Saxons*, after his Brother *Keola* or *Kelric*, and had continual
601. War either with *Engliſh*, *Welch*, *Picts*, or *Scots*. But *Auſtin*, whom
Bed. l. 1. c. 27. with his Fellows, *Ethelbert* now had endow'd with a better place for thir Abode
in the City, and other Poſſeſſions neceſſary to Livelihood, croſſing into
*France*, was by the Archbiſhop of *Arles*, at the Appointment of Pope *Gregory*,
ordain'd Archbiſhop of the *Engliſh*; and returning, ſent to *Rome* *Laurence*
and *Peter*, two of his Aſſociates, to acquaint the Pope of his good Succeſs in
*England*, and to be reſolv'd of certain Theological, or rather Levitical Queſtions:
with Anſwers to which, not proper in this place, *Gregory* ſends alſo to
the great Work of Converting, that went on ſo happily, a Supply of Labourers,

bourers, *Mellitus*, *Juſtus*, *Paulinus*, *Rufinian*, and many others; who what
they were, may be gueſs't by the ſtuff which they brought with them, Veſſels
and Veſtments for the Altar, Coaps, Reliques, and for the Archbiſhop *Auſtin*
a Pall to ſay Maſs in: to ſuch a rank Superſtition that Age was grown,
though ſom of them yet retaining an Emulation of Apoſtolic Zeal. Laſtly, to
*Ethelbert* they brought a Letter with many Preſents. *Auſtin* thus exalted to
Archiepiſcopal Authority, recover'd from the Ruins and other profane Uſes,
a Chriſtian Church in *Canturbury* built of old by the *Romans*, which he dedicated
by the name of Chriſt's Church, and joyning to it built a ſeat for himſelf
and his Succeſſors; a Monaſtery alſo neer the City Eaſtward, where *Ethelbert*
at his Motion built St. *Peters*, and enrich'd it with great Endowments,
to be a place of Burial for the Archbiſhops and Kings of *Kent*: ſo quickly they
ſtep'd up into Fellowſhip of Pomp with Kings. While thus *Ethelbert* and his Bed. l. 2. c. 34.
People had thir Minds intent, *Ethelfrid* the *Northumbrian* King was not leſs
buſied in far different Affairs: for being altogether warlike, and covetous of
Fame, he more waſted the *Britans* than any *Saxon* King before him; winning
from them large Territories, which either he made tributary, or planted
with his own Subjects. Whence *Edan* King of thoſe *Scots* that dwelt in *Britain*, 603.
jealous of his Succeſſes, came againſt him with a mighty Army, to a
place call'd *Degſaſtan*; but in the fight loſing moſt of his Men, himſelf with a
few eſcap'd: only *Theobald* the King's Brother, and the whole Wing which he
commanded, unfortunately cut off, made the Victory to *Ethelfrid* leſs intire.
Yet from that time no King of *Scots* in hoſtile manner durſt paſs into *Britain*
for a hunderd and more Years after: and what ſom Years before *Kelwulf* the
*Weſt-Saxon* is annal'd to have don againſt the *Scots* and *Picts*, paſſing through
the Land of *Ethelfrid* a King ſo potent, unleſs in his Aid and Alliance, is not
likely. *Buchanan* writes as if *Ethelfrid*, aſſiſted by *Keaulin* whom he miſtitles
King of *Eaſt-Saxons*, had before this time a Battel with *Aidan*, wherin *Cutha*
*Keaulin*'s Son was ſlain. But *Cutha*, as is above-written from better Authority,
was ſlain in fight againſt the *Welch* 20 years before. The number of Chriſtians 604.
began now to increaſe ſo faſt, that *Auguſtin* ordaining Biſhops under Bed. l. 2. c. 3.
him, two of his Aſſiſtants *Mellitus* and *Juſtus* ſent them out both to the Work
of thir Miniſtry. And *Mellitus* by preaching converted the *Eaſt-Saxons*, over
whom *Sebert* the Son of *Sleda*, by permiſſion of *Ethelbert*, being born of his
Siſter *Ricula*, then reign'd. Whoſe Converſion *Ethelbert* to gratulate, built
them the great Church of St. *Paul* in *London* to be thir Biſhop's Cathedral; as
*Juſtus* alſo had his built at *Rocheſter*, and both gifted by the ſame King with
fair Poſſeſſions. Hitherto *Auſtin* labour'd well among Infidels, but not with
like Commendation ſoon after among Chriſtians. For by means of *Ethelbert*
ſummoning the *Britan* Biſhops to a place on the edg of *Worceſterſhire*, call'd
from that time *Auguſtin's* Oke, he requires them to conform with him in the
ſame day of celebrating *Eaſter*, and many other points wherin they differ'd
from the Rites of *Rome*: which when they refus'd to do, not prevailing by
Diſpute, he appeals to a Miracle, reſtoring to ſight a blind Man whom the
*Britans* could not cure. At this ſomthing mov'd, though not minded to recede
from thir own Opinions without furder Conſultation, they requeſt a ſecond
meeting: to which came ſeven *Britan* Biſhops, with many other lerned
Men, eſpecially from the famous Monaſtry of *Bangor*, in which were ſaid to
be ſo many Monks, living all by thir own Labour, that being divided under
ſeven Rectors, none had fewer then 300. One Man there was who ſtaid behind,
a Hermit by the Life he led, who by his Wiſdom effected more then all
the reſt who went: being demanded, for they held him as an Oracle, how
they might know *Auſtin* to be a Man from God, that they might follow him,
he anſwer'd, that if they found him meek and humble, they ſhould be taught
by him, for it was likelieſt to be the Yoke of Chriſt, both what he bore himſelf,
and would have them bear; but if he bore himſelf proudly, that they
ſhould not regard him, for he was then certainly not of God. They took his
Advice, and haſted to the place of meeting. Whom *Auſtin*, being already
there before them, neither aroſe to meet, nor receiv'd in any brotherly ſort,
but ſat all the while pontifically in his Chair. Wherat the *Britans*, as they
were counſel'd by the holy Man, neglected him, and neither harkn'd to his
Propoſals of Conformity, nor would acknowledg him for an Archbiſhop:

Spelman. Concil. p. 108. And in name of the reſt, *Dinothus*, then Abbot of *Bangor*, is ſaid thus ſagely to have anſwer'd him. As to the Subjection which you require, be thus perſwaded of us, that in the bond of Love and Charity we are all Subjects and Servants to the Church of God, yea to the Pope of *Rome*, and every good Chriſtian to help them forward, both by Word and Deed, to be the Childern of God: other Obedience then this we know not to be due to him whom you term the Pope; and this Obedience we are ready to give both to him and to every Chriſtian continually. Beſides, we are govern'd under God by the Biſhop of *Caerleon*, who is to overſee us in ſpiritual Matters. To which *Auſtin* thus preſaging, ſom ſay menacing, replies, Since ye refuſe to accept of Peace with your Brethren, ye ſhall have War from your Enemies; and ſince ye will not with us preach the Word of Life to whom ye ought, from thir hands ye ſhall receive Death. This, though Writers agree not whether *Auſtin* ſpake it as his Prophecy, or as his Plot againſt the *Britans*, fell out accordingly. For Sax. an. Huntingd. 607. many years were not paſt, when *Ethelfrid*, whether of his own accord, or at the requeſt of *Ethelbert*, incens'd by *Auſtin*, with a powerful Hoſt came to *Weſtcheſter*, then *Caer-legion*. Where being met by the *Britiſh* Forces, and both ſides in readineſs to give the onſet, he diſcerns a Company of Men, not habited for War, ſtanding together in a place of ſom Safety; and by them a Squadron arm'd. Whom having lernt upon ſom enquiry to be Prieſts and Monks, aſſembl'd thither after three days faſting, to pray for the good Succeſs of thir Forces againſt him, therfore they firſt, ſaith he, ſhall feel our Swords; for they who pray againſt us, fight heavieſt againſt us by thir Prayers, and are our dangerouſeſt Enemies. And with that turns his firſt Charge upon the Monks: *Brocmail* the Captain ſet to guard them, quickly turns his back, and leaves above 1200 Monks to a ſudden Maſſacer, wherof ſcarce fifty ſcap'd. But not ſo eaſy work found *Ethelfrid* againſt another part of *Britans* that ſtood in arms, whom though at laſt he overthrew, yet with Slaughter nigh as great to his own Souldiers. To excuſe *Auſtin* of this Bloodſhed, leſt ſom might think it his revengeful Policy, *Beda* writes that he was dead long before, although if the time of his ſitting Archbiſhop be right com- Malmſ. geſt. pont. l. 1. puted ſixteen years, he muſt ſurvive this Action. Other juſt ground of charging him with this Imputation appears not, ſave what evidently we have Sax. an. from *Geffry Monmouth*, whoſe weight we know. The ſame year *Kelwulf* made War on the *South-Saxons*, bloody, ſaith *Huntingdon*, to both ſides, but moſt 611. to them of the *South*: and four years after dying, left the Government of Sax. an. Malmſ. *Weſt-Saxons* to *Kinegils* and *Cuichelm*, the Sons of his Brother *Keola*. Others, as *Florent* of *Worſter*, and *Matthew* of *Weſtminſter*, will have *Cuichelm* Son of 614. *Kinegils*, but admitted to reign with his Father, in whoſe third year they are Camd. recorded with joynt Forces or Conduct to have fought againſt the *Britans* in 616. *Beandune*, now *Bindon* in *Dorſetſhire*, and to have ſlain of them above two Sax. an. thouſand. More memorable was the ſecond year following, by the Death of *Ethelbert* the firſt Chriſtian King of *Saxons*, and no leſs a Favourer of all Civility in that rude Age. He gave Laws and Statutes after the example of *Roman* Emperors, written with the Advice of his ſageſt Counſellors, but in the *Engliſh* Tongue, and obſerv'd long after. Wherin his ſpecial care was to puniſh thoſe who had ſtoln ought from Church or Churchman, therby ſhewing how gratefully he receiv'd at thir hands the Chriſtian Faith, Which, he no ſooner dead, but his Son *Eadbald* took the Courſe as faſt to extinguiſh; not only falling back to Heatheniſm, but that which Heatheniſm was wont to abhor, marrying his Father's ſecond Wife. Then ſoon was perceiv'd what multitudes for fear or countenance of the King had profeſs't Chriſtianity, returning now as eagerly to thir old Religion. Nor ſtaid the Apoſtacy within one Province, but quickly ſpread over to the *Eaſt-Saxons*; occaſion'd there likewiſe, or ſet forward by the Death of thir Chriſtian King *Sebert*: whoſe Malmſ. three Sons, of whom two are nam'd *Sexted* and *Seward*, neither in his life-time would be brought to Baptiſm, and after his Deceaſe re-eſtabliſh'd the free Exerciſe of Idolatry; nor ſo content, they ſet themſelves in deſpight to do ſom op'n Profanation againſt the other Sacrament. Coming therfore into the Church where *Mellitus* the Biſhop was miniſtring, they requir'd him in abuſe and ſcorn to deliver to them unbaptiz'd the conſecrated Bread; and him refuſing, drove diſgracefully out of thir Dominion. Who croſs'd forthwith into *Kent*, where things were in the ſame plight, and thence into *France*, with *Juſtus* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*. But Divine Vengeance defer'd not long the Puniſhment of men ſo impious; for *Eadbald*, vext with an evil Spirit, fell oft'n into foul fits of Diſtraction; and the Sons of *Sebert*, in a Fight againſt the *Weſt-Saxons*, periſh'd with thir whole Army. But *Eadbald*, within the year, by an extraordinary means became penitent. For when *Laurence* the Archbiſhop and Succeſſor of *Auſtin* was preparing to ſhip for *France*, after *Juſtus* and *Mellitus*, the ſtory goes, if it be worth beleeving, that St. *Peter*, in whoſe Church he ſpent the Night before in watching and praying, appear'd to him, and to make the Viſion more ſenſible, gave him many ſtripes for offering to deſert his Flock; at ſight wherof the King (to whom next Morning he ſhew'd the marks of what he had ſuffer'd, by whom and for what cauſe) relenting and in great fear, diſſolv'd his inceſtuous marriage, and appli'd himſelf to the Chriſtian Faith more ſincerely then before, with all his People. But the *Londoners* addicted ſtill to Paganiſm, would not be perſwaded to receave again *Mellitus* thir Biſhop, and to compel them was not in his power. Thus much through all the South was troubl'd in Religion, as much were the 617. North parts diſquieted through Ambition. For *Ethelfrid* of *Bernicia*, as was touch't before, having thrown *Edwin* out of *Deira*, and join'd that Kingdom to his own, not content to have bereav'd him of his Right, whoſe known vertues and high parts gave cauſe of ſuſpicion to his Enemies, ſends Meſſengers to demand him of *Redwald* King of *Eaſt-Angles*; under whoſe Protection, after many years wandring obſcurely through all the Iland, he had plac'd his ſafety. *Redwald*, though having promis'd all defence to *Edwin* as to his ſuppliant, yet tempted with continual and large offers of Gold, and not contemning the puiſſance of *Ethelfrid*, yeilded at length, either to diſpatch him, or to give him into thir hands: but earneſtly exhorted by his Wife, not to betray the Faith and inviolable Law of Hoſpitality and Refuge giv'n, prefers his firſt Malmſ.l.1.c.3. promiſe as the more Religious; nor only refuſes to deliver him, but ſince War was therupon denounc't, determins to be beforehand with the danger; and with a ſudden Army rais'd, ſurpriſes *Ethelfrid*, little dreaming an Invaſion, and in a Fight near to the Eaſt-ſide of the River *Idle*, on the *Mercian* border, now *Nottinghamſhire*, ſlaies him, diſſipating eaſily thoſe few Forces which Camden. he had got to march out over-haſtily with him; who yet as a teſtimony of his Fortune, not his Valour to be blam'd, ſlew firſt with his own hands, *Reiner* the Kings Son. His two Sons *Oſwald*, and *Oſwi*, by *Acca*, *Edwins* Siſter, eſcap'd into *Scotland*. By this Victory, *Redwald* became ſo far ſuperior to the other *Saxon* Kings, that *Beda* reck'ns him the next after *Ella* and *Ethelbert*; who beſides this Conqueſt of the North, had likewiſe all on the hitherſide *Humber* at his obedience. He had formerly in *Kent* receav'd Baptiſm, but Bed. l.2.c.15. coming home and perſwaded by his Wife, who ſtill it ſeems was his chief Counſellor to good or bad alike, relaps'd into his old Religion: yet not willing to forgo his new, thought it not the worſt way, leſt perhaps he might err in either, for more aſſurance to keep them both; and in the ſame Temple erected one Altar to Chriſt, another to his Idols. But *Edwin*, as with more deliberation he undertook, and with more ſincerity retain'd the Chriſtian Profeſſion, ſo alſo in Power and extent of Dominion far exceeded all before him; ſubduing all, ſaith *Beda*, Engliſh or Britiſh, ev'n to the Iles, then call'd *Mevanian*, *Angleſey*, and *Man*; ſetl'd in his Kingdom by *Redwald*, he ſought in mariage *Edelburga*, whom others call *Tate*, the Daughter of *Ethelbert*. To whoſe Embaſſadors, *Eadbald* her Brother made anſwer, that to wed thir Daughter to a Pagan, was not the Chriſtian Law. *Edwin* repli'd, that to her Religion he would be no hindrance, which with her whole Houſhold ſhe might freely exerciſe. And moreover, that if examin'd it were found the better, he would imbrace it. Theſe ingenuous offers, op'ning ſo fair a way to the advancement of Truth, are accepted, and *Paulinus* as a ſpiritual Guardian ſent 625. along with the Virgin. He being to that purpoſe made Biſhop by *Juſtus*, omitted no occaſion to plant the Goſpel in thoſe parts, but with ſmall ſucceſs, till the next year, *Cuichelm*, at that time one of the two *Weſt-Saxon* Kings, 626. envious of the greatneſs which he ſaw *Edwin* growing up to, ſent privily *Eumerus* a hir'd Sword-man to aſſaſſin him; who under pretence of doing a Meſſage from his Maſter, with a poiſon'd Weapon, ſtabs at *Edwin*, conferring with him in his Houſe, by the River *Derwent* in *Yorkſhire*, on an Eaſter-day; which *Lilla* one of the Kings Attendants, at the inſtant perceaving, with a Loyalty that ſtood not then to deliberate, abandon'd his whole Body to the blow; which notwithſtanding made paſſage through to the Kings Perſon, with a wound not to be ſlighted. The murderer encompaſs'd now with Swords, and deſperate, fore-revenges his own fall with the Death of another, whom his Poniard reach'd home. *Paulinus* omitting no opportunity to win the King from misbeleef, obtain'd at length this promiſe from him; that if Chriſt, whom he ſo magnifi'd, would give him to recover of his wound, and victory of his Enemies who had thus aſſaulted him, he would then becom Chriſtian, in pledg wherof he gave his young Daughter *Eanfled* to be bred up in Religion; who with 12 others of his Family, on the day of *Pentecoſt* was baptiz'd. And by that time well recover'd of his wound, to puniſh the Authors of ſo foul a Fact, he went with an Army againſt the *Weſt-Saxons*: whom having quell'd by War, and of ſuch as had conſpir'd againſt him, put ſom to Death, others pardon'd, he return'd home victorious, and from that time worſhip'd no more his Idols, yet ventur'd not raſhly into Baptiſm, but firſt took care to be inſtructed rightly what he learnt, examining and ſtill conſidering with himſelf and others, whom he held wiſeſt; though *Boniface* the Pope, by large Letters of Exhortation, both to him and his Queen, was not wanting to quicken his beleef. But while he ſtill defer'd, and his deferring might ſeem now to have paſt the maturity of Wiſdom to a faulty lingring, *Paulinus* by Revelation, as was beleev'd, coming to the knowledg of a Secret, which befel him ſtrangly in the time of his troubles, on a certain day went in boldly to him, and laying his right hand on the head of the King, ask'd him if he remember'd what that ſign meant; the King trembling, and in a maze riſing up, ſtrait fell at his Feet. Behold, ſaith *Paulinus*, raiſing him from the Ground, God hath deliver'd you from your Enemies, and giv'n you the Kingdom, as you deſir'd: perform now what long ſince you promis'd him, to receave his Doctrin which I now bring you, and the Faith, which if you accept, ſhall to your temporal Felicity, add eternal. The promiſe claim'd of him by *Paulinus*, how and wherfore made, though ſavouring much of Legend, is thus related. *Redwald*, as we heard before, dazl'd with the Gold of *Ethelfrid*, or by his threatning over-aw'd, having promis'd to yield up *Edwin*, one of his faithful Companions, of which he had ſom few with him in the Court of *Redwald*, that never ſhrunk from his Adverſity, about the firſt hour of night comes in haſt to his Chamber, and calling him forth for better ſecrecy, reveles to him his danger, offers him his aid to make eſcape; but that courſe not approv'd, as ſeeming diſhonourable without more manifeſt cauſe to begin diſtruſt towards one who had ſo long bin his only refuge, the friend departs. *Edwin* left alone without the Palace Gate, full of ſadneſs and perplext Thoughts, diſcerns about the dead of Night, a man neither by Countenance nor by Habit to him known, approaching towards him. Who after ſalutation, ask'd him why at this hour, when all others were at reſt, he alone ſo ſadly ſat waking on a cold Stone? *Edwin* not a little miſdoubting who he might be, ask'd him again, what his ſitting within dores, or without, concern'd him to know? To whom he again, think not that who thou art, or why ſitting heer, or what danger hangs over thee, is to me unknown: But what would you promiſe to that man, who ever would befriend you out of all theſe troubles, and perſwade *Redwald* to the like? All that I am able, anſwer'd *Edwin*. And he, What if the ſame man ſhould promiſe to make you greater then any Engliſh King hath bin before you? I ſhould not doubt, quoth *Edwin*, to be anſwerably gratful. And what if to all this he would inform you, ſaid the other, in a way to Happineſs, beyond what any of your Anceſtors hath known? Would you hark'n to his Counſel? *Edwin* without ſtopping promis'd he would. And the other laying his Right hand on *Edwin*'s Head, When this Sign, ſaith he, ſhall next befal thee, remember this time of Night, and this Diſcourſe, to perform what thou haſt promis'd; and with theſe words diſappeering, left *Edwin* much reviv'd, but not leſs fill'd with wonder, who this unknown ſhould be. When ſuddenly the Friend who had bin gon all this while to liſt'n furder what was like to be decreed of *Edwin*, comes back and joyfully bids him riſe to his repoſe, for that the Kings mind, though for a while drawn aſide, was now fully reſolv'd not only not to betray him, but to defend him againſt all Enemies, as he had promiſ'd. This was ſaid to be the cauſe why *Edwin* admoniſh'd by the Biſhop of a Sign which had befaln him ſo ſtrangely, and as he thought ſo ſecretly, aroſe to him with that reverence and amazement, as to one ſent from Heav'n, to claim that Promiſe of him which he perceav'd well was due to a Divine Power, that had aſſiſted him in his Troubles. To *Paulinus* therfore he makes anſwer, that the Chriſtian Belief he himſelf ought by promiſe, and intended to receave; but would confer firſt with his chief Peers and Counſellors, that if they likewiſe could be won, all at once might be baptiz'd. They therfore being ask'd in Council what thir opinion was concerning this new Doctrin, and well perceaving which way the King enclin'd, every one therafter ſhap'd his Reply. The Chief Prieſt ſpeaking firſt, diſcover'd an old grudg he had againſt his Gods, for advancing others in the King's Favour above him thir Chief Prieſt: another hiding his Court-compliance with a grave Sentence, commended the choiſe of certain before uncertain, upon due examination; to like purpoſe anſwer'd all the reſt of his Sages, none op'nly diſſenting from what was likely to be the King's Creed: wheras the preaching of *Paulinus* could work no ſuch effect upon them, toiling till that time without ſucceſs. Wherupon *Edwin* renouncing Heatheniſm, became Chriſtian: and the Pagan Prieſt, offring himſelf freely to demoliſh the Altars of his former Gods, made ſome amends for his teaching to adore them. With *Edwin*, his two Sons *Oſfrid* and *Eanfrid*, born to him by *Quenburga*, 627. Daughter, as ſaith *Beda*, of *Kearle* King of *Mercia*, in the time of his Baniſhment, and with them moſt of the People, both Nobles and Commons, eaſily converted, were baptiz'd; he with his whole Family at *York*, in a Church haſtily built up of Wood, the multitude moſt part in Rivers. *Northumberland* thus chriſt'nd, *Paulinus* croſſing *Humber*, converted alſo the Province of *Lindſey*, and *Blecca* the Governour of *Lincoln*, with his Houſhold and moſt of that City; wherin he built a Church of Stone, curiouſly wrought, but of ſmall continuance; for the Roof in *Beda*'s time, uncertain whether by neglect or Enemies, was down; the Walls only ſtanding. Mean while in *Mercia*, *Kearle* a Kinſman of *Wibba*, ſaith *Huntingdon*, not a Son, having long withheld the Kingdom from *Penda Wibba*'s Son, left it now at length to the fiftieth Year of his Age: with whom *Kinegils* and *Cuichelm*, the *Weſt-Saxon* Kings, two Year after, having by that time it ſeems recover'd 629. Strength, ſince the Inrode made upon them by *Edwin*, fought at *Cirenceſter*, Saxon. an. then made Truce. But *Edwin* ſeeking every way to propagate the Faith, which with ſo much deliberation he had receav'd, perſuaded *Eorpwald* the Son of *Redwald*, King of *Eaſt-Angles*, to embrace the ſame belief; willingly 632. or in aw, is not known, retaining under *Edwin* the name only of a King. Saxon. an. But *Eorpwald* not long ſurviv'd his Converſion, ſlain in fight by *Ricbert* a Pagan: wherby the People having lightly follow'd the Religion of thir King, as Florent. Genealog. lightly fell back to thir old Superſtitions for above three Years after: *Edwin* in the mean while, to his Faith adding Vertue, by the due adminiſtration of Juſtice wrought ſuch Peace over all his Territories, that from Sea to Sea, Man or Woman might have travail'd in ſafety. His care alſo was of Fountains by the way ſide, to make them fitteſt for the uſe of Travellers. And not unmindful of regal State, whether in War or Peace, he had a Royal Banner carried before him. But having reign'd with much honour ſeventeen Years, he was at length by *Kedwalla*, or *Cadwallon*, King of the *Britans*, who with aid of the *Mercian Penda* had rebell'd againſt him, ſlain in a Battel with his Son *Oſfrid*, at a place call'd *Hethfeild*, and his whole Army overthrown or diſperſt in the Year 633. and the 47*th* of his Age, in the Eye of 633. Man worthy a more peaceful end. His Head brought to *York*, was there buried in the Church by him begun. Sad was this overthrow, both to Church and State of the *Northumbrians:* for *Penda* being a Heathen, and the Britiſh King, though in name a Chriſtian, yet in deeds more bloody then the Pagan, nothing was omitted of barbarous Cruelty in the ſlaughter of Sex or Age; *Kedwalla* threatning to root out the whole Nation, though then newly Chriſtian. For the *Britans*, and, as *Beda* ſaith, ev'n to his days, accounted *Saxon* Chriſtianity no better then Paganiſm, and with them held as little Communion. From theſe Calamities no refuge being left but flight, *Paulinus*

taking with him *Ethilburga* the Queen and her Children, aided by *Baſſus*, one
of *Edwin*'s Captains, made eſcape by Sea to *Eadbald* King of *Kent*: who receaving
his Siſter with all kindneſs, made *Paulinus* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, where
he ended his days. After *Edwin*, the Kingdom of *Northumberland* became
divided as before, each rightful Heir ſeiſing his part; in *Deira Oſric*, the Son
of *Elfric*, *Edwin*'s Uncle, by profeſſion a Chriſtian, and baptiz'd by *Paulinus*:
in *Bernicia*, *Eanfrid*, the Son of *Ethelfrid*; who all the time of *Edwin*, with
his Brother *Oſwald*, and many of the young Nobility, liv'd in *Scotland* exil'd,
and had bin there taught and baptiz'd. No ſooner had they gott'n each a
Kingdom, but both turn'd recreant, ſliding back into thir old Religion; and
both were the ſame Year ſlain; *Oſric* by a ſudden eruption of *Kedwalla*, whom
he in a ſtrong Town had unadviſedly beſieg'd; *Eanfrid* ſeeking Peace, and
inconſideratly with a few ſurrendring himſelf. *Kedwalla* now rang'd at will
634. through both thoſe Provinces, uſing cruelly his Conqueſt; when *Oſwald* the
Brother of *Eanfrid* with a ſmall but Chriſtian Army unexpectedly coming on,
defeated and deſtroy'd both him and his huge Forces, which he boaſted to be
invincible, by a little River running into *Tine*, near the antient *Roman* Wall
then call'd *Deniſburn*, the place afterwards *Heav'n field*, from the Croſs, reported
miraculous for Cures, which *Oſwald* there erected before the Battail,
in tok'n of his Faith againſt the great number of his Enemies. Obtaining the
Kingdom, he took care to inſtruct again the People in Chriſtianity. Sending
therfore to the Scotiſh Elders, *Beda* ſo terms them, among whom he had
receav'd Baptiſm, requeſted of them ſom faithful Teacher, who might
again ſettle Religion in his Realm, which the late Troubles had much impar'd;
they as readily hearkning to his Requeſt, ſend *Aidan* a Scotch Monk
and Biſhop, but of ſingular Zeal and Meekneſs, with others to aſſiſt him,
whom at thir own deſire he ſeated in *Lindisfarne*, as the Epiſcopal Seat, now
*Holy Iland*: and being the Son of *Ethelfrid*, by the Siſter of *Edwin*, as right
Heir, others failing, eaſily reduc'd both Kingdoms of *Northumberland* as before
into one; nor of *Edwin*'s Dominion loſt any part, but enlarg'd it rather;
over all the four *Britiſh* Nations, *Angles*, *Britans*, *Picts* and *Scots*, exerciſing
Regal Authority. Of his Devotion, Humility, and Alms-deeds, much
is ſpok'n; that he diſdain'd not to be the Interpreter of *Aidan*, preaching
in Scotch or bad Engliſh, to his Nobles and Houſhold Servants; and had the
Poor continually ſerv'd at his Gate, after the promiſcuous manner of thoſe
times: his meaning might be upright, but the manner more antient of privat
635. or of Church-Contribution, is doubtleſs more Evangelical. About this
Sax. an. time, the *Weſt-Saxons*, antiently call'd *Geviſſi*, by the preaching of *Berinus*,
a Biſhop, whom Pope *Honorius* had ſent, were converted to the Faith with
636. *Kinegils* thir King: him *Oſwald* receav'd out of the Font, and his Daughter
in Marriage. The next Year *Cuichelm* was baptiz'd in *Dorcheſter*, but liv'd
not to the years end. The *Eaſt-Angles* alſo this year were reclaim'd to the
Faith of Chriſt, which for ſom years paſt they had thrown off. But *Sigbert*
the Brother of *Eorpwald* now ſucceeded in that Kingdom, prais'd for a
moſt Chriſtian and Learned Man: who while his Brother yet reign'd, living
in *France* an Exile, for ſom diſpleaſure conceav'd againſt him by *Redwald* his
Father, learn'd there the Chriſtian Faith; and reigning ſoon after, in the
ſame inſtructed his People, by the preaching of *Felix* a *Burgundian* Biſhop.

640. In the Year 640 *Eadbald* deceaſing, left to *Ercombert* his Son by *Emma* the
French King's Daughter, the Kingdom of *Kent*; recorded the firſt of *Engliſh*
Kings, who commanded through his limits the deſtroying of Idols; laudably,
if all Idols without exception; and the firſt to have eſtabliſh'd *Lent*
among us, under ſtrict Penalty, not worth remembring, but only to inform
Mat. Weſt. us, that no *Lent* was obſerv'd here till his time by compulſion: eſpecially
being noted by ſom to have fraudulently uſurp'd upon his elder Brother
*Ermenred*, whoſe right was precedent to the Crown. *Oſwald* having reign'd
642. eight Years, worthy alſo as might ſeem of longer Life, fell into the ſame fate
with *Edwin*, and from the ſame hand, in a great Battel overcom and ſlain by
Camden. *Penda*, at a place call'd *Maſerfeild*, now *Oſweſtre* in *Shropſhire*, miraculous, as
ſaith *Beda*, after his Death. His Brother *Oſwi* ſucceeded him; reigning,
Bed. l. 3. c.14. though in much trouble, 28 Years; oppos'd either by *Penda*, or his own Son
643. *Alfred*, or his Brother's Son *Ethilwald*. Next Year *Kinegils* the *Weſt-Saxon*
dying,

dying, left his Son *Kenwalk* in his ſtead, though as yet unconverted. About Sax. an.
this time *Sigebert* King of *Eaſt-Angles* having lernt in *France*, e're his coming
to reign, the manner of thir Schools, with the Aſſiſtance of ſom Teachers
out of *Kent*, inſtituted a School heer after the ſame Diſciplin, thought to be
the Univerſity of *Cambridg* then firſt founded: and at length weary of his
Kingly Office, betook him to a Monaſtical Life; commending the Care of Government
to his Kinſman *Egric*, who had ſuſtain'd with him part of that Burden
before. It happen'd ſom Years after, that *Penda* made War on the *Eaſt-Angles*:
they expecting a ſharp Encounter, beſought *Sigebert*, whom they
eſteem'd an expert Leader, with his Preſence to confirm the Souldiery: and
him refuſing, carried by force out of the Monaſtery into the Camp; where
acting the Monk rather then the Captain, with a ſingle Wand in his hand, he
was ſlain with *Egric*, and his whole Army put to flight. *Anna* of the Royal
Stock, as next in right, ſucceeded; and hath the Praiſe of a vertuous and
moſt Chriſtian Prince. But *Kenwalk* the *Weſt-Saxon* having marry'd the Siſter 645.
of *Penda*, and divorc'd her, was by him with more appearance of a juſt cauſe Sax. an.
vanquiſh'd in Fight, and depriv'd of his Crown: whence retiring to *Anna*
King of *Eaſt-Angles*, after three Years abode in his Court, he there became
Chriſtian, and afterwards regain'd his Kingdom. *Oſwi* in the former Years 648.
of his Reign had ſharer with him, *Oſwin* Nephew of *Edwin*, who rul'd in *Deira*
ſeven Years, commended much for his Zeal in Religion, and for Comlineſs
of Perſon, with other princely Qualities, belov'd of all. Notwithſtanding
which, Diſſentions growing between them, it came to Arms. *Oſwin* ſeeing
himſelf much exceeded in numbers, thought it more Prudence, diſmiſſing his
Army, to reſerve himſelf for ſom better occaſion. But committing his Perſon
with one faithful Attendant to the Loyalty of *Hunwald* an Earl, his imagin'd
Friend, he was by him treacherouſly diſcover'd, and by Command of
*Oſwi* ſlain. After whom within twelve days, and for Grief of him whoſe 651.
Death he foretold, dy'd Biſhop *Aidan*, famous for his Charity, Meekneſs, Bede.
and Labour in the Goſpel. The Fact of *Oſwi* was deteſtable to all; which
therfore to expiate, a Monaſtery was built in the place where it was don, and
Prayers there daily offer'd up for the Souls of both Kings, the Slain and the
Slayer. *Kenwalk* by this time re-inſtall'd in his Kingdom, kept it long, but
with various Fortune; for *Beda* relates him oft-times afflicted by his Enemies Bed. l. 3. c. 7.
with great Loſſes: and in 652, by the Annals, fought a Battel (Civil War 652.
*Ethelwerd* calls it) at *Bradanford* by the River *Afene*; againſt whom, and for
what cauſe, or who had the Victory, they write not. *Camden* names the
place *Bradford* in *Wiltſhire*, by the River *Avon*, and *Cutbred* his neer Kinſman,
againſt whom he fought, but cites no Autority; certain it is, that *Kenwalk*
four Years before had giv'n large Poſſeſſions to his Nephew *Cutbred*, the more
unlikely therfore now to have rebell'd.

The next Year *Peada*, whom his Father *Penda*, though a Heathen, had for 653.
his princely Vertues made Prince of *Middle-Angles*, belonging to the *Mercians*,
was with that People converted to the Faith. For coming to *Oſwi* with requeſt
to have in Mariage *Alfleda* his Daughter, he was deny'd her, but on condition,
that he with all his People ſhould receave Chriſtianity. Heering therfore
not unwillingly what was preach'd to him of Reſurrection and Eternal
Life, much perſuaded alſo by *Alfrid* the King's Son, who had his Siſter *Kyniburg*
to Wife, he eaſily aſſented, for the Truth's ſake only as he profeſs'd,
whether he obtain'd the Virgin or no, and was baptiz'd with all his Followers.
Returning, he took with him four Presbyters to teach the People of his
Province; who by thir daily preaching won many. Neither did *Penda*,
though himſelf no Beleever, prohibit any in his Kingdom to heer or beleeve
the Goſpel, but rather hated and deſpiſed thoſe, who profeſſing to beleeve,
atteſted not thir Faith by good Works; condemning them for miſerable and
juſtly to be deſpis'd, who obey not that God in whom they chooſe to beleeve.
How well might *Penda* this Heathen riſe up in Judgment againſt many pretending
Chriſtians, both of his own and theſe days! yet being a Man bred up
to War, (as no leſs were others then reigning, and oft-times one againſt another, 654.
though both Chriſtians) he warr'd on *Anna* King of the *Eaſt-Angles*, Sax. an.
perhaps without cauſe, for *Anna* was eſteem'd a juſt Man, and at length ſlew
him. About this time the *Eaſt-Saxons*, who, as above hath bin ſaid, had ex-

pell'd thir Biſhop *Mellitus*, and renounc'd the Faith, were by the means of *Oſwi*
thus reconverted. *Sigebert*, ſurnam'd the ſmall, being the Son of *Seward*,
without other Memory of his Reign, left his Son King of that Province, after
him *Sigebert* the Second, who coming oft'n to viſit *Oſwi* his great Friend,
was by him at ſeveral times fervently diſuaded from Idolatry, and convinc'd
at length to forſake it, was there baptiz'd; on his return home taking with
him *Kedda* a laborious Preacher, afterwards made Biſhop; by whoſe teaching,
with ſom help of others, the People were again recover'd from Miſbeleef.
But *Sigebert* ſome Years after, though ſtanding faſt in Religion, was by
the Conſpiracy of two Brethren in place neer about him, wickedly murder'd;
who being ask'd what mov'd them to do a Deed ſo hainous, gave no other then
this barbarous Anſwer; that they were angry with him for being ſo gentle to
his Enemies, as to forgive them thir Injuries whenever they beſought him.
Yet his Death ſeems to have hap'nd not without ſom cauſe by him giv'n of
Divine Diſpleaſure. For one of thoſe Earls who ſlew him living in unlawful
Wedloc, and therfore excommunicated ſo ſeverely by the Biſhop, that no
Man might preſume to enter into his Houſe, much leſs to ſit at Meat with him,
the King not regarding this Church-Cenſure, went to feaſt with him at his Invitation.
Whom the Biſhop meeting in his Return, though penitent for
what he had don, and faln at his feet, touch'd with the Rod in his hand, and
angerly thus foretold: Becauſe thou haſt neglected to abſtain from the Houſe
of that Excommunicate, in that Houſe thou ſhalt die; and ſo it fell out, perhaps
from that Prediction, God bearing witneſs to his Miniſter in the Power
of Church Diſciplin, ſpiritually executed, not juridically on the Contemner
655. therof. This Year 655 prov'd fortunate to *Oſwi*, and fatal to *Penda*, for *Oſwi*
by the continual Inrodes of *Penda* having long endur'd much Devaſtation,
Bed. l.3. c.16. to the endangering once by Aſſault and Fire *Bebbanburg*, his ſtrongeſt City,
Camd. now *Bamborrow*-Caſtle, unable to reſiſt him, with many rich Preſents offer'd
to buy his Peace. Which not accepted by the Pagan, who intended nothing
but Deſtruction to that King, though more then once in Affinity with him,
turning Gifts into Vows, he implores Divine Aſſiſtance, devoting, if he were
deliver'd from his Enemy, a Child of one year old, his Daughter, to be a Nun,
and 12 portions of Land wheron to build Monaſteries. His Vows, as may be
thought, found better Succeſs then his profer'd Gifts; for heerupon with his
Son *Alfrid*, gathering a ſmall Power, he encounter'd and diſcomfited the *Mercians*,
Camden. 30 times exceeding his in number, and led on by expert Captains, at a
place call'd *Loydes*, now *Leeds* in *Yorkſhire*. Beſides this *Ethelwald*, the Son of
*Oſwald*, who rul'd in *Deira*, took part with the *Mercians*, but in the Fight
withdrew his Forces, and in a ſafe place expected the event: with which unſeaſonable
Retreat the *Mercians*, perhaps terrify'd and miſdoubting more Danger,
fled; thir Commanders, with *Penda* himſelf, moſt being ſlain, among
whom *Edilhere* the Brother of *Anna*, who rul'd after him the *Eaſt-Angles*, and
was the Author of this War; many more flying were drown'd in the River,
Mat. Weſt. which *Beda* calls *Winwed*, then ſwoln above its Banks. The Death of *Penda*,
who had bin the Death of ſo many good Kings, made general rejoicing, as
the Song witneſs'd. At the River *Winwed Anna* was aveng'd. To *Edelhere*
ſucceeded *Ethelwald* his Brother, in the *Eaſt-Angles*; to *Sigebert* in the *Eaſt-Saxons*
Bed. l.3. c.22. *Suidhelm* the Son of *Sexbald*, ſaith *Bede*, the Brother of *Sigebert*, ſaith
*Malmsbury*; he was baptiz'd by *Kedda*, then reſiding in the *Eaſt-Angles*, and
by *Ethelwald* the King receav'd out of the Font. But *Oſwi* in the ſtrength of
658. his late Victory, within three Years after ſubdu'd all *Mercia*, and of the Pictiſh
Sax. an. Nation greateſt part, at which time he gave to *Peada* his Son in law the Kingdom
of *South-Mercia*, divided from the Northern by *Trent*. But *Peada* the
659. Spring following, as was ſaid, by the Treaſon of his Wife the Daughter of
Sax. an. *Oſwi*, marry'd by him for a ſpecial Chriſtian, on the Feaſt of *Eaſter*, not protected
by the holy time, was ſlain. The *Mercian* Nobles, *Immin*, *Eaba*, and
*Eadbert*, throwing off the Government of *Oſwi*, ſet up *Wulfer* the other Son
of *Penda* to be thir King, whom till then they had kept hid, and with him adher'd
to the Chriſtian Faith. *Kenwalk* the *Weſt-Saxon*, now ſettl'd at home,
and deſirous to enlarge his Dominion, prepares againſt the *Britans*, joins Battel
with them at *Pen* in *Somerſetſhire*, and overcoming, purſues them to *Pedridan*.
Another Fight he had with them before, at a place call'd *Witgeornes-*

*brug*, barely mention'd by the Monk of *Malmsbury*. Nor was it long e're he
fell at variance with *Wulſer* the Son of *Penda*, his old Enemy, ſcarce yet warm 661.
in his Throne, fought with him at *Poſſentesburg*, on the *Eaſter* Holy-days, Sax. an.
and as *Ethelwerd* ſaith, took him Priſner; but the *Saxon* Annals, quite otherwiſe,
that *Wulfer* winning the Field, waſted the *Weſt-Saxon* Country as far as
*Eskeſdun*; nor ſtaying there, took and waſted the Ile of *Wight*, but cauſing
the Inhabitants to be baptiz'd, till then Unbeleevers, gave the Iland to *Ethelwald*
King of *South Saxons*, whom he had receav'd out of the Font. The
Year 664 a Synod of Scotiſh and Engliſh Biſhops, in the preſence of *Oſwi* and 664.
*Alfred* his Son, was held at a Monaſtry in thoſe parts, to debate on what day Bed.
*Eaſter* ſhould be kept; a Controverſy which long before had diſturb'd the
Greek and Latin Churches: wherin the Scots not agreeing with the way of
*Rome*, nor yeilding to the Diſputants on that ſide, to whom the King moſt enclin'd,
ſuch as were Biſhops heer, reſign'd, and return'd home with thir Diſciples.
Another clerical Queſtion was there alſo much controverted, not ſo
ſuperſtitious in my opinion as ridiculous, about the right ſhaving of Crowns.
The ſame Year was ſeen an Eclips of the Sun in *May*, followed by a ſore Peſtilence
beginning in the South, but ſpreading to the North, and over all *Ireland* Malmſ.
with great Mortality. In which time the *Eaſt-Saxons* after *Swithelm's*
Deceaſe, being govern'd by *Siger* the Son of *Sigebert* the ſmall, and *Sebbi* of
*Seward*, though both ſubject to the *Mercians*; *Siger* and his People unſtedy of
Faith, ſuppoſing that this Plague was come upon them for renouncing thir old
Religion, fell off the ſecond time to Infidelity. Which the *Mercian* King
*Wulfer* underſtanding, ſent *Jarumannus* a faithful Biſhop, who with other his
Fellow-labourers, by ſound Doctrin and gentle dealing, ſoon recur'd them of
thir ſecond Relaps. In *Kent*, *Ercombert* expiring, was ſucceeded by his Son
*Ecbert*. In whoſe fourth Year, by means of *Theodore*, a learned Greekiſh 668.
Monk of *Tarſus*, whom Pope *Vitalian* had ordain'd Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, Sax. an.
the Greek and Latin Tongue, with other liberal Arts, Arithmetic, Muſic,
Aſtronomy, and the like, began firſt to flouriſh among the *Saxons*; as did
alſo the whole Land, under potent and religious Kings, more then ever before,
as *Bede* affirms, till his own days. Two Years after in *Northumberland* 670.
dy'd *Oſwi*, much addicted to Romiſh Rites, and reſolv'd, had his Diſeaſe releas'd Sax. an.
him, to have ended his days at *Rome*. *Ecfrid* the eldeſt of his Sons begot
in Wedloc, ſucceeded him. After other three Years, *Ecbert* in *Kent* deceaſing, 673.
left nothing memorable behind him, but the general ſuſpition to Sax. an.
have ſlain or conniv'd at the Slaughter of his Uncles two Sons, *Elbert* and
*Egelbright*. In recompence wherof, he gave to the Mother of them part of
*Tanet*, wherin to build an Abbey; the Kingdom fell to his Brother *Lothair*. Malmſ.
And much about this time, by beſt account it ſhould be, however plac'd in
*Beda*, that *Ecfrid* of *Northumberland* having War with the *Mercian Wulfer*, Bed. l. 4. c. 12.
won from him *Lindſey*, and the Country therabout. *Sebbi* having reign'd
over the *Eaſt-Saxons* thirty years, not long before his Death, though long before
deſiring, took on him the Habit of a Monk; and drew his Wife at length,
though unwilling, to the ſame Devotion. *Kenwalk* alſo dying, left the Government
to *Sexburga* his Wife, who out-liv'd him in it but one Year, driv'n
out, ſaith *Mat. Weſt.* by the Nobles, diſdaining Female Government. After 675.
whom ſeveral petty Kings, as *Beda* calls them, for ten Years ſpace divided Bed. l. 4. c. 12.
the *Weſt-Saxons*; others name two, *Eſcwin* the Nephew of *Kinigils* and Sax. an.
*Kentwin* the Son, not petty by thir Deeds: for *Eſcwin* fought a Battel with Malmſ.
*Wulfer*, at *Bedanhafde*, and about a Year after both deceas'd; but *Wulfer* not 676.
without a ſtain left behind him, of ſelling the Biſhoprick of *London* to *Wini*
the firſt Simoniſt we read of in this Story; *Kenwalk* had before expell'd him
from his Chair at *Wincheſter*. *Ethelred* the Brother of *Wulfer* obtaining next
the Kingdom of *Mercia*, not only recover'd *Lindſey*, and what beſides in thoſe
parts *Wulfer* had loſt to *Ecfrid* ſome Years before, but found himſelf ſtrong
enough to extend his Arms another way, as far as *Kent*, waſting that Country
without reſpect to Church or Monaſtry, much alſo endamaging the City of Bed. l. 4. c. 12.
*Rocheſter*, notwithſtanding what Reſiſtance *Lothair* could make againſt him.
In *Auguſt* 678 was ſeen a Morning Comet for three Months following, in manner 678.
of a firy Pillar. And the *South-Saxons* about this time were converted to
the Chriſtian Faith, upon this occaſion. *Wilfrid* Biſhop of the *Northumbrians*

entring into Contention with *Ecfrid* the King, was by him depriv'd of his
679. Biſhoprick, and long wandring up and down as far as *Rome*, return'd at
length into *England*; but not daring to approach the North, whence he was
baniſh'd, bethought him where he might to beſt purpoſe elſwhere exerciſe
his Miniſtry. The South of all other *Saxons* remain'd yet Heathen; but
*Edilwalk* thir King not long before had bin baptiz'd in *Mercia*, perſuaded by
Bed. l. 4. c. 13. *Wulfer*, and by him, as hath bin ſaid, receav'd out of the Font. For which
Camd. relations ſake he had the Ile of *Wight*, and a Province of the *Meannari* adjoining,
giv'n him on the Continent about *Meanesborow* in *Hantſhire*, which
*Wulfer* had a little before gott'n from *Kenwalk*. Thether *Wilfrid* takes his
Journey, and with the help of other ſpiritual Labourers about him, in ſhort
time planted there the Goſpel. It had not rain'd, as is ſaid, of three Years
before in that Country, whence many of the People daily periſh'd by Famin;
till on the firſt day of thir public Baptiſm, ſoft and plentiful Showers deſcending,
681. Sax. an. reſtor'd all abundance to the Summer following. Two Years after
this *Kentwin* the other *Weſt-Saxon* King above-nam'd, chac'd the *Welch Britans*,
as is chronicl'd without Circumſtance, to the very Sea-ſhoar. But in
683. the Year, by *Beda*'s reckning, 683, *Kedwalla* a *Weſt-Saxon* of the Royal Line,
Sax. an. (whom the *Welch* will have to be *Cadwallader*, laſt King of the *Britans*) thrown
out by Faction, return'd from Baniſhment, and invaded both *Kentwin*, if then
living, or whoever elſe had divided the Succeſſion of *Kenwalk*, ſlaying in fight
Bed. l. 4. c. 15. *Edelwalk* the *South-Saxon*, who oppos'd him in thir aid; but ſoon after was
repuls'd by two of his Captains, *Bertune* and *Andune*, who for a while held
Malmſ. the Province in thir Power. But *Kedwalla* gathering new Force, with the
684. Slaughter of *Bertune*, and alſo of *Edric* the Succeſſor of *Edelwalk*, won the
Bed. l. 4. c. 16. Kingdom: but reduc'd the People to heavy Thraldom. Then addreſſing to
conquer the Ile of *Wight*, till that time *Pagan*, ſaith *Beda*, (others otherwiſe,
as above hath bin related) made a Vow, though himſelf yet unbaptiz'd, to
devote the fourth part of that Iland, and the Spoils therof, to holy Uſes.
Conqueſt obtain'd, paying his Vow as then was the Beleef, he gave his fourth
to Biſhop *Wilfrid*, by chance there preſent; and he to *Bertwin* a Prieſt, his
Siſter's Son, with commiſſion to baptize all the vanquiſh'd, who meant to ſave
thir Lives. But the two young Sons of *Arwald*, King of that Iland, met with
much more Hoſtility; for they at the Enemies Approach flying out of the Ile,
and betray'd where they were hid not far from thence, were led to *Kedwalla*,
who lay then under cure of ſome Wounds receav'd, and by his appointment,
after Inſtruction and Baptiſm firſt giv'n them, harſhly put to Death, which
the Youths are ſaid above thir Age to have chriſtianly ſuffer'd. In *Kent Lothair*
dy'd this Year of his Wounds receav'd in fight againſt the *South-Saxons*,
led on by *Edrick*, who deſcending from *Ermenred*, it ſeems challeng'd the
685. Crown, and wore it, though not commendably, one Year and a half: but
Malmſ. coming to a violent Death, left the Land expos'd a Prey either to home-bred
Uſurpers, or neighbouring Invaders. Among whom *Kedwalla* taking advantage
from thir civil Diſtempers, and marching eaſily through the *South-Saxons*,
whom he had ſubdu'd, ſorely haraſs'd the Country, untouch'd of a long time
by any hoſtile Incurſion. But the Kentiſh Men, all Parties uniting againſt a
common Enemy, with joint Power ſo oppos'd him, that he was conſtrain'd to
Sax. an. retire back; his Brother *Mollo* in the flight with 12 Men of his Company, ſeeking
Malmſ. ſhelter in a Houſe, was beſet, and therin burnt by the Perſuers: *Kedwalla*
much troubl'd at ſo great a Loſs, recalling and ſoon rallying his diſorder'd
686. Forces, return'd fiercely upon the chacing Enemy; nor could be got out of the
Province, till both by Fire and Sword he had aveng'd the Death of his Brother.
687. At length *Victred* the Son of *Ecbert*, attaining the Kingdom, both ſettl'd at
home all things in Peace, and ſecur'd his Borders from all outward Hoſtilitie.
Bed. While thus *Kedwalla* diſquieted both *Weſt* and *Eaſt*, after his winning the
Crown, *Ecfrid* the *Northumbrian*, and *Ethelred* the *Mercian*, fought a ſore Battel
by the River *Trent*; wherin *Elfwin* Brother to *Ecfrid*, a youth of 18 years,
much belov'd, was ſlain; and the accident likely to occaſion much more ſhedding
of Blood, Peace was happily made by the grave Exhortation of Archbiſhop
*Theodore*, a pecuniary Fine only paid to *Ecfrid*, as ſome ſatisfaction for the loſs
of his Brothers Life. Another adverſity befel *Ecfrid* in his Family, by means
of *Ethildrith* his Wife, King *Anna*'s Daughter, who having tak'n him for her

Husband, and profeſſing to love him above all other men, perſiſted twelve
years in the obſtinat refuſal of his Bed, therby thinking to live the purer Life.
So perverſly then was Chaſtity inſtructed againſt the Apoſtles rule. At length
obtaining of him with much importunity her departure, ſhe veild her ſelf a
Nun, then made Abbeſs of *Ely*, dy'd 7 years after the Peſtilence; and might
with better warrant have kept faithfully her undertak'n Wedloc, though now
canoniz'd St. *Audrey* of *Ely*. In the mean while *Ecfrid* had ſent *Bertus* with a
power to ſubdue *Ireland*, a harmleſs Nation, ſaith *Beda*, and ever friendly to
the Engliſh; in both which they ſeem to have left a Poſterity much unlike them
at this day; miſerably waſted, without regard had to places hallow'd or profane,
they betook them partly to thir Weapons, partly to implore divine
Aid; and, as was thought, obtain'd it in thir full avengement upon *Ecfrid*.
For he the next year, againſt the mind and perſuaſion of his ſageſt Friends,
and eſpecially of *Cudbert* a famous Biſhop of that Age, marching unadviſedly
againſt the *Picts*, who long before had bin ſubject to *Northumberland*, was by
them feigning flight, drawn unawares into narrow ſtreights, overtopt with
Hills, and cut off with moſt of his Army. From which time, ſaith *Bede*,
military Valour began among the *Saxons* to decay, nor only the *Picts* till then
peaceable, but ſom part of the *Britans* alſo recover'd by Arms thir Liberty
for many years after. Yet *Aldfrid* elder, but baſe Brother to *Ecfrid*, a man
ſaid to be learned in the Scriptures, recal'd from *Ireland*, to which place in his
Brothers Reign he had retir'd, and now ſucceeding, upheld with much honour,
though in narrower bounds, the reſidue of his Kingdom. *Kedwalla*
having now with great diſturbance of his Neighbours reign'd over the *Weſt-Saxons*
two years, beſides what time he ſpent in gaining it, wearied perhaps
with his own turbulence, went to *Rome*, deſirous there to receave Baptiſm,
which till then his worldly Affairs had defer'd, and accordingly, on *Eaſter*
Day, 689. he was baptiz'd by *Sergius* the Pope, and his name chang'd to *Peter*. 689.
All which notwithſtanding, ſurpris'd with a Diſeaſe, he outliv'd not the Ceremony
ſo far ſought, much above the ſpace of five Weeks, in the thirtieth
year of his Age, and in the Church of St. *Peter* was there buried, with a large
Epitaph upon his Tomb. Him ſucceeded *Ina* of the Royal Family, and from
the time of his coming in, for many years oppreſs'd the Land with like greevances,
as *Kedwalla* had don before him, inſomuch that in thoſe times there
was no Biſhop among them. His firſt Expedition was into *Kent*, to demand
ſatisfaction for the burning of *Mollo*: *Victred* loth to hazard all for the raſh act
of a few, deliver'd up 30 of thoſe that could be found Acceſſory, or as others
ſay, pacifi'd *Ina* with a great ſum of Money. Mean while, at the incitement Malmſ. Sax. An. Ethelwerd.
of *Ecbert*, a devout Monk, *Wilbrod* a Prieſt eminent for Learning, paſt over
Sea, having 12 others in Company, with intent to preach the Goſpel in *Germany*.
And coming to *Pepin* Chief Regent of the *Franks*, who a little before 694.
had conquer'd the hither *Friſia*, by his Countnance and Protection, promiſe
alſo of many Benefits to them who ſhould beleeve, they found the work of Converſion
much the eaſier, and *Wilbrod* the firſt Biſhoprick in that Nation. But
two Prieſts, each of them *Hewald* by name, and for diſtinction ſurnam'd from
the colour of thir Hair, the black and the white, by his example, piouſly affected
to the Souls of thir Countrymen the old *Saxons*, at thir coming thether
to convert them met with much worſe entertainment. For in the Houſe of a
Farmer who had promis'd to convey them, as they deſir'd, to the Governour
of that Country, diſcover'd by thir daily Ceremonies to be Chriſtian Prieſts,
and the cauſe of thir coming ſuſpected, they were by him and his Heathen
Neighbours cruelly butcher'd; yet not unaveng'd, for the Governour enrag'd
at ſuch violence offer'd to his Strangers, ſending armed Men ſlew all thoſe
Inhabitants, and burnt thir Village. After three years in *Mercia*, *Oſtrid* the 697.
Queen, Wife to *Ethelred*, was kill'd by her own Nobles, as *Beda*'s Epitome
records; *Florence* calls them *Southimbrians*, negligently omitting the cauſe of ſo
ſtrange a fact. And the year following, *Berthred* a *Northumbrian* General was 698.
ſlain by the *Picts*. *Ethelred* ſeven years after the violent Death of his Queen, 704.
put on the Monk, and reſign'd his Kingdom to *Kenred* the Son of *Wulfer* his
Brother. The next year, *Alfrid* in *Northumberland* dy'd, leaving *Oſred* a 705.
Child of 8 years to ſucceed him. Four years after which, *Kenred* having a while 709.
with praiſe govern'd the *Mercian* Kingdom, went to *Rome* in the time of Pope

*Conſtantine*, and ſhorn a Monk ſpent there the reſidue of his daies. *Kelred*
ſucceeded him, the Son of *Ethelred*, who had reign'd the next before. With
*Kenred* went *Offa* the Son of *Siger*, King of *Eaſt-Saxons*, and betook him to
the ſame Habit, leaving his Wife and Native Country; a comely Perſon in
the prime of his Youth, much deſir'd of the People; and ſuch his Vertue by
710. report, as might have otherwiſe bin worthy to have reign'd. *Ina* the *Weſt-Saxon*
Sax. Annal. one year after fought a Battel, at firſt doubtful, at laſt ſucceſsful, againſt
Huntingd. *Gerent* King of *Wales*. The next year *Bertfrid*, another *Northumbrian* Captain,
711. fought with the *Picts*, and ſlaughter'd them, ſaith *Huntingdon*, to the full
Bed. Epit. avengment of *Ecfrids* Death. The fourth year after, *Ina* had another doubtful
715. and cruel Battel at *Wodnesburgh* in *Wiltſhire*, with *Kelred* the *Mercian*, who
Sax. an. dy'd the year following a lamentable Death: for as he ſat one day feaſting
Sax. an. with his Nobles, ſuddenly poſſeſs'd with an evil Spirit, he expir'd in deſpair,
Huntingd. as *Boniface* Archbiſhop of *Ments*, an Engliſh man, who taxes him for a defiler of
716. Nuns, writes by way of Caution to *Ethelbald* his next of Kin, who ſucceeded him.
*Oſred* alſo a young *Northumbrian* King, ſlain by his Kindred in the 11*th* of his
Reign, for his vitious Life and Inceſt committed with Nuns, was by *Kenred*
ſucceeded and aveng'd; he reigning two years, left *Oſric* in his room. In
718. whoſe 7*th* year, if *Beda* calculate right, *Victred* King of *Kent* deceas'd, having
L. 5. c. 9. reign'd 34 years, and ſom part of them with *Suebhard*, as *Beda* teſtifies.
725. He left behind him three Sons, *Ethelbert*, *Eadbert*, and *Alric* his Heirs. Three
728. years after which, appear'd two Comets about the Sun, terrible to behold,
the one before him in the Morning, the other after him in the Evening, for
the ſpace of two Weeks in *January*, bending thir blaze toward the North, at
which time the Saracens furiouſly invaded *France*, but were expell'd ſoon after
with great overthrow. The ſame year in *Northumberland*, *Oſric* dying or ſlain,
Bed. l. 5. c. 24. adopted *Kelwulf* the Brother of *Kenred* his Succeſſor, to whom *Beda* dedicates
his ſtory; but writes this only of him, that the beginning, and the proceſs
of his Reign met with many adverſe Commotions, wherof the event was then
doubtfully expected. Mean while *Ina* ſeven years before, having ſlain *Kenwulf*,
to whom *Florent* gives the addition of *Clito*, giv'n uſually to none but of the
Blood Royal, and the fourth year after overthrown and ſlain *Albright* another
*Clito*, driv'n from *Taunton* to the *South-Saxons* for aid, vanquiſh't alſo the *Eaſt-Angles*
in more then one Battel, as *Malmsbury* writes, but not the year; whether
to expiate ſo much Blood, or infected with the contagious humour of
thoſe times, *Malmsbury* ſaith, at the perſuaſion of *Ethelburga* his Wife, went
to *Rome*, and there ended his days; yet this praiſe left behind him, to have
made good Laws, the firſt of *Saxon* that remain extant to this day, and to his
Kinſman *Edelard* bequeath'd the Crown, no leſs then the whole Monarchy of
*England* and *Wales*. For *Ina*, if we beleeve a digreſſion in the Laws of *Edward*
Confeſſor, was the firſt King crown'd of Engliſh and Britiſh, ſince the
*Saxons* entrance; of the Britiſh by means of his ſecond Wife, ſom way related
to *Cadwallader* laſt King of *Wales*, which I had not noted being unlikely,
Bede. but for the place where I found it. After *Ina*, by a ſurer Author, *Ethelbald*
731. King of *Mercia* commanded all the Provinces on this ſide *Humber*, with thir
Kings: the *Picts* were in League with the Engliſh, the *Scots* peaceable within
thir bounds, and of the *Britans* part were in thir own Government, part ſubject
to the Engliſh. In which peaceful ſtate of the land, many in *Northumberland*,
both Nobles and Commons, laying aſide the exerciſe of Arms, betook
them to the Cloiſter: and not content ſo to do at home, many in the
days of *Ina*, Clerks and Laics, Men and Women, haſting to *Rome* in Herds,
thought themſelves no where ſure of Eternal Life, till they were cloiſter'd
there. Thus repreſenting the ſtate of things in this Iland, *Beda* ſurceas'd to
write. Out of whom chiefly hath bin gather'd ſince the *Saxons* arrival, ſuch
as hath bin deliver'd, a ſcatterd ſtory pickt out heer and there, with ſom
trouble and tedious work from among his many Legends of Viſions and Miracles;
toward the latter end ſo bare of civil matters, as what can be thence
collected may ſeem a Calendar rather then a Hiſtory, tak'n up for the moſt
part with ſucceſſion of Kings, and computation of years, yet thoſe hard to be
reconcil'd with the *Saxon Annals*. Thir actions we read of, were moſt commonly
Wars, but for what cauſe wag'd, or by what Councils carried on, no
care was had to let us know; wherby thir Strength and Violence we underſtand,

ſtand, of thir Wiſdom, Reaſon, or Juſtice, little or nothing, the reſt Super-
ſtition and monaſtical Affectation; Kings one after another leaving thir King-
ly Charge, to run thir Heads fondly into a Monks Cowle: which leaves us un-
certain whether *Beda* was wanting to his matter, or his matter to him. Yet
from hence to the *Daniſh* Invaſion it will be worſe with us, deſtitute of *Beda*.
Left only to obſcure and blockiſh Chronicles; whom *Malmsbury*, and *Hun-
tingdon* (for neither they nor we had better Authors of thoſe times) ambiti-
ous to adorn the Hiſtory, make no ſcruple oft-times, I doubt, to interline
with conjectures and ſurmiſes of thir own; them rather then imitate, I ſhall
chooſe to repreſent the truth naked, though as lean as a plain Journal. Yet
*William* of *Malmsbury* muſt be acknowledg'd, both for ſtile and judgment, to
be by far the beſt Writer of them all: but what labour is to be endur'd turn-
ing over Volumes of rubbiſh in the reſt, *Florence* of *Worſter*, *Huntingdon*, *Si-
meon* of *Durham*, *Hoveden*, *Matthew* of *Weſtminſter*, and many others of ob-
ſcurer note, with all thir Monachiſms, is a penance to think. Yet theſe are
our only Regiſters, tranſcribers one after another for the moſt part, and ſom-
times worthy enough for the things they regiſter. This travail rather then
not know at once what may be known of our antient ſtory, ſifted from fa-
bles and impertinencies, I voluntarily undergo; and to ſave others, if they
pleaſe, the like unpleaſing labour; except thoſe who take pleaſure to be all
thir Life time raking in the Foundations of old Abbies and Cathedrals. But
to my task now as it befalls. In the year 733, on the 18*th* Kalends of *Septem- 733.
ber*, was an Eclipſe of the Sun about the third hour of day, obſcuring al- Sax. an.
moſt his whole Orb as with a black Sheild. *Ethelbald* of *Mercia*, beſeig'd and Ethelwerd.
took the Caſtle or Town of *Somerton*: and two years after *Beda* our Hiſtori-
an dy'd, ſom ſay the year before. *Kelwulf* in *Northumberland* three years after 735.
became Monk in *Lindisfarne*, yet none of the ſevereſt, for he brought thoſe 738.
Monks from Milk and Water, to Wine and Ale; in which Doctrin no doubt Malmſ.
but they were ſoon docil, and well might, for *Kelwulf* brought with him good
Proviſion, great Treaſure and revenues of Land, recited by *Simeon*, yet all
under pretence of following (I uſe the Authors words) poor *Chriſt*, by vo-
luntary Poverty: no marvel then if ſuch applauſe were giv'n by Monkiſh Wri-
ters to Kings turning Monks, and much cunning perhaps us'd to allure them.
To *Eadbert* his Uncles Son, he left the Kingdom, whoſe Brother *Ecbert*, Arch-
biſhop of *York*, built a Library there. But two years after, while *Eadbert* was 740.
buſied in War againſt the *Picts*, *Ethelbald* the *Mercian*, by foul fraud, aſſault-
ed part of *Northumberland* in his abſence, as the ſupplement of *Beda*'s Epito-
me records. In the *Weſt-Saxons*, *Edelard* who ſucceeded *Ina*, having bin
much moleſted in the beginning of his Reign, with the Rebellion of *Oſwald*
his Kinſman, who contended with him for the right of Succeſſion, overcoming
at laſt thoſe troubles, dy'd in Peace 741, leaving *Cuthred* one of the ſame Li- 741.
nage to ſucceed him; who at firſt had much War with *Ethelbald* the *Mercian*, Malmſ.
and various ſucceſs, but joining with him in League two years after, made Sax. an.
War on the Welch; *Huntingdon* doubts not to give them a great Victory. 743.
And *Simeon* reports another Battel fought between *Britans* and *Picts* the Sim. Dun.
year enſuing. Now was the Kingdom of *Eaſt-Saxons* drawing to a Period, 744. Hoved.
for *Sigeard* and *Senfred* the Sons of *Sebbi* having reign'd a while, and after them Malmſ.
young *Offa*, who ſoon quitted his Kingdom to go to *Rome* with *Kenred*, as hath Sax. an.
been ſaid, the Government was conferr'd on *Selred* Son of *Sigebert* the good,
who having rul'd 38 years, came to a violent Death; how or wherfore, is
not ſet down. After whom *Switbred* was the laſt King, driv'n out by *Ecbert* the 746.
*Weſt-Saxon*: but *London*, with the Countries adjacent, obey'd the *Mercians*
till they alſo were diſſolv'd. *Cutbred* had now reign'd about nine years, when 748.
*Kinric* his Son a valiant young Prince, was in a militarie Tumult ſlain by his Sax. an.
own Souldiers. The ſame year *Eadbert* dying in *Kent*, his Brother *Edilbert* Huntingd.
reign'd in his ſtead. But after two years, the other *Eadbert* in *Northumberland*,
whoſe War with the *Picts* hath bin above-mention'd, made now ſuch Progreſs 750.
there, as to ſubdue *Kyle*, ſo ſaith the Auctarie of *Bede*, and other Countries
therabout, to his Dominion; while *Cutbred* the *Weſt-Saxon* had a fight with
*Ethelbun*, one of his Nobles, a ſtout Warrier, envi'd by him in ſom matter
of the Commonwealth, as far as by the Latin of *Ethelwerd* can be underſtood Huntingd.
(others interpret it Sedition) and with much ado overcoming, took *Ethelbun* 752.
for

Camd. for his Valour into favour, by whom faithfully ſerv'd in the twelfth or thirteenth
of his Reign, he encounter'd in a ſet Battel with *Ethelbald* the Mercian
753. at *Beorford*, now *Burford* in *Oxfordſhire*; one year after againſt the Welch,
which was the laſt but one of his Life. *Huntingdon*, as his manner is to comment
upon the annal Text, makes a terrible deſcription of that Fight between
*Cutbred* and *Ethelbald*, and the Proweſs of *Ethelhun*, at *Beorford*, but ſo affectedly,
and therfore ſuſpiciouſly, that I hold it not worth rehearſal; and
Sax. an. both in that and the latter Conflict, gives Victory to *Cuthred*; after whom
754. *Sigebert*, uncertain by what right, his Kinſman, ſaith *Florent*, ſtep'd into the
Malmſ. Throne, whom hated for his Cruelty and other evil doings, *Kimwulf* joining
with moſt of the Nobility, diſpoſſeſs'd of all but *Hamſhire*, that Province
755. he loſt alſo within a year, together with the love of all thoſe who till then
remain'd his Adherents, by ſlaying *Cumbran*, one of his chief Captains, who
for a long time had faithfully ſerv'd, and now diſſuaded him from incenſing
Huntingd. the People by ſuch Tyrannical Practices. Thence flying for ſafety into
Huntingd. *Andrew*'s Wood, forſak'n of all, he was at length ſlain by the Swineherd
of *Cumbran* in revenge of his Maſter, and *Kinwulf* who had undoubted right
756. to the Crown, joyfully ſaluted King. The next year *Eadbert* the *Northumbrian*
Camden. joining Forces with *Unuſt* King of the *Picts*, as *Simeon* writes, beſieg'd
and took by ſurrender the City *Alcluith*, now *Dunbritton* in *Lennox*, from the
*Britans* of *Cumberland*; and ten days after, the whole Army periſh'd about
Camd. *Niwanbirig*, but to tell us how, he forgets. In *Mercia*, *Ethelbald* was ſlain at
757. a place call'd *Secandune*, now *Seckington* in *Warwicſhire*, the year following,
Sax. an. Epit. Bed. in a bloody fight againſt *Cuthred*, as *Huntingdon* ſurmiſes, but *Cuthred* was
Sim. Dun. dead two or three years before; others write him murder'd in the night
by his own Guard, and the Treaſon, as ſom ſay, of *Beornred*, who ſucceeded
him; but ere many Months, was defeated and ſlain by *Offa*. Yet *Ethelbald*
ſeems not without cauſe, after a long and proſperous Reign, to have fall'n
by a violent Death; not ſhaming on the vain confidence of his many Alms,
to commit Uncleaneſs with conſecrated Nuns, beſides Laic Adulteries, as the
Arch-biſhop of *Ments* in a Letter taxes him and his Predeceſſor, and that
by his Example moſt of his Peers did the like; which adulterous doings he
foretold him were likely to produce a ſlothful Off-ſpring, good for nothing but
758. to be the ruin of that Kingdom, as it fell out not long after. The next Year
*Oſmund*, according to *Florence*, ruling the *South-Saxons*, and *Switbred* the *Eaſt*,
*Eadbert* in *Northumberland*, following the ſteps of his Predeceſſor, got him
Sim. Dun. into a Monk's Hood; the more to be wonder'd, that having reign'd worthily
Eccleſ. l. 2. 21 Years, with the love and high eſtimation of all, both at home and abroad,
able ſtill to govern, and much entreated by the Kings his Neighbours, not
to lay down his Charge, with offer on that condition to yeild up to him part
of thir own Dominion, he could not be mov'd from his Reſolution, but relinquiſh'd
759. his Regal Office to *Oſwulf* his Son; who at the years end, though
without juſt cauſe, was ſlain by his own Servants. And the year after dy'd *Ethelbert*,
762. Son of *Victred*, the ſecond of that name in *Kent*. After *Oſwulf*, *Ethelwald*,
Sim. Dun. Mat. Weſt. otherwiſe call'd *Mallo*, was ſet up King; who in his third Year had a great
Battel at *Eldune*, by *Melros*, ſlew *Oſwin* a great Lord, rebelling, and gain'd
765. the Victory. But the third year after, fell by the treachery of *Alcred*, who
Sim. Dun. aſſum'd his place. The fourth Year after which, *Cataracta* an antient and
769. fair City in *Yorkſhire*, was burnt by *Arnred* a certain Tyrant, who the ſame
year came to like end. And after five years more, *Alcred* the King, depos'd
774. Sim. Dun. and forſak'n of all his People, fled with a few, firſt to *Bebba*, a ſtrong City
of thoſe parts, thence to *Kinot* King of the *Picts*. *Ethelred* the Son of *Mollo*,
was crown'd in his ſtead. Mean while *Offa* the *Mercian*, growing powerful,
had ſubdu'd a neighbouring People by *Simeon*, call'd *Heſtings*; and fought
ſucceſfully this year with *Alric* King of *Kent*, at a place call'd *Ottanford*: the
Annals alſo ſpeak of wondrous Serpents then ſeen in *Suſſex*. Nor had *Kinwulf*
the *Weſt-Saxon* giv'n ſmall proof of his Valour in ſeveral Battels againſt
775. Sax. an. the Welch heretofore; but this year 775, meeting with *Offa*, at a place call'd
*Beſington*, was put to the worſe, and *Offa* won the Town for which they
contended. In *Northumberland*, *Ethelred* having cauſ'd three of his Nobles,
778. *Aldwulf*, *Kinwulf* and *Ecca*, treacherouſly to be ſlain by two other Peers,
Sim. Dun. was himſelf the next year driv'n into Baniſhment, *Elfwald* the Son of *Oſwulf*

ſucceeding in his place, yet not without civil Broils; for in his ſecond year 780.
*Osbald* and *Athelheard*, two Noblemen, raiſing Forces againſt him, routed Sim. Dun.
*Bearne* his General, and purſuing, burnt him at a place call'd *Seletune*. I am
ſenſible how weariſom it may likely be to read of ſo many bare and reaſonleſs
Actions, ſo many names of Kings one after another, acting little more then
mute Perſons in a Scene: what would it be to have inſerted the long Bead-roll
of Arch-biſhops, Biſhops, Abbots, Abbeſſes, and thir doings, neither
to Religion profitable, nor to Morality, ſwelling my Authors each to a voluminous
Body, by me ſtudiouſly omitted; and left as thir Propriety, who
have a mind to write the Eccleſiaſtical matters of thoſe Ages; neither do I
care to wrincle the ſmoothneſs of Hiſtory with rugged names of places unknown,
better harp'd at in *Camden*, and other Chorographers. Six years
therfore paſs'd over in ſilence, as wholly of ſuch Argument, bring us to 786.
relate next the unfortunate end of *Kinwulf* the *Weſt-Saxon*; who having Ethelwerd. Malmſ.
laudably reign'd about 31 years, yet ſuſpecting that *Kineard* Brother of *Sigebert*
the former King, intended to uſurp the Crown after his Deceaſe, or revenge
his Brother's Expulſion, had commanded him into Baniſhment; but he lurking Sax. an.
here and there on the Borders with a ſmall Company, having had intelligence
that *Kinwulf* was in the Country therabout, at *Merantun*, or *Merton* Camd.
in *Surrey*, at the Houſe of a Woman whom he lov'd, went by night and
beſet the place. *Kinwulf* over-confident either of his Royal Preſence, or
perſonal Valour, iſſuing forth with the few about him, runs feirſly at *Kineard*,
and wounds him ſore, but by his Followers hem'd in, is kill'd among them.
The report of ſo great an Accident ſoon running to a place not far off, where
many more Attendants awaited the King's return, *Oſric* and *Wivert*, two
Earls, haſted with a great number to the Houſe, where *Kineard* and his Fellows
yet remain'd. He ſeeing himſelf ſurrounded, with fair words and promiſe
of great Gifts, attempted to appeaſe them; but thoſe rejected with
diſdain, fights it out to the laſt, and is ſlain with all but one or two of his
Retinue, which were nigh a hundred. *Kinwulf* was ſucceeded by *Birthric*,
being both deſcended of *Kerdic* the Founder of that Kingdom. Not better 788.
was the end of *Elfwald* in *Northumberland*, two years after ſlain miſerably by Sim. Dun.
the Conſpiracy of *Siggan*, one of his Nobles, others ſay of the whole People Malmſ.
at *Scilceſter* by the Roman Wall; yet undeſervedly, as his Sepulchre at *Haguſtald*,
now *Hexam* upon *Tine*, and ſom Miracles there ſaid to be don, are Camd.
alleg'd to witneſs; and *Siggan* five years after laid violent hands on himſelf.
*Oſred* Son of *Alcred* advanc't into the room of *Elfwald*, and within one Malmſ.
year driv'n out, left his Seat vacant to *Ethelred* Son of *Mollo*, who after ten
years of Baniſhment (Impriſonment, ſaith *Alcuin*) had the Scepter put again Sim. Dun.
into his hand. The third year of *Birthric* King of *Weſt-Saxons*, gave beginning 789.
from abroad to a new and fatal revolution of Calamity on this Land.
For three Daniſh Ships, the firſt that had bin ſeen here of that Nation arriving
in the Weſt, to viſit theſe, as was ſuppos'd, Foren Merchants, the
Kings Gatherer of Cuſtoms taking Horſe from *Dorcheſter*, found them Spies
and Enemies. For being commanded to come and give account of thir lading
at the King's Cuſtom Houſe, they ſlew him and all who came with him; as
an earneſt of the many Slaughters, Rapines, and Hoſtilities, which they return'd
not long after to commit over all the Iland. Of this Daniſh firſt arrival, Pontan. l. 3.
and on a ſudden worſe then hoſtile Aggreſſion, the Daniſh Hiſtory
far otherwiſe relates, as if thir landing had bin at the mouth of *Humber*, and
thir ſpoilful march far into the Country; though ſoon repell'd by the Inhabitants,
they haſted back as faſt to thir Ships: But from what Cauſe, what
Reaſon of State, what Authority or publick Council the Invaſion proceeded,
makes not mention, and our wonder yet the more, by telling us that *Sigefrid*
then King in *Denmark*, and long after, was a Man ſtudious more of Peace
and Quiet then of warlike Matters. Theſe therfore ſeem rather to have Pontan. l. 4.
bin ſom Wanderers at Sea, who with public Commiſſion, or without, through
love of Spoil, or hatred of Chriſtianity, ſeeking Booties on any Land of
Chriſtians, came by chance or weather on this ſhore. The next year *Oſred* 790.
in *Northumberland*, who driv'n out by his Nobles had giv'n place to *Ethelred*, Sim. Dun.
was tak'n and forcibly ſhav'n a Monk at *York*. And the year after, *Oelf*, and 791.
*Oelfwin*, Sons of *Elfwald*, formerly King, were drawn by fair promiſes from Sim. Dun.
the

the principal Church of *York*, and after by command of *Ethelred*, cruelly
Camden. put to death at *Wonwaldremere*, a Village by the great Pool in *Lancaſhire*, now
792. call'd *Winandermere*. Nor was the third year leſs bloody; for *Oſred*, who
Sim. Dun. not liking a ſhav'n Crown, had deſir'd Baniſhment and obtain'd it, returning
Sim. Dun. from the Ile of *Man* with ſmall Forces, at the ſecret but deceitful call of certain
Eccleſ. l. 2. Nobles, who by Oath had promis'd to aſſiſt him, was alſo tak'n, and by
*Ethelred* dealt with in the ſame manner; who the better to avouch his Cruelties,
therupon married *Elfled* the Daughter of *Offa:* for in *Offa* was found
as little Faith or Mercy. He the ſame Year having drawn to his Palace
*Ethelbrite* King of *Eaſt-Angles*, with fair Invitations to marry his Daughter,
caus'd him to be there inhoſpitably beheaded, and his Kingdom wrongfully
ſeis'd, by the wicked Counſel of his Wife, ſaith *Mat. Weſt.* annexing therto
a long unlikely Tale. For which violence and bloodſhed to make Atonement,
with Friers at leaſt, he beſtows the Reliques of St. *Alban*, in a ſhrine
793. of Pearl and Gold. Far worſe it far'd the next year with Reliques in
Sim. Dun. *Lindisfarne*; where the *Danes* landing, pillag'd that Monaſtry, and of
Fryers kill'd ſom, carried away others Captive, ſparing neither Prieſt nor
Lay: which many ſtrange Thunders and firy Dragons, with other impreſſions
in the Air ſeen frequently before, were judg'd to foreſignify. This
year *Alric* third Son of *Victred* ended in *Kent* his long Reign of 34 years:
with him ended the Race of *Hengiſt:* thenceforth whomſoever Wealth or
Faction advanc'd, took on him the name and ſtate of a King. The *Saxon*
*Annals* of 784. name *Ealmund* then reigning in *Kent*; but that conſiſts not
with the time of *Alric*, and I find him no where elſe mention'd. The year
794. following was remarkable for the Death of *Offa* the *Mercian*, a ſtrenuous
Malmſ. and ſuttle King; he had much intercourſe with *Charles* the Great, at firſt
Enmity, to the interdicting of Commerce on either ſide, at length much
Amity and firm League, as appears by the Letter of *Charles* himſelf yet
extant, procur'd by *Alcuin* a learned and prudent Man, though a Monk,
whom the Kings of *England* in thoſe days had ſent Orator into *France*, to
maintain good Correſpondence between them and *Charles* the Great. He
granted, ſaith *Huntingdon*, a perpetual Tribute to the Pope out of every
Aſſer. Men. Houſe in his Kingdom, for yeilding perhaps to tranſlate the Primacy of
Sim. Dun. *Canterbury* to *Lichfeild* in his own Dominion. He drew a Trench of wondrous
length between *Mercia* and the *Britiſh* Confines, from Sea to Sea.
*Ecferth* the Son of *Offa*, a Prince of great hope, who alſo had bin crown'd
nine years before his Father's Deceaſe, reſtoring to the Church what his Father
had ſeis'd on, yet within four Months by a Sickneſs ended his Reign;
and to *Kenulf* next in right of the ſame Progeny bequeath'd his Kingdom.
Mean while the *Daniſh* Pirats who ſtill waſted *Northumberland*, ventring on
ſhoar to ſpoil another Monaſtry at the mouth of the River *Don*, were
aſſail'd by the Engliſh, thir chief Captain ſlain on the place; then returning
to Sea, were moſt of them ſhip-wrack'd; others driv'n again on ſhoar,
were put all to the Sword. *Simeon* attributes this thir Puniſhment to
the power of St. *Cudbert*, offended with them for the rifling of his Covent.
796. Two years after this, dy'd *Ethelred* twice King, but not exempted
Sim. Dun. at laſt from the fate of many his Predeceſſors, miſerably ſlain by his People,
ſome ſay deſervedly, as not inconſcious with them who train'd *Oſred* to his
ruin. *Osbald* a Nobleman exalted to the Throne, and in leſs then a Month,
deſerted and expell'd, was forc'd to fly at laſt from *Lindisfarne* by Sea to
the *Pictiſh* King, and dy'd an Abbot. *Eardulf*, whom *Ethelred* ſix years before
had commanded to be put to death at *Ripun*, before the Abbey-Gate,
dead as was ſuppos'd, and with ſolemn Dirge carried into the Church, after
midnight found there alive, I read not how, then baniſh'd, now recal'd,
was in *York* created King. In *Kent*, *Ethelbert* or *Pren*, whom the Annals call
*Eadbright* (ſo different they often are one from another, both in timing and in
naming) by ſom means having uſurp'd Regal Power, after two years Reign
contending with *Kenulf* the *Mercian*, was by him tak'n Priſ'ner, and ſoon after
out of pious Commiſeration let go: but not receav'd of his own, what became
of him, *Malmsbury* leaves in doubt. *Simeon* writes, that *Kenulf* commanded to
put out his Eyes, and lop off his hands; but whether the Sentence were executed
or not, is left as much in doubt by his want of Expreſſion. The ſecond

Year after this, they in *Northumberland* who had conſpir'd againſt *Ethelred*, 798.
now alſo raiſing War againſt *Eardulf*, under *Wada* thir Chief Captain, after Sim. Dun.
much havock on either ſide at *Langho*, by *Whaley* in *Lancaſhire*, the Conſpi-
rators at laſt flying, *Eardulf* return'd with Victory. The ſame year *London*,
with a great multitude of her Inhabitants, by a ſudden Fire was conſum'd.
The year 800 made way for great Alteration in **England**, uniting her ſeven 800.
Kingdoms into one, by *Ecbert* the famous *Weſt-Saxon*; him *Birtbric* dying
childleſs left next to reign, the only Surviver of that Linage, deſcended from
*Inegild* the Brother of King *Ina*. And according to his Birth liberally bred, Malmſ.
he began early from his Youth to give ſignal hopes of more then ordinary
worth growing up in him; which *Birtbric* fearing, and with all his juſter Ti-
tle to the Crown, ſecretly ſought his Life, and *Ecbert* perceaving, fled to *Offa*
the *Mercian*: but he having married *Eadburg* his Daughter to *Birtbric*, eaſily
gave ear to his Embaſſadors coming to require *Ecbert*: He again put to his Sax. an.
ſhifts, eſcap'd thence into *France*; but after three years Baniſhment there,
which perhaps contributed much to his Education, *Charles* the Great then
reigning, he was call'd over by the publick Voice (for *Birtbric* was newly
dead) and with general Applauſe created King of *Weſt-Saxons*. The ſame
day *Ethelmund* at *Kinneresford* paſſing over with the *Worceſterſhire* Men, was
met by *Weolſtan* another Nobleman with thoſe of *Wiltſhire*, between whom
happ'nd a great fray, wherin the *Wiltſhire* Men overcame, but both Dukes
were ſlain, no reaſon of thir Quarrel writt'n; ſuch bickerings to recount met
oft'n in theſe our Writers, what more worth is it then to chronicle the Wars
of Kites or Crows flocking and fighting in the Air? The Year following *Ear-* 801.
*dulf* the *Northumbrian* leading forth an Army againſt *Kenulf* the *Mercian* for Sim. Dun.
harboring certain of his Enemies, by the diligent Mediation of other Princes
and Prelats, Arms were laid aſide, and Amity ſoon ſworn between them.
But *Eadburga* the Wife of *Birtbric*, a Woman every way wicked, in Malice Malmſ. l. 2.
eſpecially cruel, could not or car'd not to appeaſe the general Hatred juſtly Aſſer.
conceiv'd againſt her; accuſtom'd in her Husband's days to accuſe any whom 802.
ſhe ſprighted; and not prevailing to his Ruin, her practice was by Poiſon ſe- Sim. Dun.
cretly to contrive his Death. It fortun'd that the King her Husband light-
ing on a Cup which ſhe had temper'd, not for him, but for one of his great
Favourites, whom ſhe could not harm by accuſing, ſip'd therof only, and in a
while after ſtill pining away, ended his days; the Favourite drinking deep-
er, found ſpeedier the Operation. She fearing to be queſtion'd for theſe Facts,
with what Treaſure ſhe had, paſs'd over Sea to *Charles* the Great, whom with
rich Gifts coming to his Preſence, the Emperor courtly receav'd with this
pleaſant Propoſal: Chooſe *Eadburga*, which of us two thou wilt, me or my
Son (for his Son ſtood by him) to be thy Husband. She no Diſſembler of
what ſhe lik'd beſt, made eaſy Anſwer: Were it in my choice, I ſhould chooſe
of the two your Son rather, as the younger Man. To whom the Emperour,
between jeſt and earneſt, Hadſt thou choſen me, I had beſtow'd on thee my
Son; but ſince thou haſt chos'n him, thou ſhalt have neither him nor me.
Neverthele ſs he aſſign'd her a rich Monaſtery to dwell in as Abbeſs; for that
Life it may ſeem ſhe choſe next to profeſs: but being a while after detected of
Unchaſtity with one of her Followers, ſhe was commanded to depart thence;
from that time wandring poorly up and down with one Servant, in *Pavia* a
City of *Italy*, ſhe finiſh'd at laſt in beggery her ſhameful Life. In the year 805 805.
*Cutbred*, whom *Kenulf* the *Mercian* had, inſtead of *Pren*, made King in *Kent*, Malmſ.
having obſcurely reign'd 8 years, deceas'd. In *Northumberland*, *Eardulf* the Sax. an.
year following was driv'n out of his Realm by *Alfwold*, who reign'd two 806.
years in his room; after whom *Eandred* Son of *Eardulf* 33 years; but I ſee Huntingd.
not how this can ſtand with the Sequel of Story out of better Authors: Much Sim. Dun. 808.
leſs that which **Buchanan** relates, the year following, of *Achaius* King of *Scots*, Mat. Weſt.
who having reign'd 32 years, and dying in 809, had formerly aided (but in 8 9.
what year of his Reign tells not) *Hungus* King of *Picts* with 10000 *Scots*,
againſt *Athelſtan* a Saxon or Engliſh-man, then waſting the *Pictiſh* Borders;
that *Hungus* by the aid of thoſe *Scots*, and the help of St. *Andrew* thir Patron,
in a Viſion by night, and the appearance of his Croſs by day, routed the aſto-
niſh'd Engliſh, and ſlew *Athelſtan* in fight. Who this *Athelſtan* was, I believe
no Man knows; *Buchanan* ſuppoſes him to have been ſom *Daniſh* Commander,

on whom King *Alured* or *Alfred* had beſtow'd *Northumberland*; but of this I
find no Footſtep in our antient Writers; and if any ſuch thing were done in
the time of *Alfred*, it muſt be little leſs then 100 years after: this *Athelſtan*
therfore, and this great Overthrow, ſeems rather to have bin the fancy of
Sim. Dun. ſom Legend then any warrantable Record. Mean while *Ecbert* having with
813. much Prudence, Juſtice and Clemency, a work of more then one year, eſtabliſh'd
Sax. Annal. his Kingdom and himſelf in the Affections of his People, turns his firſt
Enterpriſe againſt the *Britans*, both them of *Cornwal* and thoſe beyond *Severn*,
ſubduing both. In *Mercia*, *Kenulf* the *6th* year after having reign'd with
great Praiſe of his religious Mind and Vertues both in Peace and War, deceas'd.
819. His Son *Kenelm*, a Child of ſeven Years, was committed to the care
Sax. an. of his elder Siſter *Quendrid*; who with a female Ambition aſpiring to the
Malmſ. Crown, hir'd one who had the charge of his Nurture to murder him, led into
a woody place upon pretence of hunting. The Murder, as is reported, was
miraculouſly reveal'd; but to tell how, by a Dove dropping a writt'n Note on
the Altar at *Rome*, is a long Story, told, though out of order, by *Malmsbury*,
and under the year 821 by *Mat. Weſt.* where I leave it to be ſought by ſuch as
are more credulous then I wiſh my Readers. Only the Note was to this purpoſe:

*Low in a Mead of Kine under a Thorn,*
*Of Head bereft, li'th poor* Kenelm *King-born.*

820. *Keolwulf* the Brother of *Kenulf*, after one Year's Reign was driv'n out by
Ingulf. one *Bernulf* an Uſurper: who in his third Year, uncertain whether invading
823. or invaded, was by *Ecbert*, though with great Loſs on both ſides, overthrown
Sax. an. and put to flight at *Ellandune* or *Wilton*: yet *Malmsbury* accounts this Battel
fought in 806, a wide difference, but frequently found in thir Computations.
*Bernulf* thence retiring to the *Eaſt-Angles*, as part of his Dominion by the
late ſeiſure of *Offa*, was by them met in the Field and ſlain: but they doubting
what the *Mercians* might do in revenge hereof, forthwith yielded themſelves
both King and People to the Sovrantie of *Ecbert*. As for the Kings of
*Eaſt-Angles*, our Annals mention them not ſince *Ethelwald*; him ſucceeded his
Florent. Brother's Sons, as we find in *Malmsbury*, *Aldulf* (a good King, well acquainted
Genealog. with *Bede*) and *Elwold* who left the Kingdom to *Beorn*, he to *Ethelred* the
Bed. l. 2. c. 15. Father of *Ethelbrite*, whom *Offa* perfidiouſly put to Death. *Simeon* and *Hoveden*,
in the Year 749, write that *Elfwald* King of *Eaſt-Angles* dying, *Humbeanna*
and *Albert* ſhar'd the Kingdom between them; but where to inſert
this among the former Succeſſions is not eaſy, nor much material: after *Ethelbrite*,
none is nam'd of that Kingdom till thir ſubmitting now to *Ecbert*: he
from this Victory againſt *Bernulf* ſent part of his Army under *Ethelwulf* his
Son, with *Alſtan* Biſhop of *Shirburn*, and *Wulferd* a Chief Commander, into
*Kent*. Who finding *Baldred* there reigning in his *18th* Year, overcame and
drove him over the *Thames*; wherupon all *Kent*, *Surrey*, *Suſſex*, and laſtly
*Eſſex*, with her King *Switbred*, became ſubject to the Dominion of *Ecbert*.
Neither were theſe all his Exploits of this Year, the firſt in order ſet down in
*Saxon Annals*, being his Fight againſt the *Devonſhire Welch*, at a place call'd
Camd. *Gafulford*, now *Camelford* in *Cornwal*. *Ludiken* the *Mercian*, after two years
825. preparing to avenge *Bernulf* his Kinſman on the *Eaſt-Angles*, was by them
Ingulf. with his five Conſuls, as the Annals call them, ſurpris'd and put to the Sword:
and *Withlaf* his Succeſſor firſt vanquiſh'd, then upon Submiſſion with all *Mercia*,
made tributary to *Ecbert*. Mean while the *Northumbrian* Kingdom of it
ſelf was fall'n to ſhivers; thir Kings one after another ſo oft'n ſlain by the People,
no Man daring, though never ſo ambitious, to take up the Scepter which
many had found ſo hot, (the only effectual cure of Ambition that I have read)
for the ſpace of 33 Years after the Death of *Ethelred* Son of *Mollo*, as *Malmsbury*
writes, there was no King: many Noblemen and Prelats were fled the
Country. Which Miſ-rule among them the *Danes* having underſtood, ofttimes
from thir Ships entring far into the Land, infeſted thoſe Parts with wide
Depopulation, waſting Towns, Churches, and Monaſteries, for they were
yet Heathen: The *Lent* before whoſe coming, on the North-ſide of St. *Peter's*
Church in *York*, was ſeen from the Roof to rain Blood. The Cauſes of theſe
Calamities, and the Ruin of that Kingdom, *Alcuin*, a learned Monk living in
thoſe

thoſe days, attributes in ſeveral Epiſtles, and well may, to the general Ignorance and Decay of Lerning, which crept in among them after the Death of *Beda*, and of *Ecbert* the Archbiſhop; thir neglect of breeding up Youth in the Scriptures, the ſpruce and gay Apparel of thir Preiſts and Nuns, diſcovering thir vain and wanton minds: examples are alſo read, ev'n in *Beda*'s days, of thir wanton deeds: thence Altars defil'd with Perjuries, Cloiſters violated with Adulteries, the Land polluted with Blood of thir Princes, civil Diſſentions among the People, and finally all the ſame Vices which *Gildas* alleg'd of old to have ruin'd the *Britans*. In this eſtate *Ecbert*, who had now conquer'd all the South, finding them in the year 827, (for he was march'd thether with an Army to compleat his Conqueſt of the whole Iland) no wonder if they ſubmitted themſelves to the Yoke without Reſiſtance, *Eandred* thir King becoming tributary. Thence turning his Forces the Year following, he ſubdu'd more throughly what remain'd of *North-Wales*. 827. 828. Mat. Weſt.

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*The End of the Fourth Book.*

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# THE HISTORY OF BRITAIN.

## The Fifth Book.

THE ſum of things in this Iland, or the beſt part therof, reduc't now under the Power of one man, and him one of the worthieſt, which as far as can be found in good Authors, was by none attain'd at any time heer before unleſs in Fables, men might with ſome reaſon have expected, from ſuch union, peace and plenty, greatneſs, and the flouriſhing of all eſtates and degrees: but far the contrary fell out ſoon after, invaſion, ſpoil, deſolation, ſlaughter of many, ſlavery of the reſt, by the forcible landing of a fierce Nation; *Danes* commonly call'd, and ſomtimes *Dacians* by others, the ſame with *Normans*; as barbarous as the *Saxons* themſelves were at firſt reputed, and much more, for the *Saxons* firſt invited came hither to dwell; theſe unſent for, unprovok'd, came only to deſtroy. Calviſius. But if the *Saxons*, as is above related, came moſt of them from *Jutland* and *Anglen*, a part of *Denmark*, as *Daniſh* writers affirm, and that *Danes* and *Normans* are the ſame; then in this Invaſion, *Danes* drove out *Danes*, thir own Poſterity. Pontan. Hiſt. Dan. And *Normans* afterwards, none but antienter *Normans*. Which invaſion perhaps, had the Heptarchie ſtood divided as it was, had either not bin attempted, or not uneaſily reſiſted; while each Prince and People, excited by thir neereſt concernments, had more induſtriouſly defended thir own bounds, then depending on the neglect of a deputed Governour, ſent oft-times from the remote reſidence of a ſecure Monarch. Though as it fell out in thoſe troubles, the leſſer Kingdoms revolting from the *Weſt-Saxon* yoke, and not aiding each other, too much concern'd with thir own ſafety, it came to no better paſs; while ſeverally they ſought to repel the danger nigh at hand, rather then jointly to prevent it far off. But when God hath decreed ſervitude on a ſinful Nation, fitted by thir own Vices for no condition but ſervile, all Eſtates of Government are alike unable to avoid it. God had purpos'd to puniſh our inſtrumental puniſhers, though now Chriſtians, by other Heathen, according to his Divine retaliation; Invaſion for invaſion, ſpoil for ſpoil, deſtruction for deſtruction. The *Saxons* were now full as wicked as the *Britans* were at thir arrival, brok'n with Luxury and Sloth, either ſecular or ſuperſtitious; for laying aſide the exerciſe of Arms, and the ſtudy of all vertuous Knowledg, ſom betook them to over-worldly or vitious practice, others to religious idleneſs and ſolitude, which brought forth nothing but vain and deluſive Viſions; eaſily perceav'd ſuch by thir commanding of things, either not belonging to the Goſpel, or utterly forbidden, Ceremonies, Reliques, Monaſteries, Maſſes, Idols, add to theſe oſtentation of Alms, got ofttimes by rapine and oppreſſion, or intermixt with violent and luſtful deeds, ſomtimes prodigally beſtow'd as the expiation of Cruelty and Bloodſhed. What longer ſuffering could there be, when Religion it ſelf grew ſo void of ſincerity, and the greateſt ſhews of Purity were impur'd?

## ECBERT.

Ecbert in full hight of Glory, having now enjoy'd his Conqueſt ſeven peaceful
years, his victorious Army long ſince diſbanded, and the exerciſe of
Arms perhaps laid aſide, the more was found unprovided againſt a ſudden
ſtorm of *Danes* from the Sea, who landing in the 32*d* of his Reign, waſted 832.
*Shepey* in *Kent*. *Ecbert* the next Year, gathering an Army, for he had heard Sax. an.
of thir arrival in 35 Ships, gave them Battel by the River *Carr* in *Dorſetſhire*; 833.
the event wherof was, that the *Danes* kept thir Ground, and encamp'd where Sax. an.
the Field was fought; two *Saxon* Leaders, *Dudda* and *Oſmund*, and two Biſhops,
as ſom ſay, were there ſlain. This was the only check of Fortune we
read of, that *Ecbert* in all his time receav'd. For the *Danes* returning two 835.
years after with a great Navy, and joining Forces with the *Corniſh*, who had Sax. an.
enter'd League with them, were overthrown and put to flight. Of theſe Invaſions Pontan. Hiſt.
againſt *Ecbert*, the *Daniſh* Hiſtory is not ſilent; whether out of thir Dan. l. 4.
own Records or ours, may be juſtly doubted: for of theſe times at home, I
find them in much uncertainty, and beholden rather to Out-landiſh Chronicles
then any Records of thir own. The Victor *Ecbert*, as one who had done
enough, ſeaſonably now, after proſperous ſucceſs, the next year with glory 836.
ended his daies, and was buried at *Wincheſter*. Sax. an.

## ETHELWOLF.

Ethelwolf the Son of *Ecbert* ſucceeded, by *Malmsbury* deſcrib'd a man of
mild Nature, not inclin'd to War, or delighted with much Dominion;
that therfore contented with the antient *Weſt-Saxon* bounds, he gave to *Ethelſtan*
his Brother, or Son, as ſom write, the Kingdom of *Kent* and *Eſſex*. Matt. Weſt.
But the *Saxon* Annaliſt, whoſe Autority is elder, ſaith plainly, that both theſe
Countries and *Suſſex*, were bequeath'd to *Ethelſtan* by *Ecbert* his Father. The
unwarlike diſpoſition of *Ethelwolf* gave encouragement no doubt, and eaſier
entrance to the *Danes*, who came again the next year with 33 Ships; but 837.
*Wulfheard*, one of the Kings chief Captains, drove them back at *Southamton* Sax. an.
with great ſlaughter; himſelf dying the ſame year, of Age, as I ſuppoſe, for
he ſeems to have bin one of *Ecberts* old Commanders, who was ſent with *Ethelwolf*
to ſubdue *Kent*. *Ethelhelm* another of the King's Captains, with the *Dorſetſhire*
men, had at firſt like ſucceſs againſt the *Danes* at *Portſmouth*; but they
reinforcing ſtood thir Ground, and put the Engliſh to rout. Worſe was the
ſucceſs of Earl *Herebert* at a place call'd *Mereſwar*, ſlain with the moſt part of
his Army. The year following in *Lindſey* alſo, *Eaſt-Angles*, and *Kent*, much 838.
miſchief was don by thir landing; where the next year, embold'nd by ſucceſs, Sax. an.
they came on as far as *Canterbury*, *Rocheſter*, and *London* it ſelf, with no 839.
leſs cruel Hoſtility: and giving no reſpit to the peaceable mind of *Ethelwolf*, Sax. an.
they yet return'd with the next year in 35 Ships, fought with him, as before 840.
with his Father, at the River *Carr*, and made good thir Ground. In *Northumberland*, Sax. an.
*Eandred* the Tributary King deceaſing, left the ſame Tenure to Sim. Dun.
his Son *Ethelred* driv'n out in his fourth year, and ſucceeded by *Readwulf*, who Mat. Weſt.
ſoon after his Coronation haſting forth to Battel againſt the *Danes* at *Alvethel*i, 844.
fell with the moſt part of his Army; and *Ethelred* like in fortune to the former
*Ethelred*, was re-exalted to his Seat. And to be yet further like him in
Fate, was ſlain the fourth year after. *Osbert* ſucceeded in his room. But more
ſoutherly, the *Danes* next year after met with ſom ſtop in the full courſe of 845.
thir outragious inſolences. For *Earnulf* with the men of *Somerſet*, *Alſtan* the Sax. an.
Biſhop, and *Oſric* with thoſe of *Dorſetſhire*, ſetting upon them at the Rivers mouth
of *Pedridan*, ſlaughter'd them in great numbers, and obtain'd a juſt Victory.
This repulſe quel'd them, for ought we hear, the ſpace of ſix years; then alſo 851.
renewing thir Invaſion with little better ſucceſs. For *Keorle* an Earl, aided with Sax. an.
the Forces of *Devonſhire*, aſſaulted and overthrew them at *Wigganbeorch* with Aſſer.
great Deſtruction; as proſperouſly were they fought with the ſame Year at
*Sandwich*, by King *Ethelſtan*, and *Ealker* his General, thir great Army defeated,
and nine of thir Ships tak'n, the reſt driv'n off; however to ride out
the Winter on that ſhoar, *Aſſer* ſaith, they then firſt winter'd in *Shepey Ile*.

Hard it is, through the bad expreſſion of theſe Writers, to define this Fight, whether by Sea or Land; *Hoveden* terms it a Sea-fight. Nevertheleſs with Huntingd. Mat. Weſt. 50 Ships (*Aſſer* and others add 300) they enter'd the mouth of *Thames*, and made Excurſions as far as *Canterbury* and *London*, and as *Ethelwerd* writes, deſtroy'd both; of *London*, *Aſſer* ſignifies only that they pillag'd it. *Bertulf* alſo the *Mercian*, Succeſſor of *Withlaf*, with all his Army they forc'd to fly, and him beyond the Sea. Then paſſing over *Thames* with thir Powers into *Surrey*, and the *Weſt-Saxons*, and meeting there with King *Ethelwolf* and *Ethelbald* his Son, at a place call'd *Ak-Lea*, or *Oke-Lea*, they receav'd a total Defeat with memorable Slaughter. This was counted a lucky Year to *England*, 853. Sax. an. Aſſer. and brought to *Ethelwolf* great Reputation. *Burhed* therfore, who after *Bertulf* held of him the *Mercian* Kingdom, two years after this, imploring his Aid againſt the *North-Welch*, as then troubleſom to his Confines, obtain'd it of him in Perſon, and therby reduc'd them to Obedience. This don, *Ethelwolf* ſent his Son *Alfrid* a Child of five years, well accompanied to *Rome*, whom *Leo* the Pope both conſecrated to be King afterwards, and adopted to be his Son; at home *Ealker* with the Forces of *Kent*, and *Huda* with thoſe of *Surrey*, fell on the *Danes* at thir landing in *Tanet*, and at firſt put them back; but the ſlain and drown'd were at length ſo many on either ſide, as left the loſs equal on both: which yet hinder'd not the Solemnity of Malmſ. a Marriage at the Feaſt of *Eaſter*, between *Burhed* the *Mercian*, and *Ethelſwida* King *Ethelwolf*'s Daughter. 854. Sax. an. Howbeit the *Danes* next year winter'd again in *Shepey*. Whom *Ethelwolf*, not finding Human Health ſufficient to reſiſt, growing daily upon him, in hope of Divine Aid, regiſter'd in a Book, and dedicated to God the tenth part of his own Lands, and of his whole Kingdom, eas'd of all Impoſitions, but converted to the maintenance of Maſſes and Pſalms weekly to be ſung for the proſpering of *Ethelwolf* and his Captains, as appears at large by the Patent it ſelf, in *William* of *Malmsbury*. *Aſſer* ſaith, he did it for the redemption of his Soul, and the Soul of his Anceſtors. After which, as having don ſom great matter to ſhew himſelf at *Rome*, and be applauded of the Pope, he takes a long and cumberſom Journey 855. Aſſer. thether with young *Alfrid* again, and there ſtays a Year, when his place requir'd him rather here in the field againſt Pagan Enemies left wintring in his Land. Yet ſo much Manhood he had, as to return thence no Monk; and in his way home took to Wife *Judith* Daughter of *Charles* the bald, King of Aſſer. *France*. But ere his return, *Ethelbald* his eldeſt Son, *Alſtan* his truſty Biſhop, and *Enulf* Earl of *Somerſet* conſpir'd againſt him; thir Complaints were, that he had tak'n with him *Alfrid* his youngeſt Son to be there inaugurated King, and brought home with him an out-landiſh Wife; for which they endeavour'd to deprive him of his Kingdom. The diſturbance was expected to bring forth nothing leſs then War: but the King abhorring civil Diſcord, after many Conferences tending to Peace, condeſcended to divide the Kingdom with his Son; Diviſion was made, but the matter ſo carried, that the Eaſtern and worſt part was malignly afforded to the Father: The Weſtern and beſt giv'n to the Son, at which many of the Nobles had great Indignation, offring to the King thir utmoſt Aſſiſtance for the recovery of all; whom he peacefully diſſuading, ſat down contented with his Portion aſſign'd. In the *Eaſt-Angles*, *Edmund* lineal from the antient ſtock of thoſe Kings, a Youth of 14 Years only, but of great hopes, was with conſent of all but his own 857. crown'd at *Burie*. About this time, as *Buchanan* relates, the *Picts*, who not long before had by the *Scots* bin driv'n out of thir Country, part of them coming to *Oſbert* and *Ella*, then Kings of *Northumberland*, obtain'd Aid againſt *Donaldus* the *Scotiſh* King, to recover thir antient Poſſeſſion. *Oſbert*, who in Perſon undertook the Expedition, marching into *Scotland*, was at firſt put to a Retreat; but returning ſoon after on the *Scots*, over-ſecure of thir ſuppos'd Victory, put them to flight with great ſlaughter, took Pris'ner thir King, and purſu'd his Victory beyond *Sterlin-bridg*. The *Scots* unable to reſiſt longer, and by Embaſſadors entreating Peace, had it granted them on theſe conditions: the *Scots* were to quit all they had poſſeſs'd within the Wall of *Severus*: the limits of *Scotland* were beneath *Sterlin-bridg* to be the River *Forth*, and on the other ſide, *Dunbritton Frith*; from that time ſo call'd of the *Britiſh* then ſeated in *Cumberland*, who had join'd with *Oſbert* in this

Action, and ſo far extended on that ſide the *Britiſh* Limits. If this be true, as the *Scotch* Writers themſelves witneſs (and who would think them fabulous to the diſparagement of thir own Country?) how much wanting have bin our Hiſtorians to thir Country's Honour, in letting paſs unmention'd an Exploit ſo memorable, by them remembred and atteſted, who are wont ofter to extenuate then to amplifie aught don in *Scotland* by the Engliſh? *Donaldus* on theſe conditions releas'd, ſoon after dies; according to *Buchanan*, in 858. *Ethelwolf* Chief King in *England*, had the year before ended his Life, and was buried as his Father at *Wincheſter*. He was from his Youth Mat. Weſt. much addicted to Devotion; ſo that in his Father's time he was ordain'd Biſhop of *Wincheſter*; and unwillingly, for want of other legitimate Iſſue, ſucceeded him in the Throne; managing therfore his greateſt Affairs by the Activity of two Biſhops, *Alſtan* of *Sherburne*, and *Swithine* of *Wincheſter*. But *Alſtan* is noted of Covetouſneſs and Oppreſſion, by *William* of *Malmſbury*; Malmſ. the more vehemently no doubt for doing ſom notable damage to that Suithune. Monaſtery. The ſame Author writes, that *Ethelwolf* at *Rome*, paid a Tribute Sigon. de to the Pope, continu'd to his days. However he were facil to his Son, regn. Ital. l. 5. and ſeditious Nobles, in yeilding up part of his Kingdom, yet his Queen he treated not the leſs honourably, for whomſoever it diſpleas'd. The *Weſt-Saxons* Aſſer. had decreed ever ſince the time of *Eadburga*, the infamous Wife of *Birthric*, that no Queen ſhould ſit in State with the King, or be dignifi'd with the Title of Queen. But *Ethelwolf* permitted not that *Judith* his Queen ſhould loſe any point of Regal State by that Law. At his Death, he divided the Kingdom between his two Sons, *Ethelbald*, and *Ethelbert*; to the younger *Kent*, *Eſſex*, *Surrey*, *Suſſex*, to the elder all the reſt; to *Peter* and *Paul* certain Revenues yearly, for what uſes let others relate, who write alſo his Pedigree, from Son to Father, up to *Adam*.

## *ETHELBALD*, and *ETHELBERT*.

Ethelbald, unnatural and diſloyal to his Father, fell juſtly into another, Aſſer. though contrary Sin, of too much love to his Father's Wife; and whom at Malmſ. firſt he oppos'd coming into the Land, her now unlawfully marrying, he takes Sim. Dun. into his Bed; but not long enjoying, dy'd at three years end, without doing 860. aught more worthy to be remember'd; having reign'd two Years with Sax. an. his Father, impiouſly uſurping, and three after him, as unworthily inheriting. And his hap was all that while to be unmoleſted by the *Danes*; not of Divine Favour doubtleſs, but to his greater Condemnation, living the more ſecurely his inceſtuous Life. *Huntingdon* on the other ſide much praiſes *Ethelbald*, and writes him buried at *Sherburn*, with great ſorrow of the People, who miſs'd him long after. *Mat. Weſt.* ſaith, that he repented of his Inceſt with *Judith*, and diſmiſs'd her: but *Aſſer* an Eye-witneſs of thoſe times, mentions no ſuch thing.

## *ETHELBERT* alone.

Ethelbald by Death remov'd, the whole Kingdom came rightfully to *Ethelbert* his next Brother. Who though a Prince of great Vertue and no blame, had as ſhort a Reign allotted him as his faulty Brother, nor that ſo peaceful; once or twice invaded by the *Danes*. But they having landed in the Weſt with a great Army, and ſack't *Wincheſter*, were met by *Oſric* Earl of *Southampton*, and *Ethelwolf* of *Barkſhire*, beat'n to thir Ships, and forc't to leave thir Booty. Five Years after, about the time of his Death, they ſet foot 865. again in *Tanet*; Sax. an. the Kentiſhmen wearied out with ſo frequent Alarms, came to agreement with them for a certain Sum of Money; but ere the Peace could be ratifi'd, and the Money gather'd, the *Danes* impatient of delay by a ſudden Eruption in the night, ſoon waſted all the *Eaſt* of *Kent*. Mean while or ſomthing before, *Ethelbert* deceaſing was buried as his Brother at *Sherburn*.

*ETHELRED*.

## ETHELRED.

866. E*thelred* the third, Son of *Ethelwolf*, at his firſt coming to the Crown was
Sax. an. entertain'd with a freſh Invaſion of *Danes*, led by *Hinguar* and *Hubba*,
Huntingd. two Brothers, who now had got footing among the *Eaſt-Angles*; there they
winter'd, and coming to terms of Peace with the Inhabitants, furniſh'd themſelves
of Horſes, forming by that means many Troops with Riders of thir
own: Theſe Pagans, *Aſſer* ſaith, came from the River *Danubius*. Fitted thus
867. for a long Expedition, they ventur'd the next Year to make thir way over
Sax. an. Land and over *Humber*, as far as *York*, them they found to thir hands imbroil'd
in civil Diſſentions; thir King *Osbert* they had thrown out, and *Ella*
Leader of another Faction choſen in his room; who both, though late, admoniſh'd
by thir common danger, towards the years end with united Powers
made head againſt the *Danes* and prevail'd; but perſuing them over-eagerly
Aſſer. into *York*, then but ſlenderly wall'd, the *Northumbrians* were every where
ſlaughter'd, both within and without; thir Kings alſo both ſlain, thir City
burnt, ſaith *Malmsbury*, the reſt as they could made thir Peace, over-run and
vanquiſh'd as far as the River *Tine*, and *Egbert* of Engliſh Race appointed King
over them. *Bromton* no antient Author (for he wrote ſince *Mat. Weſt.*) nor
of much credit, writes a particular cauſe of the *Danes* coming to *York*: that
*Bruern* a Nobleman, whoſe Wife King *Osbert* had raviſh'd, call'd in *Hinguar*
and *Hubba* to revenge him. The Example is remarkable if the Truth were as
868. evident. Thence victorious, the *Danes* next year enter'd into *Mercia* towards
*Nottingham*, where they ſpent the Winter. *Burhed* then King of that
Country, unable to reſiſt, implores the Aid of *Ethelred* and young *Alfred* his
Brother; they aſſembling thir Forces and joining with the *Mercians* about
Aſſer. *Nottingham*, offer Battel: the *Danes* not daring to come forth, kept themſelves
within that Town and Caſtle, ſo that no great Fight was hazarded
there; at length the *Mercians* weary of long Suſpence, enter'd into Conditions
of Peace with thir Enemies. After which the *Danes* returning back to
869. *York*, made thir Abode there the ſpace of one Year, committing, ſom ſay,
Sim. Dun. many Cruelties. Thence imbarking to *Lindſey*, and all the Summer deſtroying
870. that Country, about *September* they came with like Fury into *Keſteven*,
Ingulf. another part of *Lincolnſhire*, where *Algar* the Earl of *Howland*, now *Holland*,
with his Forces, and two hunderd ſtout Souldiers belonging to the Abbey of
*Croiland*, three hunderd from about *Boſton*, *Morcard* Lord of *Brunne*, with his
numerous Family, well train'd and arm'd: *Oſgot* Governour of *Lincoln* with
500 of that City, all joining together, gave Battel to the *Danes*, ſlew of them
a great multitude, with three of thir Kings, and perſu'd the reſt to thir
Tents; but the Night following *Gothrun*, *Baſeg*, *Osketil*, *Halfden*, and *Hamond*,
five Kings, and as many Earls, *Frena*, *Hinguar*, *Hubba*, *Sidroc* the elder
and younger, coming in from ſeveral parts with great Forces and Spoils, great
part of the Engliſh began to ſlink home. Nevertheleſs *Algar* with ſuch as
forſook him not, all next day in order of Battel facing the *Danes*, and ſuſtaining
unmov'd the brunt of thir Aſſaults, could not with-hold his Men at laſt
from perſuing their counterfited Fight; wherby op'nd and diſorder'd, they
fell into the Snare of thir Enemies, ruſhing back upon them. *Algar* and thoſe
Captains fore-nam'd with him, all reſolute Men, retreating to a Hill ſide, and
ſlaying of ſuch as follow'd them, manifold thir own number, dy'd at length
upon heaps of dead which they had made round about them. The *Danes*
thence paſſing on into the Country of *Eaſt-Angles*, rifl'd and burnt the Monaſtery
of *Elie*, overthrew Earl *Wulketul* with his whole Army, and lodg'd
out the Winter at *Thetford*; where King *Edmund* aſſailing them, was with
his whole Army put to flight, himſelf tak'n, bound to a ſtake, and ſhot to
871. Death with Arrows, his whole Country ſubdu'd. The next year with great
Sax. an. Supplies, ſaith *Huntingdon*, bending thir march toward the *Weſt-Saxons*, the
only People now left in whom might ſeem yet to remain Strength or Courage
likely to oppoſe them, they came to *Reading*, fortify'd there between the two
Rivers of *Thames* and *Kenet*, and about three days after ſent out Wings of
Aſſer. Horſe under two Earls to forage the Country; but *Ethelwulf* Earl of *Barkſhire*,
at *Englefeild* a Village nigh, encounter'd them, ſlew one of thir Earls,
and

and obtain'd a great Victory. Four days after came the King himſelf and his Brother *Alfred* with the main Battail; and the *Danes* iſſuing forth, a bloody Fight began, on either ſide great Slaughter, in which Earl *Ethelwulf* loſt his Life; but the *Danes* loſing no ground, kept thir place of ſtanding to the end. Neither did the Engliſh for this make leſs haſt to another Conflict at *Eſceſdune* or *Aſhdown*, four days after, where both Armies with thir whole Force on either ſide met. The *Danes* were imbattail'd in two great Bodies, the one led by *Baſcai* and *Halfden*, thir two Kings, the other by ſuch Earls as were appointed; in like manner the Engliſh divided thir Powers, *Ethelred* the King ſtood againſt thir Kings; and though on the lower ground, and coming later into the Battail from his Oriſons, gave a fierce Onſet, wherin *Baſcai* (the *Daniſh* Hiſtory names him *Ivarus* the Son of *Regnerus*) was ſlain. *Alfred* was plac'd againſt the Earls, and beginning the Battail ere his Brother came into the Field, with ſuch Reſolution charg'd them, that in the ſhock moſt of them were ſlain; they are nam'd *Sidroc* elder and younger, *Osbern*, *Frean*, *Harald*; at length in both Diviſions, the *Danes* turn thir backs; many thouſands of them cut off, the reſt perſu'd till night. So much the more it may be wonder'd to hear next in the Annals, that the *Danes* 14 days after ſuch an Overthrow fighting again with *Ethelred* and his Brother *Alfred* at *Baſing*, under Conduct, ſaith the *Daniſh* Hiſtory, of *Agnerus* and *Hubbo*, Brothers of the ſlain *Ivarus*, ſhould obtain the Victory; eſpecially ſince the new Supply of *Danes* mention'd by *Aſſer*, arriv'd after this Action. Pontan. Hiſt. Dan. l. 4. But after two Months the King and his Brother fought with them again at *Mertun*, in two Squadrons as before, in which Fight hard it is to underſtand who had the better; ſo darkly do the *Saxon Annals* deliver thir meaning with more then wonted Infancy. Yet theſe I take (for *Aſſer* is heer ſilent) to be the Chief Fountain of our Story, the Ground and Baſis upon which the Monks later in time gloſs and comment at thir pleaſure. Nevertheleſs it appears, that on the *Saxon* part, not *Heamund* the Biſhop only, but many valiant Men loſt thir Lives. This Fight was follow'd by a heavy Summer Plague; wherof, as is thought, Camden. King *Ethelred* dy'd in the fifth of his Reign, and was buried at *Winburne*, where his Epitaph inſcribes that he had his Deaths Wound by the *Danes*, according to the *Daniſh* Hiſtory 872. Of all theſe terrible Landings and Devaſtations by the *Danes*, from the days of *Ethelwolf* till thir two laſt Battels with *Ethelred*, or of thir Leaders, whether Kings, Dukes, or Earls, the *Daniſh* Hiſtory of beſt credit ſaith nothing; ſo little Wit or Conſcience it ſeems they had to leave any Memory of thir brutiſh rather then manly Actions; unleſs we ſhall ſuppoſe them to have com, as above was cited out of *Aſſer*, from *Danubius*, rather then from *Denmark*, more probably ſome barbarous Nation of *Pruſſia*, or *Livonia*, not long before ſeated more Northward on the *Baltic* Sea.

## *ALFRED.*

Alfred the fourth Son of *Ethelwolf*, had ſcarſe perform'd his Brothers Obſequies, and the Solemnity of his own Crowning, when at the Months end in haſt with a ſmall Power he encounter'd the whole Army of *Danes* at *Wilton*, and moſt part of the day foil'd them; but unwarily following the Chaſe, gave others of them the advantage to rally; who returning upon him now weary, remain'd Maſters of the Field. This year, as is affirm'd in the Annals, nine Battels had bin fought againſt the *Danes* on the South-ſide of *Thames*, beſides innumerable Excurſions made by *Alfred* and other Leaders; one King, nine Earls were fall'n in fight, ſo that weary on both ſides at the years end, League or Truce was concluded. 872. Sax. an. Yet next year the *Danes* took thir March to *London*, now expos'd to thir Prey, there they winter'd, and thether came the *Mercians* to renue Peace with them. The year following they rov'd back to the parts beyond *Humber*, but winter'd at *Torkſey* in *Lincolnſhire*, where the *Mercians* now the third time made Peace with them. 873. Sax. an. Camd. Notwithſtanding which, removing thir Camp to *Rependune* in *Mercia*, now *Repton* upon *Trent* in *Darbyſhire*, and there wintring, they conſtrain'd *Burhed* the King to fly into foren parts, making ſeiſure of his Kingdom, he running 874. Sax. an. the direct way to *Rome*; with better reaſon then his Anceſtors, dy'd there,

and was buried in a Church by the Engliſh School. His Kingdom the *Danes*
farm'd out to *Kelwulf*, one of his Houſhold Servants or Officers, with condi-
875. tion to be reſign'd them when they commanded. From *Rependune* they diſ-
Sax. an. lodg'd, *Hafden* thir King leading part of his Army Northward, winter'd by
the River *Tine*, and ſubjecting all thoſe quarters, waſted alſo the *Picts* and
*Britiſh* beyond: but *Guthrun*, *Oskitell*, and *Anwynd*, other three of thir Kings,
moving from *Rependune*, came with a great Army to *Grantbrig*, and remain'd
there a whole year. But *Alfred* that Summer purpoſing to try his Fortune
with a Fleet at Sea (for he had found that the want of Shipping and neglect of
Navigation had expos'd the Land to theſe Piracies) met with ſeven *Daniſh*
Rovers, took one, the reſt eſcaping; an acceptable Succeſs from ſo ſmall a
beginning: for the Engliſh at that time were but little experienc'd in Sea-Af-
876. fairs. The next years firſt motion of the *Danes* was towards *Warham*-Caſtle,
Sax. an. where *Alfred* meeting them, either by Policy, or thir doubt of his Power;
*Ethelwerd* ſaith, by Money brought them to ſuch terms of Peace, as that they
Florent. ſwore to him upon a hallow'd Bracelet, others ſay upon certain Reliques (a
ſolemn Oath it ſeems which they never voutſaf'd before to any other Nation)
forthwith to depart the Land: but falſifying that Oath, by night with all the
Florent. Horſe they had (*Aſſer* ſaith, ſlaying all the Horſemen he had) ſtole to *Exeter*,
and there winter'd. In *Northumberland Hafden* thir King began to ſettle, to
divide the Land, to till, and to inhabit. Mean while they in the Weſt who
were march'd to *Exeter*, enter'd the City, courſing now and then to *Warham*;
877. but thir Fleet the next year ſailing or rowing about the Weſt, met with ſuch
Sax. an. a Tempeſt neer to *Swanſwich* or *Gnavewic*, as wrack'd 120 of thir Ships, and
left the reſt eaſy to be maſter'd by thoſe Gallies which *Alfred* had ſet there to
Aſſer. guard the Seas, and ſtreit'n *Exeter* of Proviſion. He the while beleagering
them in the City, now humbl'd with the loſs of thir Navy, (two Navies,
ſaith *Aſſer*, the one at *Gnavewic*, the other at *Swanwine*) diſtreſs'd them ſo, as
that they gave him as many Hoſtages as he requir'd, and as many Oaths, to
keep thir covnanted Peace, and kept it. For the Summer coming on, they
departed into *Mercia*, wherof part they divided amongſt themſelves, part
878. left to *Kelwulf* thir ſubſtituted King. The Twelftide following, all Oaths
Sax. an. forgott'n, they came to *Chippenham* in *Wiltſhire*, diſpeopling the Countries
round, diſpoſſeſſing ſom, driving others beyond the Sea; *Alfred* himſelf with
a ſmall Company was forc'd to keep within Woods and Fenny Places, and for
ſom time all alone, as *Florent* ſaith, ſojourn'd with *Dunwulf* a Swine-herd,
made afterwards for his Devotion and Aptneſs to Learning Biſhop of *Win-*
Sim. Dun. *cheſter*. *Hafden* and the Brother of *Hinguar* coming with 23 Ships from *North-*
*Wales*, where they had made great ſpoil, landed in *Devonſhire*, nigh to a
ſtrong Caſtle nam'd *Kinwith*; where by the Gariſon iſſuing forth unexpectedly,
Aſſer. they were ſlain with 12 hunderd of thir Men. Mean while the King about
*Eaſter*, not deſpairing of his Affairs, built a Fortreſs at a place call'd *Athelney*
in *Somerſetſhire*, therin valiantly defending himſelf and his Followers, fre-
quently ſallying forth. The 7*th* Week after he rode out to a place call'd *Ec-*
*bryt-ſtone* in the Eaſt part of *Selwood:* thether reſorted to him with much Gra-
tulation the *Somerſet* and *Wiltſhire* Men, with many out of *Hamſhire*, ſom of
whom a little before had fled thir Country; with theſe marching to *Ethan-*
Camden. *dune*, now *Edindon* in *Wiltſhire*, he gave Battel to the whole *Daniſh* Power, and
put them to flight. Then beſeiging thir Caſtle, within fourteen days took
it. *Malmsbury* writes, that in this time of his Receſs, to go a Spy into the
*Daniſh* Camp, he took upon him with one Servant the Habit of a Fidler; by
this means gaining acceſs to the King's Table, and ſomtimes to his Bed-Cham-
ber, got knowledg of thir Secrets, thir careleſs encamping, and therby this
opportunity of aſſailing them on a ſudden. The *Danes* by this Misfortune
brok'n, gave him more Hoſtages, and renu'd thir Oaths to depart out of his
Kingdom. Thir King *Gytro* or *Gotbrun* offer'd willingly to receave Baptiſm,
Camd. and accordingly came with 30 of his Friends to a place call'd *Aldra* or *Aulre*,
neer to *Athelney*, and were baptiz'd at *Wedmore*; where *Alfred* receav'd him
out of the Font, and nam'd him *Athelſtan*. After which they abode with him
879. 12 days, and were diſmiſs'd with rich Preſents. Wherupon the *Danes* re-
Sax. an. mov'd next year to *Cirenceſter*, thence peaceably to the *Eaſt-Angles*; which
*Alfred*, as ſom write, had beſtow'd on *Gotbrun* to hold of him; the Bounds

wherof may be read among the Laws of *Alfred*. Others of them went
to *Fulham* on the *Thames*, and joining there with a great Fleet newly
com into the River, thence paſs'd over into *France* and *Flanders*, both
which they enter'd ſo far conquering or waſting, as witneſs'd ſufficiently,
that the *French* and *Flemiſh* were no more able then the *Engliſh*,
by Policy or Proweſs, to keep off that *Daniſh* Inundation from thir Land.
*Alfred* thus rid of them, and intending for the future to prevent thir landing;
three years after (quiet the mean while) with more Ships and better provided, 882.
puts to Sea, and at firſt met with four of theirs, wherof two he took, Sax. an.
throwing the men over-board, then with two others, wherin were two of
thir Princes, and took them alſo, but not without ſom loſs of his own. After
three years another Fleet of them appear'd on theſe Seas, ſo huge that one part 885.
thought themſelves ſufficient to enter upon *Eaſt-France*, the other came to *Rocheſter*, Sax. an.
and beleaguer'd it, they within ſtoutly defending themſelves till *Alfred*
with great Forces, coming down upon the *Danes*, drove them to thir Ships,
leaving for haſt all thir Horſes behind them. The ſame year *Alfred* ſent a
Fleet toward the *Eaſt-Angles*, then inhabited by the *Danes*, which at the mouth Sim. Dun.
of *Stour*, meeting with 16 *Daniſh* Ships, after ſom fight took them all, and
ſlew all the Souldiers aboard; but in thir way home lying careleſs, were overtak'n
by another part of that Fleet, and came off with loſs: wherupon perhaps
thoſe *Danes* who were ſettl'd among the *Eaſt-Angles*, erected with new
hopes, violated the Peace which they had ſworn to *Alfred*, who ſpent the next
year in repairing *London*, (beſeiging, ſaith *Huntingdon*) much ruin'd and unpeopl'd 886.
by the *Danes*; the *Londoners*, all but thoſe who had bin led away Captive, Sax. an.
ſoon return'd to thir Dwellings, and *Ethred* Duke of *Mercia*, was by the Sim. Dun.
King appointed thir Governour. But after 13 years reſpit of Peace, another 893.
*Daniſh* Fleet of 250 Sail, from the *Eaſt* part of *France* arriv'd at the mouth of Sax. an.
a River in *Eaſt Kent*, call'd *Limen*, nigh to the great Wood *Andred*, famous for
length and bredth; into that Wood they drew up thir Ships four mile from
the Rivers mouth, and built a Fortreſs. After whom *Haeſten* with another
*Daniſh* Fleet of 80 Ships, entring the mouth of *Thames*, built a Fort at *Middleton*,
the former Army remaining at a place call'd *Apeltre*. *Alfred* perceiving
this, took of thoſe *Danes* who dwelt in *Northumberland*, a new Oath of Fidelity,
and of thoſe in *Eſſex* Hoſtages, leſt they ſhould join, as they were
wont, with thir Countrymen newly arriv'd. And by the next year having 894.
got together his Forces, between either Army of the *Danes* encamp'd ſo as Sax. an.
to be ready for either of them, who firſt ſhould happ'n to ſtir forth; Troops
of Horſe alſo he ſent continually abroad, aſſiſted by ſuch as could be ſpar'd
from ſtrong places, wherever the Countries wanted them, to encounter foraging
parties of the Enemy. The King alſo divided ſomtimes his whole
Army, marching out with one part by turns, the other keeping intrencht. In
concluſion rowling up and down, both ſides met at *Farnham* in *Surrey*; where
the *Danes* by *Alfreds* Horſe Troops were put to flight, and croſſing the *Thames*
to a certain Iland neer *Coln* in *Eſſex*, or as *Camden* thinks, by *Colebrook*, were
beſeig'd there by *Alfred* till Proviſion fail'd the beſeigers, another part ſtaid
behind with thir King wounded. Mean while *Alfred* preparing to reinforce
the ſeige in *Colney*, the *Danes* of *Northumberland* breaking Faith, came by Sea
to the *Eaſt-Angles*, and with a hundred Ships coaſting Southward, landed in
*Devonſhire*, and beſeig'd *Exeter*; thether *Alfred* haſted with his Powers, except
a Squadron of *Welch* that came to *London*: with whom the Citizens marching
forth to *Beamflet*, where *Haeſten* the *Dane* had built a ſtrong Fort, and
left a Gariſon, while he himſelf with the main of his Army was enter'd far
into the Country, luckily ſurpriſe the Fort, maſter the Gariſon, make prey
of all they find there; thir Ships alſo they burnt or brought away with good
Booty, and many Priſners, among whom the Wife and two Sons of *Heaſten*
were ſent to the King, who forthwith ſet them at liberty. Wherupon *Heaſten*
gave Oath of Amity and Hoſtages to the King; he in requital, whether freely
or by agreement, a ſum of Money. Nevertheleſs without regard of Faith
giv'n, while *Alfred* was buſied about *Exeter*, joining with the other *Daniſh*
Army, he built another Caſtle in *Eſſex* at *Shoberie*, thence marching Weſtward
by the *Thames*, aided with the *Northumbrian* and *Eaſt-Angliſh Danes*, they
came at length to *Severn*, pillaging all in thir way. But, *Ethred*, *Ethelm*, and

*Ethelnoth*, the Kings Captains, with united Forces pitch'd nigh to them at *Buttingtun*,
Camden. on the *Severn* Bank in *Montgomery-ſhire*, the River running between,
and there many Weeks attended; the King mean while blocking up the *Danes*
who beſeig'd *Exeter*, having eat'n part of thir Horſes, the reſt urg'd with
Hunger broke forth to thir fellows, who lay encampt on the Eaſt-ſide of the
River, and were all there diſcomfited with ſom loſs of valiant men on the
Kings party; the reſt fled back to *Eſſex* and thir Fortreſs there. Then *Laf*,
one of thir Leaders, gather'd before Winter a great Army of *Northumbrian*
and *Eaſt Angliſh Danes*, who leaving thir Money, Ships, and Wives with the
*Eaſt-Angles*, and marching day and night, ſat down before a City in the Weſt
call'd *Wirheal* neer to *Cheſter*, and took it ere they could be overtak'n. The
Engliſh after two daies Seige, hopeleſs to diſlodg them, waſted the Country
round to cut off from them all Proviſion, and departed. Soon after which,
895. next year, the *Danes* no longer able to hold *Wirheal*, deſtitute of Vittles,
Sax. an. enter'd *North-Wales*; thence lad'n with Spoils, part return'd into *Northumberland*,
others to the *Eaſt-Angles* as far as *Eſſex*, where they ſeiz'd on a ſmall
Iland call'd *Mereſig*. And heer again the Annals record them to beſeige *Exeter*,
Sim. Dun. but without coherence of ſenſe or ſtory. Others relate to this purpoſe,
Florent. that returning by Sea from the Seige of *Exeter*, and in thir way landing on
the Coaſt of *Suſſex*, they of *Chiceſter* ſallied out and ſlew of them many hunderds,
taking alſo ſome of thir Ships. The ſame year they who poſſeſs'd
*Mereſig*, intending to winter therabout, drew up thir Ships, ſom into the
*Thames*, others into the River *Lee*, and on the Bank therof built a Caſtle
twenty miles from *London*; to aſſault which the *Londoners* aided with other
896. Forces march'd out the Summer following, but were ſoon put to flight, loſing
Sax. an. four of the Kings Captains. *Huntingdon* writes quite the contrary, that theſe
four were *Daniſh* Captains, and the overthrow theirs: but little Credit is to
be plac'd in *Huntingdon* ſingle. For the King therupon with his Forces, lay
encamp't neerer the City, that the *Danes* might not infeſt them in time of
Harveſt; in the mean time, ſuttlely deviſing to turn *Lee*-ſtream ſeveral waies,
wherby the *Daniſh* Bottoms were left on dry Ground: which they ſoon perceaving,
march'd over Land to *Quatbrig* on the *Severn*, built a Fortreſs, and
winter'd there; while thir Ships left in *Lee*, were either brok'n or brought
away by the *Londoners*; but thir Wives and Children they had left in ſafety
897. with the *Eaſt-Angles*. The next year was Peſtilent, and beſides the common
Sax. an. ſort took away many great Earls, *Kelmond* in *Kent*, *Brithulf* in *Eſſex*, *Wulfred*
in *Hamſhire*, with many others; and to this evil the *Danes* of *Northumberland*
and *Eaſt-Angles* ceas'd not to endamage the *Weſt-Saxons*, eſpecially by
ſtealth, robbing on the South-ſhoar in certain long Gallies. But the King
cauſing to be built others twice as long as uſually were built, and ſome of 60
or 70 Oars higher, ſwifter and ſteddier then ſuch as were in uſe before either
with *Danes* or *Friſons*, his own Invention, ſom of theſe he ſent out againſt ſix
*Daniſh* Pirats, who had don much harm in the Ile of *Wight*, and parts adjoining.
The bickering was doubtful and intricate, part on the Water,
part on the Sands; not without loſs of ſom eminent men on the Engliſh ſide.
The Pirats at length were either ſlain or taken, two of them ſtranded; the
men brought to *Wincheſter*, where the King then was, were executed by his
command; one of them eſcap'd to the *Eaſt-Angles*, her men much wounded:
the ſame year not fewer then twenty of thir Ships periſh'd on the South Coaſt
with all thir men. And *Rollo* the *Dane* or *Norman* landing heer, as *Matt.
Weſt.* writes, though not in what part of the Iland, after an unſucceſsful fight
againſt thoſe Forces which firſt oppos'd him, ſail'd into *France* and conquer'd
the Country, ſince that time called *Normandy*. This is the ſum of what paſs'd
in three years againſt the *Danes*, returning out of *France*, ſet down ſo perplexly
by the *Saxon* Annaliſt, ill-gifted with utterance, as with much ado
can be underſtood ſomtimes what is ſpok'n, whether meant of the *Danes*, or
of the *Saxons*. After which troubleſom time, *Alfred* enjoying three years of
Peace, by him ſpent, as his manner was, not idely or voluptuouſly, but in all
vertuous emploiments both of Mind and Body, becoming a Prince of his Renown,
900. ended his daies in the year 900, the 51*ſt* of his Age, the 30*th* of his
Aſſer. Reign, and was buried regally at *Wincheſter*; he was born at a place call'd
*Wanading* in *Barkſhire*, his Mother *Oſburga* the Daughter of *Oſlac* the Kings

Cup-bearer, a *Goth* by Nation, and of noble Deſcent. He was of Perſon comlier then all his Brethren, of pleaſing Tongue and graceful Behaviour, ready Wit and Memory; yet through the fondneſs of his Parents towards him, had not bin taught to read till the twelfth year of his Age; but the great deſire of Learning which was in him, ſoon appear'd by his conning of *Saxon* Poems day and night, which with great attention he heard by others repeated. He was beſides excellent at Hunting, and the new Art then of Hawking, but more exemplary in Devotion, having collected into a Book certain Prayers and Pſalms, which he carried ever with him in his Boſom to uſe on all occaſions. He thirſted after all liberal Knowledg, and oft complain'd that in his Youth he had no Teachers, in his middle Age ſo little vacancy from Wars and the cares of his Kingdom; yet leaſure he found ſomtimes, not only to learn much himſelf, but to communicate therof what he could to his People, by tranſlating Books out of Latin into Engliſh, *Oroſius*, *Boethius*, *Beda's* Hiſtory and others; permitted none unlern'd to bear Office, either in Court or Common-wealth. At twenty years of Age not yet reigning, he took to Wife *Egelſwitha* the Daughter of *Ethelred* a *Mercian* Earl. The extremities which befel him in the ſixt of his Reign, *Neothan* Abbot told him, were juſtly com upon him for neglecting in his younger days the Complaints of ſuch as injur'd and oppreſs'd repair'd to him, as then ſecond Perſon in the Kingdom, for Redreſs; which neglect were it ſuch indeed, were yet excuſable in a Youth, through jollity of mind unwilling perhaps to be detain'd long with ſad and ſorrowful Narrations; but from the time of his undertaking Regal charge, no man more patient in hearing cauſes, more inquiſitive in examining, more exact in doing Juſtice, and providing good Laws, which are yet extant; more ſevere in puniſhing unjuſt Judges or obſtinate Offenders. Theeves eſpecially and Robbers, to the terror of whom in croſs waies were hung upon a high Poſt certain Chains of Gold, as it were daring any one to take them thence; ſo that Juſtice ſeem'd in his daies not to flouriſh only, but to triumph: no man then he more frugal of two pretious things in mans life, his Time and his Revenue; no man wiſer in the diſpoſal of both. His time, the day, and night, he diſtributed by the burning of certain Tapours into three equal Portions; the one was for Devotion, the other for public or private Affairs, the third for bodily refreſhment; how each hour paſt, he was put in mind by one who had that Office. His whole annual Revenue, which his firſt care was ſhould be juſtly his own, he divided into two equal parts; the firſt he imploi'd to ſecular uſes, and ſubdivided thoſe into three, the firſt to pay his Souldiers, Houſhold-Servants and Guard, of which divided into three Bands, one attended monthly by turn; the ſecond was to pay his Architects and Workmen, whom he had got together of ſeveral Nations; for he was alſo an elegant Builder, above the Cuſtom and conceit of Engliſhmen in thoſe days; the third he had in readineſs to releive or honour Strangers according to thir worth, who came from all parts to ſee him, and to live under him. The other equal part of his yearly Wealth he dedicated to religious uſes, thoſe of four ſorts; the firſt to releive the Poor, the ſecond to the building and maintenance of two Monaſteries, the third of a School, where he had perſwaded the Sons of many Noblemen to ſtudy ſacred Knowledg and liberal Arts, ſom ſay at *Oxford*; the fourth was for the relief of Foren Churches, as far as *India* to the ſhrine of St. *Thomas*, ſending thether *Sigelm* Biſhop of *Sherburn*, who both return'd ſafe, and brought with him many rich Gems and Spices; gifts alſo and a Letter he receav'd from the Patriarch of *Jeruſalem*; ſent many to *Rome*, and for them receav'd reliques. Thus far, and much more might be ſaid of his noble mind which render'd him the miror of Princes; his Body was diſeas'd in his Youth with a great ſoreneſs in the Seige, and that ceaſing of it ſelf, with another inward pain of unknown cauſe, which held him by frequent fits to his dying day; yet not diſinabl'd to ſuſtain thoſe many glorious Labours of his Life both in Peace and War.

Malmſ.

## EDWARD the Elder.

Malmſ. EDward the Son of Alfred ſucceeded, in Learning not equal, in Power and
extent of Dominion ſurpaſſing his Father. The beginning of his Reign
Huntingd. had much diſturbance by *Ethelwald* an ambitious young Man, Son of the King's
Uncle, or Couſin German, or Brother, for his Genealogy is variouſly deliver'd.
901. He vainly avouching to have equal right with *Edward* of Succeſſion
Sax. an. to the Crown, poſſeſs'd himſelf of *Winburn* in *Dorſet*, and another Town
diverſly nam'd, giving out that there he would live or die; but encompaſs'd
with the King's Forces at *Badbury* a place nigh, his Heart failing him, he ſtole
out by night, and fled to the *Daniſh* Army beyond *Humber*. The King ſent
after him, but not overtaking, found his Wife in the Town, whom he had
married out of a Nunnery, and commanded her to be ſent back thither.
902. About this time the *Kentiſh* Men, againſt a multitude of *Daniſh* Pirats, fought
proſperouſly at a place call'd *Holme*, as *Hoveden* records. *Ethelwald* aided by
905. *Northumbrians* with Shipping, three Years after, ſailing to the *Eaſt-Angles*,
Sax. an. perſwaded the *Danes* there to fall into the King's Territory, who marching
with him as far as *Crecklad*, and paſſing the *Thames* there, waſted as far beyond
as they durſt venture, and lad'n with Spoils return'd home. The King
with his Powers making ſpeed after them, between the *Dike* and *Ouſe*, ſuppos'd
to be *Suffolk* and *Cambridgſhire*, as far as the Fens Northward, laid waſt
all before him. Thence intending to return, he commanded that all his Army
ſhould follow him cloſe without delay; but the *Kentiſh* Men, though oft'n
call'd upon, lagging behind, the *Daniſh* Army prevented them, and join'd
Battel with the King: where Duke *Sigulf* and Earl *Sigelm*, with many other
of the Nobles were ſlain; on the *Danes* part, *Eoric* thir King, and *Ethelwald*
the Author of this War, with others of high note, and of them greater number,
but with great ruin on both ſides; yet the *Danes* kept in thir Power the
burying of thir ſlain. Whatever follow'd upon this Conflict, which we read
907. not, the King two years after with the *Danes*, both of *Eaſt-Angles* and
Sax. an. *Northumberland*, concluded Peace, which continu'd three Years, by whomſoever
910. brok'n: for at the end therof King *Edward* raiſing great Forces out
Sax. an. of *Weſt-Sex* and *Mercia*, ſent them againſt the *Danes* beyond *Humber*; where
ſtaying five weeks, they made great ſpoil and ſlaughter. The King offer'd
911. them terms of Peace, but they rejecting all, enter'd with the next year into
Sax. an. *Mercia*, rendring no leſs Hoſtility then they had ſuffer'd; but at *Tetnal* in
*Staffordſhire*, ſaith *Florent*, were by the Engliſh in a ſet Battel overthrown.
King *Edward* then in *Kent*, had got together of Ships about a hundred Sail,
others gon Southward came back and met him. The *Danes* now ſuppoſing
that his main Forces were upon the Sea, took liberty to rove and plunder up
Ethelwerd. and down, as hope of prey led them, beyond *Severn*. The King gueſſing
what might imbold'n them, ſent before him the lighteſt of his Army to entertain
them; then following with the reſt, ſet upon them in thir return over
*Cantbrig* in *Gloſterſhire*, and ſlew many thouſands, among whom *Ecwils*, *Hafden*,
and *Hinguar* thir Kings, and many other harſh Names in *Huntingdon*; the
place alſo of this fight is variouſly writt'n by *Ethelwerd* and *Florent*, call'd
912. *Wodensfeild*. The year following *Ethred* Duke of *Mercia*, to whom *Alfred*
Sax. an. had giv'n *London*, with his Daughter in Marriage; now dying, King *Edward*
reſum'd that City, and *Oxford*, with the Countries adjoining, into his own
913. hands, and the year after, built, or much repair'd by his Souldiers, the
Sax. an. Town of *Hertford* on either ſide *Lee*; and leaving a ſufficient number at the
work, march'd about middle Summer, with the other part of his Forces into
*Eſſex*, and encamp'd at *Maldon*, while his Souldiers built *Witham*; where
a good part of the Country, ſubject formerly to the *Danes*, yeilded themſelves
917. to his Protection. Four years after ( *Florent* allows but one year ) the
Sax. an. *Danes* from *Leiſter* and *Northampton*, falling into *Oxfordſhire*, committed much
Rapine, and in ſom Towns therof great ſlaughter; while another party
waſting *Hertfordſhire*, met with other Fortune; for the Country-People inur'd
now to ſuch kind of Incurſions, joining ſtoutly together, fell upon the
Spoilers, and recover'd thir own Goods, with ſom Booty from thir Enemies.
About the ſame time *Elfled* the King's Siſter ſent her Army of *Mercians* into
*Wales*,

*Wales*, who routed the *Welch*, took the Caſtle of *Bricnam-mere* by *Brecknock*, Huntingd.
and brought away the King's Wife of that Country with other Pris'ners. Camden.
Not long after ſhe took *Derby* from the *Danes*, and the Caſtle by a ſharp
Aſſault. But the year enſuing brought a new Fleet of *Danes* to *Lidwic* in
*Devonſhire*, under two Leaders, *Otter* and *Roald*; who ſailing thence Weſtward 918.
about the Land's end, came up to the mouth of *Severn*; there landing Sax. an.
waſted the *Welch* Coaſt, and *Irchenfeild* part of *Herefordſhire*; where they
took *Kuneleac* a *Britiſh* Biſhop, for whoſe Ranſom King *Edward* gave forty
Pound: but the Men of *Hereford* and *Gloſterſhire* aſſembling, put them to flight;
ſlaying *Roald* and the Brother of *Otter*, with many more, perſu'd them to a
Wood, and there beſet compell'd them to give Hoſtages of preſent departure.
The King with his Army ſat not far off, ſecuring from the South of
*Severn* to *Avon*; ſo that op'nly they durſt not, by night they twice ventur'd
to land; but found ſuch welcom, that few of them came back; the reſt anchor'd
by a ſmall Iland where many of them famiſh'd; then ſailing to a place
call'd *Deomed*, they croſs'd into *Ireland*. The King with his Army went to
*Buckingham*, ſtaid there a month, and built two Caſtles or Forts on either
Bank of *Ouſe* ere his departing; and *Turkitel* a *Daniſh* Leader, with thoſe of
*Bedford* and *Northampton*, yeilded him ſubjection. Wherupon the next year 919.
he came with his Army to the Town of *Bedford*, took poſſeſſion therof, Sax. an.
ſtaid there a month, and gave order to build another part of the Town,
on the South-ſide of *Ouſe*. Thence the year following went again to *Maldon*,
repair'd and fortifi'd the Town. *Turkitel* the *Dane* having ſmall hope to 920. Sax. an.
thrive heer, where things with ſuch prudence were manag'd againſt his Intereſt,
got leave of the King, with as many Voluntaries as would follow him,
to paſs into *France*. Early the next year King *Edward* re-edifi'd *Tovecheſter*,
now *Torcheſter*; and another City in the Annals call'd *Wigingmere*. Mean 921. Sax. an.
while the *Danes* of *Leiſter* and *Northamptonſhire*, not liking perhaps to be
neighbour'd with ſtrong Towns, laid ſiege to *Torcheſter*; [but they within
repelling the Aſſault one whole day till Supplies came] quitted the Siege
by night; and perſu'd cloſe by the beſieg'd, between *Birnwud* and *Ailsbury*
were ſurpriz'd, many of them made Pris'ners, and much of thir Baggage
loſt. Other of the *Danes* at *Huntingdon*, aided from the *Eaſt-Angles*, finding
that Caſtle not commodious, left it, and built another at *Temsford*,
judging that place more opportune from whence to make thir Excurſions;
and ſoon after went forth with deſign to aſſail *Bedford*: but the Gariſon iſſuing
out, ſlew a great part of them, the reſt fled. After this a greater Army
of them gather'd out of *Mercia* and the *Eaſt-Angles*, came and beſieg'd the
City call'd *Wigingmere* a whole day; but finding it defended ſtoutly by them
within, thence alſo departed, driving away much of thir Cattel: wherupon
the Engliſh from Towns and Cities round about joining Forces, laid Siege to
the Town and Caſtle of *Temsford*, and by aſſault took both; ſlew thir King
with *Toglea* a Duke, and *Mannan* his Son an Earl, with all the reſt there
found; who choſe to die rather then yeild. Encourag'd by this, the Men
of *Kent*, *Surrey*, and part of *Eſſex*, enterpriſe the Siege of *Colcheſter*, nor
gave over till they won it, ſacking the Town and putting to Sword all the
*Danes* therin, except ſom who eſcap'd over the Wall. To the ſuccour of
theſe, a great number of *Danes* inhabiting Ports and other Towns in the *Eaſt-Angles*,
united thir Force; but coming too late, as in revenge beleagured
*Maldon*; but that Town alſo timely reliev'd, they departed, not only fruſtrate
of thir Deſign, but ſo hotly perſu'd, that many thouſands of them loſt thir
Lives in the flight. Forthwith King *Edward* with his *Weſt-Saxons* went to
*Paſsham* upon *Ouſe*, there to guard the Paſſage, while others were building a
Stone Wall about *Torcheſter*; to him there Earl *Thurfert*, and other Lord
*Danes*, with thir Army therabout as far as *Weolud*, came and ſubmitted.
Wherat the King's Souldiers joyfully cry'd out to be diſmiſs't home: therfore
with another part of them he enter'd *Huntingdon*, and repair'd it, where
Breaches had bin made; all the People therabout returning to Obedience.
The like was don at *Colncheſter* by the next remove of his Army; after which
both *Eaſt* and *Weſt-Angles*, and the *Daniſh* Forces among them, yeilded to the
King, ſwearing Allegiance to him both by Sea and Land: the Army alſo of
*Danes* at *Grantbrig*, ſurrendring themſelves, took the ſame Oath. The Summer

922. Sax. an. mer following he came with his Army to *Stamford*, built a Caſtle there on the South-ſide of the River, where all the People of thoſe quarters acknowledg'd him Supreme. During his Abode there, *Elfled* his Siſter, a martial Woman, who after her Husband's Death would no more marry, but gave her ſelf to public Affairs, repairing and fortifying many Towns, warring ſomtimes, dy'd at *Tamworth* the cheif Seat of *Mercia*, wherof by Gift of *Alfred* her Father, ſhe was Lady or Queen; wherby that whole Nation became obedient to King *Edward*, as did alſo *North-Wales*, with *Howel*, *Cledaucus*, and *Jeothwell*, thir Kings. Thence paſſing to *Nottingham*, he enter'd and repair'd the Town, plac'd there part Engliſh, part Danes, and receav'd Fealty from 923. Sax. an. all in *Mercia* of either Nation. The next Autumn, coming with his Army into *Cheſhire*, he built and fortify'd *Thelwel*; and while he ſtaid there, call'd another Army out of *Mercia*, which he ſent to repair and fortify *Mancheſter*. 924. Sax. an. About Midſummer following he march'd again to *Nottingham*, built a Town over againſt it on the South-ſide of that River, and with a Bridg join'd them both; thence journied to a place call'd *Bedecanwillan* in *Pictland*; there alſo built and fenc'd a City on the Borders, where the King of *Scots* did him honour as to his Sovran, together with the whole *Scotiſh* Nation; the like did *Reginald* and the Son of *Eadulf*, Daniſh Princes, with all the *Northumbrians*, both Engliſh and Danes. The King alſo of a People therabout call'd *Streatgledwalli*, (the *North-Welch*, as *Camden* thinks, of *Strat-Cluid* in *Denbighſhire*, perhaps rather the *Britiſh* of *Cumberland*) did him homage, and not unde- Buch. l. 6. ſerv'd. For *Buchanan* himſelf confeſſes, that this King *Edward* with a ſmall number of Men compar'd to his Enemies, overthrew in a great Battel the whole united Power both of *Scots* and *Danes*, ſlew moſt of the Scotiſh Nobility, and forc'd *Malcolm*, whom *Conſtantine* the Scotch King had made General, and deſign'd Heir of his Crown, to ſave himſelf by flight ſore wounded. Of the Engliſh he makes *Athelſtan* the Son of *Edward* chief Leader; and ſo far ſeems to confound Times and Actions, as to make this Battel the ſame with that fought by *Athelſtan* about 24 years after at *Bruneford*, againſt *Anlaf* and *Conſtantine*, wherof hereafter. But here *Buchanan* takes occaſion to inveigh againſt the Engliſh Writers, upbraiding them with Ignorance, who af- Buch. l. 6. firm *Athelſtan* to have bin ſupreme King of *Britain*, *Conſtantine* the Scotiſh King with others to have held of him: and denies that in the Annals of *Marianus Scotus*, any mention is to be found therof; which I ſhall not ſtand much to contradict, for in *Marianus*, whether by Surname or by Nation *Scotus*, will be found as little mention of any other *Scotiſh* Affairs, till the time of King *Dunchad* ſlain by *Machetad*, or *Mackbeth*, in the year 1040. which gives cauſe of ſuſpition, that the Affairs of *Scotland* before that time were ſo obſcure as to be unknown to thir own Countryman, who liv'd and wrote his Chronicle 925. Sax. an. Huntingd. Mat. Weſt. not long after. But King *Edward* thus nobly doing, and thus honour'd, the year following dy'd at *Farendon*; a Builder and Reſtorer ev'n in War, not a Deſtroyer of his Land. He had by ſeveral Wives many Children; his eldeſt Daughter *Edgith* he gave in Marriage to *Charles* King of *France*, Grandchild of *Charles* the *Bald* above-mention'd; of the reſt in place convenient. His Laws are yet to be ſeen. He was buried at *Wincheſter*, in the Monaſtery by *Alfred* his Father. And a few days after him dy'd *Ethelwerd* his eldeſt Son, the Heir of his Crown. He had the whole Iland in ſubjection, yet ſo as petty Sim. Dun. Kings reign'd under him. In *Northumberland*, after *Ecbert* whom the Danes had ſet up, and the *Northumbrians* yet unruly under thir Yoke, at the end of ſix years had expell'd, one *Ricſig* was ſet up King, and bore the name three years; then another *Ecbert*, and *Guthred*; the latter, if we beleeve Legends, of a Servant made King by command of St. *Cudbert*, in a Viſion; and enjoyn'd by another Viſion of the ſame Saint, to pay well for his Royalty many Lands and Privileges to his Church and Monaſtery. But now to the Storie.

## *ATHELSTAN.*

A*Thelſtan*, next in Age to *Ethelward* his Brother, who deceas'd untimely
few days before, though born of a Concubin, yet for the great ap-
pearance of many Vertues in him, and his Brethren being yet under Age, was
exalted to the Throne at *Kingſton* upon *Thames*, and by his Father's laſt Will, 926.
ſaith *Malmsbury*, yet not without ſom oppoſition of one *Alfred* and his Ac-
complices; who not liking he ſhould reign, had conſpir'd to ſeiſe on him af-
ter his Father's Death, and to put out his Eyes. But the Conſpirators diſco-
ver'd, and *Alfred* denying the Plot, was ſent to *Rome*, to aſſert his Innocence Malmſ.
before the Pope; where taking his Oath on the Altar, he fell down immedi-
atly, and carry'd out by his Servants, three days after dy'd. Mean while
beyond *Humber* the *Danes*, though much aw'd, were not idle. *Inguald*, one
of thir Kings, took poſſeſſion of *York*; *Sitric*, who ſom years before had ſlain Sim. Dun.
*Niel* his Brother, by force took *Davenport* in *Cheſhire*; and however he de-
fended theſe doings, grew ſo conſiderable, that *Athelſtan* with great Solemni- Malmſ.
ty gave him his Siſter *Edgith* to Wife: but he enjoy'd her not long, dying ere Mat. Weſt.
the years end, nor his Sons *Anlaf* and *Guthfert* the Kingdom, driv'n out the 927.
next year by *Athelſtan*; not unjuſtly ſaith *Huntingdon*, as being firſt Raiſers of Sax. an.
the War. *Simeon* calls him *Gudfrid* a *Britiſh* King, whom *Athelſtan* this year
drove out of his Kingdom; and perhaps they were both one, the name and
time not much differing, the place only miſtak'n. *Malmsbury* differs in the
name alſo, calling him *Aldulf* a certain Rebel. Them alſo I wiſh as much
miſtak'n, who write that *Athelſtan*, jealous of his younger Brother *Edwin*'s
towardly Vertues, leaſt added to the right of Birth, they might ſom time or
other call in queſtion his illegitimate Precedence, caus'd him to be drown'd in 933.
the Sea; expos'd, ſom ſay, with one Servant in a rott'n Bark, without Sail Sim. Dun.
or Oar; where the Youth far off Land, and in rough Weather deſpairing,
threw himſelf over-board; the Servant more patient, got to Land and re-
ported the Succeſs. But this *Malmsbury* confeſſes to be ſung in old Songs, not
read in warrantable Authors: and *Huntingdon* ſpeaks as of a ſad Accident to
*Athelſtan*, that he loſt his Brother *Edwin* by Sea; far the more credible, in
that *Athelſtan*, as is writt'n by all, tenderly lov'd and bred up the reſt of his
Brethren, of whom he had no leſs cauſe to be jealous. And the year follow- 934.
ing he proſper'd better then from ſo foul a Fact, paſſing into *Scotland* with Sax. an.
great Puiſſance, both by Sea and Land, and chacing his Enemies before him, Sim. Dun.
by Land as far as *Dunfeoder* and *Wertermore*, by Sea as far as *Cathneſs*. The
cauſe of this Expedition, ſaith *Malmsbury*, was to demand *Gudfert* the Son of
*Sitric*, thether fled, though not deny'd at length by *Conſtantine*, who with
*Eugenius* King of *Cumberland*, at a place call'd *Dacor* or *Dacre* in that Shire,
ſurrender'd himſelf and each his Kingdom to *Athelſtan*, who brought back
with him for Hoſtage the Son of *Conſtantine*. But *Gudfert* eſcaping in the Florent.
mean while out of *Scotland*, and *Conſtantine* exaſperated by this Invaſion, per-
ſwaded *Anlaf* the other Son of *Sitric* then fled into *Ireland*, others write *Anlaf* Florent.
King of *Ireland* and the *Iles*, his Son in law, with 615 Ships, and the King of Sim. Dun.
*Cumberland* with other Forces, to his Aid. This within four years effected, 938.
they enter'd *England* by *Humber*, and fought with *Athelſtan* at a place call'd Sax. an.
*Wendune*, others term it *Brunanburg*, others *Bruneford*, which *Ingulf* places Malmſ.
beyond *Humber*, *Camden* in *Glendale* of *Northumberland* on the *Scotch* Borders;
the bloodieſt Fight, ſay Authors, that ever this Iland ſaw: to deſcribe which
the *Saxon* Annaliſt wont to be ſober and ſuccinct, whether the ſame or ano-
ther Writer, now labouring under the weight of his Argument, and over-
charg'd, runs on a ſudden into ſuch extravagant Fanſies and Metaphors, as
bare him quite beſide the Scope of being underſtood. *Huntingdon*, though
himſelf peccant enough in this kind, tranſcribes him word for word as a
Paſtime to his Readers. I ſhall only ſum up what of him I can attain, in uſual
Language. The Battel was fought eagerly from Morning till Night; ſom
fell of King *Edward*'s old Army, try'd in many a Battel before; but on the
other ſide great multitudes, the reſt fled to thir Ships. Five Kings, and ſe-
ven of *Anlaf*'s chief Captains, were ſlain on the place, with *Froda* a *Norman*
Leader; *Conſtantine* eſcap'd home, but loſt his Son in the Fight, if I under-

ſtand my Author; *Anlaf* by Sea to *Dublin*, with a ſmall Remainder of his great Hoaſt. *Malmsbury* relates this War, adding many Circumſtances after this manner: That *Anlaf* joining with *Conſtantine* and the whole Power of *Scotland*, beſides thoſe which he brought with him out of *Ireland*, came on far Southwards, till *Athelſtan* who had retir'd on ſet purpoſe to be the ſurer of his Enemies, encloſ'd from all Succour and Retreat, met him at *Bruneford*. *Anlaf* perceaving the Valour and Reſolution of *Athelſtan*, and miſtruſting his own Forces, though numerous, reſolv'd firſt to ſpy in what poſture his Enemies lay: and imitating perhaps what he heard attempted by King *Alfred* the Age before, in the habit of a Muſician, got acceſs by his Lute and Voice to the King's Tent, there playing both the Minſtrel and the Spy: then towards Evening diſmiſs'd, he was obſerv'd by one who had bin his Souldier, and well knew him, viewing earneſtly the King's Tent, and what Approaches lay about it, then in the Twilight to depart. The Souldier forthwith acquaints the King, and by him blam'd for letting go his Enemy, anſwer'd, that he had giv'n firſt his military Oath to *Anlaf*, whom if he had betray'd, the King might ſuſpect him of like treaſonous Mind towards himſelf; which to diſprove, he adviſ'd him to remove his Tent a good diſtance off; and ſo don, it happ'nd that a Biſhop with his Retinue coming that Night to the Army, pich'd his Tent in the ſame place from whence the King had remov'd. *Anlaf* coming by night as he had deſign'd, to aſſault the Camp, and eſpecially the King's Tent, finding there the Biſhop in ſtead, ſlew him with all his Followers. *Athelſtan* took the Alarm, and as it ſeems, was not found ſo unprovided, but that the day now appearing, he put his Men in order, and maintain'd the Fight till Evening; wherin *Conſtantine* himſelf was ſlain with five other Kings, and twelve Earls, the Annals were content with ſev'n, in the reſt not diſagreeing. *Ingulf* Abbot of *Croyland*, from the Autority of *Turketul* a principal Leader in this Battel, relates it more at large to this effect: That *Athelſtan* above a Mile diſtant from the place where Execution was don upon the Biſhop and his Supplies, alarm'd at the noiſe, came down by break of day upon *Anlaf* and his Army, overwatch'd and wearied now with the Slaughter they had made, and ſomthing out of order, yet in two main Battels. The King therfore in like manner dividing, led the one part conſiſting moſt of *West Saxons*, againſt *Anlaf* with his *Danes* and *Iriſh*, committing the other to his Chancellor *Turketul*, with the *Mercians* and *Londoners*, againſt *Conſtantine* and his *Scots*. The ſhowr of Arrows and Darts over-paſs'd, both Battels attack'd each other with a cloſe and terrible Ingagement, for a long ſpace neither ſide giving ground. Till the Chancellor *Turketul*, a Man of great Stature and Strength, taking with him a few *Londoners* of ſelect Valour, and *Singin* who led the *Worſterſhire* Men, a Captain of undaunted Courage, broke into the thickeſt, making his way firſt through the *Picts* and *Orkeners*, then through the *Cumbrians* and *Scots*, and came at length where *Conſtantine* himſelf fought, unhors'd him, and us'd all means to take him alive; but the *Scots* valiantly defending thir King, and laying load upon *Turketul*, which the Goodneſs of his Armour well endur'd, he had yet bin beat'n down, had not *Singin* his faithful Second at the ſame time ſlain *Conſtantine*; which once known, *Anlaf* and the whole Army betook them to flight, wherof a huge multitude fell by the Sword. This *Turketul* not long after leaving worldly Affairs, became Abbot of *Croyland*, which at his own coſt he had repair'd from *Daniſh* Ruins, and left there this Memorial of his former Actions. *Athelſtan* with his Brother *Edmund* victorious, thence turning into *Wales*, with much more eaſe vanquiſh'd *Ludwal* the King, and poſſeſt his Land. But *Malmsbury* writes, that commiſerating human chance, as he diſplac'd, ſo he reſtor'd both him and *Conſtantine* to thir Regal State; for the Surrender of King *Conſtantine* hath bin above ſpok'n of. However the *Welch* did him homage at the City of *Hereford*, and cov'nanted yearly payment of Gold 20 pound, of Silver 300, of Oxen 25 thouſand, beſides hunting Dogs and Hawks. He alſo took *Exeter* from the *Corniſh Britans*, who till that time had equal Right there with the Engliſh, and bounded them with the River *Tamar*, as the other *Britiſh* with *Wey*. Thus dreaded of his Enemies, and renown'd far and neer, three years after he dy'd at *Gloſter*, and was buried with many Trophies at *Malmsbury*, where he had caus'd to be laid his two Coſin Germans, *Elwin* and *Ethelſtan*, both

941.
Sax. an.
Malmſ.
Ingulf.

both ſlain in the Battel againſt *Anlaf*. He was 30 years old at his coming to the Crown, mature in Wiſdom from his Childhood, comly of Perſon and Behaviour; ſo that *Alfred* his Grandfather in bleſſing him was wont to pray he might live to have the Kingdom, and put him yet a Child into Souldiers Habit. He had his breeding in the Court of *Elfled* his Aunt, of whoſe vertues more then female we have related, ſufficient to evince that his Mother, though ſaid to be no wedded Wife, was yet ſuch of parentage and worth, as the Royal Line diſdain'd not, though the Song went in *Malmsburies* days (for it ſeems he refus'd not the autority of Ballats for want of better) that his Mother was a Farmers Daughter, but of excellent Feature; who dreamt one night ſhe brought forth a Moon that ſhould enlight'n the whole Land: which the Kings Nurſe hearing of, took her home and bred up Courtly; that the King coming one day to viſit his Nurſe, ſaw there this Damſel, lik'd her, and by earneſt Suit prevailing, had by her this famous *Athelſtan*, a bounteous, juſt and affable King, as *Malmsbury* ſets him forth; nor leſs honour'd abroad by Foren Kings, who ſought his Friendſhip by great gifts or Affinity; that *Harold* King of *Noricum* ſent him a Ship whoſe Prow was of Gold, Sails Purple, and other Golden things, the more to be wonder'd at, ſent from *Noricum*, whether meant *Norway* or *Bavaria*, the one place ſo far from ſuch ſuperfluity of Wealth, the other from all Sea: the Embaſſadors were *Helgrim* and *Offrid*, who found the King at *York*. His Siſters he gave in marriage to greateſt Princes, *Elgif* to *Otho* Son of *Henry* the Emperour, *Egdith* to a certain Duke about the *Alpes*, *Edgiv* to *Ludwic* King of *Aquitain*, ſprung of *Charles* the Great, *Ethilda* to *Hugo* King of *France*, who ſent *Aldulf* Son of *Baldwin* Earl of *Flanders* to obtain her. From all theſe great Suitors, eſpecially from the Emperor and King of *France*, came rich Preſents, Horſes of excellent breed, gorgeous Trappings and Armour, Reliques, Jewels, Odors, Veſſels of *Onyx*, and other precious things, which I leave poetically deſcrib'd in *Malmsbury*, tak'n, as he confeſſes, out of an old Verſifier, ſom of whoſe Verſes he recites. The only blemiſh left upon him, was the expoſing of his Brother *Edwin*, who diſavow'd by Oath the Treaſon wherof he was accus'd, and implor'd an equal hearing. But theſe were Songs, as before hath bin ſaid, which add alſo, that *Athelſtan*, his anger over, ſoon repented of the Fact, and put to Death his Cup-bearer, who had induc't him to ſuſpect and expoſe his Brother, put in mind by a word falling from the Cup-bearers own mouth, who ſlipping one day as he bore the Kings Cup, and recovring himſelf on the other Leg, ſaid aloud fatally, as to him it prov'd, one Brother helps the other. Which words the King laying to heart, and pondering how ill he had done to make away his Brother, aveng'd himſelf firſt on the adviſer of that Fact, took on him ſeven years Penance, and as *Mat. Weſt.* ſaith, built two Monaſteries for the Soul of his Brother. His Laws are extant among the Laws of other *Saxon* Kings to this day.

## *EDMVND.*

EDmund not above 18 years old ſucceeded his Brother *Athelſtan*, in Courage not inferiour. For in the ſecond of his Reign he freed *Mercia* of the *Danes* that remain'd there, and took from them the Cities of *Lincoln*, *Nottingham*, *Stamford*, *Darby*, and *Leiſter*, where they were plac'd by King *Edward*, but it ſeems gave not good proof of thir Fidelity. *Simeon* writes that *Anlaf* ſetting forth from *York*, and having waſted Southward as far as *Northampton*, was met by *Edmund* at *Leiſter*; but that ere the Battails join'd, Peace was made between them by *Odo* and *Wulſtan* the two Archbiſhops, with Converſion of *Anlaf*; for the ſame year *Edmund* receav'd at the Font-ſtone this or another *Anlaf*, as ſaith *Huntingdon*, not him ſpoken of before, who dy'd this year (ſo uncertain they are in the ſtory of theſe times alſo) and held *Reginald* another King of the *Northumbers*, while the Biſhop confirm'd him: thir Limits were divided North and South by *Watlingſtreet*. But ſpiritual Kindred little avail'd to keep Peace between them, whoever gave the cauſe; for we read him two years after driving *Anlaf* (whom the Annals now firſt call the Son of *Sitric*) and *Suthfrid* Son of *Reginald* out of *Northumberland*, taking the whole Country into ſubjection. *Edmund* the next year haras'd *Cumberland*, then

942. Sax. an.

944. Sax. an.

945. Sax. an. gave it to *Malcolm* King of *Scots*, therby bound to aſſiſt him in his Wars, both by Sea and Land; *Mat. Weſt.* adds that in this action *Edmund* had the aid of *Leolin* Prince of *North-Wales*, againſt *Dummail* the *Cumbrian* King, him 946. Sax. an. Camden. depriving of his Kingdom, and his two Sons of thir Sight. But the year after he himſelf by ſtrange accident came to an untimely Death, Feaſting with his Nobles on St. *Auſtin's* Day at *Puclekerke* in *Gloſterſhire*, to celebrat the memory of his firſt converting the *Saxons*. He ſpi'd *Leof* a noted Theef, whom he had baniſh'd, ſitting among his Gueſts; whereat tranſported with too much vehemence of ſpirit, though in a juſt cauſe, riſing from the Table he ran upon the Theef, and catching his Hair, pull'd him to the Ground. The Theef who doubted from ſuch handling no leſs then his Death intended, thought to die not unreveng'd; and with a ſhort Dagger ſtrook the King, who ſtill laid at him, and little expected ſuch Aſſaſſination, mortally into the Breſt. The matter was don in a moment, ere men ſet at Table could turn them, or imagin at firſt what the ſtir meant, till perceaving the King deadly wounded, they flew upon the Murderer and hew'd him to peeces; who like a wild Beaſt at abay, ſeeing himſelf ſurrounded, deſperatly laid about him, wounding ſom in his fall. The King was buried at *Glaſton*, wherof *Dunſtan* was then Abbot; his Laws yet remain to be ſeen among the Laws of other *Saxon* Kings.

## *EDRED.*

EDred the third Brother of *Athelſtan*, the Sons of *Edmund* being yet but Children, next reign'd, not degenerating from his worthy Predeceſſors, and crown'd at *Kingſton*. *Northumberland* he throughly ſubdu'd, the *Scots* without refuſal ſwore him Allegiance; yet the *Northumbrians*, ever of doubtful Faith, ſoon after choſe to themſelves one *Eric* a *Dane*. *Huntingdon* ſtill haunts us with this *Anlaf* (of whom we gladly would have bin rid) and will 950. Sim. Dun. have him before *Eric* recal'd once more and reign four years, then again put to his ſhifts. But *Edred* entring into *Northumberland*, and with ſpoils returning, *Eric* the King fell upon his Rear. *Edred* turning about, both ſhook off the Enemy, and prepar'd to make a ſecond inroad: which the *Northumbrians* Hoved. dreading rejected *Eric*, ſlew *Amancus* the Son of *Anlaf*, and with many Preſents appeaſing *Edred*, ſubmitted again to his Government; nor from that time had Kings, but were govern'd by Earls, of whom *Oſulf* was the firſt. 953. Sim. Dun. About this time *Wulſtan* Archbiſhop of *York*, accus'd to have ſlain certain men of *Thetford* in revenge of thir Abbot whom the Townſmen had ſlain, was committed by the King to cloſe Cuſtody; but ſoon after enlarg'd, was reſtor'd to his place. *Malmsbury* writes, that his Crime was to have conniv'd at the re-955. Sim. Dun. volt of his Countrymen: but King *Edred* two years after ſickning in the flowr of his Youth, dy'd much lamented, and was buried at *Wincheſter*.

## *EDWI.*

Ethelwerd. EDwi the Son of *Edmund* now com to Age, after his Uncle *Edred's* Death took on him the Government, and was crown'd at *Kingſton*. His lovely Perſon ſirnam'd him the Fair, his actions are diverſly reported, by *Huntingdon* not thought illaudable. But *Malmsbury* and ſuch as follow him write far Matt. Weſt. otherwiſe, that he married, or kept as Concubine, his neer Kinſwoman, ſom ſay both her and her Daughter; ſo inordinatly giv'n to his pleaſure, that on the very day of his Coronation, he abruptly withdrew himſelf from the Company of his Peers, whether in Banquet or Conſultation, to ſit wantoning in the Chamber with this *Algiva*, ſo was her name, who had ſuch Power over him. Wherat his Barons offended, ſent Biſhop *Dunſtan*, the boldeſt among them, to requeſt his return: he going to the Chamber, not only interrupted his dalliance, and rebuk'd the Lady, but taking him by the hand, between force 956. and perſuaſion brought him back to his Nobles. The King highly diſpleas'd, and inſtigated perhaps by her who was ſo prevalent with him, not long after ſent *Dunſtan* into Baniſhment, caus'd his Monaſtery to be rifl'd, and became an Enemy to all Monks and Fryers. Wherupon *Odo* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* pronounc'd a ſeparation or Divorce of the King from *Algiva*. But that which moſt incited *William* of *Malmsbury* againſt him, he gave that Monaſtery to be

dwelt in by ſecular Prieſts, or, to uſe his own phraſe, made it a ſtable of
Clerks; at length theſe Affronts don to the Church were ſo reſented by the
People, that the *Mercians* and *Northumbrians* revolted from him, and ſet up
*Edgar* his Brother, leaving to *Edwi* the *Weſt-Saxons* only, bounded by the Hoved.
River *Thames*; with Grief wherof, as is thought, he ſoon after ended his daies, 957.
and was buried at *Wincheſter*. Mean while *Elfſin* Biſhop of that place after the Saxon. an.
Death of *Odo*, aſcending by Simony to the Chair of *Canterbury*, and going to 958.
*Rome* the ſame year for his Pall, was froz'n to Death in the *Alps*. Mat. Weſt.

## EDGAR.

EDgar by his Brothers Death, now King of all *England* at 16 years of Age, 959.
call'd home *Dunſtan* out of *Flanders*, where he liv'd in Exile. This King Malmſ.
had no War all his Reign; yet always well prepar'd for War, govern'd the
Kingdom in great Peace, Honour, and Proſperity, gaining thence the Sirname
of Peaceable, much extoll'd for Juſtice, Clemency, and all Kingly Vertues,
the more ye may be ſure, by Monks, for his building ſo many Monaſteries; Mat. Weſt.
as ſom write, every year one: for he much favour'd the Monks againſt ſecular
Prieſts, who in the time of *Edwi* had got poſſeſſion in moſt of thir Covents.
His care and wiſdom was great in guarding the Coaſt round with ſtout Ships
to the number of 3600, *Mat. Weſt.* reck'ns them 4800, divided into four
Squadrons, to ſail to and fro about the four quarters of the Land, meeting
each other; the firſt of 1200 ſail from Eaſt to Weſt, the ſecond of as many
from Weſt to Eaſt, the third and fourth between North and South; himſelf
in the Summer time with his Fleet. Thus he kept out wiſely the force of
Strangers, and prevented Foren War; but by thir too frequent reſort hither
in time of Peace, and his too much favouring them, he let in thir Vices unaware.
Thence the People, ſaith *Malmsbury*, learnt of the outlandiſh *Saxons*
rudeneſs, of the *Flemiſh* daintineſs and ſoftneſs; of the *Danes* Drunk'neſs;
though I doubt theſe Vices are as naturally homebred heer as in any of thoſe
Countries. Yet in the Winter and Spring time he uſually rode the Circuit as
a Judg Itinerant through all his Provinces, to ſee Juſtice well adminiſter'd, and
the Poor not oppreſs'd. Theeves and Robbers he rooted almoſt out of the
Land, and wild Beaſts of prey altogether; enjoining *Ludwal* King of *Wales*
to pay the yearly Tribute of 300 Wolves, which he did for two years together,
till the third year no more were to be found, nor ever after; but his
Laws may be read yet extant. Whatever was the cauſe, he was not crown'd
till the 30*th* of his Age, but then with great ſplendor and magnificence at the
City of *Bath*, in the Feaſt of *Pentecoſt*. This year dy'd *Swarling* a Monk of 973.
*Croyland*, in the 142*d* year of his Age, and another ſoon after him in the 115*th* Sax. an.
in that fenny and watriſh Air, the more remarkable. King *Edgar* the next Ingulf.
year went to *Cheſter*, and ſummoning to his Court there all the Kings that held 974.
of him, took Homage of them: thir names are *Kened* King of *Scots*, *Malcolm* Sax. an.
of *Cumberland*, *Maccuſe* of the Iles, five of *Wales*, *Dufwal*, *Huwal*, *Grifith*,
*Jacob*, *Judethil*; theſe he had in ſuch aw, that going one day into a Gally, he
caus'd them to take each man his Oar, and row him down the River *Dee*,
while he himſelf ſat at the Stern; which might be don in merriment, and eaſily
obei'd; if with a ſerious brow, diſcover'd rather vain glory, and inſulting
haughtineſs, then moderation of Mind. And that he did it ſeriouſly triumphing,
appears by his words then utter'd, that his Succeſſors might then glory
to be Kings of *England*, when they had ſuch honour don them. And perhaps
the Divine Power was diſpleas'd with him for taking too much honour to himſelf;
ſince we read that the year following he was tak'n out of this Life by 975.
Sickneſs in the highth of his glory and the prime of his Age, buried at *Glaſton*
Abby. The ſame year, as *Matt. Weſt.* relates, he gave to *Kened* the *Scotiſh*
King, many rich Preſents, and the whole Country of *Laudian*, or *Lothien*,
to hold of him on condition that he and his Succeſſors ſhould repair to the
Engliſh Court at high Feſtivals when the King ſat crown'd; gave him alſo many
lodging Places by the way, which till the days of *Henry* the ſecond, were ſtill
held by the Kings of *Scotland*. He was of Stature not tall, of Body ſlender,
yet ſo well made, that in ſtrength he choſe to contend with ſuch as were
thought ſtrongeſt, and diſlik'd nothing more then that they ſhould ſpare him

for reſpect or fear to hurt him. *Kened* King of *Scots* then in the Court of *Edgar*, ſitting one day at Table, was heard to ſay jeſtingly among his Servants, he wonder'd how ſo many Provinces could be held in ſubjection by ſuch a little dapper man: his words were brought to the Kings Ear; he ſends for *Kened* as about ſom private buſineſs, and in talk drawing him forth to a ſecret place, takes from under his Garment two Swords which he had brought with him, gave one of them to *Kened*; and now ſaith he, it ſhall be try'd which ought to be the ſubject; for it is ſhameful for a King to boaſt at Table, and ſhrink in Fight. *Kened* much abaſh'd fell preſently at his Feet, and beſought him to pardon what he had ſimply ſpok'n, no way intended to his diſhonour or diſparagement; wherwith the King was ſatisfi'd. *Camden* in his deſcription of *Ireland*, cites a Charter of King *Edgar*, wherin it appears he had in ſubjection all the Kingdoms of the Iles as far as *Norway*, and had ſubdu'd the greateſt part of *Ireland* with the City of *Dublin*: but of this other Writers make no mention. In his youth having heard of *Elfrida*, Daughter to *Ordgar* Duke of *Devonſhire*, much commended for her Beauty, he ſent Earl *Athelwold*, whoſe Loyalty he truſted moſt, to ſee her; intending, if ſhe were found ſuch as anſwer'd report, to demand her in marriage. He at the firſt view tak'n with her preſence, diſloyally, as it oft happens in ſuch Emploiments, began to ſue for himſelf; and with conſent of her Parents obtain'd her. Returning therfore with ſcarſe an ordinary commendation of her Feature, he eaſily took off the Kings mind, ſoon diverted another way. But the matter coming to light how *Athelwold* had foreſtal'd the King, and *Elfrida*'s Beauty more and more ſpok'n of, the King now heated not only with a relapſe of Love, but with a deep ſenſe of the abuſe, yet diſſembling his diſturbance, pleaſantly told the Earl, what day he meant to com and viſit him and his fair Wife. The Earl ſeemingly aſſur'd his welcom, but in the mean while acquainting his Wife, earneſtly adviſ'd her to deform her ſelf what ſhe might, either in dreſs or otherwiſe, leſt the King whoſe amorous inclination was not unknown, ſhould chance to be attracted. She who by this time was not ignorant, how *Athelwold* had ſtep'd between her and the King, againſt his coming arraies her ſelf richly, uſing whatever art ſhe could deviſe might render her the more amiable; and it took effect. For the King inflam'd with her Love the more for that he had bin ſo long defrauded and rob'd of her, reſolv'd not only to recover his intercepted right, but to puniſh the interloper of his deſtind Spouſe; and appointing with him as was uſual, a day of Hunting, drawn aſide in a Foreſt, now call'd *Harewood*, ſmote him through with a Dart. Som cenſure this act as cruel and tyrannical, but conſider'd well, it may be judg'd more favourably, and that no man of ſenſible Spirit but in his place, without extraordinary perfection, would have don the like: for next to Life what worſe Treaſon could have bin committed againſt him? It chanc'd that the Earls baſe Son coming by upon the Fact, the King ſternly ask'd him how he lik'd this Game; he ſubmiſly anſwering, that whatſoever pleas'd the King, muſt not diſpleaſe him; the King return'd to his wonted temper, took an affection to the Youth, and ever after highly favour'd him, making amends in the Son for what he had don to the Father. *Elfrida* forthwith he took to Wife, who to expiate her former Husbands Death, tho therin ſhe had no hand, cover'd the place of his Bloodſhed with a Monaſtery of Nuns to ſing over him. Another fault is laid to his charge, no way excuſable, that he took a Virgin *Wilfrida* by force out of the Nunnery, where ſhe was plac'd by her Friends to avoid his perſuit, and kept her as his Concubin; but liv'd not obſtinatly in the Offence; for ſharply reprov'd by *Dunſtan*, he ſubmitted to ſeven years Penance, and for that time to want his Coronation: but why he had it not before is left unwritt'n. Another Storie there goes of *Edgar*, fitter for a Novel then a Hiſtorie; but as I find it in *Malmsbury*, ſo I relate it. While he was yet unmarried, in his youth he abſtain'd not from Women, and coming on a day to *Andover*, caus'd a Dukes Daughter there dwelling, reported rare of Beauty, to be brought to him. The Mother not daring flatly to deny, yet abhorring that her Daughter ſhould be ſo deflour'd, at fit time of Night ſent in her Attire, one of her waiting Maids: a Maid it ſeems not unhanſom nor unwitty; who ſuppli'd the place of her young Lady. Night paſs't, the Maid going to riſe, but Daylight ſcarce yet appearing, was by the King askt why ſhe made ſuch haſt; ſhe anſwer'd, to do the work which her Lady had ſet her; at which the King wondring, and with much ado ſtaying her to unfold the Riddle, for he took her to be the Dukes Daughter, ſhe falling at his Feet beſought him, that ſince at the command of her Lady ſhe came to his Bed, and was enjoy'd by him, he would be pleas'd in recompence to ſet her free from the hard ſervice of her Miſtreſs. The King a while ſtanding in a ſtudy whether he had beſt be angry or not, at length turning all to a Jeſt, took the Maid away with him, advanc'd her above her Lady, lov'd her, and accompanied with her only, till he married *Elfrida*. Theſe only are his faults upon record, rather to be wonder'd how they were ſo few, and ſo ſoon left, he coming at 16 to the Licence of a Scepter; and that his Vertues were ſo many and ſo mature, he dying before the Age wherin wiſdom can in others attain to any ripeneſs: however with him dy'd all the *Saxon* glory. From henceforth nothing is to be heard of but thir decline and ruin under a double Conqueſt, and the Cauſes foregoing; which not to blur or taint the praiſes of thir former actions and liberty well defended, ſhall ſtand ſeverally related, and will be more then long enough for another Book.

## *The End of the Fifth Book.*

THE

# THE HISTORY OF BRITAIN.

## The Sixth Book.

### *EDWARD* the Younger.

E*Dward* the eldeſt Son of *Edgar* by *Egelfleda* his firſt Wife, the Daughter of Duke *Ordmer*, was according to right and his Father's Will, plac'd in the Throne; *Elfrida* his ſecond Wife, and her Faction only repining, who labour'd to have had her Son *Ethelred* a Child of ſeven years, prefer'd before him; that ſhe under that pretence might have rul'd all. Mean while Comets were ſeen in Heav'n, portending not Famin only, which follow'd the next year, but the troubl'd State of the whole Realm not long after to enſue. The Troubles begun in *Edwi*'s days, between Monks and Secular Prieſts, now reviv'd and drew on either ſide many of the Florent. Sim. Dun. Nobles into Parties. For *Elfere* Duke of the *Mercians*, with many other Peers, corrupted as is ſaid with Gifts, drove the Monks out of thoſe Monaſteries where *Edgar* had plac'd them, and in thir ſtead put Secular Prieſts with thir Wives. But *Ethelwin* Duke of *Eaſt-Angles*, with his Brother *Elfwold*, and Earl *Britnoth* oppos'd them, and gathering an Army defended the Abbies of *Eaſt-Angles* from ſuch Intruders. To appeaſe theſe Tumults, a Synod was call'd at *Wincheſter*, and nothing there concluded, a general Councel both of Nobles and Prelats was held at *Caln* in *Wiltſhire*, where while the diſpute was hot, but chiefly againſt *Dunſtan*, the room wherin they ſat fell upon thir heads, killing ſom, maiming others, *Dunſtan* only eſcaping upon a Beam that fell not, and the King abſent by reaſon of his tender Age. This Accident quieted the Controverſie, and brought both parts to hold with *Dunſtan* and the Monks. Mean while the King addicted to a Religious Life, and of a mild Spirit, ſimply permitted all things to the ambitious Will of his Stepmother and her Son *Ethelred:* to whom ſhe, diſpleas'd that the name only of King was wanting, practis'd thenceforth to remove King *Edward* out of the way; which in this manner ſhe brought about. *Edward* on a day wearied with hunting, thirſty and alone, while his Attendance follow'd the Dogs, hearing that *Ethelred* and his Mother lodg'd at *Corveſgate* (*Corfe* Caſtle, ſaith *Camden*, in the Ile of *Purbeck*) innocently went thether. She with all ſhew of kindneſs welcoming him, commanded Drink to be brought forth, for it ſeems he lighted not from his Horſe; and while he was drinking, caus'd one of her Servants, privately before inſtructed, to ſtab him with a Poinard. The poor Youth who little expected ſuch Unkindneſs there, turning ſpeedily the Reins, fled bleeding; till through loſs of Blood falling from his Horſe, and expiring, yet held with one foot in the Stirrop, he was dragg'd along the way, trac'd by his Blood, and buried without honour at *Werham*, having reign'd about three Years: but the place of his Burial not long after grew 978. famous for Miracles. After which by Duke *Elfer* (who, as *Malmsbury* ſaith, M. Inſ. had a hand in his Death) he was royally interr'd at *Skepton* or *Shaftsbury*.

The Murdreſs *Elfrida* at length repenting, ſpent the reſidue of her days in
Sorrow and great Penance.

## *ETHELRED.*

E*Thelred* ſecond Son of *Edgar* by *Elfrida* (for *Edmund* dy'd a Child) his 979.
Brother *Edward* wickedly remov'd, was now next in right to ſucceed, and Malmſ.
accordingly crown'd at *Kingſton:* reported by ſom, fair of Viſage, comly of
Perſon, elegant of Behaviour; but the Event will ſhew that with many ſluggiſh Florent.
and ignoble Vices he quickly ſham'd his out-ſide; born and prolong'd a Sim. Dun.
fatal miſchief of the People, and the ruin of his Country; wherof he gave
early ſigns from his firſt Infancy, bewraying the Font and Water while the
Biſhop was baptizing him. Wherat *Dunſtan* much troubl'd, for he ſtood by
and ſaw it, to them next him broke into theſe words, By God and God's
Mother this Boy will prove a Sluggard. Another thing is writt'n of him in
his Childhood; which argu'd no bad nature, that hearing of his Brother
*Edward*'s cruel Death, he made loud lamentation; but his furious Mother
offended therwith, and having no Rod at hand, beat him ſo with great Wax
Candles, that he hated the ſight of them ever after. *Dunſtan* though unwilling
ſet the Crown upon his head; but at the ſame time foretold op'nly,
as is reported, the great Evils that were to com upon him and the Land, in
Avengment of his Brother's innocent Blood. And about the ſame time, one Sim. Dun.
midnight, a Cloud ſomtimes bloody, ſomtimes firy, was ſeen over all *England*;
and within three Years the *Daniſh* Tempeſt, which had long ſurceaſt, 982.
revolv'd again upon this Iland. To the more ample relating wherof, the Malmſ.
*Daniſh* Hiſtory, at leaſt thir lateſt and diligenteſt Hiſtorian, as neither from
the firſt landing of *Danes*, in the Reign of *Weſt-Saxon Brithric*, ſo now again
from firſt to laſt, contributes nothing; buſied more then anough to make out
the bare Names and Succeſſions of thir uncertain Kings, and thir ſmall Actions
at home: unleſs out of him I ſhould tranſcribe what he takes, and I better may,
from our own Annals; the ſurer, and the ſadder witneſſes of thir doings here,
not glorious, as they vainly boaſt, but moſt inhumanly barbarous. For
the *Danes* well underſtanding, that *England* had now a ſlothful King to thir Eadmer.
wiſh, firſt landing at *Southampton* from ſeven great Ships, took the Town, Florent.
ſpoil'd the Country, and carried away with them great Pillage; nor was
*Devonſhire* and *Cornwall* uninfeſted on the ſhore; Pirats of *Norway* alſo harried Hoved.
the Coaſt of *Weſt-cheſter:* and to add a worſe Calamity, the City of *London* Sim. Dun.
was burnt, caſually or not, is not writt'n. It chanc'd four years after, that Hoved.
*Ethelred* beſeig'd *Rocheſter*, ſom way or other offended by the Biſhop therof. 986.
*Dunſtan* not approving the Cauſe, ſent to warn him that he provoke not Malmſ. Ingulf.
St. *Andrew* the Patron of that City, nor waſt his Lands; an old craft of the
Clergy to ſecure thir Church Lands, by entailing them on ſom Saint; the
King not hark'ning, *Dunſtan* on this condition that the Seige might be rais'd,
ſent him a hundred Pound, the Mony was accepted and the Seige diſſolv'd.
*Dunſtan* reprehending his Avarice, ſent him again this word, becauſe thou
haſt reſpected Mony more then Religion, the Evils which I foretold ſhall the
ſooner com upon thee; but not in my days, for ſo God hath ſpok'n. The 987.
next year was calamitous, bringing ſtrange Fluxes upon Men, and Murren upon Malmſ.
Cattel. *Dunſtan* the year following dy'd, a ſtrenuous Biſhop, zealous without 988.
dread of Perſon, and for ought appears, the beſt of many Ages, if he Malmſ.
buſied not himſelf too much in Secular Affairs. He was Chaplain at firſt to
King *Athelſtan*, and *Edmund* who ſucceeded, much imploy'd in Court Affairs,
till envi'd by ſom who laid many things to his charge, he was by *Edmund*
forbidd'n the Court, but by the earneſt Mediation, ſaith *Ingulf*, of *Turketul* the
Chancellor, receav'd at length to favour, and made Abbot of *Glaſton*; laſtly
by *Edgar* and the general Vote, Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*. Not long
after his Death, the *Danes* arriving in *Devonſhire* were met by *Goda* Lieutenant
of that Country, and *Strenwold* a valiant Leader, who put back the
*Danes*, but with loſs of thir own Lives. The third year following, under 991.
the Conduct of *Juſtin* and *Guthmund* the Son of *Steytan*, they landed and Sim. Dun.
ſpoil'd *Ipſwich*, fought with *Britnoth* Duke of the *Eaſt-Angles* about *Maldon*,
where they ſlew him; the ſlaughter elſe had bin equal on both ſides. Theſe

and the like Depredations on every ſide the Engliſh not able to reſiſt, by
Counſel of *Siric* then Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, and two Dukes, *Ethelward*
and *Alfric*, it was thought beſt for the preſent to buy that with Silver which
they could not gain with thir Iron; and ten thouſand Pound was paid to the
*Danes* for Peace. Which for a while contented; but taught them the ready
993. way how eaſieſt to com by more. The next year but one they took by Storm
Sim. Dun. and rifl'd *Bebbanburg* an antient City nigh *Durham*: ſailing thence into the
mouth of *Humber*, they waſted both ſides therof, *Yorkſhire* and *Lindſey*, burning
and deſtroying all before them. Againſt theſe went out three Noblemen,
*Frana*, *Frithegiſt*, and *Godwin*; but being all *Danes* by the Father's ſide,
willingly began flight, and forſook thir own Forces betray'd to the Enemy.
Florent. No leſs Treachery was at Sea; for *Alfric* the Son of *Elfer* Duke of *Mercia*,
Huntingd. whom the King for ſom Offence had baniſh'd, but now recal'd, ſent from
*London* with a Fleet to ſurpriſe the *Danes*, in ſom place of diſadvantage, gave
them over night intelligence therof, then fled to them himſelf; which his
Fleet, ſaith *Florent*, perceaving, perſu'd, took the Ship, but miſs'd of his Perſon;
the *Londoners* by chance grapling with the *Eaſt-Angles* made them fewer,
994. ſaith my Author, by many thouſands. Others ſay, that by this notice of
Sim. Dun. *Alfric*, the *Danes* not only eſcap'd, but with a greater Fleet ſet upon the Engliſh,
took many of thir Ships, and in triumph brought them up the *Thames*,
intending to beſiege *London*: for *Anlaf* King of *Norway*, and *Swane* of *Denmark*,
at the head of theſe, came with 94 Gallies. The King for this Treaſon
of *Alfric*, put out his Sons Eyes; but the *Londoners* both by Land and
Water, ſo valiantly reſiſted thir Beſiegers, that they were forc'd in one day
with great loſs to give over. But what they could not on the City, they
wreck'd themſelves on the Countries round about, waſting with Sword and
Fire all *Eſſex*, *Kent*, and *Suſſex*. Thence horſing thir Foot, diffus'd far
wider thir outragious Incurſions, without mercy either to Sex or Age. The
Malmſ. ſlothful King, inſtead of Warlike Oppoſition in the field, ſends Embaſſadors
to treat about another Payment; the Sum promis'd was now ſixteen thouſand
Pound; till which paid, the *Danes* winter'd at *Southampton*; *Ethelred* inviting
Malmſ. *Anlaf* to com and viſit him at *Andover*: where he was royally entertain'd,
ſom ſay baptiz'd, or confirm'd, adopted Son by the King, and diſmiſs't
Huntingd. with great Preſents, promiſing by Oath to depart and moleſt the Kingdom no
more; which he perform'd, but the Calamity ended not ſo, for after ſom
intermiſſion of thir Rage for three years, the other Navy of *Danes* ſailing
997. about to the Weſt, enter'd *Severn*, and waſted one while *South Wales*, then
Sim. Dun. *Cornwall* and *Devonſhire*, till at length they winter'd about *Taviſtoc*. For it
were an endleſs work to relate how they wallow'd up and down to every particular
place, and to repeat as oft what Devaſtations they wrought, what
998. Deſolations left behind them, eaſie to be imagin'd. In ſum, the next year
Sim. Dun. they afflicted *Dorſetſhire*, *Hamſhire*, and the Ile of *Wight*; by the Engliſh
many Reſolutions were tak'n, many Armies rais'd, but either betray'd by
the falſhood, or diſcourag'd by the weakneſs of thir Leaders, they were
put to rout, or disbanded themſelves. For Souldiers moſt commonly are
as thir Commanders, without much odds of Valor in one Nation or other,
999. only as they are more or leſs wiſely diſciplin'd and conducted. The following
Sim. Dun. year brought them back upon *Kent*, where they enter'd *Medway*, and beſieg'd
*Rocheſter*; but the *Kentiſh* Men aſſembling, gave them a ſharp Encounter,
yet that ſuffic'd not to hinder them from doing as they had don in other
places. Againſt theſe Depopulations, the King levied an Army; but the
unskilful Leaders not knowing what to do with it when they had it, did but
drive out time, burd'ning and impoveriſhing the People, conſuming the public
Treaſure, and more emboldning the Enemy, then if they had ſat quiet
1000. at home. What cauſe mov'd the *Danes* next year to paſs into *Normandy*, is
Sim. Dun. not recorded; but that they return'd thence more outragious then before.
Mean while the King, to make ſom diverſion, undertakes an Expedition
both by Land and Sea into *Cumberland*, where the *Danes* were moſt planted;
there and in the Ile of *Man*, or, as *Camden* ſaith, *Angleſey*, imitating his Enemies
in ſpoiling and unpeopling. The *Danes* from *Normandy*, arriving in
1001. the River *Ex*, laid ſiege to *Exeter*; but the Citizens, as thoſe of *London*,
Sim. Dun. valorouſly defending themſelves, they wreck'd thir Anger, as before, on the

Villages round about. The Country People of *Somerſet* and *Devonſhire* aſſembling
themſelves at *Penho*, ſhew'd thir readineſs, but wanted a Head; and
beſides, being then but few in number, were eaſily put to flight; the Enemy
plundring all at will, with loaded Spoils paſs'd into the Ile of *Wight*; from
whence all *Dorſetſhire*, and *Hamſhire*, felt again thir Fury. The *Saxon* Annals
write, that before thir coming to *Exeter*, the *Hamſhire* Men had a bickering
with them, wherin *Ethelward* the King's General was ſlain, adding other things 1002.
hardly to be underſtood, and in one ancient Copy; ſo end. *Ethelred*, whom Sim. Dun.
no Adverſity could awake from his ſoft and ſluggiſh Life, ſtill coming by
the worſe at fighting, by the advice of his Peers not unlike himſelf, ſends one
of his gay Courtiers, though looking loftily, to ſtoop baſely and propoſe a
third Tribute to the *Danes:* they willingly hark'n, but the ſum is enhaunc't
now to 24 thouſand Pound, and paid; the *Danes* therupon abſtaining from
Hoſtility. But the King to ſtrengthen his Houſe by ſome potent Affinity,
marries *Emma*, whom the *Saxons* call *Elgiva*, Daughter of *Richard* Duke of
*Normandy*. With him *Ethelred* formerly had War or no good Correſpondence, Malmſ.
as appears by a Letter of Pope *John* the 15*th*, who made Peace between
them about eleven years before; puft up now with his ſuppos'd acceſs Calviſ.
of ſtrength by this Affinity, he caus'd the *Danes* all over *England*, though Florent.
now living peaceably, in one day perfidiouſly to be maſſacred, both Men, Huntingd.
Women, and Children; ſending privat Letters to every Town and City,
wherby they might be ready all at the ſame hour; which till the appointed
time (being the 9*th* of *July*) was conceal'd with great ſilence, and perform'd Calviſius.
with much Unanimity; ſo generally hated were the *Danes*. *Mat. Weſt.*
writes, that this Execution upon the *Danes* was ten years after; that *Huna*
one of *Ethelred*'s Chief Captains, complaining of the *Daniſh* Inſolencies in
time of Peace, thir Pride, thir raviſhing of Matrons and Virgins, incited
the King to this Maſſacer, which in the madneſs of Rage made no difference
of innocent or nocent. Among theſe, *Gunhildis* the Siſter of *Swane*
was not ſpar'd, though much deſerving not Pity only, but all Protection:
ſhe with her Husband Earl *Palingus*, coming to live in *England*, and receaving
Chriſtianity, had her Husband and young Son ſlain before her face, her ſelf
then beheaded, foretelling and denouncing that her Blood would coſt *England*
dear. Som ſay this was don by the Traitor *Edric*, to whoſe cuſtody ſhe Mat. Weſt.
was committed; but the Maſſacer was ſom years before *Edric*'s advancement;
and if it were don by him afterwards, it ſeems to contradict the
privat Correſpondence which he was thought to hold with the *Danes*. For
*Swane* breathing Revenge, haſted the next year into *England*, and by the 1003.
treaſon or negligence of Count *Hugh*, whom *Emma* had recommended to Sim. Dun.
the Government of *Devonſhire*, ſack'd the City of *Exeter*, her Wall from Eaſt
to Weſt-gate brok'n down: after this waſting *Wiltſhire*, the People of that
County, and of *Hamſhire*, came together in great numbers with reſolution
ſtoutly to oppoſe him; but *Alfric* thir General, whoſe Son's Eyes the King
had lately put out, madly thinking to revenge himſelf on the King, by ruining
his own Country, when he ſhould have order'd his Battel, the Enemy being
at hand, fain'd himſelf tak'n with a vomiting; wherby his Army in great
diſcontent, deſtitute of a Commander, turn'd from the Enemy: who ſtreight
took *Wilton* and *Salsbury*, carrying the Pillage therof to the Ships. Thence
the next year landing on the Coaſt of *Norfolk*, he waſted the Country, and ſet 1004.
*Norwich* on fire; *Ulfketel* Duke of the *Eaſt-Angles*, a Man of great Valour, Sim. Dun.
not having ſpace to gather his Forces, after Conſultation had, thought it beſt
to make Peace with the *Dane*, which he breaking within three weeks, iſſu'd
ſilently out of his Ships, came to *Thetford*, ſtaid there a night, and in the
morning left it flaming. *Ulfketel* hearing this, commanded ſom to go and
break, or burn his Ships; but they not daring or neglecting, he in the mean
while with what ſecreſie and ſpeed was poſſible, drawing together his Forces,
went out againſt the Enemy, and gave them a fierce Onſet retreating to thir
Ships; but much inferiour in number, many of the chief *Eaſt-Angles* there
loſt thir Lives. Nor did the *Danes* com off without great ſlaughter of thir
own; confeſſing that they never met in *England* with ſo rough a Charge. 1005.
The next year, whom War could not, a great Famin drove *Swane* out of Sim. Dun.
the Land. But the Summer following, another great Fleet of *Danes* enter'd 1006.

the Port of *Sandwich*, thence pour'd out over all *Kent* and *Suſſex*, made Prey of what they found. The King levying an Army out of *Mercia*, and the *Weſt-Saxons*, took on him for once the Manhood to go out and face them; but they who held it ſafer to live by Rapine, then to hazard a Battel, ſhifting lightly from place to place, fruſtrated the ſlow motions of a heavy Camp, following thir wonted courſe of Robbery, then running to thir Ships. Thus all *Autumn* they wearied out the King's Army, which gon home to winter, they carried all thir Pillage to the Ile of *Wight*, and there ſtaid till *Chriſtmaſs*; at which time the King being in *Shropſhire*, and but ill imploi'd (for by the procurement of *Edric*, he caus'd, Florent. as is thought, *Alfhelm* a noble Duke, treacherouſly to be ſlain, and the Eyes of his two Sons to be put out) they came forth again, over-running *Hamſhire*, and *Barkſhire*, as far as *Reading* and *Wallingford*: thence to *Aſhdune*, and other places therabout, neither known nor of tolerable pronuntiation; and returning by another way, found many of the People in Arms by the River *Kenet*; but making thir way through, they got ſafe with vaſt booty to thir Ships. 1007. The King and his Courtiers wearied out with thir laſt Summers jaunt Sim. Dun. after the nimble *Danes* to no purpoſe, which by proof they found too toilſom for thir ſoft Bones, more us'd to Beds and Couches, had recourſe to thir laſt and only remedy, thir Cofers; and ſend now the fourth time to buy a diſhonorable Peace, every time ſtill dearer, not to be had now under 36 thouſand Pound (for the *Danes* knew how to milk ſuch eaſy Kine) in name of Tribute and Expences: which out of the People over all *England*, already half beggerd, was extorted and paid. About the ſame time *Ethelred* advanc'd *Edric*, ſurnam'd *Streon*, from obſcure Condition to be Duke of *Mercia*, and marry *Edgitha* the Kings Daughter. The cauſe of his advancement, *Florent* of *Worſter*, and *Mat. Weſt.* attribute to his great Wealth, gott'n by fine Policies and a plauſible Tongue: he prov'd a main acceſſory to the ruin of *England*, as 1008. his actions will ſoon declare. *Ethelred* the next year ſomwhat rowſing him- Sim. Dun. ſelf, ordain'd that every 310 Hides (a Hide is ſo much Land as one Plow can ſufficiently till) ſhould ſet out a Ship or Gallie, and every nine Hides find a Corſlet and Head-peice: new Ships in every Port were built, vittl'd, fraught with ſtout Mariners and Souldiers, and appointed to meet all at *Sandwich*. A man might now think that all would go well; when ſuddenly a new miſchief ſprung up, diſſention among the great ones; which brought all this diligence to as little ſucceſs as at other times before. *Bithric* the Brother of *Edric*, falſly accus'd *Wulnoth* a great Officer ſet over the *South-Saxons*, who fearing the potencie of his Enemies, with 20 Ships got to Sea, and practis'd Piracy on the Coaſt. Againſt whom, reported to be in a place where he might be eaſily ſurpriz'd, *Bithric* ſets forth with 80 Ships; all which driv'n back by a Tempeſt and wrackt upon the ſhoar, were burnt ſoon after by *Wulnoth*. Diſheartn'd with this misfortune, the King returns to *London*, the reſt of his Navy after him; and all this great preparation to nothing. Wherup- 1009. on *Turkill*, a *Daniſh* Earl, came with a Navy to the Ile of *Tanet*, and in *Au-* Sim. Dun. *guſt* a far greater, led by *Heming* and *Ilaf* join'd with him. Thence coaſting to *Sandwich*, and landed, they went onward and began to aſſault *Canterbury*; but the Citizens and Eaſt Kentiſhmen, coming to compoſition with them for three thouſand Pound, they departed thence to the Ile of *Wight*, robbing and burning by the way. Againſt theſe the King levies an Army through all the Land, and in ſeveral Quarters places them nigh the Sea, but ſo unskilfully or unſucceſsfully, that the *Danes* were not therby hinder'd from exerciſing thir wonted Robberies. It happ'nd that the *Danes* one day were gon up into the Country far from thir Ships; the King having notice therof, thought to intercept them in thir return; his men were reſolute to overcom or die, time and place advantagious; but where Courage and Fortune was not wanting, there wanted Loyalty among them. *Edric* with ſuttle Arguments that had a ſhew of deep Policy, diſputed and perſwaded the ſimplicity of his fellow Counſellors, that it would be beſt conſulted at that time to let the *Danes* paſs without ambuſh or interception. The *Danes* where they expected danger, finding none, paſs'd on with great joy and booty to thir Ships. After this, ſailing about *Kent*, they lay that Winter in the *Thames*, forcing *Kent* and *Eſſex* to Contribution, oft-times attempting the City of *London*, but repuls't as oft to

thir great loſs. Spring begun, leaving thir Ships, they paſs'd through *Chiltern* 1010.
Wood into *Oxfordſhire*, burnt the City, and thence returning with divided Sim. Dun.
Forces waſted on both ſides the *Thames*; but hearing that an Army from Florent.
*London* was marcht out againſt them, they on the North-ſide paſſing the River
at *Stanes*, join'd with them on the South into one Body, and enrich't with
great Spoils, came back through *Surrey* to thir Ships; which all the Lent-time
they repair'd. After *Eaſter* ſailing to the *Eaſt-Angles* they arriv'd at *Ipſwich*,
and came to a place call'd *Ringmere*, where they heard that *Vlfketell* with his
Forces lay, who with a ſharp encounter ſoon entertain'd them; but his men
at length giving back, through the ſuttlety of a *Daniſh* Servant among them
who began the flight, loſt the Field; though the men of *Cambridgſhire* ſtood to
it valiantly. In this Battel *Ethelſtan* the Kings Son in Law, with many other
Noblemen, were ſlain; wherby the *Danes* without more reſiſtance, three
Months together had the ſpoiling of thoſe Countries and all the Fens, burnt
*Thetford* and *Grantbrig*, or *Cambridg*; thence to a Hilly place not far off, call'd
by *Huntingdon Baleſham*, by *Camden Gogmagog* Hills, and the Villages therabout
they turn'd thir Fury, ſlaying all they met ſave one Man, who getting
up into a Steeple, is ſaid to have defended himſelf againſt the whole *Daniſh*
Army. They therfore ſo leaving him, thir Foot by Sea, thir Horſe by Land
through *Eſſex*, return'd back laden to thir Ships left in the *Thames*. But
many daies paſs'd not between, when ſallying again out of thir Ships as out of
Savage Dens, they plunder'd over again all *Oxfordſhire*, and added to thir prey
*Buckingham*, *Bedford*, and *Hertfordſhire*; then like wild Beaſts glutted, returning Huntingd.
to thir Caves. A third excurſion they made into *Northamtonſhire*, burnt
*Northamton*, ranſacking the Country round; then as to freſh Paſture betook them
to the *Weſt-Saxons*, and in like ſort harraſing all *Wiltſhire*, return'd, as I ſaid before,
like wild Beaſts or rather Sea-Monſters to thir Water-ſtables, accompliſhing
by *Chriſtmaſs* the Circuit of thir whole years good Deeds; an unjuſt and inhuman
Nation, who receaving or not receaving Tribute where none was owing
them, made ſuch deſtruction of Mankind, and rapine of thir Livelyhood,
as is a miſery to read. Yet here they ceas'd not; for the next year repeating 1011.
the ſame Cruelties on both ſides the *Thames*, one way as far as *Huntingdon*, Sim. Dun.
the other as far as *Wiltſhire* and *Southampton*, ſollicited again by the King for
Peace, and receaving thir demands both of Tribute and Contribution, they
ſlighted thir Faith; and in the beginning of *September* laid Siege to *Canterbury*.
On the twentieth Day, by the Treachery of *Almere* the Archdeacon, they
took part of it and burnt it, committing all ſorts of Maſſacre as a ſport;
ſom they threw over the Wall, others into the Fire, hung ſom by the privy
Members, Infants pull'd from thir Mothers Breaſts, were either toſt on Spears,
or Carts drawn over them; Matrons and Virgins by the Hair drag'd and raviſh't.
*Alſage* the grave Archbiſhop above others hated of the *Danes*, as in Eadmer.
all Counſels and Actions to his might thir known oppoſer, taken, wounded, Malmſ.
impriſon'd in a noiſom Ship; the Multitude are tith'd, and every tenth only Eadmer.
ſpar'd. Early the next year before *Eaſter*, while *Ethelred* and his Peers were 1012.
aſſembl'd at *London*, to raiſe now the fifth Tribute amounting to 48 thouſand Sim. Dun.
Pound, the *Danes* at *Canterbury* propoſe to the Archbiſhop, who had bin now
ſev'n Months thir Priſoner, Life and Liberty, if he pay them three thouſand Eadmer.
Pound; which he refuſing as not able of himſelf, and not willing to extort it
from his Tenants, is permitted till the next *Sunday* to conſider; then hal'd
before thir Counſel, of whom *Turkill* was Chief, and ſtill refuſing, they riſe
moſt of them being drunk, and beat him with the blunt ſide of thir Axes,
then thruſt forth deliver him to be pelted with Stones; till one *Thrum* a converted
*Dane*, pitying him half dead, to put him out of Pain, with a pious
impiety, at one ſtroak of his Ax on the head diſpatch'd him. His Body was
carried to *London*, and there buried, thence afterward remov'd to *Canterbury*.
By this time the Tribute paid, and Peace ſo oft'n violated ſworn again by the
*Danes*, they diſpers'd thir Fleet; forty five of them, and *Turkill* thir Chief
ſtaid at *London* with the King, ſwore him Allegeance to defend his Land againſt
all Strangers, on condition only to be fed and cloth'd by him. But
this voluntary friendſhip of *Turkill* was thought to be deceitful, that ſtaying
under this pretence he gave intelligence to *Swane*, when moſt it would be ſeaſonable
to com. In *July* therfore of the next year, King *Swane* arriving at 1013.
*Sandwich*, Sim. Dun.

*Sandwich*, made no ſtay there, but ſailing firſt to *Humber*, thence into *Trent*, landed and encamp'd at *Gainsburrow:* whither without delay repair'd to him the *Northumbrians*, with *Utbred* thir Earl; thoſe of *Lindſey* alſo, then thoſe of *Fisburg*, and laſtly all on the North of *Watling-ſtreet* (which is a high way from Eaſt to Weſt Sea) gave Oath and Hoſtages to obey him. From whom he commanded Horſes and Proviſion for his Army, taking with him beſides Bands and Companies of thir choiceſt Men; and committing to his Son *Canute* the care of his Fleet and Hoſtages, he marches towards the *South Mercians*, commanding his Souldiers to exerciſe all Acts of Hoſtility; with the Terror wherof fully executed, he took in few days the City of *Oxford*, then *Wincheſter*; thence tending to *London*, in his haſty paſſage over the *Thames*, without ſeeking Bridg or Ford, loſt many of his Men. Nor was his Expedition againſt *London* proſperous; for aſſaying all means by force or wile to take the City, wherin the King then was, and *Turkill* with his *Danes*, he was ſtoutly beat'n off as at other times. Thence back to *Wallingford* and *Bath*, directing his Courſe, after uſual havoc made, he ſat a while and refreſh'd his Army. There *Ethelm* an Earl of *Devonſhire*, and other great Officers in the Weſt, yeilded him Subjection. Theſe things flowing to his Wiſh, he betook him to his Navy, from that time ſtil'd and accounted King of *England*, if a Tyrant, ſaith *Simeon*, may be call'd a King. The *Londoners* alſo ſent him Hoſtages, and made thir Peace, for they fear'd his Fury. *Ethelred* thus reduc'd to narrow Compaſs, ſent *Emma* his Queen, with his two Sons had by her, and all his Treaſure, to *Richard* the 2*d* her Brother, Duke of *Normandy*; himſelf with his Daniſh Fleet abode ſom while at *Greenwich*, then ſailing to the Ile of *Wight*, paſs'd after *Chriſtmas* into *Normandy*; where he was honourably receav'd at *Roan* by the Duke, though known to have born himſelf churliſhly and proudly towards
Malmſ. *Emma* his Siſter, beſides his diſſolute Company with other Women. Mean while *Swane* ceas'd not to exact almoſt inſupportable Tribute of the People, ſpoiling them when he liſted; beſides, the like did *Turkill* at *Greenwich*. The
1014. next Year beginning, *Swane* ſickens and dies; ſom ſay terrify'd and ſmitt'n
Sim. Dun. by an appearing Shape of St. *Edmund* arm'd, whoſe Church at *Bury* he had
Mat. Weſt. threat'nd to demoliſh; but the Authority herof relies only upon the Legend of St. *Edmund*. After his Death the Daniſh Army and Fleet made his Son *Canute* thir King; but the Nobility and States of *England* ſent Meſſengers to *Ethelred*, declaring that they prefer'd none before thir Native Sovran, if he would promiſe to govern them better then he had done, and with more Clemency. Wherat the King rejoicing, ſends over his Son *Edward* with Embaſſadors to court both high and low, and win thir Love, promiſing largly to be thir mild and devoted Lord, to conſent in all things to thir Will, follow thir Counſel, and whatever had been don or ſpok'n by any Man againſt him, freely to pardon, if they would loyally reſtore him to be thir King. To this the People cheerfully anſwer'd, and Amity was both promis'd and confirm'd on both ſides. An Embaſſy of Lords is ſent to bring back the King honourably; he returns in *Lent*, and is joyfully receav'd of the People, marches with a ſtrong Army againſt *Canute*; who having got Horſes and join'd with the Men of *Lindſey*, was preparing to make ſpoil in the Countries adjoining; but by *Ethelred* unexpectedly coming upon him, was ſoon driv'n to his Ships, and his Confederats of *Lindſey* left to the Anger of thir Country-men, executed without Mercy both by Fire and Sword. *Canute* in all haſt ſailing back to *Sandwich*, took the Hoſtages giv'n to his Father from all parts of *England*, and with ſlit Noſes, Ears cropt, and Hands chop'd off, ſetting them aſhore, departed into *Denmark*. Yet the People were not diſburd'nd, for the King rais'd out of them 30 thouſand Pound to pay his Fleet of Danes at *Greenwich*. To theſe Evils the Sea in *October* paſs'd his Bounds, overwhelming many
1015. Towns in *England*, and of thir Inhabitants many thouſands. The Year fol-
Sim. Dun. lowing an Aſſembly being at *Oxford*, *Edric* of *Streon* having invited two Noblemen, *Sigeferth* and *Morcar*, the Sons of *Earngrun* of *Seav'nburg*, to his Lodging, ſecretly murder'd them: the King, for what cauſe is unknown, ſeis'd thir Eſtates, and caus'd *Algith* the Wife of *Sigeferth* to be kept at *Maidulfſburg*, now *Malmſbury*; whom *Edmund* the Prince there married againſt his Father's Mind, then went and poſſeſs'd thir Lands, making the People there ſubject to him. *Mat. Weſt.* ſaith, that theſe two were of the Danes who had ſeated themſelves in

*Northumberland*, ſlain by *Edric* under colour of Treaſon laid to thir charge. They who attended them without, tumulting at the Death of thir Maſters, were beat'n back; and driv'n into a Church, defending themſelves were burnt there in the Steeple. Mean while *Canute* returning from *Denmark* with a great Navy, 200 Ships richly gilded and adorn'd, well fraught with Arms and all Proviſion; and, which *Encomium Emmæ* mentions not, two other Kings, *Lachman* of *Sweden*, *Olav* of *Norway*, arriv'd at *Sandwich*; and, as the ſame Author then living writes, ſent out Spies to diſcover what Reſiſtance on Land was to be expected; who return'd with certain Report, that a great Army of Engliſh was in readineſs to oppoſe them. *Turkill*, who upon the arrival of theſe Daniſh Powers kept Faith no longer with the Engliſh, but joining now with *Canute*, as it were to reingratiate himſelf after his Revolt, whether real or complotted, councel'd him (being yet young) not to land, but leave to him the Management of this firſt Battel; the King aſſented, and he with the Forces which he had brought, and part of thoſe which arriv'd with *Canute*, landing to thir Wiſh, encounter'd the Engliſh, though double in number, at a place call'd *Scoraſtan*, and was at firſt beaten back with much Loſs. But at length animating his Men with Rage only and Deſpair, obtain'd a clear Victory, which won him great Reward and Poſſeſſions from *Canute*. But of this Action no other Writer makes mention. From *Sandwich* therfore ſailing about to the River *Frome*, and there landing, over all *Dorſet*, *Somerſet* and *Wiltſhire*, he ſpread waſtful Hoſtility. The King lay then ſick at *Coſham* in this County; though it may ſeem ſtrange how he could lie ſick there in the midſt of his Enemies. Howbeit *Edmund* in one part, and *Edric* of *Streon* in another, rais'd Forces by themſelves; but ſo ſoon as both Armies were united, the Traytor *Edric* being found to practice againſt the Life of *Edmund*, he remov'd with his Army from him; wherof the Enemy took great Advantage. *Edric* eaſily enticing the 40 Ships of Danes to ſide with him, revolted to *Canute*; the *Weſt-Saxons* alſo gave Pledges, and furniſh'd him with Horſes. By which means the Year enſuing, he with *Edric* the Traitor paſſing the *Thames* at *Creclad*, about Twelftide, enter'd into *Mercia*, and eſpecially *Warwicſhire*, depopulating all Places in thir way. Againſt theſe Prince *Edmund*, for his Hardineſs call'd *Ironſide*, gather'd an Army; but the *Mercians* refus'd to fight unleſs *Ethelred* with the *Londoners* came to aid them; and ſo every man return'd home. After the Feſtival *Edmund* gathering another Army, beſought his Father to com with the *Londoners*, and what Force beſides he was able; they came with great Strength gott'n together, but being com, and in a hopeful way of good Succeſs, it was told the King, that unleſs he took the better heed, ſom of his own Forces would fall off and betray him. The King daunted with this perhaps cunning Whiſper of the Enemy, diſbanding his Army, returns to *London*. *Edmund* betook him into *Northumberland*, as ſom thought to raiſe freſh Forces; but he with Earl *Vthred* on the one ſide, and *Canute* with *Edric* on the other, did little elſe but waſt the Provinces; *Canute* to conquer them, *Edmund* to puniſh them who ſtood neuter: for which cauſe *Stafford*, *Shropſhire*, and *Leſterſhire*, felt heavily his hand; while *Canute*, who was ruining the more Southern Shires, at length march'd into *Northumberland*; which *Edmund* hearing, diſmiſs'd his Forces and came to *London*. *Vthred* the Earl haſted back to *Northumberland*, and finding no other Remedy, ſubmitted himſelf with all the *Northumbrians*, giving Hoſtages to *Canute*. Nevertheleſs by his Command or Connivence, and the hand of one *Turebrand* a Daniſh Lord, *Vthred* was ſlain, and *Iric* another Dane made Earl in his ſtead. This *Vthred* Son of *Walteof*, as *Simeon* writes, in his Treatiſe of the Siege of *Durham*, in his Youth obtain'd a great Victory againſt *Malcolm* Son of *Kened* King of *Scots*, who with the whole Power of his Kingdom was fall'n into *Northumberland*, and laid ſeige to *Durham*. *Walteof* the old Earl unable to reſiſt, had ſecur'd himſelf in *Bebbanburg*, a ſtrong Town; but *Vthred* gathering an Army rais'd the Siege, ſlew moſt of the *Scots*, thir King narrowly eſcaping, and with the Heads of thir ſlain fix'd upon Poles beſet round the Walls of *Durham*. The Year of this Exploit *Simeon* cleers not, for in 969, and in the Reign of *Ethelred*, as he affirms, it could not be. *Canute* by another way returning Southward, joyful of his Succeſs, before *Eaſter* came back with all the Army to his Fleet. About the end of *April* enſuing,

Malmſ.

Leges Edw. Conf. Tit. de duct. Norman.

Encom. Em.

Camden.

*1016.*

Sim. Dun.

*Ethelred* after a long, troubleſom and ill-govern'd Reign, ended his days at *London*, and was buried in the Church of St. *Paul*.

## *EDMVND IRONSIDE.*

Florent.
Aelred *in the Life of* Edw. *Conf.*
Florent.
Sim. Dun.
Malmſ.
Camd.

AFter the Deceaſe of *Ethelred*, they of the Nobility who were then at *London*, together with the Citizens, choſe *Edmund* his Son (not by *Emma*, but a former Wife the Daughter of Earl *Thored*) in his Father's room; but the Archbiſhops, Abbots, and many of the Nobles aſſembling together, elected *Canute*; and coming to *Southampton* where he then remain'd, renounc'd before him all the Race of *Ethelred*, and ſwore him Fidelity: he alſo ſwore to them, in Matters both religious and ſecular, to be thir faithful Lord. But *Edmund* with all ſpeed going to the *Weſt-Saxons*, was joyfully receav'd of them as thir King, and of many other Provinces by thir Example. Mean while *Canute* about mid *May* came with his whole Fleet up the River to *London*; then cauſing a great Dike to be made on *Surrey*-ſide, turn'd the Stream, and drew his Ships thether Weſt of the Bridg; then begirting the City with a broad and deep Trench, aſſail'd it on every ſide; but repulſt as before by the valorous Defendants, and in deſpair of Succeſs at that time, leaving part of his Army for the Defence of his Ships, with the reſt ſped him to the *Weſt-Saxons*, ere *Edmund* could have time to aſſemble all his Powers: who yet with ſuch as were at hand invoking Divine Aid, encounter'd the Danes at *Pen* by *Gillingham* in *Dorſetſhire*, and put him to flight. After Midſummer, encreaſt with new Forces, he met with him again at a Place call'd *Sheraſtan*, now *Sharſtan*; but *Edric*, *Almar*, and *Algar*, with the *Hamſhire* and *Wiltſhire* Men, then ſiding with the Danes, he only maintain'd the Fight, obſtinately fought on both ſides, till Night and Weærineſs parted them. Day-light returning renu'd the Conflict, wherin the Danes appearing inferiour, *Edric* to diſhart'n the Engliſh cuts off the Head of one *Oſmer*, in Countnance and Hair ſomwhat reſembling the King, and holding it up, cries aloud to the Engliſh, that *Edmund* being ſlain, and this his Head, it was time for them to fly; which Fallacy *Edmund* perceaving, and op'nly ſhewing himſelf to his Souldiers, by a Spear thrown at *Edric*, that miſſing him yet ſlew one next him, and through him another behind, they recover'd heart, and lay ſore upon the Danes till Night parted them as before: for ere the third Morn, *Canute* ſenſible of his Loſs, march'd away by ſtealth to his Ships at *London*, renuing there his Leagre. Som would have this Battel at *Sheraſtan* the ſame with that at *Scoraſtan* before mention'd, but the circumſtance of time permits not that, having bin before the landing of *Canute*, this a good while after, as by the proceſs of things appears. From *Sheraſtan* or *Sharſtan Edmund* return'd to the *Weſt-Saxons*, whoſe Valour *Edric* fearing, leſt it might prevail againſt the Danes, ſought Pardon of his Revolt, and obtaining it, ſwore Loyalty to the King, who now the third time coming with an Army from the *Weſt-Saxons* to *London*, rais'd the Siege, chaſing *Canute* and his Danes to thir Ships. Then after two days paſſing the *Thames* at *Branford*, and ſo coming on thir backs, kept them ſo turn'd, and obtain'd the Victory: then returns again to his *Weſt Saxons*, and *Canute* to his Seige, but ſtill in vain; riſing therfore thence, he enter'd with his Ships a River then call'd *Arenne*; and from the Banks therof waſted *Mercia*; thence thir Horſe by Land, thir Foot by Ship came to *Medway*. *Edmund* in the mean while with multiply'd Forces out of many Shires croſſing again at *Branford*, came into *Kent*, ſeeking *Canute*; encounter'd him at *Otford*, and ſo defeated, that of his Horſe, they who eſcap'd fled to the Ile of *Sheppey*; and a full Victory he had gain'd, had not *Edric* ſtill the Traytor by ſome Wile or other detain'd his perſuit: and *Edmund* who never wanted Courage, heer wanted Prudence to be ſo miſled, ever after forſak'n of his wonted Fortune. *Canute* croſſing with his Army into *Eſſex*, thence waſted *Mercia* worſe then before, and with heavy Prey return'd to his Ships: them *Edmund* with a collected Army perſuing, overtook at a place call'd *Aſſandune* or *Aſſeshill*, now *Aſhdown* in *Eſſex*; the Battel on either ſide was fought with great Vehemence; but perfidious *Edric* perceaving the Victory to incline towards *Edmund*, with that part of the Army which was under him, fled, as he had promis'd *Canute*, and left the King over-match'd with Numbers: By which Deſertion the Engliſh were overthrown, Duke *Alfric*, Duke *Godwin*, and *Ulſketel* the valiant Duke of *Eaſt-Angles*, with a great part of the Nobility ſlain, ſo as the Engliſh of a long time had not receav'd a greater blow. Yet after a while *Edmund*, not abſurdly call'd *Ironſide*, preparing to try again his Fortune in another field, was hinder'd by *Edric* and others of his Faction, adviſing him to make Peace and divide the Kingdom with *Canute*. To which *Edmund* over- Camd. rul'd, a Treaty appointed, and Pledges mutually giv'n, both Kings met together at a place call'd *Deorhirſt* in *Gloſterſhire*; *Edmund* on the Weſt-ſide of *Severn*, *Canute* on the Eaſt with thir Armies, then both in Perſon wafted into an Iland, at that time call'd *Olanege*, now *Alney* in the midſt of the River; Camd. ſwearing Amity and Brotherhood, they parted the Kingdom between them. Then interchanging Arms and the Habit they wore, aſſeſſing alſo what Pay ſhould be allotted to the Navy, they departed each his way. Concerning this interview and the cauſe therof, others write otherwiſe; *Malmsbury*, that *Edmund* grieving at the loſs of ſo much Blood ſpilt for the Ambition only of two Men ſtriving who ſhould reign, of his own accord ſent to *Canute*, offering him ſingle Combat, to prevent in thir own cauſe the effuſion of more Blood then thir own; that *Canute*, though of Courage anough, yet not unwiſely doubting to adventure his Body of ſmall Timber, againſt a Man of Iron ſides, refus'd the Combat, offering to divide the Kingdom. This Offer pleaſing both Armies, *Edmund* was not difficult to conſent; and the deciſion was, that he as his Hereditary Kingdom ſhould rule the *Weſt-Saxons*, and all the *South*, *Canute* the *Mercians*, and the *North*. *Huntingdon* follow'd by *Mat. Weſt.* relates, that the Peers on every ſide wearied out with continual Warfare, and not refraining to affirm op'nly, that they two who expected to reign ſingly, had moſt reaſon to fight ſingly, the Kings were content; the Iland was thir Liſts, the Combat Knightly; till *Knute* finding himſelf too weak, began to parle, which ended as is ſaid before. After which the *Londoners* bought thir Peace of the *Danes*, and permitted them to winter in the City. But King *Edmund* about the Feaſt of St. *Andrew*, unexpectedly deceas'd at *London*, and was buried neer to *Edgar* his Grandfather at *Glaſton*. The cauſe of his ſo ſudden death is uncertain; common Fame, ſaith *Malmsbury*, lays the Gilt therof upon *Edric*, who to pleaſe *Canute*, allur'd with promiſe of Reward two of the King's Privy Chamber, though at firſt abhorring the Fact, to aſſaſſinate him at the Stool, by thruſting a ſharp Iron into his hinder parts. *Huntingdon*, and *Mat. Weſt.* relate it don at *Oxford* by the Son of *Edric*, and ſomthing vary in the manner, not worth recital. *Edmund* dead, *Canute* meaning to reign ſole King of *England*, calls to him all the Dukes, Barons, and Biſhops of the Land, cunningly demanding of them who were Witneſſes what agreement was made between him and *Edmund* dividing the Kingdom, whether the Sons and Brothers of *Edmund* were to govern the *Weſt-Saxons* after him, *Canute* living? They who underſtood his meaning, and fear'd to undergo his Anger, timorouſly anſwer'd, that *Edmund* they knew had left no part therof to his Sons or Brethren, living or dying; but that he intended *Canute* ſhould be thir Guardian, till they came to age of reigning. *Simeon* affirms, that for fear or hope of Reward they atteſted what was not true: notwithſtanding which he put many of them to death not long after.

## *CANVTE*, or *KNVTE*.

1017. Sim. Dun. Sax. an.

*Canute* having thus ſounded the Nobility, and by them underſtood, receav'd thir Oath of Fealty, they the pledg of his bare hand, and Oath from the *Daniſh* Nobles; wherupon the Houſe of *Edmund* was renounc't, and *Canute* crown'd. Then they enacted, that *Edwi* Brother of *Edmund*, a Prince of great hope, ſhould be baniſh'd the Realm. But *Canute* not thinking himſelf ſecure while *Edwi* liv'd, conſulted with *Edric* how to make him away; who told him of one *Ethelward* a decay'd Nobleman, likelieſt to do the work. *Ethelward* ſent for, and tempted by the King in privat with largeſt Rewards, but abhorring in his mind the deed, promis'd to do it when he ſaw his opportunity; and ſo ſtill defer'd it. But *Edwi* afterwards receav'd into favour as a ſnare, was by him or ſom other of his falſe Friends, *Canute* contriving it, the

ſame year ſlain. *Edric* alſo counſell'd him to diſpatch *Edward* and *Edmund*,
the Sons of *Ironſide*; but the King doubting that the Fact would ſeem too foul
don in *England*, ſent them to the King of *Sweden*, with like intent; but
he diſdaining the Office, ſent them for better ſafety to *Solomon* King of *Hungary*;
where *Edmund* at length dy'd, but *Edward* married *Agatha* Daughter
to *Henry* the *German* Emperour. A Digreſſion in the Laws of *Edward* Conſeſſor
under the Title of *Lex Noricorum* ſaith, that this *Edward* for fear of
*Canute*, fled of his own accord to *Maleſclot* King of the *Rugians*, who receav'd
him honorably, and of that Country gave him a Wife. *Canute* ſettl'd in
his Throne, divided the Government of his Kingdom into four parts; the
*Weſt-Saxons* to himſelf, the *Eaſt-Angles* to Earl *Turkill*, the *Mercians* to *Edric*,
the *Northumbrians* to *Iric*; then made Peace with all Princes round about him,
and his former Wife being dead, in *July* married *Emma* the Widow of King
*Ethelred*. The *Chriſtmas* following was an ill Feaſt to *Edric*, of whoſe Treaſon,
the King having now made uſe as much as ſerv'd his turn, and fearing
himſelf to be the next betray'd, caus'd him to be ſlain at *London* in the
Palace, thrown over the City Wall, and there to lie unburied; the Head of
*Edric* fixt on a Pole, he commanded to be ſet on the higheſt Tower of *London*,
as in a double ſenſe he had promis'd him, for the murder of King *Edmund*
to exalt him above all the Peers of *England*. *Huntingdon*, *Malmsbury*,
and *Mat. Weſt.* write, that ſuſpecting the King's intention to degrade him
from his *Mercian* Dukedom, and upbraiding him with his Merits, the King
enrag'd, caus'd him to be ſtrangl'd in the room, and out at a Window thrown
into the *Thames*. Another writes, that *Eric* at the King's command ſtruck
Encom. Em. off his Head. Other great Men, though without fault, as Duke *Norman* the
Ingulf. Son of *Leofwin*, *Ethelward* Son of Duke *Agelmar*, he put to death at the ſame
time, jealous of thir Power or Familiarity with *Edric*:- and notwithſtanding
1018. Peace, kept ſtill his Army; to maintain which, the next year he ſquees'd out
Sim. Dun. of the Engliſh, though now his Subjects, not his Enemies, 72, ſom ſay, 82
Huntingd. thouſand Pound, beſides 15 thouſand out of *London*. Mean while great War
Mat. Weſt. aroſe at *Carr*, between *Uthred* Son of *Waldef*, Earl of *Northumberland*, and
*Malcolm* Son of *Kened* King of *Scots*, with whom held *Eugenius* King of *Lothian*.
But here *Simeon* the relater ſeems to have committed ſom miſtake,
hrving ſlain *Uthred* by *Canute* two years before, and ſet *Iric* in his place:
*Iric* therfore it muſt needs be, not *Uthred*, who manag'd this War againſt
the *Scots*. About which time in a Convention of *Danes* at *Oxford*, it was
agreed on both Parties to keep the Laws of *Edgar*; *Mat. Weſt.* ſaith of *Edward*
1019. the elder. The next year *Canute* ſail'd into *Denmark*, and there abode
Sim. Dun. all Winter. *Huntingdon* and *Mat. Weſt.* ſay, he went thether to repreſs
the *Swedes*, and that the night before a Battel was fought with them, *Godwin*
ſtealing out of the Camp with his Engliſh, aſſaulted the *Swedes*, and had
got the Victory ere *Canute* in the morning knew of any Fight. For which
bold Enterpriſe, though againſt Diſciplin, he had the Engliſh in more eſteem
1020. ever after. In the Spring at his return into *England*, he held in the time of
Sim. Dun. *Eaſter* a great Aſſembly at *Chicheſter*, and the ſame year was with *Turkill* the
*Dane* at the Dedication of a Church by them built at *Aſſendune*, in the place
of that great Victory which won him the Crown. But ſuſpecting his Greatneſs,
1021. the year following baniſh'd him the Realm, and found occaſion to do the
Sim. Dun. like by *Iric* the *Northumbrian* Earl upon the ſame jealouſie. Nor yet content
Malmſ. 1028. with his Conqueſt of *England*, though now above ten years enjoy'd, he paſs'd
Sim. Dun. with 50 Ships into *Norway*, diſpoſſeſs'd *Olave* thir King, and ſubdu'd the Land,
firſt with great ſums of Money ſent the year before to gain him a Party, then
1029. coming with an Army to compel the reſt. Thence returning King of *England*,
Sim. Dun. *Denmark*, and *Norway*, yet not ſecure in his mind, under colour of an
Embaſſy he ſent into Baniſhment *Hacun* a powerful *Dane*, who had married
the Daughter of his Siſter *Gunildis*, having conceav'd ſom ſuſpicion of his
Practices againſt him: but ſuch courſe was tak'n, that he never came back;
1030. either periſhing at Sea, or ſlain by contrivance the next year in *Orkney*. *Canute*
Sim. Dun. therfore having thus eſtabliſh'd himſelf by bloodſhed and oppreſſion, to
1031. waſh away, as he thought, the Guilt therof, ſailing again into *Denmark*,
Sim. Dun. went thence to *Rome*, and offer'd there to St. *Peter* great Gifts of Gold and
Silver, and other pretious things; beſides the uſual Tribute of *Romſcot*,

giving great Alms by the way, both thither and back again, freeing many Huntingd.
places of Cuſtom and Toll with great Expence, where Strangers were wont
to pay, having vow'd great amendment of Life at the Sepulchre of *Peter*
and *Paul*, and to his whole People in a large Letter writt'n from *Rome* yet
extant. At his return therfore he built and dedicated a Church to St. *Edmund* 1032.
at *Bury*, whom his Anceſtors had ſlain, threw out the Secular Prieſts Sim. Dun.
who had intruded there, and plac'd Monks in thir ſtead; then going into
*Scotland*, ſubdu'd and receav'd Homage of *Malcolm*, and two other Kings Huntingd.
there, *Melbeath*, and *Jermare*. Three years after having made *Swane* his 1035.
ſuppos'd Son by *Algiva* of *Northamton*, Duke *Alfhelm*'s Daughter (for others Sim. Dun.
ſay the Son of a Prieſt whom *Algiva* barren had got ready at the time of her
feign'd Labour) King of *Norway*, and *Hardecnute* his Son by *Emma* King of Florent.
*Denmark*, and deſign'd *Harold* his Son by *Algiva* of *Northamton* King of
*England*, dy'd at *Shaftſbury*, and was buried at *Wincheſter* in the old Monaſtery. Florent.
This King, as appears, ended better than he began; for though he ſeems to
have had no hand in the Death of *Ironſide*, but deteſted the Fact, and bringing
the Murderers, who came to him in hope of great Reward, forth among
his Courtiers, as it were to receave thanks, after they had op'nly related the
manner of thir killing him, deliver'd them to deſerved Puniſhment, yet he
ſpar'd *Edric* whom he knew to be the prime Author of that deteſtable Fact;
till willing to be rid of him, grown importune upon the confidence of his
Merits, and upbraided by him that he had firſt relinquiſh'd, then extinguiſh'd
*Edmund* for his ſake; angry to be ſo upbraided, therfore ſaid he with
a chang'd Countenance, Traitor to God and to me, thou ſhalt die; thine
own mouth accuſes thee to have ſlain thy Maſter my Confederate Brother,
and the Lord's Anointed. Wherupon although preſent and privat Execution Malmſ.
was in rage don upon *Edric*, yet he himſelf in cool Blood ſcrupl'd not to
make away the Brother and Children of *Edmund*, who had better right to be
the Lord's Anointed here then himſelf. When he had obtain'd in *England*
what he deſir'd, no wonder if he ſought the love of his conquer'd Subjects
for the love of his own Quiet, the maintainers of his Wealth and State for
his own profit. For the like reaſon he is thought to have married *Emma*, and
that *Richard* Duke of *Normandy* her Brother might the leſs care what became
of *Elfred* and *Edward*, her Sons by King *Ethelred*. He commanded to
be obſerv'd the antient *Saxon* Laws, call'd afterwards the Laws of *Edward*
the Confeſſor, not that he made them, but ſtrictly obſerv'd them. His Letter
from *Rome* profeſſes, if he had don aught amiſs in his youth, through
negligence or want of due temper, full reſolution with the help of God to
make amends, by governing juſtly and piouſly for the future; charges and
adjures all his Officers and Vicounts, that neither for fear of him, or favour
of any Perſon, or to enrich the King, they ſuffer Injuſtice to be don in the
Land; commands his Treaſurers to pay all his Debts ere his return home,
which was by *Denmark*, to compoſe Matters there; and what his Letter profeſs'd,
he perform'd all his Life after. But it is a fond conceit in many great
ones, and pernicious in the end, to ceaſe from no Violence till they have attain'd
the utmoſt of thir Ambitions and Deſires; then to think God appeas'd
by thir ſeeking to bribe him with a ſhare however large of thir ill-gott'n Spoils,
and then laſtly to grow zealous of doing right, when they have no longer
need to do wrong. Howbeit *Canute* was famous through *Europe*, and much
honour'd of *Conrade* the Emperour, then at *Rome*, with rich Gifts and many
Grants of what he there demanded for the freeing of Paſſages from Toll and
Cuſtom. I muſt not omit one remarkable Action don by him, as *Huntingdon*
reports it, with great ſcene of Circumſtance, and emphatical Expreſſion, to
ſhew the ſmall Power of Kings in reſpect of God; which, unleſs to Court-Paraſites,
needed no ſuch laborious Demonſtration. He caus'd his Royal Seat
to be ſet on the ſhoar, while the Tide was coming in; and with all the ſtate
that Royalty could put into his Countenance, ſaid thus to the Sea: Thou Sea
belongſt to me, and the Land wheron I ſit is mine; nor hath any one unpuniſh't
reſiſted my Commands: I charge thee come no furder upon my Land, neither
preſume to wet the Feet of thy Sovran Lord. But the Sea, as before, came
rowling on, and without Reverence both wet and daſh'd him. Wherat the
King quickly riſing, wiſh'd all about him to behold and conſider the weak and

frivolous Power of a King, and that none indeed deſerv'd the Name of a King, but he whoſe eternal Laws both Heav'n, Earth, and Sea obey. A Truth ſo evident of it ſelf, as I ſaid before, that unleſs to ſhame his Court-Flatterers who would not elſe be convinc't, *Canute* needed not to have gon wet-ſhod home: The beſt is, from that time forth he never would wear a Crown, eſteeming Earthly Royalty contemptible and vain.

## *HAROLD.*

Florent.
Brompton.
Huntingd.
Mat. Weſt.
Mat. Weſt.
Encom. Em.

Harold for his ſwiftneſs ſurnam'd *Harefoot*, the Son of *Canute* by *Algiva* of *Northamton* (though ſom ſpeak doubtfully as if ſhe bore him not, but had him of a Shoo-makers Wife, as *Swane* before of a Prieſt; others of a Maid-Servant, to conceal her barrenneſs) in a great Aſſembly at *Oxford*, was by Duke *Leofric* and the *Mercians*, with the *Londoners*, according to his Fathers Teſtament, elected King; but without the Regal Habiliments, which *Ælnot* the Archbiſhop having in his Cuſtody, refus'd to deliver up, but to the Sons of *Emma*, for which *Harold* ever after hated the Clergy; and (as the Clergy are wont thence to infer) all Religion. *Godwin* Earl of *Kent*, and the Weſt-Saxons with him ſtood for *Hardecnute*. *Malmsbury* ſaith, that the conteſt was between Dane and Engliſh; that the Danes, and Londoners grown now in a manner Daniſh, were all for *Hardecnute*: but he being then in *Denmark*, *Harold* prevail'd, yet ſo as that the Kingdom ſhould be divided between them; the Weſt and South part reſerv'd by *Emma* for *Hardecnute*, till his return. But *Harold* once advanc't into the Throne, baniſh'd *Emma* his Mother-in-law, ſeis'd on his Fathers Treaſure at *Wincheſter*, and there remain'd. *Emma* not

1036.
Sim. Dun.

holding it ſafe to abide in *Normandy* while Duke *William* the Baſtard was yet under Age, retir'd to *Baldwin* Earl of *Flanders*. In the mean while *Elfred* and *Edward* Sons of *Ethelred*, accompanied with a ſmall number of Norman Souldiers in a few Ships, coming to viſit thir Mother *Emma* not yet departed the Land, and perhaps to ſee how the People were inclin'd to reſtore them thir right, *Elfred* was ſent for by the King then at *London*; but in his way met at *Guilford* by Earl *Godwin*, who with all ſeeming friendſhip entertain'd him, was in the Night ſurpris'd and made Priſner, moſt of his Company put to various ſorts of cruel Death, decimated twice over; then brought to *London*, was by the King ſent bound to *Ely*, had his Eyes put out by the way, and deliver'd to the Monks there, dy'd ſoon after in thir Cuſtody. *Malmsbury* gives little credit to this ſtory of *Elfred*, as not chronicl'd in his time, but rumour'd only. Which *Emma* however hearing, ſent away her Son *Edward*, who by good hap accompanied not his Brother, with all ſpeed into *Normandy*. But the Author of *Encomium Emmæ*, who ſeems plainly (though nameleſs) to have been ſom Monk, yet liv'd, and perhaps wrote within the ſame Year when theſe things were don; by his relation differing from all others, much aggravates the cruelty of *Harold*, that he not content to have practis'd in ſecret (for openly he durſt not) againſt the life of *Emma*, ſought many treacherous ways to get her Son within his Power; and reſolv'd at length to forge a Letter in the name of thir Mother, inviting them into *England*, the Copy of which Letter he produces written to this purpoſe.

Emma *in name only Queen, to her Sons* Edward *and* Elfred *imparts motherly Salutation. While we ſeverally bewail the Death of our Lord the King, moſt dear Sons, and while daily ye are depriv'd more and more of the Kingdom your Inheritance; I admire what Counſel ye take, knowing that your intermitted delay is a daily ſtrengthning to the Reign of your Vſurper, who inceſſantly goes about from Town to City, gaining the Chief Nobles to his party, either by gifts, prayers, or threats. But they had much rather one of you ſhould reign over them, then to be held under the power of him who now over-rules them. I entreat therfore that one of you com to me ſpeedily, and privatly; to receive from me wholſom Counſel, and to know how the buſineſs which I intend ſhall be accompliſht. By this Meſſenger preſent, ſend back what you determin. Farewel, as dear both as my own Heart.*

Theſe Letters were ſent to the Princes then in *Normandy*, by expreſs Meſſengers, with preſents alſo as from thir Mother; which they joyfully receiving, return word by the ſame Meſſengers, that one of them will be with her ſhortly; naming both the time and place. *Elfred* therfore the younger (for ſo it was thought beſt) at the appointed time, with a few Ships and ſmall numbers about him appearing on the Coaſt, no ſooner came aſhore but fell into the ſnare of Earl *Godwin*, ſent on purpoſe to betray him; as above was related. *Emma* greatly ſorrowing for the loſs of her Son, thus cruelly made away, fled immediatly with ſom of the Nobles her faithfulleſt Adherents into *Flanders*, had her dwelling aſſign'd at *Bruges* by the Earl; where having remain'd about two years, ſhe was viſited out of *Denmark* by *Hardecnute* her 1039. Son; and he not long had remain'd with her there, when *Harold* in *England*, Sim. Dun. having don nothing the while worth memory, ſave the taxing of every Port Huntingdon. at 8 Marks of Silver to 16 Ships, dy'd at *London*, ſom ſay at *Oxford*, and was 1040. buried at *Wincheſter*. Sim. Dun. After which, moſt of the Nobility, both Danes and Engliſh now agreeing, Malmſ. ſend Embaſſadors to *Hardecnute* ſtill at *Bruges* with his Mother, entreating him to com and receave as his right the Scepter, who before Midſomer came with 60 Ships, and many Souldiers out of *Denmark*.

## *HARDECNVTE.*

Hardecnute receav'd with acclamation, and ſeated in the Throne, firſt call'd to mind the injuries don to him or his Mother *Emma* in the time of *Harold*; ſent *Alfric* Arch-biſhop of *York*, *Godwin* and others, with *Troud* his Executioner to *London*, commanding them to dig up the Body of King *Harold*, and throw it into a Ditch; but by a ſecond order, into the *Thames*. Whence tak'n up by a Fiſherman, and convei'd to a Church-yard in *London* belonging to the Danes, it was enterr'd again with honour. This don he levied a ſore Tax, that eight Marks to every Rower, and twelve to every Officer in his Fleet ſhould be paid throughout *England*: by which time they who were ſo forward to call him over, had anough of him; for he, as they thought, had too much of theirs. After this he call'd to account *Godwin* Earl of *Kent*, and *Leving* Biſhop of *Worſter*, about the Death of *Elfred* his half Brother, which *Alfric* the Archbiſhop laid to thir charge; the King depriv'd *Leving* of his Biſhoprick, and gave it to his accuſer: but the year following, pacifi'd with a round ſum reſtor'd it to *Leving*. *Godwin* made his Peace by a Malmſ. ſumptuous preſent, a Gally with a gilded Stem bravely rigg'd, and 80 Souldiers in her, every one with Bracelets of Gold on each Arm, weighing 16 Ounces, Helmet, Corſlet, and Hilts of his Sword gilded; a Daniſh Curtax liſted with Gold or Silver, hung on his left Shoulder, a Shield with boſs and nails gilded in his left hand, in his right a Launce; beſides this, he took his Oath before the King, that neither of his own Councel or Will, but by the command of *Harold* he had don what he did, to the putting out *Elfreds* Eyes. The like Oath took moſt of the Nobility for themſelves, or in his behalf. The next year *Hardecnute* ſending his Houſecarles, ſo they call'd his Officers, 1041. to gather the Tribute impos'd; two of them rigorous in thir Office, were Sim. Dun. ſlain at *Worſter* by the People; wherat the King enrag'd, ſent *Leofric* Duke of *Mercia*, and *Seward* of *Northumberland*, with great Forces and Commiſſion to ſlay the Citizens, rifle and burn the City, and waſt the whole Province. Affrighted with ſuch news, all the People fled: the Countrymen whether they could, the Citizens to a ſmall Iland in *Severn*, call'd *Beverege*, which they fortifi'd and defended ſtoutly till Peace was granted them, and freely to return home. But thir City they found ſack't and burnt; wherwith the King was appeas'd. This was commendable in him, however cruel to others, that toward his half Brethren, though Rivals of his Crown, he ſhew'd himſelf always tenderly affection'd; as now towards *Edward*, who without fear came to him out of *Normandy*, and with unfeigned kindneſs receav'd, remain'd ſafely and honourably in his Court. But *Hardecnute* the year following, at a Feaſt 1042. wherin *Oſgod* a great Daniſh Lord gave his Daughter in marriage at *Lamberth*, Sim. Dun. to *Prudon* another potent Dane, in the midſt of his Mirth, ſound and healthful to ſight, while he was drinking fell down ſpeechleſs, and ſo dying, was buried at *Wincheſter* beſide his Father. He was it ſeems a great lover of good chere; ſitting at Table four times a day, with great variety of Diſhes and ſuperfluity to all Comers. Wheras, ſaith *Huntingdon*, in our time Princes in thir Houſes made but one meal a day. He gave his Siſter *Gunildis*, a Virgin of rare Beauty, in marriage to *Henry* the *Alman* Emperour; and to ſend her forth pompouſly, all the Nobility contributed thir Jewels and richeſt Ornaments. But it may ſeem a wonder that our Hiſtorians, if they deſerve that name, ſhould in a matter ſo remarkable, and ſo neer thir own time, ſo much differ. *Huntingdon* relates, againſt the credit of all other records, that *Hardecnute* thus dead, the Engliſh rejoycing at this unexpected riddance of the Daniſh Yoke, ſent over to *Elfred* the Elder Son of *Emma* by King *Ethelred*, of whom we heard but now, that he dy'd Priſner at *Ely*, ſent thether by *Harold* ſix year before; that he came now out of *Normandy*, with a great number of men, to receave the Crown; that Earl *Godwin* aiming to have his Daughter Queen of *England* by marrying her to *Edward* a ſimple Youth, for he thought *Elfred* of a higher Spirit then to accept her, perſuaded the Nobles that *Elfred* had brought over too many Normans, had promis'd them Land heer, that it was not ſafe to ſuffer a warlike and ſuttle Nation to take root in the Land, that theſe were to be ſo handl'd as none of them might dare for the future to flock hither, upon pretence of relation to the King: therupon by common conſent of the Nobles, both *Elfred* and his Company were dealt with as was above related; that they then ſent for *Edward* out of *Normandy*, with Hoſtages to be left there of thir faithful intentions to make him King, and thir deſires not to bring over with him many Normans; that *Edward* at thir call came then firſt out of *Normandy*; wheras all others agree that he came voluntarily over to viſit *Hardecnute*, as is before ſaid, and was remaining then in Court at the time of his Death. For *Hardecnute* dead, ſaith *Malmsbury*, *Edward* doubting greatly his own ſafety, determin'd to rely wholly on the advice and favour of Earl *Godwin*; deſiring therfore by Meſſengers to have privat ſpeech with him, the Earl a while deliberated: at laſt aſſenting, Prince *Edward* came, and would have fall'n at his feet; but that not permitted, told him the danger wherin he thought himſelf at preſent, and in great perplexity beſought his help to convey him ſom whether out of the Land. *Godwin* ſoon apprehending the fair occaſion that now as it were prompted him how to advance himſelf and his Family, cherfully exhorted him to remember himſelf the Son of *Ethelred*, the Grandchild of *Edgar*, right Heir to the Crown, at full Age; not to think of flying but of reigning, which might eaſily be brought about if he would follow his Counſel; then ſetting forth the Power and Authority which he had in *England*, promis'd it ſhould be all his to ſet him on the Throne, if he on his part would promiſe and ſwear to be for ever his Friend, to preſerve the honour of his Houſe, and to marry his Daughter. *Edward*, as his neceſſity then was, conſented eaſily, and ſwore to whatever *Godwin* requir'd. An Aſſembly of States therupon met at *Gillingham*, where *Edward* pleaded his right; and by the powerful influence of *Godwin* was accepted. Others, as *Brompton*, with no probability write, that *Godwin* at this time was fled into *Denmark*, for what he had don to *Elfred*, return'd and ſubmitted himſelf to *Edward* then King, was by him charg'd openly with the Death of *Elfred*, and not without much ado, by the interceſſion of *Leofric* and other Peers, receav'd at length into favour.

## *EDWARD* the Confeſſor.

GLAD were the Engliſh deliver'd ſo unexpectedly from thir Daniſh Maſters, and little thought how neer another Conqueſt was hanging over
1043. them. *Edward*, the *Eaſter* following, crown'd at *Wincheſter*, the ſame year
Sim. Dun. accompanied with Earl *Godwin*, *Leofric*, and *Siward*, came again thether on a ſudden, and by thir Counſel ſeis'd on the Treaſure of his Mother *Emma*. The cauſe alleg'd is, that ſhe was hard to him in the time of his Baniſhment; and indeed ſhe is ſaid not much to have lov'd *Ethelred* her former Husband, and therafter the Children by him; ſhe was moreover noted to be very covetous,
Malmſ. hard to the Poor, and profuſe to Monaſteries. About this time alſo King *Edward*, according to promiſe, took to Wife *Edith* or *Egith* Earl *Godwins* Daughter, commended much for beauty, modeſty, and, beyond what is requiſit in a Woman, Learning. *Ingulf* then a youth lodging in the Court with his Father, ſaw her oft, and coming from the School, was ſomtimes met by her and poſ'd, not in Grammar only, but in Logic. *Edward* the next year but

but one, made ready a ſtrong Navy at *Sandwich* againſt *Magnus* King of *Norway*, 1045.
who threat'nd an Invaſion, had not *Swane* King of *Denmark* diverted him Sim. Dun.
by a War at home to defend his own Land, not out of good will to *Edward*, 1046.
as may be ſuppos'd, who at the ſame time expreſs'd none to the Danes, baniſhing Sim. Dun.
*Gunildis* the Neece of *Canute* with her two Sons, and *Oſgod* by ſirname
*Clapa*, out of the Realm. *Swane* over-powr'd by *Magnus*, ſent the next year 1047.
to entreat aid of King *Edward*; *Godwin* gave counſel to ſend him 50 Ships Sim. Dun.
fraught with Souldiers; but *Leofric* and the general voice gainſaying, none
were ſent. The next year *Harold Harvager* King of *Norway* ſending Embaſſadors, 1048.
made Peace with King *Edward*; but an Earthquake at *Worſter* and *Darby*, Sim. Dun.
Peſtilence and Famin in many places, much leſſen'd the enjoyment therof. 1049.
The next year *Henry* the Emperour diſpleas'd with *Baldwin* Earl of *Flanders*, Sim. Dun.
had ſtreitn'd him with a great Army by Land; and ſending to King *Edward*,
deſir'd him with his Ships to hinder what he might, his eſcape by Sea. The
King therfore with a great Navy coming to *Sandwich*, there ſtaid till the
Emperour came to an agreement with Earl *Baldwin*. Mean while *Swane* Son of
Earl *Godwin*, who not permitted to marry *Edgiva* the Abbeſs of *Cheſter* by
him deflour'd, had left the Land, came out of *Denmark* with 8 Ships, feigning
a deſire to return into the Kings favour; and *Beorn* his Couſin German, who
commanded part of the King's Navy, promis'd to intercede that his Earldom
might be reſtor'd him. *Godwin* therfore and *Beorn* with a few Ships, the reſt
of the Fleet gon home, coming to *Pevenſey* (but *Godwin* ſoon departing thence
in perſuit of 29 Daniſh Ships who had got much booty on the Coaſt of *Eſſex*,
and periſh'd by Tempeſt in thir return) *Swane* with his Ships coms to *Beorn* at
*Pevenſey*, guilefully requeſts him to ſail with him to *Sandwich*, and reconcile
him to the King, as he had promis'd. *Beorn* miſtruſting no evil where he intended
good, went with him in his Ship attended by three only of his Servants:
but *Swane* ſet upon barbarous Cruelty, not reconciliation with the
King, took *Beorn* now in his power and bound him; then coming to *Dertmouth*,
ſlew and buried him in a deep Ditch. After which, the men of *Haſtings*
took ſix of his Ships, and brought them to the King at *Sandwich*; with
the other two he eſcap'd into *Flanders*, ther remaining till *Aldred* Biſhop of
*Worſter* by earneſt mediation wrought his Peace with the King. About this
time King *Edward* ſent to Pope *Leo*, deſiring abſolution from a Vow which he Malmſ.
had made in his younger years, to take a journey to *Rome*, if God vouchſaf'd
him to reign in *England*; the Pope diſpenc'd with his Vow, but not without
the expence of his Journey giv'n to the Poor, and a Monaſtery built or reedifi'd
to St. *Peter*; who in a Viſion to a Monk, as is ſaid, choſe *Weſtminſter*,
which King *Edward* thereupon rebuilding endow'd with large Privileges and
Revenues. The ſame year, ſaith *Florent* of *Worſter*, certain Iriſh Pirats with
36 Ships enter'd the mouth of *Severn*, and with the aid of *Griffin* Prince of
*South-Wales*, did ſom hurt in thoſe parts: then paſſing the River *Wye*, burnt
*Dunedham*, and ſlew all the Inhabitants they found. Againſt whom *Aldred*
Biſhop of *Worſter*, with a few out of *Gloſter* and *Herefordſhire*, went out in
haſt: but *Griffin* to whom the Welch and Iriſh had privily ſent Meſſengers,
came down upon the Engliſh with his whole Power by night, and early in the
Morning ſuddenly aſſaulting them, ſlew many, and put the reſt to flight. The
next year but one, King *Edward* remitted the Daniſh Tax which had continu'd 1051.
38 years heavy upon the Land ſince *Ethelred* firſt paid it to the *Danes*, and Sim. Dun.
what remain'd therof in his Treaſury he ſent back to the Owners: but through Ingulf.
imprudence laid the foundation of a far worſe miſchief to the Engliſh; while
ſtudying gratitude to thoſe Normans, who to him in Exile had bin helpful, he
call'd them over to public Offices heer, whom better he might have repaid out
of his privat Purſe; by this means exaſperating either Nation one againſt the
other, and making way by degrees to the Norman Conqueſt. *Robert* a Monk
of that Country, who had bin ſerviceable to him there in time of need, he
made Biſhop, firſt of *London*, then of *Canterbury*; *William* his Chaplain Biſhop
of *Dorcheſter*. Then began the Engliſh to lay aſide thir own antient Cuſtoms,
and in many things to imitate French manners, the great Peers to ſpeak
French in thir Houſes, in French to write thir Bills and Letters, as a great
peece of Gentility, aſham'd of thir own: a preſage of thir ſubjection ſhortly
to that People, whoſe Faſhions and Language they affected ſo ſlaviſhly. But

that which gave beginning to many Troubles enſuing, happ'nd this Year, and Malmſ. upon this occaſion. *Euſtace* Earl of *Boloign*, Father of the famous *Godfrey* who won *Jeruſalem* from the Saracens, and Husband to *Goda* the King's Siſter, having bin to viſit King *Edward*, and returning by *Canterbury* to take Ship at *Dover*, one of his Harbingers inſolently ſeeking to lodg by force in a Houſe there, provok'd ſo the Maſter therof, as by chance or heat of Anger to kill him. The Count with his whole Train going to the Houſe where his Servant had bin kill'd, ſlew both the Slayer and eighteen more who defended him. But the Townſmen running to Arms, requited him with the Slaughter of twenty one more of his Servants, wounded moſt of the reſt; he himſelf with one or two hardly eſcaping, ran back with Clamour to the King; whom ſeconded by other Norman Courtiers, he ſtirr'd up to great Anger againſt the Citizens of *Canterbury*. Earl *Godwin* in haſt is ſent for, the Cauſe related, and much aggravated by the King againſt that City, the Earl commanded to raiſe Forces, and uſe the Citizens therof as Enemies. *Godwin* ſorry to ſee Strangers more favour'd of the King then his native People, anſwer'd, that it were better to ſummon firſt the chief Men of the Town into the King's Court, to charge them with Sedition, where both Parties might be heard, that not found in fault they might be acquitted; if otherwiſe, by Fine or loſs of Life might ſatisfy the King whoſe Peace they had brok'n, and the Count whom they had injur'd; till this were don refuſing to proſecute with hoſtile Puniſhment them of his own County unheard, whom his Office was rather to defend. The King diſpleas'd with his Refuſal, and not knowing how to compel him, appointed an Aſſembly of all the Peers to be held at *Gloſter*, where the Matter might be fully try'd; the Aſſembly was full and frequent according to Summons: but *Godwin* miſtruſting his own Cauſe, or the Violence of his Adverſaries, with his two Sons, *Swane* and *Harold*, and a great Power gather'd out of his own and his Sons Earldoms, which contein'd moſt of the South-Eaſt and Weſt Parts of *England*, came no furder then *Beverſtan*, giving out that thir Forces were to go againſt the Welch, who intended an Irruption into *Herefordſhire*; and *Swane* under that pretence lay with part of his Army therabout. The Welch underſtanding this Device, and with all diligence clearing themſelves before the King, left *Godwin* detected of falſe Accuſation in great hatred to all the Aſſembly. *Leofric* therfore and *Siward*, Dukes of great Power, the former in *Mercia*, the other in all Parts beyond *Humber*, both ever faithful to the King, ſend privily with ſpeed to raiſe the Forces of thir Provinces. Which *Godwin* not knowing, ſent boldly to King *Edward*, demanding Count *Euſtace* and his Followers, together with thoſe *Boloignians*, who, as *Simeon* writes, held a Caſtle in the Juriſdiction of *Canterbury*. The King, as then having but little Force at hand, entertain'd him a while with Treaties and Delays, till his ſummon'd Army drew nigh, then rejected his Demands. *Godwin* thus match'd, commanded his Sons not to begin Fight againſt the King; begun with, not to give ground. The King's Forces were the Flower of thoſe Counties whence they came, and eager to Sim. Dun. fall on: But *Leofric* and the wiſer ſort deteſting Civil War, brought the Matter to this accord, that Hoſtages giv'n on either ſide, the whole Cauſe ſhould be again debated at *London*. Thether the King and Lords coming with thir Army, ſent to *Godwin* and his Sons, (who with thir Powers were com as far as *Southwark*) commanding thir appearance unarm'd with only 12 Attendants, and that the reſt of thir Souldiers they ſhould deliver over to the King. They to appear without Pledges before an adverſe Faction deny'd; but to diſmiſs thir Souldiers refuſ'd not, nor in ought elſe to obey the King as far as might ſtand with Honour, and the juſt regard of thir Safety. This Anſwer not pleaſing the King, an Edict was preſently iſſu'd forth, that *Godwin* and his Sons within five days depart the Land. He who perceav'd now his Numbers to diminiſh, readily obey'd, and with his Wife and three Sons, *Toſti*, *Swane*, and *Gyrtha*, with as much Treaſure as thir Ship could carry, embarking at *Thorney*, ſail'd into *Flanders* to Earl *Baldwin*, whoſe Daughter *Judith Toſti* had married: for *Wulnod* his fourth Son was then Hoſtage to the King in *Normandy*; his other two, *Harold* and *Leofwin*, taking Ship at *Briſtow*, in a Veſſel that lay ready there belonging to *Swane*, paſs'd into *Ireland*. King *Edward* perſuing his Diſpleaſure, divorc'd his Wife *Edith* Earl *Godwin*'s Daughter,

ſending her deſpoil'd of all her Ornaments to *Warewel* with one waiting Maid,
to be kept in cuſtody by his Siſter the Abbeſs there. His reaſon of ſo doing Malmſ.
was as harſh as his Act, that ſhe only, while her neereſt Relations were in Baniſhment,
might not, though innocent, enjoy eaſe at home. After this,
*William* Duke of *Normandy* with a great number of Followers coming into
*England*, was by King *Edward* honorably entertain'd and led about the Cities
and Caſtles, as it were to ſhew him what ere long was to be his own, (though
at that time, ſaith *Ingulf*, no mention therof paſs'd between them) then after
ſom time of his Abode here, preſented richly and diſmiſs'd, he return'd
home. The next Year Queen *Emma* dy'd, and was buried at *Wincheſter*. 1052.
The Chronicle attributed to *John Bromton* a *Yorkſhire* Abbot, but rather of Sim. Dun.
ſom nameleſs Author living under *Edward* the 3d or later, reports that the
Year before, by *Robert* the Archbiſhop ſhe was accus'd both of conſenting to
the Death of her Son *Alfred*, and of preparing Poyſon for *Edward* alſo; laſtly
of too much Familiarity with *Alwin* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*: that to approve
her Innocence, praying over-night to St. *Swithun*, ſhe offer'd to paſs blindfold
between certain Plowſhares red hot, according to the Ordalian Law,
which without harm ſhe perform'd; that the King therupon receav'd her to
Honour, and from her and the Biſhop, Penance for his Credulity; that the
Archbiſhop aſham'd of his Accuſation, fled out of *England*: which beſides
the Silence of antienter Authors (for the Biſhop fled not till a Year after)
brings the whole Story into ſuſpicion, in this more probable, if it can be
prov'd, that in memory of this Deliverance from the nine burning Plowſhares,
Queen *Emma* gave to the Abbey of S. *Swithune* nine Mannors, and Biſhop
*Alwin* other nine. About this time *Griffin* Prince of *South-Wales* waſted *Herefordſhire*;
to oppoſe whom the People of that Country, with many Normans,
gariſon'd in the Caſtle of *Hereford*, went out in Arms, but were put to the
worſe, many ſlain, and much Booty driv'n away by the Welch. Soon after
which *Harold* and *Leofwin*, Sons of *Godwin*, coming into *Severn* with many
Ships, in the Confines of *Somerſet* and *Dorſetſhire*, ſpoil'd many Villages, and
reſiſted by thoſe of *Somerſet* and *Devonſhire*, ſlew in a Fight more then 30 of
thir principal Men, many of the common ſort, and return'd with much
Booty to thir Fleet. King *Edward* on the other ſide made ready above 60 Malmſ.
Ships at *Sandwich* well ſtor'd with Men and Proviſion, under the Conduct of
*Odo* and *Radulf* two of his Norman Kindred, enjoining them to find out *Godwin*,
whom he heard to be at Sea. To quick'n them, he himſelf lay on Shipboard,
oft-times watch'd and ſail'd up and down in ſearch of thoſe Pirats.
But *Godwin*, whether in a Miſt, or by other Accident, paſſing by them, arriv'd
in another part of *Kent*, and diſperſing ſecret Meſſengers abroad, by
fair Words allur'd the chief Men of *Kent*, *Suſſex*, *Surrey*, and *Eſſex*, to his
Party; which News coming to the King's Fleet at *Sandwich*, they haſted to
find him out; but miſſing of him again, came up without effect to *London*.
*Godwin* advertis'd of this, forthwith ſail'd to the Ile of *Wight*; where at
length his two Sons *Harold* and *Leofwin* finding him, with thir united Navy
lay on the Coaſt, forbearing other Hoſtility then to furniſh themſelves with
freſh Victual from Land as they needed. Thence as one Fleet they ſet forward
to *Sandwich*, uſing all fair means by the way to encreaſe thir Numbers
both of Mariners and Soldiers. The King then at *London*, ſtartl'd at theſe
Tidings, gave ſpeedy order to raiſe Forces in all parts which had not revolted
from him; but now too late, for *Godwin* within a few days after with his Ships
or Gallies came up the River *Thames* to *Southwark*, and till the Tide return'd
had Conference with the *Londoners*; whom by fair Speeches, for he was held
a good Speaker in thoſe times, he brought to his bent. The Tide returning,
and none upon the Bridg hindring, he row'd up in his Gallies along the South
Bank; where his Land-Army, now com to him, in array of Battel ſtood on
the ſhore: then turning toward the North ſide of the River, where the
King's Gallies lay in ſom readineſs, and Land-forces alſo not far off, he made
ſhew as offring to fight; but they underſtood one another, and the Soldiers
on either ſide ſoon declar'd thir Reſolution not to fight Engliſh againſt Engliſh.
Thence coming to Treaty, the King and the Earl reconcil'd, both Armies
were diſſolv'd, *Godwin* and his Sons reſtor'd to thir former Dignities, except
*Swane*, who touch'd in Conſcience for the ſlaughter of *Beorn* his Kinſman,

was gon barefoot to *Jeruſalem*, and returning home, dy'd by Sickneſs or *Saracens* in *Lycia*; his Wife *Edith*, *Godwin*'s Daughter, King *Edward* took to him again, dignify'd as before. Then were the *Normans*, who had don many unjuſt things under the King's Authority, and giv'n him ill Counſel againſt his People, baniſh'd the Realm, ſom of them not blamable permitted to ſtay. *Robert* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *William* of *London*, *Ulf* of *Lincoln*, all *Normans*, hardly eſcaping with thir Followers, got to Sea. The Archbiſhop went with his Complaint to *Rome*; but returning, dy'd in *Normandy* at the ſame Monaſterie from whence he came. *Oſbern* and *Hugh* ſurrender'd thir Caſtles, and by permiſſion of *Leofric* paſs'd through his Counties with thir *Normans* to 1053. Sim. Dun. *Macbeth* King of *Scotland*. The Year following *Rheſe* Brother to *Griffin*, Prince of South *Wales*, who by Inrodes had don much damage to the *Engliſh*, tak'n at *Bulendun*, was put to death by the King's Appointment, and his Head brought to him at *Gloſter*. The ſame Year at *Wincheſter*, on the ſecond holyday of *Eaſter*, Earl *Godwin* ſitting with the King at Table, ſunk down ſuddenly in his Seat as dead: his three Sons *Harold*, *Toſti*, and *Gyrtha*, forthwith carried him into the King's Chamber, hoping he might revive: but the Malady had ſo ſeis'd him, that the fifth day after he expir'd. The *Normans* who hated *Godwin* give out, ſaith *Malmsbury*, that mention happ'ning to be made of *Elfred*, and the King therat looking ſowrly upon *Godwin*, he to vindicate himſelf, utter'd theſe words, Thou, O King, at every mention made of thy Brother *Elfred*, look'ſt frowningly upon me: but let God not ſuffer me to ſwallow this Morſel, if I be guilty of ought don againſt his Life or thy Advantage; that after theſe Words, choak'd with the Morſel tak'n, he ſunk down and recover'd not. His firſt Wife was the Siſter of *Canute*, a Woman of much Infamy for the Trade ſhe drove of buying up Engliſh Youths and Maids to ſell in *Denmark*, wherof ſhe made great gain; but e're long was 1054. Sim. Dun. ſtruck with Thunder, and dy'd. The Year enſuing, *Siward* Earl of *Northumberland*, with a great number of Horſe and Foot, attended alſo by a ſtrong Fleet at the King's Appointment, made an Expedition into *Scotland*, vanquiſh't the Tyrant *Macbeth*, ſlaying many thouſands of *Scots* with thoſe *Normans* that went thether, and plac'd *Malcolm* Son of the *Cumbrian* King in his ſtead; yet not without loſs of his own Son, and many other both Engliſh and Danes. Huntingd. Told of his Son's Death, he ask'd whether he receav'd his Deaths Wound before or behind? when it was anſwer'd before, I am glad, ſaith he; and ſhould not elſe have thought him, though my Son, worthy of Burial. In the mean while King **Edward** being without Iſſue to ſucceed him, ſent *Aldred* Biſhop of *Wincheſter* with great Preſents to the Emperor, entreating him to prevail with the King of *Hungary*, that *Edward* the remaining Son of his Brother 1055. Sim. Dun. *Edmund Ironſide* might be ſent into *England*. *Siward* but one Year ſurviving his great Victory, dy'd at *York*; reported by *Huntingdon* a Man of Giant like Stature; and by his own Demeanour at point of Death manifeſted, of a rough and meer ſouldierly Mind. For much diſdaining to die in bed by a Diſeaſe, not in the Field fighting with his Enemies, he caus'd himſelf compleatly arm'd, and weapon'd with Battel-ax and Shield to be ſet in a Chair, whether to fight with Death, if he could be ſo vain, or to meet him (when far other Weapons and Preparations were needful) in a martial Bravery; but true Fortitude glories not in the feats of War, as they are ſuch, but as they ſerve to end War ſooneſt by a victorious Peace. His Earldom the King beſtow'd on *Toſti* the Son of Earl *Godwin*: and ſoon after in a Convention held at *London*, baniſh'd without viſible cauſe, *Huntingdon* ſaith for Treaſon, *Algar* the Son of *Leofric*, who paſſing into *Ireland*, ſoon return'd with eighteen Ships to *Griffin* Prince of South *Wales*, requeſting his Aid againſt King *Edward*. He aſſembling his Powers, enter'd with him into *Herefordſhire*; whom *Radulf* a timorous Captain, Son to the King's Siſter, not by *Euſtace*, but a former Husband, met two Miles diſtant from *Hereford*; and having hors'd the Engliſh who knew better to fight on foot, without ſtroke he with his French and Normans beginning to fly, taught the Engliſh by his example. *Griffin* and *Algar* following the Chaſe, ſlew many, wounded more, enter'd *Hereford*, ſlew ſeven Canons defending the Minſter, burnt the Monaſterie and Reliques, then the City; killing ſom, leading captive others of the Citizens, return'd with great Spoils; wherof King *Edward* having notice, gather'd a great Army at

*Gloſter* under the Conduct of *Harold* now Earl of *Kent*, who ſtrenuouſly purſuing
*Griffin* enter'd *Wales*, and encamp'd beyond *Straddale*. But the Enemy
flying before him farther into the Country, leaving there the greater part of
his Army with ſuch as had charge to fight, if occaſion were offer'd, with the
reſt he return'd, and fortifi'd *Hereford* with a Wall and Gates. Mean while
*Griffin* and *Algar* dreading the Diligence of *Harold*, after many Meſſages to
and fro, concluded a Peace with him. *Algar* diſcharging his Fleet with Pay
at *Weſt-Cheſter*, came to the King, and was reſtor'd to his Earldom. But
*Griffin* with breach of Faith, the next year ſet upon *Leofgar* the Biſhop of *Hereford* 1056.
and his Clerks then at a place call'd *Glaſtbrig*, with *Agelnoth* Vicount of Sim. Dun.
the Shire, and ſlew them; but *Leofric*, *Harold*, and King *Edward*, by force,
as is likelieſt, though it be not ſaid how, reduc'd him to Peace. The next
Year *Edward* Son of *Edmund Ironſide*, for whom his Uncle King *Edward* had 1057.
ſent to the Emperour, came out of *Hungary*, deſign'd Succeſſor to the Crown; Sim. Dun.
but within a few days after his coming dy'd at *London*, leaving behind him *Edgar*
*Atheling* his Son, *Margaret* and *Chriſtina* his Daughters. About the ſame
time alſo dy'd Earl *Leofric* in a good old Age, a Man of no leſs Vertue then
Power in his time, religious, prudent, and faithful to his Country, happily
wedded to *Godiva* a Woman of great Praiſe. His Son *Algar* found leſs favour 1058.
with King *Edward*, again baniſh'd the Year after his Father's Death; but he Sim. Dun.
again by the Aid of *Griffin* and a Fleet from *Norway*, maugre the King, ſoon
recover'd his Earldom. The next Year *Malcolm* King of *Scots* coming to viſit 1059.
King *Edward*, was brought on his way by *Toſti* the *Northumbrian* Earl, to Sim. Dun.
whom he ſwore Brotherhood: yet the next Year but one, while *Toſti* was 1061.
gon to *Rome* with *Aldred* Archbiſhop of *York* for his Pall, this ſworn Brother Sim. Dun.
taking advantage of his Abſence, roughly haraſs'd *Northumberland*. The
Year paſſing to an end without other matter of moment, ſave the frequent Inrodes
and Robberies of *Griffin*, whom no Bonds of Faith could reſtrain, King
*Edward* ſent againſt him after *Chriſtmas Harold* now Duke of Weſt-Saxons, 1062.
with no great body of Horſe, from *Gloſter*, where he then kept his Court; Sim. Dun.
whoſe coming heard of, *Griffin* not daring to abide, nor in any part of his
Land holding himſelf ſecure, eſcap'd hardly by Sea, ere *Harold* coming to
*Rudeland*, burnt his Palace and Ships there, returning to *Gloſter* the ſame day.
But by the middle of *May* ſetting out with a Fleet from *Briſtow*, he ſail'd about 1063.
the moſt part of *Wales*, and met by his Brother *Toſti* with many Troops of Sim. Dun.
Horſe, as the King had appointed, began to waſt the Country; but the
*Welch* giving Pledges, yeilded themſelves, promis'd to becom tributary, and
baniſh *Griffin* thir Prince; who lurking ſomwhere, was the next Year tak'n
and ſlain by *Griffin* Prince of North *Wales*; his Head with the Head and 1064.
Tackle of his Ship ſent to *Harold*, by him to the King, who of his Gentleneſs Sim. Dun.
made *Blechgent* and *Rithwallon* or *Rivallon* his two Brothers Princes in his ſtead;
they to *Harold* in behalf of the King ſwore Fealty and Tribute. Yet the next
Year *Harold* having built a fair Houſe at a place call'd *Portaſcith* in *Monmouthſhire*, 1065.
and ſtor'd it with Proviſion, that the King might lodg there in time of Sim. Dun.
hunting, *Caradoc* the Son of *Griffin* ſlain the Year before, came with a number Camd.
of Men, ſlew all he found there, and took away the Proviſion. Soon after
which the *Northumbrians* in a Tumult at *York* beſet the Palace of *Toſti* thir
Earl, ſlew more then 200 of his Souldiers and Servants, pillag'd his Treaſure,
and put him to fly for his Life. The cauſe of this Inſurrection they alleg'd to
be, for that the Queen *Edith* had commanded, in her Brother *Toſti*'s behalf,
*Goſpatric* a Noble-man of that Country to be treacherouſly ſlain in the King's
Court; and that *Toſti* himſelf the Year before with like Treachery had
caus'd to be ſlain in his Chamber *Gamel* and *Ulf*, two other of thir Noble
Men, beſides his intolerable Exactions and Oppreſſions. Then in a manner the
whole Country coming up to complain of thir Grievances, met with *Harold* at
*Northamton*, whom the King at *Toſti*'s Requeſt had ſent to pacify the *Northumbrians*;
but they laying op'n the Cruelty of his Government, and thir own
Birth-right of Freedom not to endure the Tyranny of any Governour whatſoever,
with abſolute Refuſal to admit him again, and *Harold* hearing Reaſon,
all the Accomplices of *Toſti* were expell'd the Earldom. He himſelf
baniſh'd the Realm, went into *Flanders*; *Morcar* the Son of *Algar* made Earl
in his ſtead. *Huntingdon* tells another Cauſe of *Toſti*'s Baniſhment, that one

day at *Windſor*, while *Harold* reach'd the Cup to King *Edward*, *Toſti* envying to ſee his younger Brother in greater favour then himſelf, could not forbear to run furiouſly upon him, catching hold of his Hair; the ſcuffle was ſoon parted by other Attendants ruſhing between, and *Toſti* forbidd'n the Court. He with continu'd fury riding to *Hereford*, where *Harold* had many Servants, preparing an Entertainment for the King, came to the Houſe and ſet upon them with his Followers; then lopping off Hands, Arms, Legs of ſom, Heads of others, threw them into Butts of Wine, Meath, or Ale, which were laid in for the King's drinking: and at his going away charg'd them to ſend him this word, that of other freſh Meats he might bring with him to his Farm what he pleas'd, but of Sous he ſhould find plenty provided ready for him: that for this barbarous Act the King pronounc'd him baniſh'd; that the Northumbrians taking advantage at the King's Diſpleaſure and Sentence againſt him, roſe alſo to be reveng'd of his Cruelties don to themſelves. But this no way agrees, for why then ſhould *Harold* or the King ſo much labour with the Northumbrians to re-admit him, if he were a baniſh'd Man for his Crimes don before?

Malmſ.

About this time it happ'nd that *Harold* putting to Sea one day for his pleaſure, in a Fiſher Boat, from his Mannor at *Boſeham* in *Suſſex*, caught with a Tempeſt too far off Land, was carried into *Normandy*; and by the Earl of *Pontiew*, on whoſe Coaſt he was driv'n, at his own requeſt brought to Duke *William*; who entertaining him with great Courteſie, ſo far won him, as to promiſe the Duke by Oath of his own accord, not only the Caſtle of *Dover* then in his tenure, but the Kingdom alſo after King *Edward*'s Death to his utmoſt endeavour, therupon betrothing the Duke's Daughter then too young for marriage, and departing richly preſented. Others ſay, that King *Edward* himſelf after the Death of *Edward* his Nephew, ſent *Harold* thether on purpoſe to acquaint Duke *William* with his intention to bequeath him his Kingdom: but *Malmsbury* accounts the former Story to be the truer.

Leges Ed. Conf. Tit. Lex Noricor.

*Ingulf* writes, that King *Edward* now grown old, and perceaving *Edgar* his Nephew both in Body and Mind unfit to govern, eſpecially againſt the Pride and Inſolence of *Godwin*'s Sons, who would never obey him; Duke *William* on the other ſide of high Merit, and his Kinſman by the Mother, had ſent *Robert* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, to acquaint the Duke with his purpoſe, not long before *Harold* came thether. The former part may be true, that King *Edward* upon ſuch Conſiderations had ſent one or other; but Archbiſhop *Robert* was fled the Land, and dead many years before. *Eadmer* and *Simeon* write, that *Harold* went of his own accord into *Normandy*, by the King's Permiſſion or Connivance, to get free his Brother *Wulnod* and Nephew *Hacun* the Son of *Swane*, whom the King had tak'n Hoſtages of *Godwin*, and ſent into *Normandy*; that King *Edward* foretold *Harold*, his Journey thether would be to the detriment of all *England* and his own Reproach; that Duke *William* then acquainted *Harold*, how *Edward* ere his coming to the Crown had promis'd, if ever he attain'd it, to leave Duke *William* Succeſſor after him. Laſt of theſe *Matthew Paris* writes, that *Harold* to get free of Duke *William*, affirm'd his coming thether not to have been by accident or force of Tempeſt, but on ſet purpoſe, in that privat manner to enter with him into ſecret Confederacy: ſo variouſly are theſe things reported.

1066.
Sim. Dun.

After this King *Edward* grew ſickly, yet as he was able kept his *Chriſtmas* at *London*, and was at the Dedication of St. *Peter*'s Church in *Weſtminſter*, which he had rebuilt; but on the Eve of *Epiphany*, or *Twelfſtide*, deceas'd much lamented, and in the Church was entomb'd. That he was harmleſs and ſimple, is conjectur'd by his words in anger to a Peaſant who had croſs'd his Game (for with hunting and hawking he was much delighted) by God and God's Mother, ſaid he, I ſhall do you as ſhrewd a turn if I can; obſerving that Law-Maxim, the beſt of all his Succeſſors, that the King of *England* can do no Wrong. The ſoftneſs of his Nature gave growth to Factions of thoſe about him, Normans eſpecially and Engliſh; theſe complaining that *Robert* the Archbiſhop was a ſower of Diſſention between the King and his People, a Traducer of the Engliſh; the other ſide, that *Godwin* and his Sons bore themſelves arrogantly and proudly towards the King, uſurping to themſelves equal ſhare in the Government; oft-times making ſport with his ſimplicity, that through thir Power in the Land, they made no ſcruple to kill Men of whoſe Inheritance they took a liking, and

Huntingd.

ſo to take Poſſeſſion. The truth is, that *Godwin* and his Sons did many things boiſtrouſly and violently, much againſt the King's mind; which not able to reſiſt, he had, as ſom ſay, his Wife *Edith Godwin*'s Daughter in ſuch Averſation, as in bed never to have touch'd her; whether for this cauſe or miſtak'n Chaſtity, not commendable; to enquire further is not material. His Laws held good and juſt, and long after deſir'd by the Engliſh of thir Norman Kings, are yet extant. He is ſaid to be at Table not exceſſive, at Feſtivals nothing puft up with the coſtly Robes he wore, which his Queen with curious Art had woven for him in Gold. He was full of Alms-deeds, and exhorted the Monks to like Charity. He is ſaid to be the firſt Engliſh Kings that cur'd the Diſeaſe call'd thence the King's Evil; yet *Malmsbury* blames them who attribute that Cure to his Royalty, not to his Sanctity; ſaid alſo to have cur'd certain blind Men with the Water wherin he hath waſh'd his hands. A little before his Death, lying ſpeechleſs two days, the third day after a deep ſleep, he was heard to pray, that if it were a true Viſion, not an Illuſion which he had ſeen, God would give him ſtrength to utter it, otherwiſe not. Then he related how he had ſeen two devout Monks, whom he knew in *Normandy*, to have liv'd and dy'd well, who appearing told him they were ſent Meſſengers from God to foretel, that becauſe the great ones of *England*, Dukes, Lords, Biſhops, and Abbots, were not Miniſters of God but of the Devil, God had deliver'd the Land to thir Enemies; and when he deſir'd that he might reveal this Viſion, to the end they might repent, it was anſwer'd, they neither will repent, neither will God pardon them: at this relation others trembling, ***Stigand*** the Simonious Archbiſhop, whom *Edward* much to blame had ſuffer'd many years to ſit Primat in the Church, is ſaid to have laugh'd, as at the feaveriſh Dream of a doting old Man; but the Event prov'd it true.

## *HAROLD* Son of Earl *Godwin*.

*Harold*, whether by King *Edward* a little before his Death ordain'd Succeſſor to the Crown, as *Simeon* of *Durham*, and others affirm; or by the prevalence of his Faction, excluding *Edgar* the right Heir, Grandchild to *Edmund Ironſide*, as *Malmsbury* and *Huntingdon* agree, no ſooner was the Funeral of King *Edward* ended, but on the ſame day was elected and crown'd King: and no ſooner plac'd in the Throne, but began to frame himſelf by all manner of Compliances to gain Affection, endeavour'd to make good Laws, repeal'd bad, became a great Patron to Church and Church-men, courteous and affable to all reputed good, a hater of evil Doers, charg'd all his Officers to puniſh Thieves, Robbers, and all diſturbers of the Peace, while he himſelf by Sea and Land labour'd in the defence of his Country: ſo good an actor is Ambition. In the mean while a blazing Star, ſeven mornings together, about the end of *April*, was ſeen to ſtream terribly, not only over *England*, but other parts of the World; foretelling heer, as was thought, the great Changes approaching: plainlieſt prognoſticated by *Elmer* a Monk of *Malmsbury*, who could not foreſee, when time was, the breaking of his own Legs for ſoaring too high. He in his youth ſtrangely aſpiring, had made and fitted Wings to his Hands and Feet; with theſe on the top of a Tower, ſpread out to gather Air, he flew more then a Furlong; but the Wind being too high, came fluttering down, to the maiming of all his Limbs; yet ſo conceited of his Art, that he attributed the cauſe of his fall to the want of a Tail, as Birds have, which he forgot to make to his hinder parts. This Story, though ſeeming otherwiſe too light in the midſt of a ſad Narration, yet for the ſtrangeneſs therof, I thought worthy anough the placing as I found it plac'd in my Author. But to digreſs no farder, *Toſti* the King's Brother coming from *Flanders*, full of Envy at his younger Brother's advancement to the Crown, reſolv'd what he might to trouble his Reign; forcing therfore them of *Wight Ile* to Contribution, he ſail'd thence to *Sandwich*, committing Piracies on the Coaſt between. *Harold* then reſiding at *London*, with a great number of Ships drawn together, and of Horſe Troops by Land, prepares in Perſon for *Sandwich*: wherof *Toſti* having notice, directs his courſe with 60 Ships towards *Lindſey*, taking with him all the Seamen he found willing

Hoved.
Florent.

Malmſ.

or unwilling: where he burnt many Villages, and ſlew many of the Inhabitants; but *Edwin* the *Mercian* Duke, and *Morcar* his Brother, the *Northumbrian* Earl, with thir Forces on either ſide, ſoon drove him out of the Country. Who thence betook him to *Malcolm* the Scotiſh King, and with him abode the whole Summer. About the ſame time Duke *William* ſending Embaſſadors to admoniſh *Harold* of his Promiſe and Oath, to aſſiſt him in his Plea to the Kingdom, he made anſwer, that by the death of his Daughter betroth'd to him on Eadmer. that Condition, he was abſolv'd of his Oath; or not dead, he could not take her now an outlandiſh Woman, without conſent of the Realm; that it was preſumptuouſly don, and not to be perſiſted in, if without conſent or knowledg of the States, he had ſworn away the right of the Kingdom; that what he ſwore was to gain his Liberty, being in a manner then his Priſner; that it was unreaſonable in the Duke to require or expect of him the forgoing of a Kingdom, confer'd upon him with univerſal favour and acclamation of the People: to this flat denial he added contempt, ſending the Meſſengers back, ſaith *Matthew Paris*, on maim'd Horſes. The Duke thus contemptuouſly put off, addreſſes himſelf to the Pope, ſetting forth the Juſtice of his cauſe, which *Harold*, whether through haughtineſs of mind, or diſtruſt, or that the ways to *Rome* were ſtop'd, ſought not to do. Duke *William*, beſides the Promiſe and Oath of *Harold*, alleg'd that King *Edward* by the advice of *Seward*, *Godwin* himſelf, and *Stigand* the Archbiſhop, had giv'n him the right of Succeſſion, and had ſent him the Son and Nephew of *Godwin*, pledges of the Gift; the Pope ſent to Duke *William*, after this demonſtration of his right, a conſecrated Banner. Wherupon he having with great care and choice got an Army of tall and ſtout Souldiers, under Captains of great skill and mature Age, came in *Auguſt* to the Port of St. *Valerie*. Mean while *Harold* from *London* coms to *Sandwich*, there expecting his Navy; which alſo coming, he ſails to the Ile of *Wight*; and having heard of Duke *William*'s preparations and readineſs to invade him, kept good watch on the Coaſt, and Foot Forces every where in fit places to guard the ſhoar. But ere the middle of *September*, Proviſion failing when it was moſt needed, both Fleet and Army return home. When on a ſudden, Malmſ. Matt. Paris. *Harold Harvager* King of *Norway*, with a Navy of more then 500 great Ships, (others leſs'n them by two hundred, others augment them to a thouſand) appears at the mouth of *Tine*; to whom Earl *Toſti* with his Ships came as was agreed between them; whence both uniting, ſet ſail with all ſpeed and enter'd the River *Humber*. Thence turning into *Ouſe*, as far as *Rical*, landed, and won *York* by aſſault. At theſe tidings *Harold* with all his Power haſts thetherward; but ere his coming, *Edwin* and *Morcar* at *Fulford* by *York*, on the North ſide of *Ouſe*, about the Feaſt of St. *Matthew* had giv'n them Battel; ſucceſsfully at firſt, but over-born at length with numbers; and forc'd to turn thir backs, more of them periſh'd in the River, then in the Fight. The Norwegians taking with them 500 Hoſtages out of *York*, and leaving there 150 of thir own, retir'd to thir Ships. But the fifth day after, King *Harold* with a great and well appointed Army, coming to *York*, and at *Stamford*-Bridg, or *Battel*-Bridg on *Darwent*, Camden. aſſailing the Norwegians, after much bloodſhed on both ſides, cut off the greateſt part of them with *Harvager* thir King, and *Toſti* his own Brother. But *Olave* the Kings Son, and *Paul* Earl of *Orkney*, left with many Souldiers to guard the Ships, ſurrendring themſelves with Hoſtages and Oath given never to return as Enemies, he ſuffer'd freely to depart with 20 Ships and the ſmall remnant of thir Malmſ. Army. One man of the Norwegians is not to be forgott'n, who with incredible valour keeping the Bridg a long hour againſt the whole Engliſh Army, with his ſingle reſiſtance delai'd thir Victory; and ſcorning offer'd Life, till in the end no man daring to graple with him, either dreaded as too ſtrong, or contemn'd as one deſperate, he was at length ſhot dead with an Arrow; and by his fall open'd the paſſage of perſuit to a compleat Victory. Wherwith *Harold* lifted up in mind, and forgetting now his former ſhews of popularitie, defrauded his Souldiers thir due and well deſerved ſhare of the Spoils. While theſe things thus paſt in *Northumberland*, Duke *William* lay ſtill at St. *Valerie*; his Ships were ready, but the Wind ſerv'd not for many days; which put the Souldiery into much diſcouragement and murmur, taking this for an unlucky ſign of thir ſucceſs; at laſt the Wind came favourable, the Duke firſt under ſail awaited the reſt at Anchor, till all coming forth, the whole Fleet of 900

Ships

Sim. Dun.

Ships with a proſperous gale arriv'd at *Haſtings*. At his going out of the Boat by a ſlip falling on his hands, to correct the Omen, a Souldier ſtanding by ſaid aloud, that thir Duke had taken poſſeſſion of *England*. Landed, he reſtrein'd his Army from waſt and ſpoil, ſaying, that they ought to ſpare what was thir own. But theſe are things related of *Alexander* and *Cæſar*, and I doubt thence borrow'd by the Monks to inlay thir Story. The Duke for 15 days after landing kept his men quiet within the Camp, having taken the Caſtle of *Haſtings*, or built a Fortreſs there. *Harold* ſecure the while, and proud of his new Victory, thought all his Enemies now under foot: but ſitting jollily at dinner, news is brought him, that Duke *William* of *Normandy* with a great multitude of Horſe and Foot, Slingers and Archers, beſides other choice Auxiliaries which he had hir'd in *France*, was arriv'd at *Pevenſey*. *Harold* who had expected him all the Summer, but not ſo late in the year as now it was, for it was *October*, with his Forces much diminiſh't after two ſore conflicts, and the departing of many others from him diſcontented, in great haſt marches to *London*. Thence not tarrying for ſupplies which were on thir way towards him, hurries into *Suſſex* (for he was always in haſt ſince the day of his Coronation) and ere the third part of his Army could be well put in order, finds the Duke about 9 mile from *Haſtings*, and now drawing nigh, ſent ſpies before him to ſurvey the ſtrength and number of his Enemies: them diſcover'd ſuch, the Duke cauſing to be led about, and after well fill'd with Meat and drink ſent back. They not over-wiſe, brought word that the Dukes Army were moſt of them Prieſts; for they ſaw thir Faces all over ſhav'n; the Engliſh then uſing to let grow on thir upper-lip large Muſtachio's, as did antiently the *Britans*. The King laughing anſwer'd, that they were not Prieſts, but valiant and hardy Souldiers. Therfore ſaid *Girtha* his Brother, a youth of noble courage and underſtanding above his Age, Forbear thou thy ſelf to fight, who art obnoxious to Duke *William* by Oath, let us unſworn undergo the hazard of Battel, who may juſtly fight in the defence of our Country; thou reſerv'd to fitter time, maiſt either reunite us flying, or revenge us dead. The King not hark'ning to this, leſt it might ſeem to argue fear in him or a bad cauſe, with like reſolution rejected the offers of Duke *William* ſent to him by a Monk before the Battel, with this only anſwer haſtily deliver'd, Let God judg between us. The offers were theſe, that *Harold* would either lay down the Scepter, or hold it of him, or try his Title with him by ſingle Combat in ſight of both Armies, or refer it to the Pope. Theſe rejected, both ſides prepar'd to fight the next morning, the Engliſh from ſinging and drinking all Night, the Normans from confeſſion of thir Sins and communion of the Hoſt. The Engliſh were in a ſtreit diſadvantagious place, ſo that many diſcourag'd with thir ill ordering, ſcarce having room where to ſtand, ſlip'd away before the onſet, the reſt in cloſe order with thir Battel-Axes and Shields, made an impenetrable Squadron: the King himſelf with his Brothers on foot ſtood by the Royal Standard, wherin the figure of a man fighting was inwov'n with Gold and pretious Stones. The Norman Foot, moſt Bowmen, made the formoſt Front, on either ſide Wings of Horſe ſomwhat behind. The Duke arming, and his Corſlet giv'n him on the wrong ſide, ſaid pleaſantly, *The ſtrength of my Dukedom will be turn'd now into a Kingdom.* Then the whole Army ſinging the Song of *Rowland*, the remembrance of whoſe Exploits might hart'n them, imploring laſtly Divine help, the Battel began; and was fought ſorely on either ſide: but the main body of Engliſh Foot by no means would be brok'n, till the Duke cauſing his men to feign flight, drew them out with deſire of purſuit into open diſorder, then turn'd ſuddenly upon them ſo routed by themſelves, which wrought thir overthrow; yet ſo they dy'd not unmanfully, but turning oft upon thir Enemies, by the advantage of an upper ground, beat them down by heaps, and fill'd up a great Ditch with thir Carcaſſes. Thus hung the Victory wavering on either ſide, from the third hour of day to Evening; when *Harold* having maintain'd the Fight with unſpeakable Courage and perſonal Valour, ſhot into the Head with an Arrow, fell at length, and left his Souldiers without heart longer to withſtand the unwearied Enemy. With *Harold* fell alſo his two Brothers, *Leofwin*, and *Girtha*, with them greateſt part of the Engliſh Nobility. His Body lying dead, a Knight or Souldier wounding on the Thigh, was by the Duke preſently turn'd out of Military Service. Of Normans and

French

Sim. Dun.

French were ſlain no ſmall number; the Duke himſelf alſo that day not a little hazarded his Perſon, having had three choice Horſes kill'd under him. Victory obtain'd, and his dead carefully buried, the Engliſh alſo by permiſſion, he ſent the Body of *Harold* to his Mother without Ranſom, though ſhe offer'd very much to redeem it, which having receav'd ſhe buried at *Waltham*, in a Church built there by *Harold*. In the mean while, *Edwin* and *Morcar*, who had withdrawn themſelves from *Harold*, hearing of his Death, came to *London*; ſending *Aldgith* the Queen thir Siſter with all ſpeed to *Weſt-Cheſter*. *Aldred* Archbiſhop of *York*, and many of the Nobles, with the *Londoners* would have ſet up *Edgar* the right Heir, and prepar'd themſelves to fight for him; but *Morcar* and *Edwin* not liking the choice, who each of them expected to have been choſ'n before him, withdrew thir Forces and return'd home. Duke *William* contrary to his former reſolution, if *Florent* of *Worſter*, and they who follow him ſay true, waſting, burning, and ſlaying all in his way, or rather, as ſaith *Malmsbury*, not in hoſtile but in regal manner, came up to *London*, met at *Barcham* by *Edgar*, with the Nobles, Biſhops, Citizens, and at length *Edwin* and *Morcar*, who all ſubmitted to him, gave Hoſtages, and ſwore Fidelity, he to them promis'd peace and defence; yet permitted his men the while to burn and make prey. Coming to *London* with all his Army, he was on *Chriſmaſs* day ſolemnly crown'd in the great Church at *Weſtminſter*, by *Aldred* Archbiſhop of *York*, having firſt given his Oath at the Altar in preſence of all the People, to defend the Church, well govern the People, maintain right Law, prohibit Rapine and unjuſt Judgment. Thus the Engliſh while they agreed not about the choice of thir native King, were conſtrein'd to take the Yoke of an outlandiſh Conqueror. With what minds and by what courſe of Life they had fitted themſelves for this ſervitude, *William* of *Malmsbury* ſpares not to lay op'n. Not a few years before the Normans came, the Clergy, though in *Edward* the Confeſſors daies, had loſt all good Literature and Religion, ſcarſe able to read and underſtand thir Latin Service: he was a miracle to others who knew his Grammar. The Monks went clad in fine Stuffs, and made no difference what they eat; which though in it ſelf no fault, yet to thir Conſciences was irreligious. The great men given to gluttony and diſſolute Life, made a prey of the common People, abuſing thir Daughters whom they had in ſervice, then turning them off to the Stews; the meaner ſort tipling together night and day, ſpent all they had in Drunk'neſs, attended with other Vices which effeminate mens minds. Whence it came to paſs, that carried on with fury and raſhneſs more then any true fortitude or ſkill of War, they gave to *William* thir Conqueror ſo eaſy a Conqueſt. Not but that ſom few of all ſorts were much better among them; but ſuch was the generality. *And as the long ſuffering of God permits bad men to enjoy proſperous daies with the good, ſo his ſeverity oft times exempts not good men from thir ſhare in evil times with the bad.*

If theſe were the Cauſes of ſuch miſery and thraldom to thoſe our Anceſtors, with what better cloſe can be concluded, then here in fit ſeaſon to remember this Age in the midſt of her ſecurity, to fear from like Vices without amendment the Revolution of like Calamities?

AN

### AN

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### OF

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or unwilling: where he burnt many Villages, and ſlew many of the Inhabitants; but *Edwin* the *Mercian* Duke, and *Morcar* his Brother, the *Northumbrian* Earl, with thir Forces on either ſide, ſoon drove him out of the Country. Who thence betook him to *Malcolm* the Scotiſh King, and with him abode the whole Summer. About the ſame time Duke *William* ſending Embaſſadors to admoniſh *Harold* of his Promiſe and Oath, to aſſiſt him in his Plea to the Kingdom, he made anſwer, that by the death of his Daughter betroth'd to him on that Condition, he was abſolv'd of his Oath; or not dead, he could not take her now an outlandiſh Woman, without conſent of the Realm; that it was preſumptuouſly don, and not to be perſiſted in, if without conſent or knowledg of the States, he had ſworn away the right of the Kingdom; that what he ſwore was to gain his Liberty, being in a manner then his Priſner; that it was unreaſonable in the Duke to require or expect of him the forgoing of a Kingdom, confer'd upon him with univerſal favour and acclamation of the People: to this flat denial he added contempt, ſending the Meſſengers back, ſaith *Matthew Paris*, on maim'd Horſes. The Duke thus contemptuouſly put off, addreſſes himſelf to the Pope, ſetting forth the Juſtice of his cauſe, which *Harold*, whether through haughtineſs of mind, or diſtruſt, or that the ways to *Rome* were ſtop'd, ſought not to do. Duke *William*, beſides the Promiſe and Oath of *Harold*, alleg'd that King *Edward* by the advice of *Seward*, *Godwin* himſelf, and *Stigand* the Archbiſhop, had giv'n him the right of Succeſſion, and had ſent him the Son and Nephew of *Godwin*, pledges of the Gift; the Pope ſent to Duke *William*, after this demonſtration of his right, a conſecrated Banner. Wherupon he having with great care and choice got an Army of tall and ſtout Souldiers, under Captains of great ſkill and mature Age, came in *Auguſt* to the Port of St. *Valerie*. Mean while *Harold* from *London* coms to *Sandwich*, there expecting his Navy; which alſo coming, he ſails to the Ile of *Wight*; and having heard of Duke *William*'s preparations and readineſs to invade him, kept good watch on the Coaſt, and Foot Forces every where in fit places to guard the ſhoar. But ere the middle of *September*, Proviſion failing when it was moſt needed, both Fleet and Army return home. When on a ſudden, *Harold Harvager* King of *Norway*, with a Navy of more then 500 great Ships, (others leſs'n them by two hundred, others augment them to a thouſand) appears at the mouth of *Tine*; to whom Earl *Toſti* with his Ships came as was agreed between them; whence both uniting, ſet ſail with all ſpeed and enter'd the River *Humber*. Thence turning into *Ouſe*, as far as *Rical*, landed, and won *York* by aſſault. At theſe tidings *Harold* with all his Power haſts thetherward; but ere his coming, *Edwin* and *Morcar* at *Fulford* by *York*, on the North ſide of *Ouſe*, about the Feaſt of St. *Matthew* had giv'n them Battel; ſucceſsfully at firſt, but over-born at length with numbers; and forc'd to turn thir backs, more of them periſh'd in the River, then in the Fight. The Norwegians taking with them 500 Hoſtages out of *York*, and leaving there 150 of thir own, retir'd to thir Ships. But the fifth day after, King *Harold* with a great and well appointed Army, coming to *York*, and at *Stamford*-Bridg, or *Battel*-Bridg on *Darwent*, aſſailing the Norwegians, after much bloodſhed on both ſides, cut off the greateſt part of them with *Harvager* thir King, and *Toſti* his own Brother. But *Olave* the Kings Son, and *Paul* Earl of *Orkney*, left with many Souldiers to guard the Ships, ſurrendring themſelves with Hoſtages and Oath given never to return as Enemies, he ſuffer'd freely to depart with 20 Ships and the ſmall remnant of thir Army. One man of the Norwegians is not to be forgott'n, who with incredible valour keeping the Bridg a long hour againſt the whole Engliſh Army, with his ſingle reſiſtance delai'd thir Victory; and ſcorning offer'd Life, till in the end no man daring to graple with him, either dreaded as too ſtrong, or contemn'd as one deſperate, he was at length ſhot dead with an Arrow; and by his fall open'd the paſſage of perſuit to a compleat Victory. Wherwith *Harold* lifted up in mind, and forgetting now his former ſhews of popularitie, defrauded his Souldiers thir due and well deſerved ſhare of the Spoils. While theſe things thus paſt in *Northumberland*, Duke *William* lay ſtill at St. *Valerie*; his Ships were ready, but the Wind ſerv'd not for many days; which put the Souldiery into much diſcouragement and murmur, taking this for an unlucky ſign of thir ſucceſs; at laſt the Wind came favourable, the Duke firſt under ſail awaited the reſt at Anchor, till all coming forth, the whole Fleet of 900

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Camden.

Malmſ.

Ships with a proſperous gale arriv'd at *Haſtings*. At his going out of the Boat by a ſlip falling on his hands, to correct the Omen, a Souldier ſtanding by ſaid aloud, that thir Duke had taken poſſeſſion of *England*. Landed, he reſtrein'd his Army from waſt and ſpoil, ſaying, that they ought to ſpare what was thir own. But theſe are things related of *Alexander* and *Cæſar*, and I doubt thence borrow'd by the Monks to inlay thir Story. The Duke for 15 days after landing kept his men quiet within the Camp, having taken the Caſtle of *Haſtings*, or built a Fortreſs there. *Harold* ſecure the while, and proud of his new Victory, thought all his Enemies now under foot: but ſitting jollily at dinner, news is brought him, that Duke *William* of *Normandy* with a great multitude of Horſe and Foot, Slingers and Archers, beſides other choice Auxiliaries which he had hir'd in *France*, was arriv'd at *Pevenſey*. *Harold* who had expected him all the Summer, but not ſo late in the year as now it was, for it was *October*, with his Forces much diminiſh't after two ſore conflicts, and the departing of many others from him diſcontented, in great haſt marches to *London*. Thence not tarrying for ſupplies which were on thir way towards him, hurries into *Suſſex* (for he was always in haſt ſince the day of his Coronation) and ere the third part of his Army could be well put in order, finds the Duke about 9 mile from *Haſtings*, and now drawing nigh, ſent ſpies before him to ſurvey the ſtrength and number of his Enemies: them diſcover'd ſuch, the Duke cauſing to be led about, and after well fill'd with Meat and drink ſent back. They not over-wiſe, brought word that the Dukes Army were moſt of them Prieſts; for they ſaw thir Faces all over ſhav'n; the Engliſh then uſing to let grow on thir upper-lip large Muſtachio's, as did antiently the *Britans*. The King laughing anſwer'd, that they were not Prieſts, but valiant and hardy Souldiers. Therfore ſaid *Girtha* his Brother, a youth of noble courage and underſtanding above his Age, Forbear thou thy ſelf to fight, who art obnoxious to Duke *William* by Oath, let us unſworn undergo the hazard of Battel, who may juſtly fight in the defence of our Country; thou reſerv'd to fitter time, maiſt either reunite us flying, or revenge us dead. The King not hark'ning to this, leſt it might ſeem to argue fear in him or a bad cauſe, with like reſolution rejected the offers of Duke *William* ſent to him by a Monk before the Battel, with this only anſwer haſtily deliver'd, Let God judg between us. The offers were theſe, that *Harold* would either lay down the Scepter, or hold it of him, or try his Title with him by ſingle Combat in ſight of both Armies, or refer it to the Pope. Theſe rejected, both ſides prepar'd to fight the next morning, the Engliſh from ſinging and drinking all Night, the Normans from confeſſion of thir Sins and communion of the Hoſt. The Engliſh were in a ſtreit diſadvantagious place, ſo that many diſcourag'd with thir ill ordering, ſcarce having room where to ſtand, ſlip'd away before the onſet, the reſt in cloſe order with thir Battel-Axes and Shields, made an impenetrable Squadron: the King himſelf with his Brothers on foot ſtood by the Royal Standard, wherin the figure of a man fighting was inwov'n with Gold and pretious Stones. The Norman Foot, moſt Bowmen, made the formoſt Front, on either ſide Wings of Horſe ſomwhat behind. The Duke arming, and his Corſlet giv'n him on the wrong ſide, ſaid pleaſantly, *The ſtrength of my Dukedom will be turn'd now into a Kingdom.* Then the whole Army ſinging the Song of *Rowland*, the remembrance of whoſe Exploits might hart'n them, imploring laſtly Divine help, the Battel began; and was fought ſorely on either ſide: but the main body of Engliſh Foot by no means would be brok'n, till the Duke cauſing his men to feign flight, drew them out with deſire of purſuit into open diſorder, then turn'd ſuddenly upon them ſo routed by themſelves, which wrought thir overthrow; yet ſo they dy'd not unmanfully, but turning oft upon thir Enemies, by the advantage of an upper ground, beat them down by heaps, and fill'd up a great Ditch with thir Carcaſſes. Thus hung the Victory wavering on either ſide, from the third hour of day to Evening; when *Harold* having maintain'd the Fight with unſpeakable Courage and perſonal Valour, ſhot into the Head with an Arrow, fell at length, and left his Souldiers without heart longer to withſtand the unwearied Enemy. With *Harold* fell alſo his two Brothers, *Leofwin*, and *Girtha*, with them greateſt part of the Engliſh Nobility. His Body lying dead, a Knight or Souldier wounding on the Thigh, was by the Duke preſently turn'd out of Military Service. Of Normans and

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French were ſlain no ſmall number; the Duke himſelf alſo that day not a little hazarded his Perſon, having had three choice Horſes kill'd under him. Victory obtain'd, and his dead carefully buried, the Engliſh alſo by permiſſion, he ſent the Body of *Harold* to his Mother without Ranſom, though ſhe offer'd very much to redeem it, which having receav'd ſhe buried at *Waltham*, in a Church built there by *Harold*. In the mean while, *Edwin* and *Morcar*, who had withdrawn themſelves from *Harold*, hearing of his Death, came to *London*; ſending *Aldgith* the Queen thir Siſter with all ſpeed to *Weſt-Cheſter*. *Aldred* Archbiſhop of *York*, and many of the Nobles, with the *Londoners* would have ſet up *Edgar* the right Heir, and prepar'd themſelves to fight for him; but *Morcar* and *Edwin* not liking the choice, who each of them expected to have been choſ'n before him, withdrew thir Forces and return'd home. Duke *William* contrary to his former reſolution, if *Florent* of *Worſter*, and they who follow him ſay true, waſting, burning, and ſlaying all in his way, or rather, as ſaith *Malmsbury*, not in hoſtile but in regal manner, came up to *London*, met at *Barcham* by *Edgar*, with the Nobles, Biſhops, Citizens, and at length *Edwin* and *Morcar*, who all ſubmitted to him, gave Hoſtages, and ſwore Fidelity, he to them promiſ'd peace and defence; yet permitted his men the while to burn and make prey. Coming to *London* with all his Army, he was on *Chriſmaſs* day ſolemnly crown'd in the great Church at *Weſtminſter*, by *Aldred* Archbiſhop of *York*, having firſt given his Oath at the Altar in preſence of all the People, to defend the Church, well govern the People, maintain right Law, prohibit Rapine and unjuſt Judgment. Thus the Engliſh while they agreed not about the choice of thir native King, were conſtrein'd to take the Yoke of an outlandiſh Conqueror. With what minds and by what courſe of Life they had fitted themſelves for this ſervitude, *William* of *Malmsbury* ſpares not to lay op'n. Not a few years before the Normans came, the Clergy, though in *Edward* the Confeſſors daies, had loſt all good Literature and Religion, ſcarſe able to read and underſtand thir Latin Service: he was a miracle to others who knew his Grammar. The Monks went clad in fine Stuffs, and made no difference what they eat; which though in it ſelf no fault, yet to thir Conſciences was irreligious. The great men given to gluttony and diſſolute Life, made a prey of the common People, abuſing thir Daughters whom they had in ſervice, then turning them off to the Stews; the meaner ſort tipling together night and day, ſpent all they had in Drunk'neſs, attended with other Vices which effeminate mens minds. Whence it came to paſs, that carried on with fury and raſhneſs more then any true fortitude or skill of War, they gave to *William* thir Conqueror ſo eaſy a Conqueſt. Not but that ſom few of all ſorts were much better among them; but ſuch was the generality. *And as the long ſuffering of God permits bad men to enjoy proſperous daies with the good, ſo his ſeverity oft times exempts not good men from thir ſhare in evil times with the bad.*

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If theſe were the Cauſes of ſuch miſery and thraldom to thoſe our Anceſtors, with what better cloſe can be concluded, then here in fit ſeaſon to remember this Age in the midſt of her ſecurity, to fear from like Vices without amendment the Revolution of like Calamities?

## AN

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Chryſanthus *the Son of* Marcianus *a Biſhop, made Deputy of* Britain *by* Theodoſius. p. 39.

Cingetorix *a petty King in* Britain, *aſſaults the Roman Camp*, p. 21. *is taken Priſoner by* Cæſar. ibid.

Claudius *the Emperour is perſwaded by* Bericus, *though a Britan, to invade this Iland*, p. 23. *he ſends* Aulus Plautius *hither with an Army*, ibid. *he coms over himſelf and joins with* Plautius, ibid. *defeats the Britans in a ſet Battel, and takes* Camalodunum, ib. *he returns to* Rome, *leaving* Plautius *behind*, ibid. *he hath exceſſive honours decreed him by the* Senat. p. 24.

Cliguellius *an ancient Britiſh King.* p. 13.

Clodius Albinus *ſucceeds* Pertinax *in the Government of* Britain *for the* Romans, p. 34. *he is vanquiſh't and ſlain in a Battel againſt* Septimius Severus. ibid.

Coilus *the Son of* Marius *leaves the Kingdom to* Lucius. p. 33.

Coillus *an ancient Britiſh King.* p. 13.

Comail *and two other Britiſh Kings ſlain by* Keaulin *and his Son* Cuthwin. p. 54.

Comius *of* Arras *ſent by* Cæſar *to make a party among the* Britans. p. 16.

Conſtans, *of a Monk made a* Cæſar, *reduces all* Spain *to his Father* Conſtantius's *Obedience*, p. 39. *diſplacing* Gerontius *is oppos'd by him, and at laſt ſlain.* ibid.

Conſtantine *the Son of* Conſtantius Chlorus, *ſaluted Emperour after his Fathers Death*, p. 37. *his Mother ſaid to be* Helena *the Daughter of* Coilus *a* Britiſh *Prince*, ibid. *his eldeſt Son of the ſame name, enjoys among other Provinces of the Empire this Iland alſo*, ibid. *a common Souldier of the ſame name ſaluted Emperour*, p. 39. *by the valour of* Edebecus *and* Gerontius, *he gains in* France *as far as* Arles, ibid. *by the Conduct of his Son* Conſtans, *and of* Gerontius, *he reduces all* Spain, ibid. Gerontius *diſplac't by him calls in the* Vandals *againſt him*, ibid. *beſeig'd by* Conſtantius Comes, *he turns Prieſt, is afterwards carried into* Italy, *and put to Death.* p. 40.

Conſtantine *the Son of* Cador *ſharply inveigh'd againſt by* Gildas, p. 53. *he is ſaid to have murder'd two young Princes of the Blood Royal.* ibid.

Conſtantine *King of* Scotland *joining with the Danes and Iriſh under* Anlaf, *is overthrown by* Athelſtan. p. 89.

Conſtantius Chlorus *ſent againſt* Carauſius, p. 36. *defeats* Alectus, *who is ſlain in the Battel*, ibid. *is acknowledg'd by the Britans as thir Deliverer*, ibid. *divides the Empire with* Galerius, p. 37. *dies at* York. ibid.

Conſtantius *the Son of* Conſtantine *overcoms* Magnentius, *who conteſted with him for the ſole Empire.* p. 37.

Cordeilla's *ſincere Anſwer to her Father begets his Diſpleaſure*, p. 9. *ſhe is married to* Aganippus *a King in* Gaul, p. 10. *ſhe receives her Father, rejected by his other Daughters, with moſt dutiful*

*dutiful Affection*, ibid. *reſtores him to his Crown, and reigns after him*, ibid. *is vanquiſh'd, depos'd, and impriſon'd by her two Siſter's Sons.* ibid.

Corineus *a Trojan Commander, joins Forces with* Brutus, p. 7. *ſlays* Imbertus, ibid. *arrives with* Brutus *in this Iland*, ibid. Cornwal *from him denominated falls to his lot*, p. 8. *he overcoms the Giant* Goemagog. ibid.

Crida, *the firſt of the* Mercian *Kingdom.* p. 54.

Cuichelm *the Weſt-Saxon ſends* Eumerus *a Sword-man to aſſaſſin King* Edwin, p. 59. *is baptis'd in* Dorcheſter, *but dies the ſame Year.* p. 62.

Cunedagius *the Son of* Regan *depoſeth his Aunt* Cordeilla, p. 10. *ſhares the Kingdom with his Coſin* Marganus, *is invaded by him, meets him and overcoms him.* ibid.

Cuneglas *a Britiſh King reigns one of five a little before the Saxons were ſetled.* p. 53.

Cunobeline, *ſee* Kymbeline.

Cutha *helps his Father* Keaulin *againſt* Ethelbert. p. 52.

Cuthred *King of* Weſt-Saxons *joins with* Ethelbald *the* Mercian, *and gains a great Victory over the* Welſh, p. 69. *he hath a fierce Battel with* Ethelbald *the* Mercian, *which he not long ſurvives*, ibid. *a King of* Kent *of the ſame name.* p. 73.

Cuthulf *the Brother of* Keaulin *vanquiſheth the Britans at* Bedanford, *and takes ſeveral Towns.* p. 54.

Cuthwin, *ſee* Keaulin.

D.

Danes *firſt appear in the* Weſt, p. 71. *they ſlay the King's Gatherers of Cuſtom*, ibid. *landing at* Lindisfarne *in* Yorkſhire, *they pillage that Monaſtery, ſlay and captivate ſeveral both Fryars and others*, p. 72. *attempting to ſpoil another Monaſtery, they are cut off by the Engliſh*, ibid. *they make very great waſt and havoc in* Northumberland, p. 74. *they waſt* Shepey *in* Kent, *and engage with* Ecbert *near the River* Carr, p. 77. *they are overthrown and put to flight by* Ecbert, ibid. *thir various Succeſs in the Reign of* Ethelwolf, ibid. *&c. many great Battels between them and the Engliſh in the Reign of* Ethelred *with various fortune*, p. 80, 81. *thir whole Army being defeated, they are brought to terms by King* Alfred, p. 82. *in the ſame Kings reign ſeveral vaſt Fleets of* Danes *arrive with freſh ſupplies*, p. 83. *a vaſt Army of them overthrown by King* Athelſtan, p. 89. *a Maſſacre committed upon them by the* Engliſh *in all parts of the Land in the reign of King* Ethelred. p. 99.

Danius *reckon'd among the Ancient* Britiſh *Kings.* p. 12.

Deruvianus, *ſee* Faganus.

Dinothus *Abbot of* Bangor *his Speech to Biſhop* Auſtin. p. 58.

Diocleſian *ſuppoſed a King of* Syria, *and his* 50 *Daughters having (all but one) murder'd thir Husbands, to have been driven upon this Iland.* p. 4.

Dis *the firſt Peopler of this Iland, as ſom fabulouſly affirm*, p. 4. *the ſame with* Samothes. ibid.

Donaldus *ſaid to have headed the* Caledonians *againſt* Septimius Severus. p. 35.

Donaldus *King of* Scotland *brought to hard Conditions by* Osbert *and* Ella *Kings of* Northumberland. p. 78.

Druids *falſly alledg'd out of* Cæſar *to have forbidden the* Britans *to write thir memorable Deeds.* p. 3.

Druis *the third from* Samothes *fabulouſly written the ancienteſt King of this Iland.* p. 4.

Dunſtan *ſent by the Nobles to reprove King* Edwi *for his Luxury*, p. 92. *baniſht by the King, and his Monaſtery rifled*, ibid. *recall'd by King* Edgar, p. 93. *his miraculous Eſcape when the reſt of the Company were kill'd by the fall of a Houſe.* p. 96.

Dunwallo Molmutius *Son of* Cloten *King of* Cornwal, *reduces the whole Iland into a Monarchy*, p. 11. *eſtabliſheth the* Molmutin *Laws.* ibid.

Durſlus *King of the* Picts *ſaid to be ſlain by the joint Forces of the* Britans *and* Romans. p. 42.

E.

Eadbald *after the Death of his Father* Ethelbert, *falls back to Heatheniſm*, p. 58. *he runs diſtracted, but afterwards returns to his right Mind and Faith*, p. 59. *by what means it happen'd*, ibid. *he gives his Siſter* Edelburga *in Marriage to* Edwin, ibid. *he dies and leaves his Son* Ercombert *to ſucceed.* p. 62.

Eadbert *ſhares with his two Brothers in the Kingdom of* Kent, *after* Victred, p. 68. *his Death*, p. 69. Eadbert *King of* Northumberland *after* Kelwulf *wars againſt the* Picts, ibid. *joyns with* Unuſt *King of the* Picts *againſt*

*gainſt the* Britans *in* Cumberland, p. 70. *forſakes his Crown for a Monks Hood.* ibid.

Eadbright, *otherwiſe call'd* Ethelbert, *uſurping the Kingdom of* Kent, *and contending with* Kenulph *the* Mercian *is taken Priſoner.* p. 72.

Eadburga *by chance poyſons her Husband* Birthric *with a Cup which ſhe had prepar'd for another*, p. 73. *the choice propos'd to her by* Charles *the Great to whom ſhe fled*, ibid. *he aſſigns her a rich Monaſtery to dwell in as Abbeſs*, ibid. *detected of Unchaſtity, ſhe is expelled, and dies in beggery at* Pavia. ibid.

Eandred *Son of* Eardulf *reigns* 30 *years King of* Northumberland *after* Alfwold *the Uſurper*, p. 73. *becoms Tributary to* Ecbert. p. 75.

Eanfrid *the Son of* Ethelfrid *ſucceeds in the Kingdom of* Bernicia. p. 62.

Eardulf *ſuppoſed to have been ſlain by* Ethelred *is made King of the* Northumbrians *in* York *after* Osbald, p. 72. *in a War raiſed againſt him by his People he gets the Victory*, p. 73. *is driven out of his Kingdom by* Alſwold. ibid.

Eaſt-Angle *Kingdom by whom erected.* p. 49.

Eaſt-Saxon *Kingdom by whom begun*, p. 49. *the People converted by* Mellitus, p. 57. *they expel thir Biſhop and renounce thir Faith*, p. 58. *are reconverted by means of* Edwi. p. 64.

Ebranc *ſucceeds his Father* Mempricius *in the Kingdom of* Britain, p. 8. *builds* Caer-Ebranc *now* York, *and other Places.* ibid.

Ecbert *ſucceeds his Father* Ercombert *in the Kingdom of* Kent, p. 65. *dying, leaves a ſuſpition of having ſlain his Uncle's Sons* Elbert *and* Egelbright, ibid.

Ecbert *of the* Weſt-Saxon *Linage, flies from* Birthric's *ſuſpition to* Offa, *and thence into* France, p. 73. *after* Birthric's *deceaſe is recall'd, and with general applauſe made King*, ibid. *he ſubdues the* Britans *of* Cornwal *and beyond* Severn, p. 74. *overthrows* Bernulf *the Uſurper of* Mercia *at* Ellandune *or* Wilton, ibid. *the* Eaſt-Angles, *having ſlain* Bernulf, *yield to his Soveraignty*, ibid. *drives* Baldred *King of* Kent *out of his Kingdom, and causeth both* Kent *and other Provinces to ſubmit to his Scepter*, ibid. Withlaf *of* Mercia *becoms tributary to him*, ibid. *he gives the* Danes *battel by the River* Carr, p. 77. *in another battel he puts to flight a great Army of them, together with the* Corniſh *men joyning with them*, ibid. *he dies, and is buried at* Wincheſter. ibid.

Ecferth *the Son of* Offa *the* Mercian *within four Months ends his Reign.* p. 72

Ecfrid, Oſwi's *eldeſt Son, ſucceeds him in the Kingdom of* Northumberland, p. 65. *wins* Lindſey *from* Wulfer *the* Mercian, ibid. *he wars againſt* Ethelred *the Brother of* Wulfer, ibid. *he ſends* Bertus *with an Army to ſubdue* Ireland, p. 67. *marching againſt the* Picts *is cut off with moſt of his Army*, ibid. *his death reveng'd by* Bertfrid *a* Northumbrian *Captain.* p. 68

Edan *a King of the* Scots *in* Britain *put to flight by* Ethelfrid. p. 57

Edelard *King of the* Weſt-Saxons *after* Ina, *moleſted with the Rebellion of his Kinſman* Oswald, p. 69. *overcoming thoſe troubles, dies in peace.* ibid.

Edgar *the Brother and Succeſſor of* Edwi *in the* Engliſh *Monarchy, calls home* Dunſtan *from Baniſhment*, p. 93. *his peaceable and proſperous Reign, and his favour towards the Monks*, ibid. *his ſtrict obſervance of Juſtice, and his care to ſecure the Nation with a ſtrong Fleet*, ibid. *he is homag'd and row'd down the River* Dee *by eight Kings*, ibid. *his expoſtulation with* Kened *King of* Scotland, p. 94. *he is cheated by the treacherous Duke* Athelwold *of* Elfleda, *whom, avenging himſelf upon the ſaid Duke, he marries*, ibid. *attempting on the Chaſtity of a young Lady at* Andover, *he is pleaſantly deceiv'd by the Mother*, p. 94, 95. *dying in the height of his Glory, he is buried at* Glaſton-*Abby.* p. 93.

Edgar *ſirnamed* Atheling, *his right and title to the Crown of* England *from his Grandfather* Edmund Ironſide, p. 115. *excluded by* Harold *Son of Earl* Godwin. p. 117.

Edilhere *the Brother and Succeſſor of* Anna *in the Kingdom of the* Eaſt-Angles, *ſlain in a Battel againſt* Oſwi. p. 64.

Edilwalk *the* South-Saxon *perſwaded to Chriſtianity by* Wulfer. p. 66.

Edmund *crown'd King of the* Eaſt-Angles *at* Burie, p. 78. *his whole Army put to flight by the* Danes, *he is taken, bound to a ſtake, and ſhot with arrows*, p. 80.

Edmund *the Brother and Succeſſor of* Athelſtan *in the* Engliſh *Monarchy, frees* Mercia, *and takes ſeveral Towns from the* Danes, p. 91. *he drives* Anlaf *and* Suthfrid *out of* Northumberland, *and* Dummail *out of* Cumberland, ib. *the ſtrange manner of his death.* p. 92.

Edmund

Edmund ſirnamed Ironſide, the Son of Ethelred, ſet up by divers of the Nobles againſt Canute, p. 104. in ſeveral Battels againſt the Danes, he coms off for the moſt part victorious, ibid. at length conſents to divide the Kingdom with him, p. 105. his death thought to have been violent, and not without Canute's conſent. ibid.

Edred the third Brother and Succeſſor of Athelſtan, with much ado reduceth the Northumbrians, and puts an end to that Kingdom, p. 92. dies in the flower of his age, and is buried at Wincheſter. ibid.

Edric the Son of Edelwalk King of South-Saxons ſlain by Kedwalla the Weſt-Saxon. p. 66.

Edric ſirnamed Streon advanc't by King Ethelred, marries his Daughter Elgiva, p. 100. he ſecretly murders two Noblemen whom he had invited to his Lodging, p. 102. he practiſes againſt the life of Prince Edmund, and revolts to the Danes, p. 103. his cunning devices to hinder Edmund in the proſecution of his Victories againſt Canute, p. 104. is thought by ſom to have been the Contriver of King Edmunds murder, p. 105. the Government of the Mercians confer'd upon him, p. 106. he is put to death by Canutus, and his head ſtuck upon a Pole, and ſet upon the higheſt Tower in London. ibid.

Edward the Elder Son and Succeſſor of King Alfred, hath War with Ethelwald his Kinſman, who aſpiring to the Crown, ſtirs up the Danes againſt him, p. 86. he proves ſucceſsful and potent, divers Princes and great Commanders of the Danes ſubmitting to him, p.86, 87, &c. the King and whole Nation of Scotland, with divers other Princes and People, do him Homage as thir Soveraign, p. 88. he dies at Farendon, and is buried at Wincheſter. ibid.

Edward ſirnamed the Younger, Edgar's Son by his firſt Wife Egelfleda, is advanc't to the Throne, p. 96. the conteſt in his Reign between the Monks and ſecular Prieſts, each abetted by thir ſeveral parties, ibid. great miſchief don by the falling of a Houſe where a general Council for deciding the Controverſy was held, ibid. inhumanly murder'd by the treachery of his ſtep-mother Elfrida. ibid.

Edward Son of Edmund Ironſide, Heir apparent to the Crown, dies at London. p. 115.

Edward ſirnamed the Confeſſor, the Son of King Ethelred by Emma, after Hardecnute's death is crown'd at Wincheſter, p. 110. he ſeizeth on the Treaſures of his Mother Queen Emma, ibid. he marries Edith Earl Godwin's Daughter, ibid. he makes preparation againſt Magnus King of Norway, but next year makes peace with Harold Harvager, p. 111. he advances the Normans in England, which proves of ill conſequence, ibid. he is oppos'd by Earl Godwin in the Cauſe of Euſtace of Boloign, baniſhes the Earl, and divorces his Daughter whom he had married, p. 112. entertains Duke William of Normandy, p. 113. he ſends Odo and Radulf with a Fleet againſt Godwin, and his Sons exerciſing Piracy, ibid. reconciliation at length made, he reſtores the Earl, his Sons and Daughter, all to thir former Dignities, p. 113, 114. he is ſaid to have deſign'd Duke William of Normandy his Succeſſor to the Crown, p. 116. dies and is buried at Weſtminſter, ibid. his Character. p. 116, 117.

Edwi the Son and Succeſſor of Edmund is crown'd at Kingſton, p. 92. he baniſheth Biſhop Dunſtan for reproving his wantonneſs with Algiva, and proves an enemy to all Monks, ibid. the Mercians and Northumbrians revolt from him, and ſet up his Brother Edgar, p. 93. with grief therof he ends his days, and is buried at Wincheſter, ib.

Edwin thrown out of the Kingdom of Deira by Ethelfrid, p. 54, 59. flying to Redwal the Eaſt-Angle for refuge, he is defended againſt Ethelfrid, p. 59. he exceeds in power and extent of Dominion all before him, ibid. marries Edelburga the Siſter of Eadbald, ibid. he is wounded by an Aſſaſſin from Cuichelm, ibid. the ſtrange relation of his Converſion to Chriſtianity, p. 60. he perſwades Eorpald the Son of Redwald to embrace the Chriſtian Faith, p. 61. he is ſlain in a Battel againſt Kedwalla. ibid.

Edwin Duke of the Mercians, ſee Morcar.

Elanius reckon'd in the number of ancient Britiſh Kings. p. 12.

Eldadus. p. 13.

Eldol. ibid.

Eledaucus. ibid.

Elfled the Siſter of King Edward the Elder, takes Derby from the Danes, p. 87. her Army of Mercians victorious againſt the Welſh, ibid. after ſeveral Martial Acts, ſhe dies at Tamworth. p. 88.

Elfred *the Son of King* Ethelred *by* Emma, *betray'd by Earl* Godwin, *and cruelly made away by* Harold, p. 108, 109.

Elfwald *the Son of* Oſwulf *ſucceeding* Ethelred *in* Northumberland, *is rebell'd againſt by two of his Noblemen* Osbald *and* Athelheard, p. 71. *he is ſlain by the Conſpiracy of* Siggan *one of his Nobles*, ibid.

Elfwin *ſlain in a Battel between his Brother* Ecfrid *and* Ethelred. p. 66.

Elidure's *noble Demeanor towards his depoſed Brother*, p. 12, 13. *after* Archigallo's *death he reſumes the Government, but is driven out again and impriſon'd by his two other Brethren: after whoſe death he's a third time ſeated on the Throne*, p. 13.

Eliud *reckon'd in the number of ancient* Britiſh *Kings*, p. 13.

Ella *the* Saxon *lands with his three Sons, and beats the* Britans *in two Battels*, p. 48. *he and his Son* Ciſſa *take* Andredcheſter *in* Kent *by force*, p. 48, 49. *begins his Kingdom of the* South-Saxons, p. 49.

Elwold *Nephew of* Ethelwald *reigns King of the* Eaſt-Angles *after* Aldulf, p. 74.

Emeric *ſucceeds* Otho *in the Kingdom of* Kent, p. 52.

Emma *the Daughter of* Richard *Duke of* Normandy *married firſt to King* Ethelbert, p. 99. *afterwards to* Canute, p. 106. *baniſh'd by her Son-in-Law* Harold, *ſhe retires to* Flanders, *and is entertain'd by Earl* Baldwin, p. 108. *her Treaſures ſeized on by her Son King* Edward, p. 110. *ſhe dies, and is buried at* Wincheſter, p. 113. *a Tradition concerning her queſtion'd*, ibid.

Eorpwald *the Son of* Redwald *King of the* Eaſt-Angles *perſwaded to Chriſtianity by* Edwin, p. 61. *he is ſlain in fight by* Richert, *a Pagan*, ibid.

Erchenwin *ſaid by* Huntingdon *to be the Erector of the Kingdom of the* Eaſt-Saxons, p. 49.

Ercombert *ſucceeds* Eadbald *in the Kingdom of* Kent, p. 62. *The firſt Eſtabliſher of Lent here*, ibid.

Eric, *ſee* Iric.

Ermenred *thought to have had more right to the Kingdom than* Ercombert, p. 62

Eſcwin *and* Kentwin *the Nephew and Son of* Kinegil, *ſaid to have ſucceeded* Kenwalk *in the Government of the* Weſt-Saxons, p. 65. Eſcwin *joins Battel with* Wulfer *at* Bedanhafer, *and not long after deceaſeth.* ibid.

Eſtrildis *belov'd by* Locrine, p. 8. *is with her Daughter* Sabra *thrown into a River.* ibid.

Ethelbald *King of* Mercia, *after* Ina *commands all the Provinces on this ſide* Humber, p. 68. *he takes the Town of* Somerton, p. 69. *fraudulently aſſaults part of* Northumberland *in* Eadbert's *abſence*, ibid. *his encounter at* Beorford *with* Cuthred *the* Weſt-Saxon, p. 70. *in another bloody Fight at* Secandune *he is ſlain*, ibid.

Ethelbald *and* Ethelbert *ſhare the* Engliſh-Saxon *Kingdom between them after thir Father* Ethelwolf; Ethelbald *marries* Judith *his Father's Widow*, p. 79. *is buried at* Shirburn, ibid.

Ethelbert *ſucceeds* Emeric *in the Kingdom of* Kent, p. 52. *he is defeated at* Wibbandun *by* Keaulin *and his Son* Cutha, ibid. *inlarges his Dominions from* Kent *to* Humber, p. 55. *civilly receives* Auſtin *and his Fellow-preachers of the Goſpel*, p. 56. *is himſelf baptiz'd*, ibid. *mov'd by* Auſtin, *he builds* S. Peter's *Church in* Canterbury, *and endows it*, p. 57. *he builds and endows* S. Paul's *Church in* London, *and the Cathedral at* Rocheſter, ibid. *his Death*, p. 58.

Ethelbert, Eadbert, *and* Alric *ſucceed thir Father* Victred *in the Kingdom of* Kent, p. 68. *ſee* Eadbright.

Ethelbert *the Son of* Ethelwolf *after the death of his Brother* Ethelbald *enjoys the whole Kingdom to himſelf*, p. 79. *during his Reign the* Danes *waſte* Kent, ibid. *he is buried with his Brother at* Shirburn, ibid.

Ethelfrid *ſucceeds* Ethelric *in the Kingdom of* Northumberland, p. 54. *he waſtes the* Britans, p 57. *overthrows* Edan *King of* Scots, ibid. *in a Battel at* Weſtcheſter *againſt the* Britiſh *Forces he ſlays above* 1200 Monks, p. 58.

Ethelmund *and* Weolſtan *the oppoſite Leaders of each party in a Fight between the* Worſterſhire *men and* Wiltſhire *men, ſlain*, p. 73.

Ethelred *ſucceeding his Brother* Wulfer *in the Kingdom of* Mercia, *recovers* Lindſey *and other parts*, p. 65. *invades the Kingdom of* Kent, ibid. *a ſore Battel between him and* Ecfrid *the* Northumbrian, p. 66. *after the violent Death of his Queen he exchanges his Crown for a Monks Cowl*, p. 67.

Ethelred *the Son of* Mollo, *the Vſurper* Alcled *being forſaken by the* Northumbrians, *and depos'd, is crown'd in his ſtead*, p. 70. *having cauſed three of his*

*his Noblemen to be treacherouſly ſlain, he is driven into Baniſhment,* ibid. *after ten Years Baniſhment reſtor'd again,* p. 71. *he cruelly and treacherouſly puts to death* Oelf *and* Oelfwin, *the Sons of* Elfwald *formerly King,* p. 71, 72. *and afterwards* Oſred, *who tho ſhaven a Monk, attempted again upon the Kingdom,* p. 72. *he marries* Elfled *the Daughter of* Offa, ibid. *is miſerably ſlain by his People,* ibid.
Ethelred *the Son of* Eandred *driven out in his 4th year,* p. 77. *is re-exalted to his Seat, but ſlain the 4th year after,* ibid.
Ethelred *the third Son of* Ethelwolf, *the third Monarch of the* Engliſh-Saxons, *infeſted with freſh Invaſions of the* Danes, p. 80. *he fights ſeveral great Battels with the* Danes, *with various ſucceſs,* p. 81. *he dies in the 5th year of his Reign, and is buried at* Winburn, ibid.
Ethelred *the Son of* Edgar *by* Elfrida *crown'd at* Kingſton, p. 97. Dunſtan *at his Baptiſm preſages ill of his future ſlothful Reign,* ibid. *new Invaſions of the* Danes, *and great Spoils committed by them in his Reign,* p. 97, 98, &c. *being reduc'd to ſtreights by the* Danes, *he retires into* Normandy, p. 102. *is recal'd by his People, and joyfully receiv'd* ibid. *drives* Canute *the* Dane *back to his Ships,* ibid. *he dies at* London, p. 104.
Ethelric Ida'*s Son expels* Edwin *the Son of* Alla *out of the Kingdom of* Deira, p. 54.
Ethelwald *the Son of* Oſwald *King of* Deira, *taking part with the* Mercians, *withdraws his Forces,* p. 64.
Ethelwald *the Brother of* Edelhere *ſucceeds him in the Kingdom of the* Eaſt-Angles, ibid.
Ethelwald *ſirnamed* Mollo *ſet up King of the* Northumbrians *in the room of* Oſwulf, p. 70. *he ſlays in Battel* Oſwin *a Lord that rebel'd againſt him,* ib. *is ſet upon by* Alcred *who aſſumes his place.* ibid.
Ethelwolf *the ſecond Monarch of the* Engliſh-Saxons, *of a mild nature, not warlike, or ambitious,* p. 77. *he with with his Son* Ethelbald *gives the* Danes *a total Defeat at* Ak-Lea, *or* Oac-Lea, p. 78. *he dedicates the tenth of his whole Kingdom toward the maintenance of Maſſes and Pſalms for the proſpering of him and his Captains againſt the* Danes, ib. *takes a journey to* Rome *with his Son* Alfrid, *and marries* Judith *the Daughter of* Charles *the* Bald *of* France, ib. *he is driven by a Conſpiracy to conſign half his Kingdom to his Son* Ethelbald, ibid. *dies and is buried at* Wincheſter, p. 79.
Ethelwolf *Earl of* Barkſhire *obtains a Victory againſt the* Danes *at* Englefield, p. 80. *in another Battel is ſlain himſelf,* p. 81.
Ethildrith *refuſing for* 12 *years her Huſband* Ectrid's *Bed, at length veils her ſelf a Nun, and is made Abbeſs of* Ely, p. 66, 67.
Euſtace *Count of* Boloign *revenging the death of one of his Servants, is ſet upon by the Citizens of* Canterbury, p. 112. *he complains to King* Edward, *who takes his part againſt the* Canterburians, *and commands Earl* Godwin *againſt them, but in vain,* ibid.

F.

Faganus *and* Deruvianus *ſaid to have preach'd the Goſpel here, and to have converted almoſt the whole Iſland,* p. 33.
Fauſtus *inceſtuouſly born of* Vortimer *and his Daughter, lives a devout Life in* Glamorganſhire, p. 47.
Fergus *King of* Scots *ſaid to be ſlain by the joint Forces of the* Britains *and* Romans, p. 42.
Ferrex *the Son of* Gorbogudo, *ſlays in fight his Brother* Porrex, *tho aſſiſted with Forces out of* France, p. 11. *is in revenge ſlain himſelf in Bed by his Mother* Videna, ibid.
Flattery *odious and contemptible to a generous Spirit,* p. 107, 108.
Francus, *nam'd among the four Sons of* Iſtion, *ſprung of* Japhet, *and from him the* Francs *ſaid to be deriv'd,* p. 5.
Fulgenius *reckon'd among the ancient* Britiſh *Kings,* p. 13. *the Commander in chief of the* Caledonians *againſt* Septimius Severus, *ſo call'd by* Geoffry *of* Monmouth, p. 35.

G.

Galgacus *heads the* Britans *againſt* Julius Agricola, p. 31.
Germanus *in a public Diſputation at* Verulam, *puts to ſilence the chief of the* Pelagians, p. 43. *he is intreated by the* Britans *to head them againſt the* Picts *and* Saxons, ibid. *he gains the Victory by a religious Stratagem,* ibid. *His Death,* p. 44.
Gerontius *a* Britan *by his Valour advances the ſucceſs of* Conſtantine *the Uſurper in* France *and* Spain, p. 39. *diſplac't by him, he calls in the* Vandals *againſt*

*againſt him*, ibid. *deſerted by his Souldiers, he defends himſelf valiantly with the ſlaughter of* 300 *of his Enemies*, p. 39. *he kills his Wife* Nonnichia *refuſing to outlive him*, p. 40.

Geruntius *the Son of* Elidure *not his immediate Succeſſor*, p. 13.

Godwin *Earl of* Kent, *and the* Weſt-Saxons *ſtand for* Hardecnute, p. 108. *he betrays Prince* Elfred *to* Harold, p. 108, 109. *being call'd to account by* Hardecnute, *he appeaſeth him with a very rich Preſent*, p. 109. *he earneſtly exhorts* Edward *to take upon him the Crown of* England, p. 110. *marries his Daughter to King* Edward, ibid. *he raiſes Forces in oppoſition to the* French *whom the King favor'd*, p. 112. *is baniſh'd*, ibid. *he and his Sons uniting in a great Fleet, grow formidable*, p. 113. *coming up to* London *with his Ships, and preparing for Battel, a Reconciliation is ſuddenly made between him and the King*, ibid. *ſitting with the King at Table, he ſuddenly ſinks down dead in his Seat*, p. 114.

Gomer *the eldeſt Son of* Japhet *believ'd the firſt that peopled theſe Weſt and Northern Climes*, p. 4.

Gonorill *gains upon the Affection of her Father King* Leir *by her Diſſimulation*, p. 9. *ſhe is married with* Maglaunus *Duke of* Albania, p. 10. *her Ingratitude to her Father after ſhe had gain'd from him what ſhe could*, ibid.

Gorbogudo, *or* Gorbodego, *ſucceeds* Kinmarcus *in the Kingdom*, ibid.

Gorbonian *ſucceeds* Morindus *in the Kingdom*, p. 12. *his Juſtice and Piety*, ibid.

Gratianus Funarius *the Father of* Valentinian, *Commander in chief of the* Roman *Armies in* Britain, p. 37.

Gregory *Archdeacon of* Rome, *and afterward Pope, procures the ſending over of Abbot* Auſtin *and others to preach the Goſpel to the* Saxons *in this Iland*, p. 55.

Griffin *Prince of* South-Wales *joining with* Algar, *and committing great ſpoil in* Hereford, *is purſued by* Harold *Earl of* Kent, p. 114, 115. *after a Peace concluded, he breaks his Faith, and returns to Hoſtility*, p. 115. *is again reduc'd*, ibid. Harold *ſent againſt him, brings the* Welſh *to ſubmiſſion*, ibid. *lurking about the Country, he is taken and ſlain by* Griffin *Prince of* North-Wales, ibid.

Guendolen *the Daughter of* Corineus *is married to* Locrine *the Son of* Brutus, p. 8. *being divorc'd by him, gives him Battel, wherein he is ſlain*, ibid. *cauſeth* Eſtrildis *whom* Locrine *had married, to be thrown into a River with her Daughter* Sabra, ibid. *governs* 15 *Years in behalf of her Son* Madan. ibid.

Guenever, *the Wife of* Melval *a* Britiſh *King, kept from King* Arthur *in the Town of* Glaſton, p. 50.

Guiderius *ſaid to have been the Son of* Cunobeline, *and ſlain in a Battel againſt* Claudius. p. 24.

Guitheline *ſucceeds his Father* Gurguntius Barbirus *in the Kingdom*, p. 12.

Gunhildis *the Siſter of* Swane *with her Husband Earl* Palingus, *and her young Son, cruelly murder'd*, p. 99.

Guorangonus *a King of* Kent *before it was given to the* Saxons, p. 46.

Guortimer *the Son of* Vortiger *bends his Endeavours to drive out the* Saxons, p. 46. *his ſucceſs againſt them in ſeveral Battels*, p. 47. *dying, he commands his Bones to be buried in the Port of* Stonar, ibid.

Gurguntius Barbirus *ſucceeds* Belinus *in the Kingdom, overcoms the* Dane, *and gives incouragement to* Bartholinus *a Spaniard to ſettle a Plantation in* Ireland, p. 12. *another ancient* Britiſh *King nam'd* Gurguntius, p. 13.

Gurguſtius *ſucceeds* Rivallo *in the Kingdom*, p. 10.

Gyrtha *Son of Earl* Godwin *accompanies his Father into* Flanders, *together with his Brothers* Toſti *and* Swane, p. 112. *his noble Advice to his Brother* Harold *as he was ready to give Battel to Duke* William *of* Normandy, p. 119. *he is ſlain in the ſaid Battel with his Brothers* Harold *and* Leofwin, ibid.

Gythro *or* Gothrun *a* Daniſh *King baptiz'd and receiv'd out of the Font by King* Alfred, p. 82. *the Kingdom of the* Eaſt-Angles *ſaid to be beſtow'd on him to hold of the ſaid* Alfred, ibid.

H.

HArdecnute *the Son of* Canute *by* Emma, *call'd over from* Bruges, *and receiv'd King with general Acclamation*, p. 109. *he calls* Godwin *and others to account about the death of* Elfred, ibid. *enrag'd at the Citizens of* Worſter *for killing his Tax-gatherers, he ſends an Army againſt them, and burns the City*, ibid. *he kindly receives and entertains his half Brother* Edward, ibid. *eating and drinking hard at a great Feaſt, he falls down ſpeechleſs; and ſoon after expiring, is buried at* Wincheſter, ibid.

Harold *ſirnamed* Harefoot, *the Son of* Canute, *elected King by Duke* Leofric *and the* Mercians, p. 108. *he baniſhes his Mother-in-Law* Emma, ibid. *his perfidiouſneſs and cruelty towards* Elfred *the Son of* Ethelred, p. 108, 109. *he dies, and is buried at* Wincheſter. p. 109.

Harold *Son of* Godwin, *made Earl of* Kent, *and ſent againſt Prince* Griffin *of* Wales, p. 115. *he reduces him at laſt to utmoſt extremity*, ibid. *being caſt upon the Coaſt of* Normandy, *and brought to Duke* William, *he promiſes his endeavours to make him King of* England, p. 116. *he takes the Crown himſelf*, p. 117. *puts off Duke* William *demanding it with a ſlighting anſwer*, p. 118. *is invaded by his Brother* Toſti, p. 117. *by* Harold Harvager *King of* Norway, *whom he utterly overthrows and ſlays, together with* Toſti, p. 118. *is invaded by Duke* William *of* Normandy, p. 118, 119. *is overthrown at the Battel of* Haſtings, *and ſlain together with his two Brothers* Leofwin *and* Gyrtha. p. 119.

Helvius Pertinax *ſucceeds* Ulpius Marcellus *in the Government of* Britain. p. 34.

Hengiſt *and* Horſa *with an Army of* Saxons, Jutes *and* Angles, *land in the Ile of* Thanet, p. 45, 46. Hengiſt *invites over more of his Countrymen*, p. 46. *he gains advantages of* Vortiger *by marrying his Daughter to him*, ibid. *he takes on him Kingly Title*, p. 47. *his ſeveral Battels againſt the* Britans, ibid. *his treacherous ſlaughter of* 300 Britiſh *Grandees under pretence of Treaty*, p. 48. *his death.* ibid.

Henninus *Duke of* Cornwal *hath* Regan *the Daughter of King* Leir *given him in Marriage.* p. 10.

Herebert *a* Saxon *Earl ſlain with moſt part of his Army by the* Danes *at a place call'd* Mereſwar. p. 77.

Hinguar *and* Hubba *two* Daniſh *Brethren, how they got footing by degrees in* England. p. 80.

Hiſtion *ſaid to be deſcended of* Japhet, *and to have had four Sons who peopled the greateſt part of* Europe. p. 4, 5.

Honorius *the Emperour ſends aid twice to the* Britans *againſt thir Northern Invaders.* p. 41, 42.

Horſa *the Brother of* Hengiſt *ſlain in the* Saxons *War againſt the* Britans, p. 47. *his Burial-place gave name to* Horſted *a Town in* Kent. ibid.

Humbeanna *and* Albert *ſaid by ſom to have ſhar'd the Kingdom of the* Eaſt-Angles *after one* Elſwald. p. 74.

I.

Jago *or* Lago *ſucceeds his Uncle* Gurguſtius *in the Kingdom.* p. 10.

Icenians, *and by thir example the* Trinobantes, *riſe up in Arms againſt the* Romans. p. 27.

Ida *the* Saxon *begins the Kingdom of* Bernicia *in* Northumberland. p. 51.

Idwallo *learns by his Brother's ill ſucceſs to rule well.* p. 13.

Immanuentius *ſlain by* Caſſibelan. p. 20.

Immin, Eaba, *and* Eadbert *Noblemen of* Mercia *throw off* Oſwi, *and ſet up* Wulfer. p. 64.

Ina *ſucceeds* Kedwalla *in the Kingdom of* Weſt-Saxons, p. 67. *he marches into* Kent *to demand ſatisfaction for the burning of* Mollo, ibid. *is pacified by* Victred *with a ſum of Money, and the delivering up of the* Acceſſories, ibid. *vanquiſhes* Gerent *King of* Wales, p. 68. *ſlays* Kenwult *and* Albright, *and vanquiſhes the* Eaſt-Angles, ibid. *ends his days at* Rome. ibid.

Inniaunus *depos'd for his ill courſes.* p. 13.

Joſeph *of* Arimathæa *ſaid to have firſt preacht the Chriſtian Faith in this Iland.* p. 33.

Jovinus *ſent Deputy into this Iland by the Emperour* Valentinian. p. 38.

Iric *a* Dane *made Earl of* Northumberland *by* Canute *in place of* Uthred *ſlain*, p. 103, 106. *he is ſaid by ſom to have made War againſt* Malcolm *King of* Scots, p. 106. *his greatneſs ſuſpected by* Canute, *he is baniſht the Realm.* ibid.

Julius Agricola *the Emperours Lieutenant in* Britain, *almoſt extirpates the* Ordovices, p. 29. *finiſhes the Conqueſt of the Ile of* Mona, ibid. *his Juſtice and prudence in Government*, p. 30. *he brings the* Britans *to Civility, Arts, and an Imitation of the* Roman *faſhions*, ibid. *he receives triumphal Honours from* Titus, ibid. *he extends his Conqueſts to* Scotland, *ſubdues the* Orcades *and other* Scotch *Ilands*, ibid. *he is hard put to it in ſeveral Conflicts, but coms off victorious*, p. 31, 32. *he is commanded home by* Domitian. p. 32.

Julius Cæſar *hath Intelligence that the* Britans *are aiding to his Enemies the* Gauls, p. 16. *he ſends* Caius Voluſenus *to make diſcovery of the nature of the People, and ſtrength of the*

*Country*, ibid. *after him* Comius *of* Arras *to make a party among the* Britans, ibid. *the ſtout reſiſtance he meets with from them at his landing*, p. 17. *he receives terms of Peace from them*, ibid. *he loſes a great part of his Fleet*, ibid. *defeats the* Britans, *brings them anew to terms of Peace, and ſets ſail for* Belgia, p. 18. *the year following he lands his Army again*, p. 19. *he hath a very ſharp diſpute with the* Britans *near the Stowr in* Kent, ibid. *he receives terms of Peace from the* Trinobantes, p. 20. *he brings* Caſſibelan *to Terms*, p. 21. *he leaves the Iland*, ib. *offers to* Venus *the Patroneſs of his Family a Corſlet of* Britiſh *Pearl*. ibid.

Julius Frontinus *the Emperours Lieutenant in* Britain, *tames the* Silures *a warlike People*. p. 29.

Julius Severus *governs* Britain *under* Adrian *the Emperour*, p. 32. *divides his Conqueſts here by a Wall* 80 *miles long, as his uſual manner was in other Frontiers*. p. 33.

K.

Kearl *ſurrenders the Kingdom of* Mercia *to his Kinſman* Penda. p. 61

Keaulin *ſucceeds his Father* Kenric *in the Kingdom of the* Weſt-Saxons, p. 52. *he and his Son* Cuthin *ſlay three* Britiſh *Kings at* Deorham, p. 54. *gives the* Britans *a very great rout at* Fethanleage, ibid. *is totally routed by the* Britans *at* Wodensbeorth, *and chac't out of his Kingdom, dies in poverty*. ibid.

Kedwalla *or* Kadwallon *a* Britiſh *King joyning with* Penda *the* Mercian, *ſlays* Edwin *in Battel*. p. 61.

Kedwalla *a* Weſt-Saxon *Prince returned from Baniſhment, ſlays in fight* Edelwalk *the* South-Saxon, *and after that* Edric *his Succeſſor*, p. 66. *going to the* Ile *of* Wight, *he devotes the fourth part therof to holy Uſes*, ibid. *the Sons of* Arwald *King of that Ile ſlain by his order*, ibid. *he haraſſes the Country of the* South-Saxons, ibid. *is repell'd by the* Kentiſh *men*, ibid. *yet revenges the death of his Brother* Mollo, ibid. *going to* Rome *to be baptiz'd, he dies there about five weeks after his Baptiſm*. p. 67

Kelred *the Son of* Ethelred *ſucceeds* Kenred *in the* Mercian *Kingdom*, p. 68. *poſſeſt with an evil Spirit, he dies in deſpair*. ibid.

Kelwulf *reigns King of the* Weſt-Saxons *after* Keola, p. 56. *he makes War upon the* South-Saxons, p. 58. *dying, leaves the Kingdom to his Brothers Sons*. ibid.

Kelwulf *adopted by* Oſric *the* Northumbrian *to be his Succeſſor in the Kingdom*, p. 68. *he becoms a Monk in* Lindistarn. p. 69.

Kened *King of the* Scots *dos high honour to King* Edgar, p. 93. *receives great favours from him*, ibid *is challeng'd by him upon ſom words let fall, but ſoon pacifies him*. p. 94.

Kenelm *ſucceeding a Child in the Kingdom of* Mercia *after* Kenulf, *is murder'd by order of his Siſter* Quendrid. p. 74.

Kenred *the Son of* Wulfer *ſucceeds* Ethelred *in the* Mercian *Kingdom*, p. 67. *having reign'd a while, he goes to* Rome, *and is there ſhorn a Monk*, p. 67, 68. *another* Kenred *ſucceeds in the Kingdom of* Northumberland. p. 170.

Kenric *the Son of* Kerdic *overthrows the* Britans *that oppoſe him*, p. 49. *kils and puts to flight many of the* Britans *at* Searesbirig *now* Salisbury, p. 52. *afterwards at* Beranvirig *now* Banbury. ibid.

Kentwin *a* Weſt-Saxon *King chaces the* Welſh-Britans *to the Sea-ſhore*. p. 66.

Kenulf *hath the Kingdom of* Mercia *bequeath'd him by* Ecferth, p. 72. *he leaves behind him the praiſe of a vertuous Reign*. p. 74.

Kenwalk *ſucceeds his Father* Kinegils *in the Kingdom of the* Weſt-Saxons, p. 63. *his ſucceſſes variouſly deliver'd*, ibid. *he is ſaid to have diſcomfited the* Britans *at* Pen *in* Somerſetſhire, p. 64. *and giving Battel to* Wulfer, *to have taken him Priſoner*, p. 65. *dying, leaves the Government to* Sexburga *his Wife*. ibid.

Kenwulf *entituled* Clito *ſlain by* Ina *the* Weſt-Saxon. p. 68.

Kenwulf *King of the* Weſt-Saxons, *ſee* Kinwulf.

Keola *the Son of* Cuthulf *ſucceeds his Uncle* Keaulin *in the* Weſt-Saxon *Kingdom*. p. 54.

Keolwulf *the Brother of* Kenulf *the* Mercian, *after two years reign driven out by* Bernulf *a Uſurper*. p. 74.

Keorle *with the Forces of* Devonſhire *overthrows the* Danes *at* Wigganbeorch. p. 77.

Kerdic *a* Saxon *Prince lands at* Kerdicſhore, *and overthrows the* Britans, p. 49. *defeats thir King* Natanleod *in a memorable Battel*, ibid. *founds the Kingdom of the* Weſt-Saxons, ibid.

*he overthrows the* Britans *again twice at* Kerdic's Ford, *and at* Kerdic's Leage, ibid.
Kimarus *reckon'd among the ancient* Britiſh *Kings*, p. 12.
Kinegils *and* Cuichelm *ſucceed* Kelwulf *in the Kingdom of the* Weſt-Saxons, p. 58. *they make Truce with* Penda *the* Mercian, p. 61. *they are converted to the Chriſtian Faith*, p. 62. Kinegils *dying leaves his Son* Kenwalk *to ſucceed*, p. 62, 63.
Kinmarcus *ſucceeds* Siſillius *in the Kingdom*, p. 10.
Kinwulf, *or* Kenwulf (Sigebert *being thrown out, and ſlain by a Swineherd*) *is ſaluted King of the* Weſt-Saxons, p. 70. *behaves himſelf valorouſly in ſeveral Battels againſt the* Welſh, ibid. *put to the worſt at* Beſington *by* Offa *the* Mercian, ibid. *is routed and ſlain in Battel by* Kineard *whom he had commanded into Baniſhment*, p. 71.
Kymbeline *or* Cunobeline *the Succeſſor of* Tenuantius *ſaid to be brought up in the Court of* Auguſtus, p. 22. *his chief Seat* Camalodunum *or* Maldon, ibid.

L.

Learning *and* Arts *when began to flouriſh among the* Saxons, p. 65.
Leil *ſucceeds* Brute Greenſhield, *and builds* Caerleil, p. 9.
Leofric *Duke of* Mercia *and* Siward *of* Northumberland *ſent by* Hardecnute *againſt the People of* Worceſter, p. 109. *by thir Counſel King* Edward *ſeizeth on the Treaſures of his Mother Queen* Emma, p. 110. *they raiſe Forces for the King againſt Earl* Godwin, p. 112. Leofric's *Death*, p. 115.
Leofwin *Son of Earl* Godwin, *after his Father's Baniſhment goes over with his Brother* Harold *into* Ireland, p. 112. *he and* Harold *aſſiſt thir Father with a Fleet againſt King* Edward, p. 113. *he is ſlain with his Brothers* Harold *and* Gyrtha *in the Battel againſt* William *Duke of* Normandy, p. 119.
Linceus *deliver'd in fabulous Story to be the Husband of one of the feign'd* 50 *Daughters of* Dioclesian *King of* Syria, p. 4. *the only Man ſav'd by his Wife, when all the reſt of the* 50 *ſlew thir Husbands*, ibid.
Locrin *the eldeſt Son of* Brutus *hath the middle part of this Iland call'd* Leogria *for his ſhare in the Kingdom*, p. 8.
Lollius Urbicus *draws a Wall of Turfs between the Frith of* Dunbritton *and* Edinborough, p. 33.
London *with a great multitude of her Inhabitants by a ſudden Fire conſumed*, p. 73.
Lothair *ſucceeds his Brother* Ecbert *in the Kingdom of* Kent, p. 65.
Lucius *a King in ſom part of* Britain *thought the firſt of any King in* Europe *who receiv'd the Chriſtian Faith*, p. 33. *is made the ſecond by deſcent from* Marius, ibid. *after a long Reign buried at* Gloceſter, ibid.
Lud *walls about* Trinovant, *and calls it* Caer Lud, *or* Luds *Town*, p. 13.
Ludiken *the* Mercian *going to avenge* Bernulf, *is ſurpriz'd by the* Eaſt-Angles, *and put to the Sword*, p. 74.
Lupicinus *ſent over Deputy into this Iland by* Julian *the Emperour, but ſoon recall'd*, p. 38.
Lupus *Biſhop of* Troyes *Aſſiſtant to* Germanus *of* Auxerre *in the Reformation of the* Britiſh *Church*, p. 43.

M.

Madan *ſucceeds his Father* Locrin *in the Kingdom*, p. 8.
Maglaunus *Duke of* Albania *marries* Gonoril *eldeſt Daughter of King* Leir, p. 10.
Magoclune *ſirnamed the* Iſland Dragon, *one of the five that reign'd towards the beginning of the* Saxon *Heptarchy*, p. 53.
Magus *the Son and Succeſſor of* Samothes, *whom ſom fable to have been the firſt peopler of this Iſland*, p. 4.
Malcolm *Son of* Kened *King of* Scots, *falling into* Northumberland, *with his whole Power, utterly overthrown by* Uthred, p. 103. *ſom ſay by* Eric, p. 106.
Malcolm *Son of the* Cumbrian *King made King of* Scotland *by* Siward *in the room of* Macbeth, p. 114.
Malcolm *King of* Scotland *coming to viſit King* Edward, *ſwears Brotherhood with* Toſti *the* Northumbrian, p. 115. *afterwards in his abſence haraſſes* Northumberland, ibid.
Mandubratius *Son of* Immanuentius *favor'd by the* Trinobantes *againſt* Caſſibelan, p. 20.
Marganus *the Son of* Gonoril *depoſeth his Aunt* Cordeilla, p. 10. *ſhares the Kingdom with his Coſin* Cunedagius, *invades him, but is met and overcom by him*, ibid.
Marganus *the Son of* Archigallo *a good King*, p. 13.
Marius *the Sun of* Arviragus *is ſaid to have overcom the* Picts, *and ſlain thir King* Roderic, p. 33.

Martia *the Wife of King* Guitheline *ſaid to have inſtituted the Law call'd* Marchen Leage, p. 12.

Martinus *made Deputy of the* Britiſh *Province, failing to kill* Paulus, *falls upon his own Sword,* p. 37.

Maximianus Herculeus *forc't to conclude a Peace with* Carauſius, *and yield him* Britain, p. 36.

Maximus *a Spaniard uſurping part of the Empire, is overcom at length and ſlain by* Theodoſius, p. 38. Maximus *a friend of* Gerontius *is by him ſet up in* Spain *againſt* Conſtantine *the Uſurper,* ibid.

Mellitus, Juſtus, *and others ſent with* Auſtin *to the Converſion of the* Saxons, p. 57. *he converts the* Eaſt-Saxons, ib. *St.* Paul's *Church in* London *built for his Cathedral by* Ethelred, *as that of* Rocheſter *for* Juſtus, ibid.

Mempricius *one of* Brutus *his Council perſwades him to haſten out of* Greece, p. 6.

Mempricius *and* Malim *ſucceed thir Father* Madan *in the Kingdom,* p. 8. Mempricius *treacherouſly ſlaying his Brother, gets ſole Poſſeſſion of the Kingdom, reigns tyrannically, and is at laſt devour'd by Wolves,* ibid.

Merianus *an antient* Britiſh *King,* p. 13.

Mollo, *the Brother of* Kedwalla, *purſu'd, beſet, and burnt in a Houſe whether he had fled for ſhelter,* p. 66. *his death reveng'd by his Brother,* ibid.

Morcar *the Son of* Algar *made Earl of* Northumberland *in the room of* Toſti, p. 115. *he and* Edwin *Duke of the* Mercians *put* Toſti *to flight,* p. 118. *they give Battel to* Harold Harvager, *King of* Norway, *but are put to the worſt,* ibid. *they refuſe to ſet up* Edgar, *and at length are brought to ſwear Fidelity to Duke* William *of* Normandy, p. 120.

Mordred Arthur's *Nephew ſaid to have given him in a Battel his death's Wound,* p. 53.

Morindus, *the Son of* Elanius *by* Tangueſtela, *a valiant Man, but infinitly cruel,* p. 12.

Mulmutius, *ſee* Dunwallo.

O.

Octa *and* Ebiſſa *call'd over by* Hengiſt *thir Uncle,* p. 46. *they poſſeſs themſelves of that part of the Ile which is now* Northumberland, ibid.

Oenus, *one in the Catalogue of ancient* Britiſh *Kings,* p. 13.

Oeric *or* Oiſc *ſucceeds his Father* Hengiſt *in the Kingdom of* Kent, *and from him the* Kentiſh *Kings call'd* Oiſcings, p. 48. *he is otherwiſe call'd* Eſca, p. 52.

Offa *the Son of* Siger *quits his Kingdom of the* Eaſt-Saxons *to go to* Rome *and turn Monk with* Kenred, p. 68, 69.

Offa *defeating and ſlaying* Beornred *the Uſurper, becoms King of* Mercia *after* Ethelbald, p. 70. *he ſubdues a neighbouring People call'd* Heſtings, ibid. *gets the Victory of* Alric *King of* Kent *at* Ottanford, ibid. *inviting* Ethelbrite *King of the* Eaſt-Angles *to his Palace, he there treacherouſly cauſeth him to be beheaded, and ſeizeth his Kingdom,* p. 72. *had at firſt Enmity, afterwards League with* Charles *the Great,* ibid. *he grants a perpetual Tribut to the Pope out of every Houſe in his Kingdom,* ibid. *he draws a Trench of wondrous length between* Mercia *and the* Britiſh *Confines, his death,* ibid.

Osbald *a Nobleman exalted to the Throne of the* Northumbrians *after* Ethelred, p. 72.

Osbert *reigns in* Northumberland *after the laſt of the* Ethelreds *in the time of the* Daniſh *Invaſion,* p. 77.

Osbert *and* Ella *helping the* Picts *againſt* Donaldus *King of* Scotland, *put the* Scots *to flight at* Sterlin-bridg *with great ſlaughter, and take the King Priſoner,* p. 78.

Osfrid *and* Eanfrid *the Sons of* Edwin *converted and baptized,* p. 61. Osfrid *ſlain together with his Father in a Battel againſt* Kedwalla, ibid.

Oſlac *and* Cnebban *two* Saxon *Earls ſlain by* Keaulin *at* Wibbandun, p. 52.

Oſmund *King of the* South-Saxons, p. 70.

Oſred *a Child ſucceeds* Aldfrid *in the* Northumbrian *Kingdom,* p. 67. *he is ſlain by his Kindred for his vicious Life,* p. 68.

Oſred *Son of* Alcled *advanc'd to the Kingdom of* Northumberland *after* Elſwald, *is ſoon driven out again,* p. 71. *is taken and forcibly ſhaven a Monk at* York, ibid.

Oſric *the Son of* Elfric *baptiz'd by* Paulinus. *ſucceeds in the Kingdom of* Bernicia, p. 62. *turns Apoſtate, and is ſlain by an Eruption of* Kedwalla *out of a beſieg'd Town,* ibid. *another* Oſric *ſucceeds* Kenred *the ſecond,* p. 68.

Oſric *Earl of* Southampton *and* Ethelwolf *of* Barkſhire *beat the* Danes *back to thir Ships,* p. 79.

Oſtorius *ſent Vice-prætor into* Britain *in the room of* Plautius *the Prætor,* p. 24. *routs the* Britans, *and im-*

*proves*

*proves his Victory to the beſt advantage*, ibid. *gives the Government of ſeveral Cities to* Cogidunus *a* Britiſh *King his Ally*, ibid. *defeats the* Silures *under the leading of* Caractacus, p. 25. *has afterwards bad ſucceſs*, p. 25, 26.

Oſtrid *the Wife of* Ethelred *kill'd by her own Nobles*, p. 67.

Oſwald *Brother of* Eanfrid *living exil'd in* Scotland, *is there baptiz'd*, p. 62. *with a ſmall Army utterly overthrows* Kedwalla, ibid. *ſettles Religion, and very much enlarges his Dominions*, ib. *overcom and ſlain in Battel by* Penda *at* Maſerfield, *now* Oſweſtre, ibid.

Oſwi *ſucceeds his Brother* Oſwald *in the Kingdom*, p. 62. *he perſwades* Sigebert *to receive the Chriſtian Faith* p. 64. *he diſcomfits* Penda's *vaſt Army*, ibid. *he ſubdues all* Mercia, *and the greateſt part of the* Pictiſh *Nation*, ibid. *ſhaken off by the* Mercian *Nobles, and* Wulfer *ſet up in his ſtead*, ibid. *his death*, p. 65.

Oſwin *the Nephew of* Edwin *ſhares with* Oſwi *in the Kingdom of* Northumberland, p. 63. *coming to Arms with him, he is over-match't, and ſlain by his Command*, ibid.

Oſwulf *hath the Crown of* Northumberland *relinquiſht to him by* Eadbert, p. 70. *ſlain by his own Servants*, ibid.

Otha *ſucceeds* Eſca *in the Kingdom of* Kent, p. 52.

Otter *and* Roald *two* Daniſh *Leaders landing in* Devonſhire, *thir whole Forces are ſcatter'd, and* Roald *ſlain*, p. 87.

P.

Pandraſus *a* Grecian *King keeps the* Trojans *in Servitude*, p. 5. *is ſet upon and beaten by* Brutus, p. 6.

Paulinus *ſent ſpiritual Guardian with* Edelburga, *endeavours to convert* Northumberland *to Chriſtianity*, p. 59. *the manner of his winning King* Edwin *to embrace the Chriſtian Religion*, p. 60, 61. *he converts the Province of* Lindſey *and* Blecca *the Governour of* Lincoln, *and builds a Church in that City*, p. 61.

Peada *the Son of* Penda *and Prince of the* Middle-Angles, *is baptiz'd with all his Followers*, p. 63. *hath* South-Mercia *confer'd on him by* Oſwi, p. 64. *is ſlain by the Treachery of his Wife on* Eaſter-day, ibid.

Pelagius *a* Britan *brings new Opinions into the Church*, p. 39. *the* Pelagian *Doctrin refuted by* Germanus, p. 43. Pelagians *are judg'd to Baniſhment by* Germanus, p. 44.

Penda *the Son of* Wibba *King of* Mercia *hath the Kingdom ſurrender'd him by* Kearle, p. 61. *he joins with* Kedwalla *againſt* Edwin, ibid. *he ſlays* Oſwald *in Battel*, p. 62. *in another Battel* Sigebert, p. 63. *in another* Anna *King of the* Eaſt-Angles, ibid. *he is ſlain in a Battel againſt* Oſwi, p. 64.

Peniſſel *reckon'd in the number of ancienteſt* Britiſh *Kings*, p. 13.

Peredure *and* Vigenius *expel thir Brother* Elidure, *and ſhare the Kingdom between them*, ibid.

Perjury *an Example of Divine Vengeance in* Alfred *who conſpir'd againſt King* Athelſtan, p. 89.

Petilius Cerealis *utterly defeated by the* Britans, p. 27. *he commands the* Roman *Army in* Britain, p. 29.

Petronius Turpilianus *commands in chief in* Britain *after* Suetonius Paulinus, p. 29.

Pir *one of the ancienteſt Race of* Britiſh *Kings*, p. 13.

Picts *and* Scots *haraſs the South Coaſts of* Britain, p. 38, &c. *See* Scots.

Picts *and* Saxons *beaten by the* Britans, *through the pious Conduct of* Germanus, p. 43.

Porrex *the Son of* Gorbogudo, *tho aſſiſted from* France, *is ſlain by his Brother* Ferrex, p. 11. *his Death reveng'd by his Mother* Videna, ibid. *another of that Name reckon'd in the Catalogue of* Britiſh *Kings*, p. 13.

Portſmouth *denominated from the landing of* Porta *a* Saxon *Prince, with his two Sons* Bida *and* Megla, p. 49.

Praſutagus *King of the* Icenians, *leaving* Cæſar *Coheir with his Daughters, cauſeth the* Britans *to revolt*, p. 27.

Priſcus Licinius *Lieutenant in this Ile under* Adrian, p. 33.

Probus *ſubdues the Uſurper* Bonoſus, *who falls in the Battel*, p. 35. *prevents by his Wiſdom new Riſings in* Britain, ib.

R.

Readwulf *ſucceeding* Ethelred *in* Northumbria, *ſoon after his Coronation, cut off with his whole Army by the* Danes *at* Alvetheli, p. 77.

Rederchius *reckon'd among the ancient* Britiſh *Kings*, p. 13.

Redion, *another* Britiſh *King*, ibid.

Redwald *King of the* Eaſt-Angles *wars*

*againſt*

*againſt* Ethelfrid, *in defence of* Edwin, *and ſlays him in Battel.* p. 59.

Regin *Son of* Gorbonian, *a good King.* p. 13.

Rivallo *ſucceeds his Father* Cunedagius. p. 10.

Rollo *the* Dane *or* Norman *having fought unſucceſsfully here, turns his Forces into* France, *and conquers the Country ſince call'd* Normandy. p. 84.

Romans *land in* Britain *under the Conduct of* Julius Cæſar, p. 17. *thir ſharp Conflict with the* Britans *near the* Stoure *in* Kent, p. 19. *the cruel Maſſacre of the* Britans *upon them,* p. 27. *they leave the Iland to ſuccour thir declining Affairs in other parts,* p. 38, 39. *they com and aid the* Britans *againſt the* Scots *and* Picts, p. 39. *they help them to build a new Wall,* p. 42. *inſtruct them in War, and take thir laſt farewel.* ibid.

Romanus *nam'd among the four Sons of* Hiſtion, *ſprung of* Japhet, *and from him the* Romans *fabled to be deriv'd.* p. 5.

Rowen *the Daughter of* Hengiſt *ſent for over by her Father,* p. 46. *ſhe preſents King* Vortigern *with a bowl of Wine by her Fathers Command,* ibid. *ſhe is upon the Kings demand given him in Marriage.* ibid.

Rudaucus *King of* Cambria *ſubdued in fight, and ſlain by* Dunwallo Mulmutius. p. 11.

Rudhuddibras *ſucceeds his Father* Leil, *and founds* Caerkeint *or* Canterbury, *with ſeveral other places.* p. 9.

Runno *the Son of* Peredure *not immediate Succeſſor.* p. 13.

S.

Sabra *thrown into the River (thence call'd* Sabrina) *with her Mother* Eſtrildis *by* Guendolen. p. 8.

Samothes *the firſt King that Hiſtory or Fable mentions to have peopled this Iland.* p. 4.

Samulius *recorded among the ancient* Britiſh *Kings.* p. 13.

Saron *the ſecond King nam'd among the Succeſſors of* Samothes. p. 4.

Saxons *haraſs the South Coaſt of* Britain, *ſlay* Nectaridius *and* Bulcobandes, p. 38. Saxons *and* Picts, *ſee* Picts.

Saxons *invited into* Britain *by* Vortigern, *aid the* Britans *againſt the* Scots *and* Picts, p. 45. *thir Original,* ibid. *they arrive under the leading of* Hengiſt *and* Horſa, ibid. *they beat the* Scots *and* Picts *near* Stamford, p. 46. *freſh Forces ſent them over, and thir bounds enlarged,* ibid. *they making League with the* Scots *and* Picts, *waſt the land without reſiſtance,* ibid. *beaten by* Guortimer *in four Battels, and driven into* Thanet, p. 47. *they return moſt of them into thir own Country,* p. 48. *the reſt notably defeated by* Ambroſius Aurelianus, *and the* Britans. ibid.

Scots, Picts, *and* Attacots *haraſs the South Coaſt of* Britain, p. 38. *overcom by* Maximus, ibid. Scots *poſſeſt* Ireland *firſt, and nam'd it* Scotia, p. 39. Scots *and* Picts *beaten by the* Romans, *ſent to the ſupply of the* Britans, p. 41, 42. *they make ſpoil and havoc with little or no oppoſition.* p. 42.

Sebbi *having reign'd over the* Eaſt-Saxons 30 *years, takes on him the habit of a Monk.* p. 65.

Sebert *the Son of* Sleda, *reigns over the* Eaſt-Saxons *by permiſſion of* Ethelbert. p. 57.

Segonax, *one of the four petty Kings in* Britain *that aſſaulted* Cæſar's *Camp.* p. 21.

Seius Saturninus *commands the* Roman *Navy in* Britain. p. 33.

Selred *the Son of* Sigebert *the Good, ſucceeds* Offa *in the* Eaſt-Saxon *Kingdom, and coms to a violent end.* p. 69.

Septimius Severus *the* Roman *Emperor, arrives in perſon with an Army in this Iland,* p. 34. *his ill ſucceſs againſt the* Caledonians, ibid. *nevertheleſs goes on and brings them to terms of Peace,* ibid. *builds a Wall acroſs the Iland, from Sea to Sea,* ibid. *they taking Arms again, he ſends his Son* Antoninus *againſt them,* p. 35. *he dies at* York, *'tis thought of Grief.* ibid.

Severus *ſent over Deputy into this Iland by the Emperour* Valentinian. p. 38.

Sexburga *the Wife of* Kenwalk *driven out by the Nobles diſdaining female Government.* p. 65.

Sexted *and* Seward *reeſtabliſh Heatheniſm in* Eaſt-Saxony, *after the Death of thir Father* Sebert, p. 58. *in a fight againſt the* Britans *they periſh with thir whole Army.* p. 59.

Sigeard *and* Senfred *ſucceed thir Father* Sebbi *in the* Eaſt-Saxon *Kingdom.* p. 69.

Sigebert *ſucceeds his Brother* Eorpwald *in the Kingdom of the* Eaſt-Angles, p. 62. *he founds a School or College, thought to be* Cambridg, *and betakes himſelf to a Monaſtical life,* p. 63. *being forc't into the field againſt* Penda, *he is ſlain with his Kinſman* Egric. ib.

Sigebert *ſirnamed the Small, ſucceeds his Father*

*Father* Seward *King of the* Eaſt-Saxons, p. 64. *his ſucceſſor* Sigebert *the 2d is perſwaded by* Oſwi *to imbrace Chriſtianity*, ibid. *is murder'd by the Conſpiracy of two Brethren*, ibid. *his Death denounc't by the Biſhop for eating with an excommunicat Perſon*, ib.

Sigebert *the Kinſman of* Cuthred *ſucceeds him in the* Weſt-Saxon *Kingdom.* p. 70.

Siger *the Son of* Sigebert *the Small*, *and* Sebbi *the Son of* Seward *ſucceed in the Government of the* Eaſt-Saxons *after* Swithelms *deceaſe.* p. 65.

Silures *a people of* Britain *chuſe* Caractacus *for thir Leader againſt the* Romans, p. 24. *they continu the War after* Caractacus *was taken, againſt* Oſtorius *and others.* p. 25, 26.

Simon Zelotes, *by ſom ſaid to have preacht the Chriſtian Faith in this Iland.* p. 33.

Siſilius *the Son of* Guitheline *ſucceeds his Mother* Martia, p. 12. *another of that name reckon'd in the number of the ancient* Britiſh *Kings.* p. 13.

Siſillius *ſucceeds* Jago. p. 10.

Siward *Earl of* Northumberland *ſent by* Hardecnute, *together with* Leofric, *againſt the people of* Worceſter, p. 109. *he and* Leofric *raiſe Forces for King* Edward *againſt Earl* Godwin, p. 112. *he makes an expedition into* Scotland, *vanquiſhes* Macbeth, *and placeth in his ſtead* Malcolm *Son of the* Cumbrian *King*, p. 114. *he dies at* York *in an armed poſture.* ibid.

Sleda *erects the Kingdom of the* Eaſt-Saxons. p. 49.

South-Saxon *Kingdom by whom erected*, ibid. South-Saxons *on what occaſion converted to the Chriſtian Faith.* p. 65, 66.

Staterius *King of* Albany, *is defeated and ſlain in fight by* Dunwallo Mulmutius. p. 11.

Stilicho *repreſſes the invading* Scots *and* Picts. p. 39.

Stuf *and* Withgar *the Nephews of* Kerdic *bring him new Levies*, p. 49. *they inherit what he won in the Ile of* Wight. p. 51.

Suetonius Paulinus *Lieutenant in* Britain, *attacs the Ile of* Mona *or* Angleſey. p. 26.

Suidhelm *ſucceeds* Sigebert *in the Kingdom of the* Eaſt-Saxons, p. 64. *he is baptiz'd by* Kedda. ibid.

Swane *in revenge of his Siſters Death makes great devaſtations in the Weſt of* England, p. 99. *he carries all before him as far as* London, *but is there repell'd*, p. 102. *is ſtil'd King of* England, ibid. *he ſickens and dies.* ibid.

Swane *the Son of Earl* Godwin *treacherouſly murders his Kinſman* Beorn, p. 111. *his peace wrought with the King by* Aldred *Biſhop of* Worceſter, ibid. *toucht in Conſcience for the ſlaughter of* Beorn, *he goes barefoot to* Rome, *and returning home dies in* Lycia. p. 113, 114.

Swithred *the laſt King of the* Eaſt-Saxon *Kingdom, driven out by* Ecbert *the* Weſt-Saxon. p. 69, 74.

T.

Taximagulus *a petty King anciently in* Britain, *one of the four that aſſaulted* Cæſar's *Camp.* p. 21.

Tenuantius *one of the Sons of* Lud *hath* Cornwal *allotted him*, p. 14. *made King after the Death of* Caſſibelan. p. 22.

Teudric *a warlike King of* Britain, *ſaid to have exchang'd his Crown for a Hermitage*, p. 54. *to have taken up Arms again in aid of his Son* Mouric. ibid.

Theobald *the Brother of King* Ethelfrid, *ſlain at* Degſaſtan. p. 57.

Theodore *a Monk of* Tarſus *ordain'd Biſhop of* Canterbury *by Pope* Vitalian, p. 65. *by his means the Liberal Arts, and the* Greek *and* Latin *Tongues flouriſh among the* Saxons. ibid.

Theodoſius *ſent over by the Emperor* Valentinian, *enters* London *victoriouſly*, p. 38. *ſends for* Civilis *and* Dulcitius, ibid. *puniſhes* Valentinus *a* Pannonian *conſpiring againſt him*, ibid. *he returns with applauſe to* Valentinian. ibid.

Theodoſius *the Son of the former prefer'd to the Empire*, p. 38. *overcoms and ſlays* Maximus, *uſurping the Empire.* ibid.

Thurfert *and divers other* Daniſh *Lords ſubmit to King* Edward *the Elder.* p. 87.

Titilus *ſucceeds his Father* Uffa *in the Kingdom of the* Eaſt-Angles. p. 49.

Togodumnus *the ſecond Son of* Cunobeline *ſucceeds in the Kingdom*, p. 22. *is overthrown by* Aulus Plautius, p. 23. *ſlain in Battel.* ibid.

Toſti *the Son of* Godwin *made Earl of* Northumberland *in the room of* Siward, p. 114. *he ſwears Brotherhood with* Malcolm *King of* Scotland, p. 115. *goes to* Rome *with* Aldred *Biſhop of* York, ibid. *the* Northumbrians *riſe againſt him and expel him*, ibid. *a ſtory of great outrage and cruelty committed*

mitted by him at Hereford, p. 116. making War againſt his Brother King Harold, he is driven out of the Country by Edwin and Morcar, p. 118. joining with Harold Harvager King of Norway againſt his Brother, he is ſlain together with Harvager in the Battel. ibid.

Trebellius Maximus ſent into Britain in the room of Petronius Turpilianus. p. 29.

Trinobantes fall off from Caſſibelan, and ſubmit to Cæſar, and recommend Mandubratius to his protection. p. 20.

Turkil a Daniſh Earl aſſaults Canterbury, but is bought off, p. 100. he ſwears Allegiance to King Ethelred, that under that pretence he might ſtay and give intelligence to Swane, p. 101. he leaves the Engliſh again, and joins with Canute, p. 103. his greatneſs ſuſpected by Canute, he is baniſht the Realm. p. 106.

Turkitel a Daniſh Leader, ſubmitting to King Edward, obtains leave of him to go and try his Fortune in France. p. 87.

V.

Valentinian the Emperor ſends over ſeveral Deputies ſucceſſively into this Iland. p. 38.

Vectius Bolanus ſent into Britain in the room of Trebellius Maximus. p. 29.

Vellocatus, ſee Venutius and Cartiſmandua.

Venutius a King of the Brigantes deſerted by his Wife Cartiſmandua, who marries his Squire Vellocatus, p. 26. he rights himſelf againſt her by Arms, ibid. makes War ſucceſsfully againſt thoſe taking part with his Wife. ibid.

Verannius ſucceeds A. Didius in the Britiſh Wars. p. 26.

Vertue ever highly rewarded by the ancient Romans. p. 24.

Veſpaſian valiantly fighting under Plautius againſt the Britans, is reſcued from danger by his Son Titus, p. 24. for his eminent ſervices here, he receives triumphal Ornaments at Rome. ibid.

Uffa erects the Kingdom of the Eaſt-Angles, p. 49. from him his ſucceſſors call'd Uffings. ibid.

Victorinus a Moor appeaſeth a Commotion in Britain, by ſlaying a Governor of his own recommending. p. 35.

Victorinus of Toloſa made Prefect of this Iland. p. 39.

Victred the Son of Ecbert obtaining the Kingdom of Kent, ſettles all things in peace, p. 66. after 34 years Reign he deceaſeth. p. 68.

Videna ſlays her Son Ferrex in revenge of her other Son Porrex. p. 11.

Vigenius and Peredure, expelling thir Brother Elidure, ſhare the Kingdom between them. p. 13.

Virius Lupus hath the North part of the Government aſſign'd him by Severus the Emperor. p. 34.

Ulfketel Duke of the Eaſt-Angles ſets upon the Danes with great Valor, p. 99. his Army defeated through the ſubtlety of a Daniſh Servant, p. 101. he is ſlain with ſeveral other Dukes at the fatal Battel of Aſſandune. p. 105.

Ulpius Marcellus ſent Lieutenant into Britain by Commodus, ends the War by his Valor and Prudence. p. 33.

Vortigern's Character, p. 45. he is adviſ'd by his Council to invite in the Saxons againſt the Scots and Picts, ibid. he beſtows upon Hengiſt and the Saxons the Ile of Thanet, p. 46. then all Kent, upon a marriage with Rowen Hengiſt's Daughter, ibid. condemn'd in a Synod for Inceſt with his Daughter, he retires to a Caſtle in Radnorſhire, built for that purpoſe, p. 47. his Son Guortimer dead, he reſumes the Government, ibid. is drawn into a ſnare by Hengiſt, p. 48. retiring again is burnt in his Tower. ibid.

Vortipor reigns in Demetia, or South-Wales. p. 53.

Urianus reckon'd in the number of ancient Britiſh Kings. p. 13.

Utherpendragon thought to be the ſame with Natanleod. p. 49.

Uthred ſubmits himſelf with the Northumbrians to Swane, p. 102. to Canute, p. 103. his Victory over Malcolm King of Scots, p. 103, 106. he is ſlain by Turebrand a Daniſh Lord at Canute's either command or connivence. p. 103.

W.

Weſt-Saxon Kingdom by whom erected, p. 49. Weſt-Saxons, and thir Kings converted to the Chriſtian Faith by Berinus. p. 62.

Wibba ſucceeds Crida in the Mercian Kingdom. p. 54.

Wilbrod a Prieſt goes over with 12 others to preach the Goſpel in Germany, p. 67. he is countenanc't by Pepin Chief Regent of the Franks, and made firſt Biſhop of that Nation. ibid.

Wilfred Biſhop of the Northumbrians depriv'd by Ecfrid of his Biſhoprick, wanders as far as Rome, p. 66. returning

*turning plants the Goſpel in the Ile of* Wight, *and other places aſſign'd him,* ibid. *hath the fourth part of that Iland given him by* Kedwalla; *he beſtows it on* Bertwin *a Prieſt, his Siſters Son.* ibid.

William *Duke of* Normandy *honorably entertain'd by King* Edward, *and richly diſmiſt*, p. 113. *he betroths his Daughter to* Harold, *and receives his Oath to aſſiſt him to the Crown of* England, p. 116. *ſending after King* Edwards *Death to demand performance of his promiſe, is put off with a ſlight anſwer*, p. 118. *he lands with an Army at* Haſtings, p. 118, 119. *overthrows* Harold, *who with his two Brothers is ſlain in Battel*, p. 119. *he is Crown'd at* Weſtminſter *by* Aldred *Archbiſhop of* York. p. 120.

Wipped *a Saxon Earl ſlain at a place call'd* Wippeds fleot, *which thence took denomination.* p. 47.

Withgar, *ſee* Stuf.

Withgarburgh *in the Ile of* Wight *ſo call'd from being the burial-place of* Withgar. p. 51.

Withlaf *the ſucceſſor of* Ludiken, *being vanquiſht by* Ecbert, *all* Mercia *becoms tributary to him.* p. 74.

Wulfer *the Son of* Penda *ſet up by the* Mercian *Nobles in the room of his Brother* Oſwi, p. 64. *ſaid to have been taken Priſoner by* Kenwalk *the* Weſt-Saxon, p. 65. *he takes and waſts the Ile of* Wight, *but cauſeth the Inhabitants to be baptized*, ibid. *gives the Iland to* Ethelwald *King of* South-Saxons, ibid. *ſends* Jarummannus *to recover the* Eaſt-Saxons, *fallen off the ſecond time from Chriſtianity*, ibid. Lindſey *taken from him by* Ecfrid *of* Northumberland, ibid. *his Death accompany'd with the ſtain of Simonie.* ibid.

Wulfheard *King* Ethelwolf's *chief Captain, drives back the* Danes *at* Southamton *with great ſlaughter*, p. 77. *he dies the ſame year, as it is thought, of Age.* ibid.

Wulketul *Earl of* Ely *put to flight with his whole Army by the* Danes. p. 80.

Y.

YMner *King of* Loegria, *with others ſlain in Battel by* Dunwallo Mulmutius. p. 11.

# FIVE
# TRACTS
## Relating to
## Church-Government,

Publiſhed in the Year 1641.

*VIZ.*

I. Animadverſions upon the Remonſtrants Defence againſt *Smectymnuus*.

II. An Apology for *Smectymnuus*.

III. The Reaſon of Church-Government urg'd againſt Prelaty. In two Books.

IV. Of Prelatical Epiſcopacy, and whether it may be deduc'd from the Apoſtolical Times, *&c.*

V. Of Reformation touching Church-Diſcipline in *England*, and the Cauſes that hitherto have hindred it. In two Books, written to a Friend.

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AMSTERDAM, MDCXCIV.

# ANIMADVERIONS, &c.

## The Preface.

ALthough it be a certain Truth that they who undertake a Religious Cauſe need not care to be Men-pleaſers; yet becauſe the ſatisfaction of tender and mild Conſciences is far different from that which is call'd Men-pleaſing, to ſatisfy ſuch, I ſhall adreſſe my ſelf in few words to give notice before hand of ſomething in this Book, which to ſome Men perhaps may ſeeme offenſive, that when I have render'd a lawfull reaſon of what is done, I may truſt to have ſav'd the labour of defending or excuſing hereafter. We all know that in private or perſonall Injuries, yea in publique Sufferings for the cauſe of Chriſt, his Rule and Example teaches us to be ſo far from a readineſs to ſpeak evil, as not to anſwer the reviler in his Language, though never ſo much provok't: Yet in the detecting, and convincing of any notorious Enemie to Truth and his Countries Peace, eſpecially that is conceited to have a voluble and ſmart fluence of Tongue, and in the vain confidence of that, and out of a more tenacious cling to worldly reſpects, ſtands up for all the reſt to juſtifie a long Uſurpation and convicted Pſeudepiſcopy of Prelates, with all their Ceremonies, Liturgies, and Tyrannies which God and Man are now ready to explode and hiſſe out of the Land; I ſuppoſe, and more then ſuppoſe, it will be nothing diſagreeing from Chriſtian Meekeneſs, to handle ſuch a one in a rougher Accent, and to ſend home his Haughtineſſe well beſpurted with his owne Holy-water. Nor to do thus are we unautoritied either from the morall Precept of SALOMON, to anſwer him thereafter that prides him in his Folly; nor from the example of Chriſt, and all his Followers in all Ages, who in the refuting of thoſe that reſiſted ſound Doctrine, and by ſubtile Diſſimulations corrupted the minds of Men, have wrought up their zealous Souls into ſuch vehemencies, as nothing could be more killingly ſpoken: for who can be a greater enemy to Mankind, who a more dangerous deceiver, then he who defending a traditional Corruption uſes no common Arts, but with a wily Stratagem of yeelding to the time a greater part of his Cauſe, ſeeming to forgo all that Man's Invention hath done therein, and driven from much of his bold in Scripture; yet leaving it hanging by a twin'd Threed, not from Divine Command, but from Apoſtolical Prudence or Aſſent; as if he had the ſurety of ſome rouling Trench, creeps up by this meanes to his relinquiſh't fortreſſe of Divine Authority again, and ſtill hovering betweene the Confines of that which he dares not bee openly, and that which he will not be ſincerely, traines on the eaſie Chriſtian inſenſibly within the cloſe ambuſhment of worſt Errors, and with a ſlye ſhuffle of counterfeit Principles, chopping and changing till hee have glean'd all the good ones out of their Minds, leaves them at laſt, after a ſlight reſemblance of ſweeping and garniſhing, under the ſevenfold poſſeſſion of a deſperate Stupidity. And therefore they that love the Soules of Men, which is the deareſt love, and ſtirs up the nobleſt jealouſie, when they meet with ſuch Colluſion, cannot be blam'd though they bee tranſported with the zeale of Truth to a well heated fervencie; eſpecially, ſeeing they which thus offend againſt the Souls of their Brethren, do it with delight to their great Gaine, eaſe, and advancement in this World; but they that ſeek to diſcover and oppoſe their falſe trade of Deceiving, do it not without a ſad and unwilling Anger, not without many Hazards; but without all private and perſonall ſpleene, and without any thought of earthly Reward, when as this very courſe they take ſtopps their hopes of aſcending above a lowly and unenviable pitch in this Life. And although in the ſerious uncaſing of a grand Impoſture (for to deale plainly with you Readers, Prelatry is no better) there be mixt here and there ſuch a grim laughter, as may appear at the ſame time in an auſtere Viſage, it cannot be taxt of Levity or Inſolence: for even this veine of laughing (as I could produce out of grave Authors) hath oft-times a ſtrong and ſinewy force in teaching and confuting; nor can there be a more proper object of Indignation and Scorne together, then a falſe Prophet taken in the greateſt, deareſt and moſt dangerous cheat, the cheat of Souls: in the diſcloſing whereof, if it be harmfull to be angry, and withall to caſt a lowring Smile, when the propereſt Object calls for both, it will be long enough ere any be able to ſay, why thoſe two moſt rationall faculties of humane intellect, *Anger and Laughter, were firſt ſeated in the breſt of Man. Thus much (Readers) in favour of the ſofter ſpirited Chriſtian, for other exceptioners there was no thought taken. Only if it be ask't, why this cloſe and ſuccinct manner of coping with the Adverſary was rather choſen, this was the reaſon chiefly, that the ingenuous Reader, without further amuſing himſelf in the Labyrinth of controverſall Antiquity, may come to the ſpeedieſt way to ſee the Truth vindicated, and Sophiſtry taken ſhort at the firſt falſe bound. Next, that the Remonſtrant himſelf, as oft as hee pleaſes to be frolick, and brave it with others, may find no gain of Money, and may learn not to inſult in ſo bad a Cauſe. But now he begins.*

## SECT. I.

*Pag.* 1. *Remonſtrant.* My ſingle *Remonſtrance* is encountred with a plurall *Adverſary.*

*Anſwere.* Did not your ſingle Remonſtrance bring along with it a hot ſent of your more then ſingular Affection to ſpirituall Pluralities, your ſingleneſſe would be leſſe ſuſpected with all good Chriſtians then it is.

*Remonſt.* Their Names, Perſons, Qualities, Numbers, I care not to know.

*Anſw.* Their Names are knowne to the all-knowing Power above; and in the meane while doutleſſe they wreck not whether you or your *Nomenclator* know them or not.

*Remonſt.* But could they ſay my name is Legion, for we are many.

*Anſw.* Wherefore ſhould you begin with the Devils Name, deſcanting upon the number of your Opponents? wherefore that conceit of *Legion* with a by-wipe? Was it becauſe you would have Men take notice how you eſteeme them, whom through all your Booke ſo bountifully you call your Brethren? we had not thought that *Legion* could have furniſht the *Remonſtrant* with ſo many Brethren.

*Remonſt.* My cauſe, yea Gods, would bid me meet them undiſmai'd, &c.

*Anſw.* Ere a foot furder we muſt bee content to hear a preambling boaſt of your Valour, what a St. *Dunſtane* you are to encounter *Legions*, either Infernall or Humane.

*Remonſt.* My cauſe, yea Gods.

*Anſw.* What Gods? unleſſe your Belly, or the God of this World be hee? Shew us any one point of your *Remonſtrance* that do's not more concern Superiority, Pride, Eaſe, and the Belly, then the Truth and Glory of God, or the Salvation of Soules.

*Remonſt.* My cauſe, yea Gods, would bid me meet them undiſmai'd, and to ſay with holy *David, though an Hoaſt,* &c.

*Anſw.* Doe not think to perſwade us of your undaunted Courage, by miſapplying to your ſelf the words of holy *David*; we know you feare, and are in an Agonie at this preſent, leſt you ſhould loſe that ſuperfluity of Riches and Honour which your party uſurp. And whoſoever covets, and ſo earneſtly labours to keep ſuch an incumbring ſurcharge of earthly things, cannot but have an Earth-quake ſtill in his Bones. You are not arm'd *Remonſtrant*, nor any of your Band; you are not dieted, nor your Loynes girt for ſpiritual Valour, and Chriſtian Warfare, the luggage is too great that followes your Camp; your hearts are there, you march heavily: How ſhall we think you have not carnall Fear, while we ſee you ſo ſubject to carnal Deſires?

*Pag.* 2. *Remonſt.* I do gladly fly to the Barre.

*Anſw.* To the Barre with him then. Gladly you ſay. We beleeve you as gladly as your whole Faction wiſh't, and long'd for the aſſembling of this Parliament, as gladly as your Beneficiaries the *Prieſts* came up to anſwer the complaints and outcries all of the Shires.

*Remonſt.* The *Areopagi?* who were thoſe? truly my Maſters, I had thought this had been the name of the Place, not of the Men.

*Anſw.* A ſoar-Eagle would not ſtoope at a Flye; but ſure ſome *Pedagogue* ſtood at your Elbow, and made it itch with this parlous Criticiſme; they urg'd you with a Decree of the ſage and ſevere Judges of *Athens*, and you cite them to appear for certaine *Paragogicall* Contempts, before a capricious *Pædantie* of hot-liver'd Grammarians. Miſtake not the matter courteous *Remonſtrant*, they were not making Latines; if in dealing with an outlandiſh Name, they thought it beſt not to ſcrew the Engliſh Mouth to a harſh forreigne Termination,

tion, ſo they kept the radicall word, they did no more than the eleganteſt Authors among the *Greeks*, *Romans*, and at this day the *Italians* in ſcorne of ſuch a ſervility uſe to doe. Remember how they mangle our Britiſh Names abroad; what treſpaſſe were it, if we in requitall ſhould as much neglect theirs? and our learned *Chaucer* did not ſtick to doe ſo, writing *Semyramus* for *Semiramis*, *Amphiorax* for *Amphiaraus*, K. *Sejes* for K. *Ceyx* the husband of *Alcyone*, with many other names ſtrangely metamorphis'd from true *Orthography*, if he had made any account of that in theſe kind of words.

*Remon.* Leſt the World ſhould think the Preſſe had of late forgot to ſpeak any Language other then libellous, this honeſt Paper hath broken through the throng.

At the beginning of his *Remonſtrance.*

*Anſ.* Mince the matter while you will, it ſhew'd but green practiſe in the Lawes of diſcreet *Rhethorique* to blurt upon the eares of a judicious *Parliament* with ſuch a preſumptuous and over-weening *Proem*: but you doe well to be the Sewer of your owne meſſe.

*Remon.* That which you miſcall the Preface, was a too juſt complaint of the ſhamfull number of Libells.

*Anſ.* How long is it that you and the Prelaticall Troop have bin in ſuch diſtaſt with Libells? ask your *Lyſimachus Nicanor* what defaming Invectives have lately flown abroad againſt the Subjects of *Scotland*, and our poore expulſed Brethren of *New-England*, the Prelates rather applauding then ſhewing any diſlike: and this hath bin ever ſo, in ſo much, that Sir *Francis Bacon* in one of his Diſcourſes complaines of the Biſhops uneven hand over theſe Pamflets, confining thoſe againſt Biſhops to darkneſſe, but licenſing thoſe againſt Puritans to be utter'd openly, though with the greater miſchiefe of leading into contempt the exerciſe of Religion in the perſons of ſundry Preachers, and diſgracing the higher matter in the meaner perſon.

*Remon.* A point no leſſe eſſential to that propoſed *Remonſtrance.*

*Anſ.* Wee know where the ſhoo wrings you, you fret, and are gall'd at the quick, and O what a Death it is to the Prelates to be thus un-viſarded, thus uncas'd, to have the Periwigs pluck't off that cover your Baldneſſe, your inſide Nakedneſſe thrown open to publick view! The *Romans* had a time once every year, when their Slaves might freely ſpeake their minds; 'twere hard if the free-borne People of *England*, with whom the voyce of Truth for theſe many yeares, even againſt the Proverb, hath not bin heard but in corners, after all your Monkiſh Prohibitions, and expurgatorious Indexes, your Gags and Snaffles, your proud *Imprimaturs* not to be obtain'd without the ſhallow ſurview, but not ſhallow hand of ſome mercenary, narrow ſoul'd, and illitterate Chaplain; when liberty of ſpeaking, then which nothing is more ſweet to Man, was girded, and ſtraight-lac't almoſt to a broken-winded Tizzick, if now at a good time, our time of *Parliament*, the very Jubily, and Reſurrection of the State, if now the conceal'd, the aggreev'd, and long perſecuted Truth, could not be ſuffer'd ſpeak; and though ſhe burſt out with ſome efficacy of words, could not be excus'd after ſuch an injurious ſtrangle of ſilence, nor avoyde the cenſure of Libelling, 'twere hard, 'twere ſomething pinching in a Kingdome of free Spirits. Some Princes, and great Statiſts, have thought it a prime piece of neceſſary Policy to thruſt themſelves under diſguiſe into a popular throng, to ſtand the night long under eaves of houſes, and low windows, that they might hear every where the free utterances of privat Breſts, and amongſt them find out the precious gemme of Truth, as amongſt the numberleſſe pibbles of the ſhoar; whereby they might be the abler to diſcover, and avoyde that deceitful and cloſe coutcht evil of Flattery that ever attends them, and miſleads them, and might ſkilfully know how to apply the ſeveral Redreſſes to each Malady of State, without truſting the diſloyal Information of Paraſites and Sycophants: whereas now this permiſſion of free writing, were there no good elſe in it, yet at ſome times thus licenc't, is ſuch an unripping, ſuch an Anatomie of the ſhieſt and tendereſt particular Truths, as makes not only the whole Nation in many points the wiſer, but alſo preſents and carries home to Princes, and Men moſt remote from vulgar Concourſe, ſuch a full inſight of every lurking Evil, or reſtrained Good among the Commons, as that they ſhall not need hereafter in old Cloaks, and falſe Beards, to ſtand to the courteſy of a night-walking Cudgeller for eaves dropping, nor to accept quietly as a Perfume, the over-head emptying of ſome ſalt Lotion. Who could be angry therefore but thoſe that are guilty, with theſe free-ſpoken and plain-harted Men that are the Eyes of their Country, and the Proſpective-glaſſes of their Prince? But theſe are the Nettlers, theſe are the blabbing Bookes that tell, though not halfe your fellows feats. You love toothleſſe Satyrs; let me inform you, a toothleſſe Satyr is as improper as a toothed ſleekſtone, and as bulliſh.

*Remon.* I beſeech you Brethren ſpend your Logick upon your own workes.

*Anſ.* The peremptory Analyſis that you call it, I beleeve will be ſo hardy as once more to unpinne your ſpruce faſtidious Oratory, to rumple her laces, her frizzles, and her bobins, tho ſhe wince, and fling never ſo peeviſhly.

*Pag.* 4. *Remon.* Thoſe verbal Exceptions are but light froth, and will ſink alone.

*Anſ.* O rare ſuttlety, beyond all that *Cardan* ever dream't of! when I beſeech you, will light things ſink? when will light froth ſink alone? Here in your phraſe, the ſame day that heavy plummets will ſwimme alone. Truſt this Man, Readers, if you pleaſe, whoſe Divinity would reconcile *England* with *Rome*, and his Philoſophy make friends nature with the *Chaos*, *ſine pondere habentia pondus*.

*Remon.* That ſcum may be worth taking off which followes.

*Anſ.* Spare your Ladle, Sir, it will be as bad as the Biſhops foot in the broth; the ſcum will be found upon your own *Remonſtrance*.

*Remon.* I ſhall deſire all indifferent eyes to judg whether theſe Men do not endeavour to caſt unjuſt envy upon me.

*Anſ.* Agreed.

*Remon.* I had ſaid that the civil Polity as in general Notion, hath ſometimes varied, and that the Civil came from Arbitrary Impoſers; theſe gracious Interpreters would needs draw my words to the preſent and particular Government of our Monarchy.

*Anſ.* And deſervedly have they don ſo; take up your Logick elſe and ſee: Civil Politie, ſay you, hath ſometimes varied, and came from Arbitrary Impoſers; what Propoſition is this? Biſhop *Downam* in his *Dialecticks* will tell you it is a general Axiome, though the univerſal Particle be not expres't, and you your ſelfe in your Defence ſo explaine in theſe words as in general notion. Hence is juſtly inferr'd, he that ſaies civil Polity is arbitrary, ſaies that the civil Polity of *England* is Arbitrary. The Inference is undeniable, *a theſi ad hypotheſin*, or from the general to the particular, an evincing Argument in Logick.

*Pag.* 5. *Remon.* Brethren, whiles yee deſire to ſeeme Godly, learne to be leſſe malitious.

*Anſ.* *Remonſtrant*, till you have better learnt your Principles of Logick, take not upon you to be a Doctor to others.

*Remon.* God bleſſe all good Men from ſuch Charity.

*Anſ.* I never found that Logical Maxims were uncharitable before, yet ſhould a Jury of Logicians paſſe upon you, you would never be ſav'd by the Book.

*Remon.* And our ſacred Monarchy from ſuch Friends.

*Anſ.* Adde, as the Prelates.

*Remon.* If Epiſcopacy have yoked Monarchy, it is the Inſolence of the Perſons, not the fault of the Calling.

*Anſw.* It was the fault of the Perſons, and of no Calling; we doe not count Prelatry a Calling.

*Pag.* 6. *Remon.* The Teſtimony of a Pope (whom theſe Men honor highly).

*Anſ.* That ſlanderous Inſertion was doubtles a pang of your incredible Charity, the want whereof you lay ſo often to their charge; a kind token of your favour lapt up in a parentheſis, a piece of the Clergy benevolence layd by to maintain the Epiſcopal broile, whether the 1000 Horſe or no, time will diſcover: for certainly had thoſe Cavaliers come on to play their parts, ſuch a ticket as this of highly honouring the Pope, from the hand of a Prelate, might have bin of ſpecial uſe and ſafety to them that had car'd for ſuch a ranſom.

*Remon.* And what ſaies Antichriſt?

*Anſ.* Ask your Brethren the Prelates that hold Intelligence with him, ask not us. But is the Pope Antichriſt now? good newes! take heed you be not ſhent for this, for 'tis verily thought, that had this Bill bin put in againſt him in your laſt Convocation, he would have bin clear'd by moſt voices.

*Remon.* Any thing ſerves againſt Epiſcopacy.

*Anſ.* See the frowardneſſe of this Man, he would perſwade us that the Succeſſion and divine Right of Biſhopdom hath bin unqueſtionable through all Ages; yet when they bring againſt him Kings, they were irreligious; *Popes*, they are Antichriſt. By what Æra of Computation, through what Faery Land, would the Man deduce this perpetual bead-roul of uncontradicted Epiſcopacy? The *Pope* may as well boaſt his ungainſaid Authority to them that will believe that all his Contradicters were either irreligious or heretical.

*Remonſt.* If the Biſhops, ſaith the *Pope*, be declar'd to be of divine Right, they would be exempted from regal Power; and if there might be this danger in thoſe Kingdoms, why is this enviouſly upraided to thoſe of ours? who do gladly profeſſe, *&c.* *Pag.* 7.

*Anſw.* Becauſe your diſſever'd Principles were but like the mangl'd pieces of a gaſh't Serpent, that now begun to cloſe, and grow together Popiſh againe. Whatſoever you now gladly profeſſe out of fear, we know what your drifts were when you thought your ſelves ſecure.

*Remonſt.* It is a foul ſlander to charge the name of Epiſcopacy with a Faction, for the Fact imputed to ſome few.

*Anſw.* The more foul your Faction that hath brought a harmleſſe name into obloquie, and the Fact may juſtly be imputed to all of yee that ought to have withſtood it, and did not.

*Remonſt.* Fie Brethren! are yee the Presbyters of the Church of *England*, and dare chalenge Epiſcopacy of Faction?

*Anſw.* Yes, as oft as Epiſcopacy dares be factious.

*Remonſt.* Had you ſpoken ſuch a word in the time of holy *Cyprian*, what had become of you?

*Anſw.* They had neither bin hal'd into your Gehenna at *Lambeth*, nor ſtrappado'd with an Oath *ex officio* by your Bow-men of the Arches: and as for *Cyprian*'s time, the cauſe was farre unlike, he indeed ſucceeded into an Epiſcopacy that began then to prelatize; but his perſonal Excellence like an Antidote overcame the malignity of that breeding Corruption which was then a Diſeaſe that lay hid for a while under ſhew of a full and healthy Conſtitution, as thoſe hydropick humors not diſcernable at firſt from a fair and juicy fleſhineſſe of body, or that unwonted ruddy colour which ſeems graceful to a cheek otherwiſe pale; and yet ariſes from evil cauſes, either of ſome inward obſtruction or inflammation, and might deceav the firſt Phiſicians till they had learnt the ſequell, which *Cyprians* dayes did not bring forth; and the Prelatiſm of Epiſcopacy which began then to burgeon and ſpread, had as yet, eſpecially in famous Men, a fair, though a falſe imitation of flouriſhing.

*Remonſt.* Neither is the wrong leſſe to make application of that which was moſt juſtly charged upon the practiſes and combinations of libelling Separatiſts, whom I deſervedly cenſur'd, *&c.* *Pag.* 8.

*Anſw.* To conclude this Section, our *Remonſtrant* we ſee is reſolv'd to make good that which was formerly ſaid of his Book, that it was neither *humble*, nor a *Remonſtrance*, and this his Defence is of the ſame complexion. When he is conſtrain'd to mention the notorious violence of his Clergy attempted on the Church of *Scotland*, he ſlightlie termes it a Fact imputed to ſome few; but when he ſpeakes of that which the *Parliament* voutſafes to name the *City Petition*, which I, ſaith he, (as if the State had made him publick Cenſor) deſervedly cenſur'd. And how? as before for a tumultuarie and underhand way of procured Subſcriptions, ſo now in his Defence more bitterly, as the practizes and combinations of libelling Separatiſts, and the miſzealous Advocates thereof juſtly to be branded for Incendiaries. Whether this be for the honour of our cheif City to be noted with ſuch an Infamie for a Petition, which not without ſome of the Magiſtrates, and great numbers of ſober and conſiderable Men, was orderly, and meekly preſented, although our great Clarks think that theſe Men, becauſe they have a Trade, (as *Chriſt himſelfe*, and St. *Paul* had) cannot therefore attaine to ſome good meaſure of knowledge, and to a reaſon of their Actions, as well as they that ſpend their youth in loitering, bezzling, and harlotting, their Studies in unprofitable Queſtions and barbarous Sophiſtry, their middle Age in Ambition and Idleneſſe, their old Age in Avarice, Dotage, and Diſeaſes: and whether this reflect not with a Contumely upon the *Parliament* it ſelf, which thought this Petition worthy, not only of receaving, but of voting to a Commitment, after it had bin advocated, and mov'd for by ſome honourable and learned Gentlemen of the Houſe, to be cal'd a Combination of libelling Separatiſts, and the Advocates thereof to be branded for Incendiaries; whether this appeach not the Judgement and Approbation of the *Parliament*, I leave to equall Arbiters.

## SECT. 2.

*Remonſt.* After the overflowing of your Gall, you deſcend to Liturgy and Epiſcopacy.

*Anſw.* The overflow being paſt, you cannot now in your owne Judgement impute any bitterneſſe to their following Diſcourſes.

*Pag.* 9. *Remonſt.* Dr. *Hall*, whom you name, I dare ſay for honors ſake.

*Anſw.* Y' are a merry Man, Sir, and dare ſay much.

*Remonſt.* And why ſhould I not ſpeake of Martyrs, as the Authors and Uſers of this holy *Liturgie?*

*Anſw.* As the Authors? the Tranſlators you might perhaps have ſaid: for *Edward* the Sixt, as *Hayward* hath written in his Story, will tell you upon the word of a King, that the Order of the Service, and the uſe thereof in the Engliſh Tongue, is no other then the old Service was, and the ſame words in Engliſh which were in Latine, except a few things omitted, ſo fond, that it had been a ſhame to have heard them in Engliſh; theſe are his words: whereby we are left uncertaine who the Author was, but certain that part of the work was eſteem'd ſo abſurd by the Tranſlators thereof, as was to be aſham'd of in Engliſh. O but the Martyrs were the Refiners of it, for that only is left you to ſay. Admit they were, they could not reſine a Scorpion into a Fiſh, though they had drawn it, and rinc't it with never ſo cleanly Cookery, which made them fall at variance among themſelves about the uſe either of it, or the Ceremonies belonging to it.

*Remonſt.* Slight you them as you pleaſe, we bleſſe God for ſuch Patrons of our good Cauſe.

*Anſw.* O *Benedicite! Qui color ater erat, nunc eſt contrarius atro.* Are not theſe they which one of your Biſhops in print ſcornfully termes the *Foxian* Confeſſors? Are not theſe they whoſe Acts and Monuments are not only ſo contemptible, but ſo hatefull to the *Prelates*, that their Story was almoſt come to be a prohibited *Book*, which for theſe two or three Editions hath crept into the World by ſtealth, and at times of advantage, not without the open Regret and Vexation of the Biſhops, as many honeſt Men that had to do in ſetting forth the *Book* will juſtifie? And now at a dead lift for your *Liturgies* you bleſſe God for them: out upon ſuch Hypocriſie.

*Pag.* 10. *Remonſt.* As if wee were bound to make good every word that falls from the mouth of every Biſhop.

*Anſw.* Your Faction then belike is a ſubtile *Janus*, and has two faces: your bolder face to ſet forward any Innovations or Scandalls in the Church, your cautious and wary face to diſavow them if they ſucceed not, that ſo the fault may not light upon the Function, leſt it ſhould ſpoil the whole Plot by giving it an irrecoverable wound. Wherefore els did you not long agoe, as a good Biſhop ſhould have done, diſclaim and proteſt againſt them? wherefore have you ſate ſtill, and comply'd and hood-winkt, till the generall Complaints of the Land have ſqueez'd you to a wretched, cold and hollow-hearted Confeſſion of ſome prelaticall Riots both in this and other places of your *Booke?* Nay what if you ſtill defend them as followes?

*Remonſt.* If a Biſhop have ſaid that our *Liturgie* hath bin ſo wiſely and charitably fram'd as that the Devotion of it yeeldeth no cauſe of offence to a very *Popes* eare.

*Anſw.* O new and never-heard of Supererogative heighth of Wiſdome and Charity in our *Liturgie!* is the Wiſdome of God or the charitable framing of Gods Word otherwiſe inoffenſive to the *Popes* eare, then as hee may turne it to the working of his miſterious Iniquitie? A little pulley would have ſtretch't your wiſe and charitable frame it may be three inches further, that the Devotion of it might have yeelded no cauſe of offence to the very Devils eare, and that had beene the ſame wiſdome and charity ſurmounting to the higheſt degree. For *Antichriſt* wee know is but the Devil's Vicar, and therefore pleaſe him with your *Liturgie*, and you pleaſe his Maiſter.

*Remon.* Would you thinke it requiſite that we ſhould chide and quarrell when we ſpeake to the God of Peace?

*Anſ.* Fie, no Sir, but forecaſt our Prayers ſo that Sathan and his Inſtruments may take as little exception againſt them as may be, leſt they ſhould chide and quarrell with us.

*Remon.* It is no little advantage to our Cauſe and Piety, that our Liturgy is taught to ſpeak ſeveral Languages for uſe and example.

*Anſ.* The Language of *Aſhdod* is one of them, and that makes ſo many Engliſh-men have ſuch a ſmattering of their *Philiſtian* Mother. And indeed our *Liturgie* hath run up and downe the world like an Engliſh gallopping Nun proffering her ſelf, but wee heare of none yet that bids money for her.

*Remon.* As for that ſharp Cenſure of learned Mr. *Calvin*, it might well have beene forborne by him in *aliena Republica*.

*Anſ.* Thus this untheologicall *Remonſtrant* would divide the individuall Catholick Church into ſeverall Republicks: know therefore that every worthy *Paſtor* of the Church of *Chriſt* hath univerſall right to admoniſh over all the world within the Church; nor can that care be alien'd from him by any diſtance or diſtinction of Nation, ſo long as in Chriſt all Nations and Languages are as one houſhold.

*Remon.* Neither would you thinke it could become any of our greateſt Divines to meddle with his charge. Pag. 11.

*Anſ.* It hath ill become 'em indeed to meddle ſo maliciouſly, as many of them have done, though that patient and Chriſtian City hath borne hitherto all their profane ſcoffes with ſilence.

*Remon.* Our *Liturgie* paſt the Judgment of no leſſe reverent heads then his owne.

*Anſ.* It brib'd their Judgment with worldly ingagements, and ſo paſt it.

*Remon.* As for that unparallel'd diſcourſe concerning the antiquity of *Liturgies*; I cannot help your wonder, but ſhall juſtifie mine owne aſſertion.

*Anſ.* Your Juſtification is but a miſerable ſhifting off thoſe teſtimonies of the ancienteſt Fathers alledg'd againſt you, and the authority of ſome Synodal Canons, which are no warrant to us. Wee profeſſe to decide our Controverſies only by the Scriptures, but yet to repreſſe your vain glory, there will be voluntarily beſtow'd upon you a ſufficient conviction of your novelties out of ſucceeding antiquity.

*Remon.* I cannot ſee how you will avoide your owne contradiction, for I demand, is this order of praying and adminiſtration ſet, or no? if it be not ſet, how is it an order? and if it be a ſet order both for matter and form. Pag. 12.

*Anſ.* Remove that Form, leſt you tumble over it, while you make ſuch haſt to clap a contradiction upon others.

*Remon.* If the formes were merely Arbitrary, to what uſe was the preſcription of an order?

*Anſw.* Nothing will cure this Man's Underſtanding but ſome familiar and kitching Phyſick, which, with pardon, muſt for plainneſs ſake be adminiſter'd to him. Call hither your Cook. The order of Breakfaſt, Dinner, and Supper, anſwer me, is it ſet or no? Set. Is a Man therefore bound in the morning to potcht Eggs and Vinegar, or at noon to Brawn or Beef, or at night to freſh Sammon, and French Kickſhoes? may he not make his meales in order, though he be not bound to this or that viand? doubtleſs the neat finger'd Artiſt will anſwer yes, and help us out of this great Controverſy without more trouble. Can we not underſtand an order in Church Aſſemblies of praying, reading, expounding, and adminiſtring, unleſs our Praiers be ſtill the ſame Crambe of words?

*Remonſt.* What a poore exception is this, that Liturgies were compos'd by ſome particular Men?

*Anſw.* It is a greater preſumption in any particular Men to arrogate to themſelves that which God univerſally gives to all his Miniſters. A Miniſter that cannot be truſted to pray in his own words without being chew'd to, and feſcu'd to a formal injunction of his Roteleſſon, ſhould as little be truſted to preach, beſides the vain babble of praying over the ſame things immediately again; for there is a large difference in the repetition of ſome pathetical Ejaculation rays'd out of the ſuddain earneſtneſs and vigour of the inflam'd Soul, (ſuch as was that of *Chriſt* in the Garden) from the continual reherſal of our dayly oriſons; which if a Man ſhall kneel down in a morning and ſay over, and preſently in another part of the Room kneel down again, and in other words ask but ſtill for the ſame things as it were out of one Inventory, I cannot ſee how he will eſcape that heatheniſh Battologie of multiplying words, which *Chriſt* himſelf that has the putting up of our Praiers, told us would not be acceptable in Heaven. Well may Men of eminent Guifts ſet forth as many forms, and helps to Praier as they pleaſe; but to impoſe them upon Miniſters lawfully call'd, and ſufficiently tri'd, as all ought to be ere they be admitted, is a ſupercilious Tyranny, impropriating the Spirit of God to themſelves.

*Pag.* 13. *Remon.* Do we abridge this liberty by ordaining a publick form?

*Anſ.* Your Biſhops have ſet as fair to do it as they durſt for that old Phariſaical fear that ſtill dogs them, the fear of the People; though you will ſay you are none of thoſe, ſtill you would ſeem not to have joyn'd with the worſt, and yet keep alooff off from that which is beſt. I would you would either mingle, or part: moſt true it is what *Savanarola* complaines, that while hee endeavour'd to reforme the Church, his greateſt Enemies were ſtill theſe lukewarm ones.

*Remon.* And if the Lord's Praier be an ordinary, and ſtinted form, why not others?

*Anſ.* Becauſe there be no other Lords that can ſtint with like Authority.

*Pag.* 14. *Remon.* If *Juſtin Martyr* ſaid that the Inſtructer of the People prai'd (as they falſly turn it) according to his ability.

*Anſ.* ὅση δύναμις ἀυτῳ will be ſo render'd to the World's end by thoſe that are not to learn Greek of the *Remonſtrant*, and ſo *Langus* renders it to his face, if he could ſee; and this ancient Father mentions no Antiphonies, or Reſponſories of the People heer, but the only plain acclamation of *Amen*.

*Remon.* The inſtructer of the People prai'd according to his ability 'tis true, ſo do ours, and yet we have a Liturgy, and ſo had they.

*Anſ.* A quick come off. The Ancients us'd Pikes and Targets, and therefore Guns and Great Ordnance, becauſe wee uſe both.

*Remon.* Neither is this liberty of powring out our ſelves in our Praiers ever the more impeach't by a publicke form.

*Anſ.* Yes the time is taken up with a tedious number of Liturgicall Tautologies, and Impertinencies.

*Pag.* 16. *Remon.* The words of the Councell are full and affirmative.

*Anſ.* Set the grave Councels up upon their ſhelves again, and ſtring them hard, leſt their various and jangling opinions put their leavs into a flutter. I ſhall not intend this hot ſeaſon to bid you the Baſe through the wide and duſty champaine of the Councels, but ſhall take counſel of that which counſel'd them, Reaſon: and although I know there is an obſolet reprehenſion now at your Tongue's end, yet I ſhall be bold to ſay that Reaſon is the gift of God in one Man as well as in a thouſand; by that which wee have taſted already of their Ceſterns, wee may find that Reaſon was the only thing, and not any divine Command that mov'd them to enjyne ſet forms of Liturgy. Firſt leſt any thing in general might be miſſaid in their publick *Prayers* through ignorance, or want of care, contrary to the Faith: and next, leſt the Arians, and Pelagians in particular ſhould infect the People by their hymns, and formes of Praier. By the leave of theſe ancient Fathers, this was no ſolid prevention of ſpredding Hæreſy, to debarre the Miniſters of God the uſe of their nobleſt talent, Praier in the Congregation, unleſſe they had forbid the uſe of Sermons, and Lectures too, but ſuch as were ready made to their hands as our Homelies; or elſe he that was heretically diſpos'd, had as fair an opportunity of infecting in his diſcours, as in his Praier or hymn. As inſufficiently, and to ſay truth, as imprudently did they provide by their contrived Liturgies, leſt any thing ſhould be erroneouſly praid through ignorance, or want of care in the Miniſters. For if they were careleſſe, and ignorant in their Praiers, certainly they would be more careleſſe in their preaching, and yet more careleſſe in watching over their Flock; and what preſcription could reach to bound them in both theſe? What if Reaſon, now illuſtrated by the word of God, ſhall be able to produce a better prevention then theſe Councells have left us againſt hereſie, ignorance or want of care in the Miniſtry, that ſuch wiſdome and diligence be us'd in the education of thoſe that would be Miniſters, and ſuch ſtrict and ſerious examination to be undergon ere their admiſſion, as Saint *Paul* to *Timothy* ſets down at large, and then they need not carry ſuch an unworthy ſuſpicion over the Preachers of God's word, as to tutor their unſoundneſſe with the Abcie of a Liturgy, or to diet their ignorance, and want of care, with the limited draught of a Mattin, and even ſong drench. And this may ſuffice after all your laborſome ſcrutinie of the Councels.

*Pag.* 17. *Remon.* Our Saviour was pleas'd to make uſe in the celebration of his laſt and heavenly Banket both of the faſhions, and words which were uſual in the Jewiſh Feaſts.

*Anſ.* What he pleas'd to make uſe of, does not juſtify what you pleaſe to force.

*Remon.* The ſet forms of Praier at the Mincha.

*Anſ.* Wee will not buy your Rabbinical fumes, wee have one that calls us to buy of him pure Gold tri'd in the fire.

*Remon.* In the Samaritan Chronicle.

*Anſ.* As little do wee eſteem your Samaritan trumpery, of which People *Chriſt* himſelfe teſtifies, *Yee worſhip you know not what.*

*Pag.* 18. *Remon.* They had their ſeverall Songs.

*Anſ.* And ſo have wee our ſeverall Pſalmes for ſeverall occaſions, without gramercy to your Liturgy.

*Pag.* 19. *Remon.* Thoſe forms which wee have under the names of Saint *James*, &c. though they have ſome interſertions which are plainly ſpurious, yet the ſubſtance of them cannot be taxt for other than holy and ancient.

*Anſ.* Setting aſide the odde coinage of your phraſe, which no mintmaiſter of Language would allow for ſterling, that a thing ſhould be taxt for no other then holy, and ancient, let it be ſuppos'd the ſubſtance of them may ſavour of ſomething holy or ancient, this is but the matter; the forme, and the end of the thing may yet render it either ſuperſtitious, fruitleſſe, or impious, and ſo worthy to be rejected. The Garments of a Strumpet are often the ſame materially, that cloath a chaſt Matron, and yet ignominious for her to weare; the ſubſtance of the Tempters words to our Saviour were holy, but his drift nothing leſſe.

*Remon.* In what ſenſe we hold the Roman a true Church, is ſo clear'd that this iron is too hot for their fingers.

*Anſ.* Have a care it be not the iron to ſear your own Conſcience.

*Pag.* 23. *Remon.* Ye need not doubt but that the alteration of the *Liturgie* will be conſidered by wiſer heads then your owne.

*Anſ.* We doubt it not, becauſe we know your head lookes to be one.

*Remon.* Our *Liturgie* ſymbolizeth not with *Popiſh* Maſſe, neither as Maſſe nor as *Popiſh*.

*Anſ.* A pretty ſlip-skin conveyance to ſift Maſſe into no Maſſe, and *Popiſh* into not *Popiſh*; yet ſaving this paſſing fine ſophiſticall boulting hutch, ſo long as ſhe ſymbolizes in forme, and pranks her ſelfe in the weeds of *Popiſh* Maſſe, it may be juſtly fear'd ſhee provokes the jealouſie of God, no otherwiſe then a Wife affecting whoriſh attire kindles a diſturbance in the eye of her diſcerning Husband.

*Pag.* 24. *Remon.* If I find Gold in the Channel, ſhall I throw it away becauſe it was ill laid?

*Anſ.* You have forgot that Gold hath been anathematiz'd for the idolatrous uſe; and to eat the good creatures of God once offer'd to Idols, is in Saint *Paul*'s account to have fellowſhip with Devils, and to partake of the Devil's Table. And thus you throttle your ſelf with your own Similies.

*Remon.* If the Devils confeſt the Son of God, ſhall I diſclaim that truth?

*Anſ.* You ſifted not ſo clean before, but you ſhuffle as foulely now; as if there were the like neceſſity of confeſſing Chriſt, and uſing the *Liturgie*: wee do not diſclaime that truth; becauſe we never beleev'd it for his teſtimonie, but wee may well reject a *Liturgie* which had no being that wee can know of, but from the corrupteſt times: if therefore the Devil ſhould be given never ſo much to *Prayer*, I ſhould not therefore ceaſe from that Duty, becauſe I learn't it not from him; but if he would commend to me a new *Pater noſter*, though never ſo ſeeming holy, hee ſhould excuſe me the forme which was his, but the matter, which was none of his, he could not give me, nor I be ſaid to take it from him. 'Tis not the goodneſſe of matter therefore which is not, nor can be ow'd to the *Liturgie*, that will bear it out, if the form, which is the Eſſence of it, be fantaſtick and ſuperſtitious, the End ſiniſter, and the Impoſition violent.

*Remonſt.* Had it beene compoſed into this frame on purpoſe to bring Papiſts to our Churches.

*Anſw.* To bring them to our Churches? alas what was that? unleſs they had beene firſt fitted by Repentance, and right Inſtruction. You'l ſay, the Word was there preach't which is the means of Converſion; you ſhould have given ſo much honour then to the Word preach't, as to have left it to God's working without the interloping of a Liturgy baited for them to bite at.

*Remon.* The Project had been charitable and gracious.

*Anſw.* It was Phariſaicall, and vain-glorious, a greedy deſire to win Proſelites by conforming to them unlawfully; like the deſire of *Tamar*, who to raiſe up Seed to her Husband, ſate in the common Road dreſt like a Curtezan, and he that came to her committed Inceſt with her. This was that which made the old Chriſtians Paganize, while by their ſcandalous and baſe conforming to Heatheniſme they did no more, when they had done thir utmoſt, but bring ſome Pagans to Chriſtianize; for true Chriſtians they neither were themſelves, nor could make other ſuch in this faſhion.

Pag. 25. *Remonſt.* If there be found ought in *Liturgie* that may indanger a Scandall, it is under carefull hands to remove it.

*Anſw.* Such careful hands as have ſhowne themſelves ſooner bent to remove and expell the Men from the Scandals, then the Scandals from the Men, and to loſe a Soule rather than a Sillable or a Surplice.

*Remonſt.* It is idoliz'd they ſay in *England*, they mean at *Amſterdam*.

*Anſw.* Be it Idoliz'd therefore where it will, it is only Idolatriz'd in *England*.

*Remonſt.* Multitudes of People they ſay diſtaſt it; more ſhame for thoſe that have ſo miſtaught them.

*Anſw.* More ſhame for thoſe that regard not the troubling of God's Church with things by themſelves confeſt to be indifferent, ſince true Charity is afflicted, and burns at the offence of every little one. As for the Chriſtian multitude which you affirme to be ſo miſtaught, it is evident enough, though you would declaime never ſo long to the contrarie, that God hath now taught them to deteſt your *Liturgie* and *Prelacie*; God who hath promiſ'd to teach all his Children, and to deliver them out of your hands that hunt and worry their Soules: hence is it that a Man ſhall commonly find more ſavoury knowledge in one Lay-man, than in a dozen of Cathedrall *Prelates*; as we read in our Saviour's time that the common people had a reverent eſteem of him, and held him a great Prophet, whilſt the gowned *Rabbies*, the incomparable, and invincible Doctors were of opinion that hee was a Friend of *Beelzebub*.

Pag. 26. *Remonſt.* If the multitude diſtaſt wholſome Doctrine, ſhall we to humor them abandon it?

*Anſw.* Yet again! as if there were the like neceſſity of ſaving Doctrine, and arbitrary if not unlawfull, or inconvenient *Liturgie*: who would have thought a Man could have thwackt together ſo many incongruous Similitudes, had it not been to defend the motley incoherence of a patch'd Miſſal?

*Remonſt.* Why did not other Churches conform to us? I may boldly ſay ours was, and is the more noble Church.

*Anſw.* O *Laodicean*, how vainly and how carnally doſt thou boaſt of nobleneſſe, and precedency! more Lordly you have made our Church indeed, but not more noble.

Pag. 27. *Remonſt.* The ſecond *quære* is ſo weak, that I wonder it could fall from the Pens of Wiſemen.

*Anſw.* Y'are but a bad Fencer, for you never make a proffer againſt another Man's weakneſſe; but you leave your owne ſide alwayes open: mark what follows.

*Remonſt.* Brethren, can yee thinke that our Reformers had any other Intentions then all other the Founders of *Liturgies*, the leſt part of whoſe care was the help of the Miniſters weakneſſe ?

*Anſw.* Do you not perceive the noiſe you have brought your ſelfe into whilſt you were ſo briefe to taunt other Men with weakneſſe ? is it cleane out of your mind what you cited from among the Councels; that the principal ſcope of thoſe *Liturgie*-Founders was to prevent either the malice or the weakneſſe of the Miniſters, their malice of infuſing Hereſie in their formes of *Prayer* ; their weakneſs, leſt ſomething might be compoſed by them through ignorance or want of care contrary to the Faith ? Is it not now rather to be wondred that ſuch a weakneſſe could fall from the Pen of ſuch a wiſe *Remonſtrant* Man ? Pag. 12

*Remonſt.* Their maine drift was the help of the Peoples Devotion, that they knowing before the matter that ſhould be ſued for.

*Anſw.* A ſollicitous care, as if the People could be ignorant of the matter to be pray'd for ; ſeeing the heads of publick *Prayer* are either ever conſtant, or very frequently the ſame.

*Remonſt.* And the words wherewith it ſhould be cloth'd, might be the more prepar'd, and be ſo much the more intent, and leſſe diſtracted.

*Anſw.* As for the words, it is more to be fear'd leſt the ſame continually ſhould make them careleſſe or ſleepie, then that varietie on the ſame knowne Subject ſhould diſtract ; variety (as both Muſick and Rhetorick teacheth us) erects and rouſes an Auditory, like the Maiſterfull running over many Cords and Diviſions; whereas if Men ſhould ever be thumming the Drone of one plaine Song, it would be a dull Opiat to the moſt wakeful attention.

*Remonſt.* Tell me, is this *Liturgie* good or evil ? Pag. 30.

*Anſw.* It is evill : repaire the *Acheloian* horne of your *Dilemma* how you can, againſt the next puſh.

*Remonſt.* If it be evill, it is unlawfull to be us'd.

*Anſw.* We grant you, and we finde you have not your Salve about you.

*Remonſt.* Were the Impoſition amiſſe, what is that to the People ?

*Anſw.* Not a little, becauſe they bear an equall part with the *Prieſt* in many places, and have their Cues and Verſets as well as he.

*Remonſt.* The ears and hearts of our people looke for a ſettl'd *Liturgie.* Pag. 31.

*Anſw.* You deceive your ſelfe in their ears and hearts, they looke for no ſuch matter.

*Remonſt.* The like anſwer ſerves for *Homelies*, ſurely were they enjoyn'd to all, &c.

*Anſw.* Let it ſerve for them that will bee ignorant, we know that *Hayward* their owne Creature writes that for defect of *Preachers*, *Homilies* were appointed to bee read in Churches, while *Edw. 6.* reigned.

*Remonſt.* Away then with the Booke whilſt it may be ſupply'd with a more profitable nonſence. Pag. 32.

*Anſw.* Away with it rather, becauſe it will bee hardly ſupply'd with a more unprofitable nonſence, then is in ſome paſſages of it to be ſeene.

### SECT. 3.

*Remonſt.* Thus their Cavills concerning *Liturgie* are vaniſh't. Pag. 32.

*Anſw.* You wanted but *Hey-paſſe* to have made your tranſition like a myſticall Man of *Sturbridge.* But for all your ſleight of hand, our juſt exceptions againſt *Liturgie* are not vaniſht, they ſtare you ſtill in the face.

*Remonſt.* Certainly had I done ſo, I had beene no leſſe worthy to bee ſpit upon for my ſaucy uncharitableneſſe, then they are now for their uncharitable falſhood.

*Anſw.* We ſee you are in choler, therefore till you coole a while we turne us to the ingenuous Reader. See how this *Remonſtrant* would inveſt himſelfe conditionally with all the Rheume of the Towne, that he might have ſufficient to beſpaul his Brethren. They are accus'd by him of uncharitable falſhood, whereas their only Crime hath beene, that they have too credulouſly thought him, if not an over-logicall, yet a well-meaning Man ; but now wee find him either groſly deficient in his Principles of *Logick*, or elſe purpoſely bent to delude the *Parliament* with equivocal Sophiſtry, ſcattering among his Periods ambiguous words, whoſe interpretation he will afterwards diſpence according to his pleaſure, laying before us univerſall Propoſitions, and then thinks when he will to pinion them with a limitation: for ſay *Remonſtrant.*

*Remonſt.* Epiſcopall Government is cry'd down abroad by either weak or factious Perſons.

*Anſw.* Chooſe you whether you will have this Propoſition prov'd to you to be ridiculous, or ſophiſticall, for one of the two it muſt be. Step againe to Biſhop *Downam* your Patron, and let him gently catechiſe you in the grounds of *Logick*, he will ſhew you that this Axiom, Epiſcopall Government is cry'd down abroad by either weak or factious Perſons, is as much as to ſay, they that cry down Epiſcopacy abroad, are either weak or factious Perſons. He will tell you that this Axiom containes a Diſtribution, and that all ſuch Axioms are general; and laſtly, that the Diſtribution in which any part is wanting, or abundant, is faulty, and fallacious. If therefore diſtributing by the adjuncts of Faction, and weakens the Perſons that decry *Epiſcopacy*, you made your diſtribution imperfect for the nonce, you cannot but be guilty of fraud intended toward the honourable Court, to whom you wrote. If you had rather vindicate your honeſty, and ſuffer in your want of Art, you cannot condemn them of uncharitable falſhood, that attributed to you more skill then you had, thinking you had beene able to have made a diſtribution, as it ought to be, generall, and full; and ſo any Man would take it, the rather as being accompanied with that large word ( Abroad ) and ſo take againe either your manifeſt leſing, or manifeſt ignorance.

Pag. 34. *Remonſt.* Now come theſe brotherly Slanderers.

*Anſw.* Goe on diſſembling *Joab*, as ſtill your uſe is, call Brother and ſmite; call Brother and ſmite, till it bee ſaid of you, as the like was of *Herod*, a Man had better be your Hog then your Brother.

*Remonſt.* Which never came within the verge of my thoughts.

*Anſw.* Take a Metaphor or two more as good, the Precinct, or the Dioceſſe of your thoughts.

*Remonſt.* Brethren, if you have any remainders of Modeſty or Truth, cry God mercy.

*Anſw. Remonſtrant*, if you have no ground-worke of *Logick*, or plain-dealing in you, learne both as faſt as you can.

*Remonſt.* Of the ſame ſtraine is their witty deſcant of my confoundednes.

*Anſw.* Speak no more of it, it was a fatall word, that God put into your mouth when you began to ſpeak for Epiſcopacy, as boding confuſion to it.

Pag. 35. *Remonſt.* I am ſtill, and ſhall ever be thus ſelf-confounded, as confidently to ſay that hee is no peaceable, and right affected Son of the Church of *England*, that doth not wiſh well to *Liturgie*, and *Epiſcopacie.*

*Anſw.* If this be not that ſaucie uncharitableneſſe, with which in the foregoing Page you voluntarily inveſted your ſelfe with thought to have ſhifted it off, let the *Parliament* judge who now themſelves are deliberating whether *Liturgie*, and *Epiſcopacy* be to be well wiſh't to, or not.

*Remonſt.* This they ſay they cannot but rank amongſt my notorious —— ſpeak out Maſters, I would not have that word ſtick in your Teeth, or in your Throat.

*Anſw.* Take your Spectacles, Sir, it ſticks in the Paper, and was a pectorall Roule wee prepar'd for you to ſwallow down to your Heart.

Pag. 36. *Remonſt.* Wanton Wits muſt have leave to play with their own ſterne.

*Anſw.* A Meditation of yours doubtleſſe obſerv'd at *Lambeth* from one of the *Archiepiſcopall Kitchens.*

Remonſt. *P.* 18. *Remonſt.* As for that forme of Epiſcopall Government, ſurely could thoſe looke with my Eyes, they would ſee cauſe to be aſhamed of this their injurious miſconceit.

*Anſw.* We muſt call the Barber for this wiſe Sentence; one Mr. *Ley* the other day writ a Treatiſe of the *Sabbath*, and in his *Preface* puts the wiſedome of *Balaam's* Aſſe upon one of our *Biſhops*, bold Man for his labour; but we ſhall have more reſpect to our *Remonſtrant*, and liken him to the Aſſes Maiſter, though the Story ſays he was not ſo quick-ſighted as his Beaſt. Is not this *Balaam* the Son of *Beor*, the Man whoſe Eyes are open, that ſaid to the *Parliament* ſurely could thoſe looke with my Eyes; boaſt not of your Eyes, 'tis fear'd you have *Balaam's* Diſeaſe, a pearle in your Eye, *Mammon's* Præſtriction.

*Remon.* Alas we could tell you of *China*, *Japan*, *Peru*, *Braſil*, *New England*, *Virginia*, and a thouſand others that never had any *Biſhops* to this day. Pag. 37.

*Anſw.* O do not foile your Cauſe thus, and trouble *Ortelius*; we can help you, and tell you where they have bin ever ſince *Conſtantine's* time at leaſt, in a place call'd *Mundus alter & idem*, in the ſpacious and rich Countries of *Crapulia*, *Pamphagonia*, *Yuronia*, and in the Dukedome of *Orgilia*, and *Variana*, and their *Metropolis* of *Ucalegonium*. It was an overſight that none of your prime *Antiquaries* could think of theſe venerable Monuments to deduce *Epiſcopacy* by; knowing that *Mercurius Britannicus* had them forth-comming.

### Sect. 4.

*Remon.* Hitherto they have flouriſh't, now I hope they will ſtrike.

*Anſw.* His former tranſition was in the Faire about the Jugglers, now he is at the *Pageants* among the Whifflers.

*Remon.* As if Arguments were *Almanacks*. Pag. 43.

*Anſw.* You will find ſome ſuch as will prognoſticate your Date, and tell you that after your long *Summer Solſtice*, the *Æquator* calls for you, to reduce you to the ancient and equal Houſe of *Libra*.

*Remon.* Truely, Brethren, you have not well taken the heighth of the *Pole*.

*Anſw.* No marvell, there be many more that doe not take well the heighth of your Pole; but will take better the declination of your Altitude.

*Remon.* Hee that ſaid I am the Way, ſaid that the old Way was the good Way. Pag. 44.

*Anſw.* He bids ask of the old Paths, or for the old Ways, where or which is the good Way; which implies, that all old Wayes are not good, but that the good Way is to be ſearcht with diligence among the old Wayes, which is a thing that wee doe in the oldeſt Records we have, the Goſpell. And if others may chance to ſpend more time with you in canvaſſing later Antiquity, I ſuppoſe it is not for that they ground themſelves thereon; but that they endeavour by ſhewing the corruptions, incertainties, and diſagreements of thoſe Volumes, and the eaſineſs of erring, or overſlipping in ſuch a boundleſſe and vaſt ſearch, if they may not convince thoſe that are ſo ſtrongly perſwaded thereof; yet to free ingenuous Minds from that over-awfull Eſteeme of thoſe more ancient then truſty Fathers, whom Cuſtome and fond Opinion, weake Principles, and the neglect of ſounder and ſuperior Knowledge hath exalted ſo high as to have gain'd them a blind Reverence; whoſe Books in bigneſſe, and number ſo endleſſe, and immeſurable, I cannot think that either God or Nature, either divine or humane Wiſdome, did ever meane ſhould bee a rule or reliance to us in the deciſion of any weighty and poſitive Doctrine: For certainly every Rule and Inſtrument of neceſſary Knowledge that God hath given us, ought to bee ſo in proportion, as may bee weilded and manag'd by the Life of Man, without penning him up from the duties of humane Society; and ſuch a rule and inſtrument of Knowledge perfectly is the Holy Bible. But hee that ſhall bind himſelfe to make Antiquity his Rule, if hee read but part, beſides the difficulty of choyce, his Rule is deficient, and utterly unſatisfying; for there may bee other Writers of another mind which he hath not ſeene; and if hee undertake all, the length of Mans Life cannot extend to give him a full and requiſite knowledge of what was done in Antiquity. Why doe wee therefore ſtand worſhipping and admiring this unactive and liveleſſe *Coloſſus*, that like a carved Gyant terribly menacing to children and weaklings, lifts up his Club, but ſtrikes not, and is ſubject to the muting of every Sparrow? If you let him reſt upon his *Baſis*, hee may perhaps delight the Eyes of ſome with his huge and mountainous Bulk, and the quaint Workmanſhip of his maſſie Limbs: but if yee go about to take him in pieces, yee marre him; and if you thinke, like *Pigmees*, to turne and wind him whole as hee is, beſides your vain Toile and Sweat, he may chance to fall upon your own Heads. Go therefore, and uſe all your Art, apply your Sledges, your Levers, and your Iron crows, to heave and hale your mighty *Polyphem* of Antiquity to the deluſion of Novices, and unexperienc't Chriſtians. We ſhall adhere cloſe to the Scriptures of God, which hee hath left us as the juſt and adequate meaſure of Truth, fitted and proportion'd to the diligent ſtudy, memory, and uſe of every faithfull Man, whoſe every part conſenting and making up the harmonious *Symmetry* of compleat Inſtruction, is able to ſet out to us a perfect Man of God, or *Biſhop* throughly furniſh't to all the good Works of his Charge: and with this Weapon, without ſtepping a foot further, wee ſhall not doubt to batter and throw down your *Nebuchadnezzar's* image, and crumble it like the chaffe of the Summer-threſhing Floores, as well as the Gold of thoſe Apoſtolick Succeſſors that you boaſt of, as your *Conſtantinian* Silver, together with the Iron, the Braſſe, and the Clay of thoſe muddy and ſtrawy Ages that follow. 2 Tim. 3. 16, 17.

Pag. 45. *Remonſt.* Let the boldeſt forehead of them all deny that *Epiſcopacie* hath continued thus long in our Iland, or that any till this Age contradicted it.

*Anſw.* That bold Forehead you have cleanly put upon your ſelf, 'tis you who deny that any till this Age contradicted it; no forehead of ours dares do ſo much: you have row'd your ſelfe fairly between the *Scylla* and *Charibdis*, either of impudence or nonſence, and now betake you to whether you pleaſe.

*Remon.* As for that ſupply of acceſſory Strength which I not begg.

*Anſw.* Your whole *Remonſtrance* does nothing elſe but begg it, and your fellow-*Prelates* do as good as whine to the *Parliament* for their Fleſh-pots of *Egypt*, making ſad Orations at the Funerall of your dear *Prelacie*, like that doubtie Centurion *Afranius* in *Lucian*; who to imitate the noble *Pericles* in his *Epitaphian* Speech, ſtepping up after the Battel to bewaile the ſlaine *Severianus*, falls into a pittifull Condolement, to think of thoſe coſtly Suppers, and drinking Banquets which he muſt now taſte of no more; and by then he had done, lack'd but little to lament the dear-loved Memory, and calamitous loſſe of his Capon and whitebroth.

*Remon.* But raiſe and evince from the light of Nature, and the rules of juſt Policie, for the continuance of thoſe things which long Uſe, and many Lawes have firmely eſtabliſh't as neceſſary and beneficial.

*Anſw.* Open your Eyes to the light of Grace, a better guide then Nature. Look upon the mean Condition of *Chriſt* and his *Apoſtles*, without that acceſſory ſtrength you take ſuch paines to raiſe from the light of Nature and Policie: take Divine Counſell, *Labour not for the things that periſh*; you would be the ſalt of the Earth, if that ſavour be not found in you: doe not thinke much that the time is now come to throw you out, and tread you under foot: Hark how S. *Paul*, writing to *Timothy*, informs a true *Biſhop*; *Biſhops* (ſaith he) *muſt not be greedy of filthy lucre*; *and having food and raiment, let us bee therewith content: but they* (ſaith he, meaning more eſpecially in that place *Biſhops*) *that will be rich, fall into temptation, and a ſnare, and into many fooliſh and hurtful Luſts, which drowne Men in deſtruction, and perdition: for the love of Money is the root of all evil, which while ſome coveted after, they have erred from the Faith.* How can wee therefore expect ſound Doctrine, and the ſolution of this our Controverſie from any covetous and honour-hunting *Biſhop* that ſhall plead ſo ſtiffly for theſe things? while St. *Paul* thus exhorts every *Biſhop*; *But thou O man of God flee theſe things.* As for the juſt Policie, that long Uſe and Cuſtome, and thoſe many Lawes which you ſay have conferr'd theſe Benefits upon you; it hath been nothing elſe but the ſuperſtitious Devotion of *Princes* and great Men that knew no better, or the baſe importunity of begging *Friers*, haunting and haraſſing the deathbeds of Men departing this Life, in a blind and wretched Condition of hope to merit Heaven for the building of *Churches*, *Cloyſters*, and *Covents*. The moſt of your vaunted Poſſeſſions, and thoſe proud Endowments that yee as ſinfully waſt, what are they but the black revennues of *Purgatorie*, the price of abuſed and murder'd Souls, the damned *Simony* of *Trentals*, and *Indulgences* to mortall Sin? how can ye chooſe but inherit the Curſe that goes along with ſuch a Patrimony? Alas! if there be any releaſement, any mitigation, or more tolerable being for the Soules of our miſguided Anceſtors; could wee imagine there might be any recovery to ſome degree of eaſe left for as many of them as are loſt, there cannot bee a better way then to take the misbeſtowed Wealth which they were cheated of, from theſe our *Prelates*, who are the true Succeſſors of thoſe that popt them into the other World, with this conceit of meriting by their Goods, which was their finall undoing; and to beſtow their beneficent Gifts upon Places and meanes of Chriſtian Education, and the faithfull labourers in Gods Harveſt, that may inceſſantly warn the poſterity of *Dives*, leſt they come where their miſerable Fore-father was ſent by the couſenage and miſleading of avaritious and worldly *Prelates*.

*Remon.* It will ſtand long enough againſt the battry of their paper-pellets.

*Anſw.* That muſt be try'd with a ſquare Cap in the Counſell, and if pellets will not doe, your owne Canons ſhall be turn'd againſt you.

*Remon.* They cannot name any Man in this Nation that ever contradicted *Epiſcopacie*, till this preſent Age.

*Anſw.* What an over-worne and bedrid Argument is this, the laſt refuge ever of old falſhood, and therefore a good ſigne I truſt that your Caſtle cannot hold out long. This was the plea of *Judaiſme*, and Idolatry againſt *Chriſt* and his *Apoſtles*, of *Papacie* againſt Reformation; and perhaps to the frailty of Fleſh and Blood in a Man deſtitute of better enlight'ning, may for ſome while bee pardonable: for what ha's fleſhly apprehenſion other to ſubſiſt by then Succeſſion, Cuſtome, and Viſibility; which onely hold, if in his weakneſſe and blindneſſe he be loath to loſe, who can blame? but in a *Proteſtant* Nation that ſhould have throwne off theſe tatter'd Rudiments long agoe, after the many ſtrivings of Gods Spirit, and our fourſcore Years vexation of him in this our Wilderneſſe ſince Reformation began, to urge theſe rotten Principles, and twit us with the preſent Age, which is to us an age of ages wherein God is manifeſtly come downe among us, to doe ſome remarkable good to our Church or State, is as if a Man ſhould taxe the renovating and re-ingendring Spirit of God with Innovation, and that new Creature for an upſtart noveltie; yea the new *Jeruſalem*, which without your admired linke of Succeſſion deſcends from Heaven, could not ſcape ſome ſuch like cenſure. If you require a further anſwer, it will not misbecome a Chriſtian to bee either more magnanimous, or more devout then *Scipio* was; who in ſtead of other anſwer to the frivolous accuſations of *Petilius* the *Tribune*, *This day Romans* (ſaith he) *I fought with* Hanibal *proſperouſly; let us all goe and thank the Gods that gave us ſo great a Victory:* in like manner will we now ſay, not caring otherwiſe to anſwer this un-Proteſtant-like Objection; in this Age, *Brittains* God hath reform'd his Church after many hundred yeers of *Popiſh* corruption; in this Age hee hath freed us from the intolerable yoke of *Prelats*, and *Papall* Diſcipline; in this Age he hath renewed our *Proteſtation* againſt all thoſe yet remaining dregs of Superſtition. Let us all goe, every true proteſted *Brittain* throughout the three *Kingdoms*, and render thanks to God the Father of Light and fountaine of heavenly Grace, and to his ſon CHRIST our Lord; leaving this *Remonſtrant* and his Adherents to their owne deſignes, and let us recount even here without delay, the patience and long ſuffering that God hath us'd towards our blindneſſe and hardnes time after time. For he being equally neere to his whole Creation of Mankind, and of free power to turne his benefick and fatherly regard to what Region or Kingdome he pleaſes, hath yet ever had this Iland under the ſpecial indulgent eye of his Providence: and pittying us the firſt of all other Nations, after he had decreed to purify and renew his Church that lay wallowing in Idolatrous Pollutions, ſent firſt to us a healing Meſſenger to touch ſoftly our ſores, and carry a gentle hand over our Wounds: he knockt once and twice and came again, opening our drouſie Eye-lids leaſurely by that glimmering light which *Wicklef*, and his followers diſpers't; and ſtill taking off by degrees the inveterat ſcales from our nigh periſht ſight, purg'd alſo our deaf Ears, and prepar'd them to attend his ſecond warning Trumpet in our Grandſires dayes. How elſe could they have been able to have receiv'd the ſudden aſſault of his reforming Spirit, warring againſt humane Principles, and carnal ſenſe, the pride of Fleſh that ſtill cry'd up Antiquity, Cuſtome, Canons, Counſels and Laws, and cry'd down the Truth for Noveltie, Schiſme, Profaneneſs and Sacriledge: when as we that have liv'd ſo long in abundant Light, beſides the ſunny reflection of all the neighbouring Churches, have yet our Hearts rivetted with thoſe old Opinions, and ſo obſtructed and benumm'd with the ſame fleſhly reaſonings, which in our Forefathers ſoone melted and gave way, againſt the morning beam of *Reformation*. If God had left undone this whole worke ſo contrary to Fleſh and Blood, till theſe times; how ſhould wee have yeelded to his heavenly Call, had wee been taken, as they were, in the ſtarknes of our Ignorance; that yet after all theſe ſpiritual Preparatives and Purgations, have our earthly ly Apprehenſions ſo clamm'd, and furr'd with the old Levin. O if we freeze at noone after their earely Thaw, let us feare leſt the Sunne for ever hide himſelfe, and turne his orient ſteps from our ingratefull Horizon, juſtly condemn'd to be eternally benighted. Which dreadful Judgement, O thou the ever-begotten Light and perfect Image of the Father, intercede, may never come upon us, as we truſt thou haſt; for thou haſt open'd our difficult and ſad times, and given us an unexpected breathing after our long Oppreſſions; thou haſt done Juſtice upon thoſe that tyranniz'd over us, while ſome Men waver'd and admir'd a vain ſhadow of Wiſdome in a Tongue nothing ſlow to utter Guile, though thou haſt taught us to admire onely that which is good, and to count that onely praiſe-worthy which is grounded upon thy divine Precepts. Thou haſt diſcover'd the plots, and fruſtrated the hopes of all the wicked in the Land, and put to ſhame the Perſecutors of thy Church; thou haſt made our falſe *Prophets* to be found a lie in the ſight of all the People, and chac'd them with ſudden Confuſion and Amazement before the redoubled brightneſſe of thy deſcending Cloud, that now covers thy Tabernacle. Who is there that cannot trace thee now in thy beamy Walke through the midſt of thy Sanctuary, amidſt thoſe golden *Candleſticks*, which have long ſuffer'd a dimneſſe amongſt us through the violence of thoſe that had ſeiz'd them, and were more taken with the mention of their Gold then of their ſtarry Light; teaching the Doctrine of *Balaam*, to caſt a ſtumbling-block before thy ſervants, commanding them to eat things ſacrifiz'd to Idols, and forcing them to Fornication. Come therefore, O thou that haſt the ſeven Starres in thy right hand, appoint thy choſen *Prieſts* according to their Orders and Courſes of old, to miniſter before thee, and duely to dreſſe and powre out the conſecrated Oyle into thy holy and ever-burning Lamps. Thou haſt ſent out the ſpirit of prayer upon thy Servants over all the Land to this effect, and ſtirr'd up their vowes as the ſound of many waters about thy Throne. Every one can ſay, that now certainly thou haſt viſited this Land, and haſt not forgotten the utmoſt corners of the Earth, in a time when Men had thought that thou waſt gone up from us to the fartheſt end of the Heavens, and hadſt left to doe marvellouſly among the ſons of theſe laſt Ages. O perfect and accompliſh thy glorious Acts; for Men may leave their Works unfiniſht, but thou art a God, thy Nature is Perfection: ſhouldſt thou bring us thus far onward from *Egypt* to deſtroy us in this Wilderneſſe, though wee deſerve; yet thy great Name would ſuffer in the rejoycing of thine Enemies, and the deluded hope of all thy Servants. When thou haſt ſettl'd Peace in the Church, and righteous Judgement in the Kingdome, then ſhall all thy Saints addreſſe their voyces of Joy, and triumph to thee, ſtanding on the ſhoare of that red Sea into which our Enemies had almoſt driven us. And he that now for haſte ſnatches up a plain ungarniſh't Preſent as a Thanke-offering to thee, which could not bee deferr'd in regard of thy ſo many late deliverances wrought for us one upon another, may then perhaps take up a Harp, and ſing thee an elaborate Song to Generations. In that day it ſhall no more bee ſaid as in ſcorne, this or that was never held ſo till this preſent Age, when Men have better learnt that the times and ſeaſons paſſe along under thy feet, to goe and come at thy bidding: and as thou didſt dignifie our Fathers dayes with many Revelations above all the fore-going Ages, ſince thou tookſt the Fleſh; ſo thou canſt vouchſafe to us (though unworthy) as large a portion of thy Spirit as thou pleaſeſt; for who ſhall prejudice thy all-governing Will? ſeeing the power of thy Grace is not paſt away with the primitive times, as fond and faithleſſe Men imagine, but thy Kingdome is now at hand, and thou ſtanding at the doore. Come forth out of thy Royall Chambers, O Prince of all the Kings of the Earth, put on the viſible Roabes of thy imperiall Majeſty, take up that unlimited Scepter which thy Almighty Father hath bequeath'd thee; for now the voyce of thy Bride calls thee, and all Creatures ſigh to bee renew'd.

## SECT. 5.

*Remon.* Neglect not the Gift which was given thee by *Prophecie*, and by laying on the hands of *Presbytery*.

*Anſw.* The Engliſh Tranſlation expreſſes the Article (*the*), and renders it the *Presbytery*, which you doe injury to omitt.

*Remon.*

### *Remonſtrance.*

Which I wonder yee can ſo preſſe, when *Calvin* himſelf takes it of the Office, and not of the Men. Pag. 50.

### *Anſwer.*

You think then you are fairly quit of this proofe, becauſe *Calvin* interprets it for you, as if we could be put off with *Calvins* name, unleſſe we be convinc't with *Calvins* reaſon; the word ϖρεσβυτέριον is a collective Nowne ſignifying a certain number of Men in one order, as the word Privy Councell with us, and ſo *Beza* interprets, that knew *Calvins* mind doubtleſſe, with whom he liv'd. If any amongſt us ſhould ſay the Privy Councell ordain'd it, and thereby conſtraine us to underſtand one Mans Authoritie, ſhould we not laugh at him? And therefore when you have us'd all your cramping Irons to the Text, and done your utmoſt to cramme a *Presbyterie* into the skin of one Perſon, 'twill bee but a piece of frugall nonſenſe. But if your meaning bee with a violent *Hyperbaton* to tranſpoſe the Text, as if the words lay thus in order, neglect not the gift of *Presbyterie*; this were a conſtruction like a *Harquebuze* ſhot over a file of words twelve deep, without authority to bid them ſtoop, or to make the word *Gift* like the River *Mole* in *Surrey* to runne under the bottome of a long line, and ſo ſtart up to governe the word *Presbyterie*, as in immediate *Syntaxis*, a device ridiculous enough to make good that old wives tale of a certaine Queene of *England* that ſunk at *Charing-croſſe*, and roſe up at *Queene-hithe*. No marvell though the *Prelates* bee a troubleſome Generation, and which way ſoever they turne them, put all things into a foule diſcompoſure, when to maintaine their domineering they ſeeke thus to rout and diſ-aray the wiſe and well-couch't order of Saint *Pauls* owne words, uſing either a certain textuall Riot to chop off the hands of the word *Presbyterie*, or els a like kind of *Simony* to clap the word *Gift* betweene them. Beſides, if the verſe muſt be read according to this tranſpoſition, μὴ ἀμέλει τȣ̃ ἐν σοὶ χαρίσματος τȣ̃ πρεσβυτερίȣ, it would be improper to call Ordination χάρισμα, when as it is rather onely χειριασμα, an outward Teſtimony of Approbation, unleſs they will make it a Sacrament as the *Papiſts* doe: But ſurely the *Prelates* would have Saint *Pauls* words rampe one over another, as they uſe to clime into their Livings and *Biſhopricks*.

### *Remonſtrance.*

Neither need wee give any other ſatisfaction to the point, then from Saint *Paul* himſelfe, *2 Timoth. 1. 6. Stirre up the gift of God which is in thee by the impoſition of my hands*; mine, and not others.

### *Anſwer.*

Y' are too quick; this laſt place is to bee underſtood by the former, as the Law of Method, which beares chiefe ſway in the Art of teaching, requires, that cleareſt and plaineſt Expreſſions bee ſet formoſt, to the end they may enlighten any following Obſcurity; and wherefore wee ſhould not attribute a right method to the teachablenesse of Scripture, there can be no reaſon given: to which Method, if wee ſhall now goe contrarie, beſides the breaking of a Logicall Rule, which the *Remonſtrant* hitherto wee ſee hath made little account of, we ſhall alſo put a manifeſt Violence and Impropriety upon a knowne word againſt his common ſignification, in binding a collective to a ſingular Perſon. But if we ſhall, as *Logicke* (or indeed Reaſon) inſtructs us, expound the latter place by the former cited, and underſtand, (by the Impoſition of my hands) that is, of mine cheifly as an *Apoſtle*, with the joynt Authority and Aſſiſtance of the *Presbyterie*, there is nothing more ordinary or kindly in Speech then ſuch a Phraſe as expreſſes onely the Chiefe in any Action, and underſtands the reſt. So that the Impoſition of Saint *Pauls* hands, without more expreſſion in this place, cannot exclude the joynt Act of the *Presbyterie* affirm'd by the former Text.

### *Remonſtrance.*

*Pag.* 76. In the meane while ſee Brethren how you have with *Simon* fiſht all night, and caught nothing.

### *Anſwer.*

If we fiſhing with *Simon* the Apoſtle can catch nothing, ſee what you can catch with *Simon Magus*; for all his hooks and fiſhing Implements he bequeath'd among you.

## SECT. 13.

### *Remonſtrance.*

Wee doe againe profeſſe, that if our *Biſhops* challenge any other Power then was delegated to, and required of *Timothy* and *Titus*, wee ſhall yeeld them uſurpers.

### *Anſwer.*

Ye cannot compare an ordinary *Biſhop* with *Timothy*, who was an extraordinary Man, foretold and promis'd to the Church by many Prophecies, and his name joyn'd as collaterall with Saint *Paul*, in moſt of his Apoſtolick Epiſtles, even where hee writes to the *Biſhops* of other Churches, as thoſe in *Philippi*. Nor can you prove out of the Scripture that *Timothy* was *Biſhop* of any particular place; for that wherein it is ſaid in the third Verſe of the firſt *Epiſtle: As I beſought thee to abide ſtill at Epheſus*, will be ſuch a gloſſe to prove the conſtitution of a *Biſhop* by, as would not onely be not ſo good as a *Burdeaux* gloſſe; but ſcarſe be receiv'd to varniſh a Viſard of *Modona*. All that can bee gather'd out of holy Writ concerning *Timothy* is, that he was either an *Apoſtle*, or an *Apoſtles* extraordinary Vice-gerent, not confin'd to the charge of any place. The like may bee ſaid of *Titus*, (as thoſe words import in the 5. verſe) that he was for that cauſe left in *Creet*, that he might ſupply or proceed to ſet in order that which Saint *Paul* in Apoſtolick manner had begun, for which hee had his particular Commiſſion, as thoſe words ſound, (*as I had appointed thee.*) So that what hee did in *Creet*, cannot ſo much be thought the exerciſe of an ordinary Function, as the direction of an inſpired mouth. No leſſe alſo may be gather'd from the 2 *Cor.* 8. 23.

### *Remonſtrance.*

You deſcend to the Angels of the ſeven *Aſian* Churches, your ſhift is, that the Angell is heere taken collectively, not individually.

### *Anſwer.*

That the Word is collective appeares plainly, *Revel.* 2.

Firſt, Becauſe the Text it ſelfe expounds it ſo; for having ſpoken all the while as to the Angell, the ſeventh Verſe concludes that this was ſpoken to the Churches. Now if the Spirit conclude collectively, and kept the ſame Tenor all the way, for we ſee not where he particularizes; then certainly hee muſt begin collectively, elſe the Conſtruction can bee neither *Grammatticall* nor *Logicall*.

Secondly, If the word *Angell* be individuall, then are the faults attributed to him individuall: but they are ſuch as for which God threatens to remove the Candleſtick out of his place, which is as much as to take away from that Church the Light of his Truth: and wee cannot thinke he would doe ſo for one *Biſhops* fault. Therefore thoſe faults muſt be underſtood collective, and by conſequence the ſubject of them collective.

Thirdly, An Individuall cannot branch it ſelfe into Subindividuals; but this word *Angel* doth in the tenth Verſe. *Feare none of thoſe things which thou ſhalt ſuffer; behold the Devill ſhall caſt ſome of you into priſon.* And the like from other places of this and the following Chapter may be obſerved. Therefore it is no individuall word, but a collective.

Fourthly, In the 24. Verſe this word *Angel* is made capable of a *Pronoune plurall*, which could not bee, unleſſe it were a Collective. As for the ſuppoſed Manuſcript of *Tecla*, and two or three other Copies that have expung'd the Copulative, wee cannot preferre them before the more receiv'd reading, and wee hope you will not againſt the Tranſlation of your Mother the Church of *England*, that paſt the reviſe of your chiefeſt *Prelates*: Beſides this, you will lay an unjuſt cenſure upon the much-praiſed *Biſhop* of *Thyatira*, and reckon him among thoſe that had the Doctrine of *Jeſabel*, when the Text ſayes, *he onely ſuffer'd her.* Whereas, if you will but let in a charitable conjunction, as wee know your ſo much call'd-for Charity will not deny, then you plainly acquit the *Biſhop*, if you comprehend him in the name of *Angel*, otherwiſe you leave his caſe very doubtfull.

*Remon-*

### *Remonſtrance.*

Pag. 105. *Thou ſuffereſt thy Wife* JESABEL: was ſhe Wife to the whole Company, or to one *Biſhop* alone?

### *Anſwer.*

Not to the whole Company doubtles, for that had bin worſe then to have bin the *Levites* Wife in *Gibeab:* but heere among all thoſe that conſtantly read it otherwiſe, whom you trample upon, your good Mother of *England* is downe againe in the throng, who with the reſt reads it, *that Woman* Jeſabel: but ſuppoſe it were Wife, a Man might as well interpret that word figuratively, as her name *Jeſabel* no Man doubts to be a borrow'd Name.

### *Remonſtrance.*

Pag. 111. Yet what makes this for a Dioceſan *Biſhop?* much every way.

### *Anſwer.*

No more then a ſpeciall Endorſement could make to puffe up the Foreman of a Jury. If wee deny you more precedence, then as the *Senior* of any Society, or deny you this priority to bee longer then annuall. Prove you the contrary from hence, if you can. That you thinke to doe from the title of eminence, *Angel:* alas your wings are too ſhort. 'Tis not Ordination nor Juriſdiction that is Angelicall, but the heavenly Meſſage of the Goſpell, which is the Office of all Miniſters alike; in which ſenſe
Mat. 11. *John* the *Baptiſt* is call'd an *Angel*, which in Greeke ſignifies a Meſſenger, as oft as it is meant by a Man, and might be ſo render'd heere without treaſon to the *Hierarchy*; but that the whole Booke ſoares to a prophetick pitch in Types, and Allegories. Seeing then the reaſon of this borrow'd Name is meerly to ſignifie the preaching of the Goſpel, and that this preaching equally appertaines to the whole *Miniſtery*; hence may bee drawn a fifth argument, that if the reaſon of this borrowed name Angel be equally collective, and communicative to the whole preaching Miniſtry of the place, then muſt the name be collectively and communicatively taken; but the reaſon, that is to ſay, the office of preaching and watching over the Flock is equally collective and communicative: Therefore the borrow'd name it ſelf is to be underſtood as equally collective and communicative to the whole preaching Miniſtery of the place. And if you will contend ſtill for a Superiority in one perſon, you muſt ground it better then from this metaphor, which you may now deplore as the Axe-head that fell into the water, and ſay, Alas Maſter, for it was borrow'd, unleſs you have as good a faculty to make Iron ſwim, as you had to make light froth ſink.

*Remonſt.* What is, if this be not Ordination and Juriſdiction? *Pag.* 124.

*Anſw.* Indeed in the Conſtitution, and founding of a Church, that ſome Men inſpir'd from God ſhould have an extraordinary calling to appoint, to order and diſpoſe, muſt needs be. So *Moſes*, though himſelfe no Prieſt, ſanctify'd, and ordain'd *Aaron* and his Sons; but when all needful things be ſet and regulated by the Writings of the Apoſtles, whether it be not a meer folly to keep up a ſuperiour degree in the Church onely for Ordination and Juriſdiction, it will be no hurt to debate a while. The Apoſtles were the Builders, and, as it were, the Architects of the Chriſtian Church; Wherein conſiſted their Excellence above ordinary Miniſters? a Prelate would ſay in commanding, in controuling, in appointing, in calling to them, and ſending from about them to all Countryes their Biſhops and Archbiſhops as their Deputies, with a kind of Legantine Power. No, no, vaine Prelates, this was but as the Scaffolding of a new Edifice which for the time muſt board, and overlooke the higheſt Battlements; but if the Structure once finiſh't, any Paſſenger ſhould fall in love with them, and pray that they might ſtill ſtand, as being a ſingular Grace, and ſtrengthning to the Houſe, who would otherwiſe thinke, but that the Man were preſently to be laid hold on, and ſent to his Friends and Kindred? The Eminence of the Apoſtles conſiſted in their powerful preaching, their unwearied labouring in the Word, their unquenchable Charity, which above all earthly reſpects like a working flame, had ſpun up to ſuch a height of pure deſire, as might be thought next to that Love which dwells in God to ſave Souls; which, while they did, they were contented to be the Off-ſcouring of the World, and to expoſe themſelves willingly to all Afflictions, perfecting thereby their hope through patience to a Joy unſpeakable. As for Ordination, what is it, but the laying on of hands, an outward ſigne or ſymbol of Admiſſion? It creates nothing, it conferrs nothing; it is the inward Calling of God that makes a Miniſter, and his own painful ſtudy and diligence that manures and improves his miniſteriall Gifts. In the Primitive times, many before ever they had receiv'd Ordination from the Apoſtles, had done the Church noble ſervice, as *Apollos* and others. It is but an orderly forme of receiving a Man already fitted, and committing to him a particular charge; the imployment of preaching is as holy; and farr more excellent, the care alſo and judgment to be us'd in the winning of Soules, which is thought to be ſufficient in every worthy Miniſter, is an Ability above that which is requir'd in Ordination: For many may be able to judge who is fit to be made a Miniſter, that would not be found fit to be made Miniſters themſelves; as it will not be deny'd that he may be the competent Judge of a neat Picture, or elegant Poem, that cannot limne the like. Why therefore wee ſhould conſtitute a ſuperiour Order in the Church to performe an Office which is not onely every Miniſter's Function, but inferiour alſo to that which he has a confeſt right to; and why this Superiority ſhould remaine thus uſurp'd, ſome wiſe *Epimenides* tell us. Now for Juriſdiction this deare Saint of the Prelates, it will be beſt to conſider, firſt, what it is: That Soveraigne Lord, who in the diſcharge of his holy Anointment from God the Father, which made him ſupreame Biſhop of our Soules, was ſo humble as to ſay, Who made me a Judge, or a Divider over yee? hath taught us that a Church-mans Juriſdiction is no more but to watch over his Flock in ſeaſon, and out of ſeaſon, to deal by ſweet and efficacious Inſtructions, gentle Admonitions, and ſometimes rounder Reproofs; againſt negligence or obſtinacy, will be requir'd a rouſing Vollie of paſtorly Threatnings; againſt a perſiſting ſtubbornes, or the fear of a reprobate ſenſe, a timely ſeparation from the Flock by that interdictive Sentence, leſt his Converſation unprohibited, or unbranded, might breath a peſtilential murrein into the other Sheepe. In ſumme, his juriſdiction is to ſee to the thriving and proſpering of that which he hath planted: what other work the Prelates have found for Chancellours and Suffragans, Delegates and Officials, with all the hell-peſtering rabble of Sumners and Apparitors, is but an invaſion upon the temporall Magiſtrate, and affected by them as men that are not aſham'd of the Enſigne and Banner of Antichriſt. But true Evangelical Juriſdiction or Diſcipline, is no more, as was ſaid, then for a Miniſter to ſee to the thriving and proſpering of that which he hath planted. And which is the worthieſt worke of theſe two, to plant, as every Miniſters Office is equally with the Biſhops, or to tend that which is planted, which the blind and undiſcerning Prelates call Juriſdiction, and would appropriate to themſelves as a buſineſſe of higher dignity? Have patience therefore a little, and heare a Law caſe: A certain man of large Poſſeſſions, had a faire Garden, and kept therein an honeſt and laborious Servant, whoſe skill and profeſſion was to ſet or ſow all wholſome Herbs, and delightfull Flowers, according to every ſeaſon, and what-ever elſe was to be done in a well-husbanded Nurſery of Plants and Fruits; now, when the time was come that he ſhould cut his Hedges, prune his Trees, looke to his tender Slips, and pluck up the Weeds that hinder'd their growth, he gets him up by break of day, and makes account to doe what was needfull in his Garden; and who would thinke that any other ſhould know better than he how the days work was to be ſpent? Yet for all this there comes another ſtrange Gardner that never knew the Soyle, never handl'd a Dibble or Spade to ſet the leaſt Pot-herb that grew there, much leſſe had endur'd an hours ſweat or chilneſſe, and yet challenges as his right the binding or unbinding of every Flower, the clipping of every Buſh, the weeding and worming of every Bed, both in that and all other Gardens thereabout: the honeſt Gardener, that ever ſince the day-peepe, till now the Sunne was grown ſomewhat ranke, had wrought painfully about his Bankes and Seed-plots, at his commanding Voice turnes ſuddenly about with ſome wonder; and although he could have well beteem'd to have thankt him of the eaſe hee profer'd, yet loving his own handiworke, modeſtly refus'd him, telling him withall, that for his part, if he had thought much of his owne paines, he could for once have committed the Worke to one of his fellow-labourers, for as much as it is well knowne to be a matter of leſſe skill and leſſe labour to keepe a Garden handſome, then it is to plant it, or contrive it, and that he had already perform'd himſelfe. No, ſaid the ſtranger, this is neither for you nor your fellows to meddle with, but for me onely that am for this purpoſe in dignity farre above you; and the proviſion which the Lord of the Soyle allowes me in this Office is, and that with good reaſon, ten-fold your wages: the Gardener ſmil'd and ſhooke his head; but what was determin'd I cannot tell you till the end of this Parliament.

Pag. 127. *Remon.* If in time you ſhall ſee wooden Chalices, and wooden Prieſts, thanke your ſelves.

*Anſ.* It had beene happy for this land, if your Prieſts had beene but only wooden; all *England* knowes they have been to this Iland not wood, but wormewood, that have infected the third part of our waters, like that Apoſtate Starre in the Revelation, that many Soules have di'd of their bitterneſſe; and if you meane by wooden, illiterate, or contemptible, there was no want of that ſort among you, and their number increaſing daily, as their lazineſſe, their Tavern-hunting, their neglect of all ſound literature, and their liking of doltiſh and monaſticall Schoolemen daily increaſt. What ſhould I tell you how the Univerſities, that Men looke ſhould be fountaines of Learning and Knowledg, have beene poyſon'd and choak'd under your Governance? and if to be wooden be to be baſe, where could there be found among all the reformed Churches, nay, in the Church of *Rome* it ſelf, a baſer brood of flattering and time-ſerving Prieſts, according as God pronounces by *Iſaiah*, the Prophet that teacheth lies he is the taile. As for your young ſchollers that petition for Biſhopricks and Deanaries to incourage them in their ſtudies, and that many Gentlemen elſe will not put their Sons to learning, away with ſuch young mercenary Stripplings and their Simoniacal Fathers, God has no neede of ſuch, they have no part or lot in his Vineyard, they may as well ſue for Nunneries, that they may have ſome convenient ſtowage for their wither'd daughters, becauſe they cannot give them portions anſwerable to the pride and vanity they have bred them in; this is the root of all our miſchief, that which they alleage for the incouragement of their ſtudies, ſhould be cut away forthwith as the very bait of pride and ambition, the very garbage that drawes together all the fowles of prey and ravin in the land to come and gorge upon the Church. How can it be but ever unhappy to the Church of *England*, while ſhee ſhall think to intice Men to the pure ſervice of God by the ſame meanes that were us'd to tempt our Saviour to the ſervice of the

Devill, by laying before him honour and preferment. Fit profeſſors indeed are they like to be, to teach others that Godlineſſe with content is great gaine, whenas their godlineſſe of teaching had not been but for worldly gaine. The heathen Philoſophers thought that vertue was for its owne ſake ineſtimable, and the greateſt gaine of a teacher to make a ſoule vertuous; ſo *Xenophon* writes of *Socrates*, who never bargain'd with any for teaching them; he fear'd not leſt thoſe who had receiv'd ſo high a benefit from him, would not of their owne free-will returne him all poſſible thankes. Was morall vertue ſo lovely, and ſo alluring, and heathen men ſo enamour'd of her, as to teach and ſtudy her with greateſt neglect and contempt of worldly profit and advancement? and is Chriſtian Piety ſo homely and ſo unpleaſant, and Chriſtian men ſo cloy'd with her, as that none will ſtudy and teach her, but for lucre and preferment! O ſtale-growne Piety! O Goſpell rated as cheap as thy Maſter, at thirty pence, and not worth the ſtudy, unleſſe thou canſt buy thoſe that will ſell thee! O race of Capernaitans, ſenſleſſe of divine doctrine, and capable onely of loaves and belly-cheer! But they will grant, perhaps, piety may thrive, but learning will decay: I would faine ask theſe men at whoſe hands they ſeeke inferior things, as wealth, honour, their dainty fare, their lofty houſes? No doubt but they will ſoone anſwer, that all theſe things they ſeek at God's hands. Doe they thinke then that all theſe meaner and ſuperfluous things come from God, and the divine gift of Learning from the den of *Plutus*, or the cave of *Mammon?* Certainly never any cleare ſpirit nurſt up from brighter influences, with a ſoule inlarg'd to the dimenſions of ſpacious art and high knowledg, ever enter'd there but with ſcorn, and thought it ever foule diſdain to make pelf or ambition the reward of his ſtudies, it being the greateſt honor, the greateſt fruit and proficiency of learned ſtudies to deſpiſe theſe things. Not liberal ſcience, but illiberal muſt that needs be that mounts in contemplation merely for money. And what would it avail us to have a hireling Clergy though never ſo learned? For ſuch can have neither true wiſdom nor grace, and then in vain do Men truſt in learning, where theſe be wanting. If in leſſe noble and almoſt mechanick Arts, according to the definitions of thoſe Authors, he is not eſteem'd to deſerve the name of a compleat Architect, an excellent Painter, or the like, that bears not a generous mind above the peaſantly regard of wages and hire; much more muſt we thinke him a moſt imperfect, and incompleate Divine, who is ſo farre from being a contemner of filthy lucre, that his whole Divinity is moulded and bred up in the beggarly, and brutiſh hopes of a fat Prebendary, Deanery, or Biſhoprick; which poore and low pitch't deſires, if they do but mixe with thoſe other heavenly intentions that draw a man to this ſtudy, it is juſtly expected that they ſhould bring forth a baſe born iſſue of Divinity, like that of thoſe imperfect, and putrid creatures that receive a crawling life from two moſt unlike procreants, the Sun and Mudd. And in matters of Religion, there is not any thing more intollerable then a learned Foole, or a learned Hypocrite; the one is ever coopt up at his empty ſpeculations, a ſot, an ideot for any uſe that mankind can make of him, or elſe ſowing the World with nice and idle queſtions, and with much toyle and difficulty wading to his auditors up to the eyebrows in deep ſhallows that wet not the inſtep: a plaine unlearned man that lives well by that light which he has, is better and wiſer, and edifies others more towards a godly and happy life than he. The other is ſtill uſing his ſophiſticated arts, and bending all his ſtudies how to make his inſatiate avarice and ambition ſeem pious and orthodoxall, by painting his lewd and deceitfull Principles with a ſmooth and gloſſy varniſh in a doctrinall way, to bring about his wickedeſt purpoſes. Inſtead of the great harme therefore that theſe men feare upon the diſſolving of Prelates, what an eaſe, and happineſſe will it be to us, when tempting rewards are taken away, that the cunningeſt and moſt dangerous mercenaries will ceaſe of themſelves to frequent the fold, whom otherwiſe ſcarce all the prayers of the faithful could have kept back from devouring the flock? But a true Paſtor of Chriſt's ſending hath this eſpeciall mark, that for greateſt labours, and greateſt merits in the Church, he requires either nothing, if he could ſo ſubſiſt, or a very common and reaſonable ſupply of humane neceſſaries: We cannot therefore do better then to leave this care of ours to God, he can eaſily ſend labourers into his Harveſt, that ſhall not cry, Give, give, but be contented with a moderate and beſeeming allowance ; nor will he ſuffer true learning to be wanting, where true grace and our obedience to him abounds: for if he give us to know him aright, and to practiſe this our knowledg in right eſtabliſht diſcipline, how much more will hee repleniſh us with all abilities in tongues and arts, that may conduce to his glory, and our good? He can ſtirre up rich Fathers to beſtow exquiſite education upon their Children, and ſo dedicate them to the ſervice of the Goſpell; he can make the ſons of Nobles his Miniſters, and Princes to be his Nazarites; for certainly there is no imployment more honourable, more worthy to take up a great ſpirit, more requiring a generous and free nurture, then to be the meſſenger and Herald of heavenly Truth from God to man, and by the faithful worke of holy doctrine, to procreate a number of faithful men, making a kind of creation like to God's, by infuſing his Spirit and likeneſſe into them, to their ſalvation, as God did into him; ariſing to what climat ſoever he turne him, like that Sun of righteouſneſſe that ſent him, with healing in his wings, and new light to break in upon the chill and gloomy hearts of his hearers, raiſing out of darkſome barrenneſſe a delicious and fragrant ſpring of ſaving knowledge, and good workes. Can a man thus imployd, find himſelfe diſcontented, or diſhonour'd for want of admittance to have a pragmaticall voyce at Seſſions, and Jayle deliveries? or becauſe hee may not as a Judge ſit out the wrangling noiſe of litigious Courts to ſhreeve the purſes of unconfeſſing and unmortify'd ſinners, and not their ſoules, or be diſcourag'd though men call him not Lord, when as the due performance of his office would gaine him even from Lords and Princes, the voluntary title of Father? Would he tugge for a Barony to ſit and vote in Parliament, knowing that no man can take from him the gift of wiſdome and ſound doctrine, which leaves him free, though not to be a member, yet a teacher, and perſwader of the Parliament? And in all wiſe apprehenſions the perſwaſive power in Man to win others to goodneſſe by inſtruction is greater, and more divine, then the compulſive power to reſtraine men from being evil by terrour of the Law; and therefore Chriſt left *Moſes* to be the Law-giver, but himſelfe came downe amongſt us to bee a teacher, with which office his heavenly Wiſdome was ſo well pleas'd, as that he was angry with thoſe that would have put a piece of temporall Judicature into his hands, diſclaiming that he had any commiſſion from above for ſuch matters.

Such a high Calling therefore as this, ſends not for thoſe droſſy ſpirits that need the lure, and whiſtle of earthly preferment, like thoſe animals that fetch and carry for a morſell; no. She can find ſuch as therefore ſtudy her precepts, becauſe ſhe teaches to deſpiſe preferment. And let not thoſe wretched Fathers thinke they ſhall impoveriſh the Church of willing and able ſupply, though they keep back their ſordid ſperm begotten in the luſtineſſe of their avarice, and turne them to their malting-kils; rather let them take heed what leſſons they inſtill into that lump of fleſh which they are the cauſe of, leſt, thinking to offer him as a preſent to God, they diſh him out for the Devill. Let the novice learn firſt to renounce the world, and ſo give himſelfe to God, and not therefore give himſelfe to God that hee may cloſe the better with the World, like that falſe Shepheard *Palinode* in the Eclogue of *May*, under whom the Poet lively perſonates our Prelates, whoſe whole life is a recantation of their paſtorall vow, and whoſe profeſſion to forſake the World, as they uſe the matter, boggs them deeper into the world: Thoſe our admired *Spencer* inveighs againſt, not without ſome preſage of theſe reforming times.

*The time was once, and may again returne*
*( For oft may happen that hath been beforn)*
*When Shepheards had none inheritance,*
*Ne of land, nor fee in ſufferance,*
*But what might ariſe of the bare ſheep*
*( Were it more or leſſe ) which they did keep.*
*Well ywis was it with Shepheards, tho*
*Nought having, nought feared they to forgo :*

*For* Pan *himſelfe was their inheritance,*
*And little them ſerv'd for their maintenance :*
*The Shepheards God ſo well them guided,*
*That of naught they were unprovided.*
*Butter enough, honey, milk, and whey,*
*And their flock fleeces them to array.*
*But tract of Time, and long proſperity*
*( That nurſe of vice, this of inſolency )*
*Lulled the Shepheards in ſuch ſecurity,*
*That not content with loyall obeyſance,*
*Some gan to gape for greedy governance,*
*And match themſelves with mighty Potentates,*
*Lovers of Lordſhips, and troublers of States.*
*Tho gan Shepheards Swaines to looke aloft,*
*And leave to live hard, and learne to lig ſoft.*
*Tho under colour of Shepheards ſome while*
*There crept in wolves full of fraud and guile,*
*That often devoured their owne Sheep,*
*And often the Shepheard that did them keep.*
*This was the firſt ſource of Shepheards ſorrow,*
*That now nill be quit with bale, nor borrow.*

By all this we may conjecture, how little wee neede fear that the unguilding of our Prelates will prove the woodening of our Prieſts. In the meane while, let no Man carry in his head either ſuch narrow, or ſuch evil eyes, as not to looke upon the Churches of *Belgia* and *Helvetia*, and that envied City *Geneva :* Where in the Chriſtian World doth Learning more flouriſh than in theſe places ? Not among your beloved Jeſuits, nor their favourers, though you take all the Prelates into the number, and inſtance in what kinde of learning you pleaſe. And how in *England* all noble ſciences attending upon the traine of Chriſtian doctrine may flouriſh more than ever ; and how the able profeſſors of every Art may with ample ſtipends be honeſtly provided ; and finally, how there may be better care had that their hearers may benefit by them, and all this without the Prelates, the courſes are ſo many and ſo eaſie, that I ſhall paſſe them over.

*Remon.* It is God that makes the Biſhop, the King that gives the Biſhoprick ; What can you ſay to this? *Sect.* 14. *Pag.* 129.

*Anſw.* What you ſhall not long ſtay for : we ſay it is God that makes a Biſhop, and the Devil that makes him take a prelaticall Biſhoprick ; as for the King's gift, regall bounty may be excuſable in giving, where the Biſhops covetouſneſſe is damnable in taking.

*Remon.* Many eminent Divines of the Churches abroad have earneſtly wiſh'd themſelves in our condition. *Pag.* 137.

*Anſw.* I cannot blame them, they were not onely eminent, but ſupereminent Divines, and for ſtomach much like to *Pompey* the great, that could indure no equall.

*Remon.* The Babylonian note ſounds well in your Ears, downe with it, downe with it even to the ground. *Pag.* 139.

*Anſw.* You miſtake the matter, it was the Edomitiſh note, but change it, and if you be an Angel, cry with the Angel, It is falne, it is falne.

*Remon.* But the God of Heav'n will, we hope, vindicate his owne Ordinance ſo long perpetuated to the Church.

*Anſw.* Goe rather to your God of this World, and ſee if he can vindicate your Lordſhips, your temporall and ſpirituall Tyrannies, and all your pelfe ; for the God of Heaven is already come downe to vindicate his own Ordinance from your ſo long perpetuated Uſurpation.

*Remon.* If yet you can bluſh. *Sect.* 15.

*Anſw.* This is a more Edomitiſh conceit than the former, and muſt be ſilenc'd with a counter-quip of the ſame Countrey. *Pag.* 141. So often and ſo unſavourily has it been repeated, that the Reader may well cry, Downe with it, downe with it for ſhame. A Man would thinke you had eaten over liberally of *Eſaüs* red Porrage, and from thence dreame continually of bluſhing ; or perhaps, to heighthen your fancy in writing, are wont to ſit in your Doctors ſcarlet, which through your eyes infecting your pregnant imaginative with a red Suffuſion, begets a continual thought of bluſhing: That you thus perſecute ingenuous Men over all your Book, with this one over-tir'd rubricall conceit ſtill of bluſhing; but if you have no mercy upon them, yet ſpare your ſelfe, leſt you bejade the good Galloway, your owne opiniaſter Wit, and make the very Conceit it ſelfe bluſh with ſpur-galling.

Sect. 16. Pag. 148. *Remon.* The ſcandalls of our inferiour Miniſters I deſir'd to have had leſſe publique.

*Anſw.* And what your ſuperiour Archbiſhop or Biſhops? O forbid to have it told in *Gath!* ſay you. O dauber! and therefore remove not Impieties from *Iſrael.* *Conſtantine* might have done more juſtly to have puniſh'd thoſe Clergicall faults which he could not conceale, than to leave them unpuniſh'd, that they might remaine conceal'd: better had it beene for him that the Heathen had heard the fame of his Juſtice, than of his wilfull connivence and partiality; and ſo the name of God and his Truth had been leſſe blaſphem'd among his enemies, and the Clergie amended, which daily by this impunitie grew worſe and worſe. But, O to publiſh it in the ſtreetes of *Aſcalon!* Sure ſome Colonie of Puritans have taken *Aſcalon* from the *Turke* lately, that the Remonſtrant is ſo afraid of *Aſcalon.* The Papiſts we know condole yee, and neither *Conſtantinople* nor your neighbors of *Marocco* trouble you. What other *Aſcalon* can you allude to?

Remonſtrance. Pag. 37. *Remon.* What a death it is to thinke of the ſport and advantage theſe watchful enemies, theſe oppoſite Spectators will be ſure to make of our ſinne and ſhame?

*Anſw.* This is but to fling and ſtrugle under the inevitable net of God, that now begins to inviron you round.

Remonſtrance. Pag. 38. *Remon.* No one Clergie in the whole Chriſtian World yeelds ſo many eminent Schollers, learned Preachers, grave, holy and accompliſh'd Divines, as this Church of *England* doth at this day.

*Anſw.* Ha, ha, ha.

*Remon.* And long, and ever may it thus flouriſh.

*Anſw.* O peſtilent imprecation! flouriſh as it does at this day in the Prelates?

*Remon.* But oh forbid to have it told in *Gath!*

*Anſw.* Forbid him rather, ſacred Parliament, to violate the ſenſe of Scripture, and turne that which is ſpoken of the afflictions of the Church under her Pagan enemies, to a pargetted concealment of thoſe prelatical crying ſins: for from theſe is profaneneſſe gone forth into all the Land; they have hid their eyes from the Sabbaths of the Lord; they have fed themſelves, and not their Flocks; with force and cruelty have they ruled over Gods People: They have fed his Sheep (contrary to that which Saint *Peter* writes) not of a ready mind, but for filthy lucre; not as examples to the Flock, but as being Lords over Gods heritage: and yet this Dauber would daub ſtill with his untempered Morter. But hearken what God ſayes by the Prophet *Ezekiel,* Say unto them that daub this Wall with untempered Morter, that it ſhall fall; there ſhall be an overflowing ſhower, and yee O great hailſtones ſhall fall, and a ſtormy wind ſhall rend it, and I will ſay unto you, the Wall is no more, neither they that daub'd it.

1 Pet. 5.

Ezek. 13.

Pag. 149. *Remon.* Whether of us ſhall give a better account of our Charity to the God of Peace, I appeale.

*Anſw.* Your Charity is much to your fellow-offendors, but nothing to the numberleſs Soules that have beene loſt by thir falſe feeding: uſe not therefore ſo ſillily the name of Charity, as moſt commonly you doe, and the peacefull attribute of God to a prepoſterous end.

Sect. 17. *Remon.* In the next Section, like ill bred Sons, you ſpit in the face of your Mother the Church of *England.*

*Anſw.* What ſhould wee doe or ſay to this *Remonſtrant?* that by his idle and ſhallow reaſonings, ſeemes to have been converſant in no Divinity, but that which is colourable to uphold Biſhopricks. Wee acknowledge, and beleeve the Catholick reformed Church; and if any man be diſpos'd to uſe a trope or figure, as Saint *Paul* once did in calling her the common Mother of us all, let him doe as his own rethorick ſhall perſwade him. If therefore we muſt needs have a Mother, and if the Catholick Church onely be, and muſt be ſhe, let all Genealogie tell us, if it can, what we muſt call the Church of *England*, unleſſe wee ſhall make every Engliſh Proteſtant a kind of poeticall *Bacchus*, to have two Mothers: but marke, Readers, the crafty ſcope of theſe Prelates, they endeavour to impreſſe deeply into weak and ſuperſtitious fancies, the awful notion of a Mother, that hereby they might cheat them into a blind and implicite Obedience to whatſoever they ſhall decree, or think fit. And if we come to aske a reaſon of ought from our deare Mother, ſhe's inviſible, under the lock and key of the Prelates her ſpiritual adulterers; they onely are the internuntio's, or the go-betweens, of this trim devis'd mummery: whatſoever they ſay, ſhe ſayes muſt be a deadly ſin of diſobedience not to beleeve. So that wee who by Gods ſpecial grace, have ſhak'n off the ſervitude of a great male Tyrant, our pretended Father the Pope, ſhould now, if wee be not betimes aware of theſe wily Teachers, ſink under the ſlavery of a female notion, the cloudy conception of a demy-Iland Mother; and while we think to be obedient Sonnes, ſhould make our ſelves rather the Baſtards, or the Centaurs of thir ſpiritual Fornications.

*Remon.* Take heed of the Ravens of the Vally.

*Anſw.* The Ravens wee are to take heede on are your ſelves, that would peck out the Eyes of all knowing Chriſtians.

*Remon.* Sit you merry Brethren.

*Anſw.* So we ſhall when the furies of Prelaticall conſciences will not give them leave to doe ſo.

*Queries.* Whether they would not jeopard their Eares rather, &c. *Sect.* 18.

*Anſw.* A puniſhment that awaites the merits of your bold accomplices for the lopping, and ſtigmatizing of ſo many free borne Chriſtians. *Pag.* 160.

*Remon.* Whether the profeſſed ſlovenlineſſe in Gods ſervice, &c. *Pag.* 161.

*Anſw.* We have heard of *Aaron* and his linnen Amice, but thoſe dayes are paſt; and for your Prieſt under the Goſpell, that thinks himſelfe the purer, or the cleanlier in his Office for his new waſht Surpleſſe, we eſteem him for ſanctitie little better than *Apollonius Thyanæus* in his white Frocke, or the Prieſt of *Iſis* in his lawne Sleeves, and they may all for Holineſſe lie together in the ſuds.

*Remon.* Whether it were not moſt lawfull and juſt to puniſh your preſumption and diſobedience.

*Anſw.* The puniſhing of that which you call our preſumption and diſobedience, lies not now within the execution of your fangs; the mercifull God above, and our juſt Parliament will deliver us from your *Epheſian* Beaſts, your cruell *Nimrods*, with whom we ſhall be ever feareleſſe to encounter.

*Remon.* God give you wiſdome to ſee the Truth, and grace to follow it.

*Anſw.* I wiſh the like to all thoſe that reſiſt not the Holy Ghoſt; for of ſuch God commands *Jeremie*, ſaying, Pray not thou for them, neither lift up cry or prayer for them, neither make interceſſion to me, for I will not hear thee; and of ſuch Saint *John* ſaith, He that bids them God ſpeed, is partaker of their evill Deeds.

## *To the Poſtſcript.*

*Remon.* A goodly Paſquin borrow'd for a great part out of *Sions* plea, or the Breviate conſiſting of a Rhapſody of Hiſtories.

*Anſw.* How wittily you tell us what your wonted courſe is upon the like occaſion: the Collection was taken, be it knowne to you, from as authentique Authors in this kinde, as any in a Biſhops Library; and the collector of it ſayes moreover, that if the like occaſion come againe, hee ſhall leſſe need the help of Breviates, or hiſtoricall Rhapſodies, than your Reverence to eek out your ſermonings ſhall need repaire to *Poſtills*, or *Polianthea's*.

*Remon.* They were Biſhops you ſay, true, but they were Popiſh Biſhops. *Pag.* 164.

*Anſw.* Since you would bind us to your juriſdiction by their Canon-law, ſince you would inforce upon us the old riff-raffe of *Sarum*, and other monaſticall reliques; ſince you live upon their unjuſt purchaſes, alleage their authorities, boaſt of their ſucceſſion, walke in their ſteps, their pride, their titles, their covetouſneſſe, their perſecuting of Gods people; ſince you diſclaime their actions, and build their Sepulchres, it is moſt juſt, that all their faults ſhould be imputed to yee, and their Iniquities viſited upon yee.

Pag. 166. *Remon.* Could yee ſee no Colleges, no Hoſpitals built?

*Anſw.* At that *priméro* of Piety, the Pope and Cardinals are the better Gameſters, and will cogge a Die into Heav'n before you.

*Remon.* No Churches re-edified?

*Anſw.* Yes, more Churches then Soules.

*Remon.* No learned Volumes writ?

*Anſw.* So did the miſcreant Biſhop of *Spalatto* write learned Volumes againſt the Pope, and run to *Rome* when he had done; yee write them in your Cloſets, and unwrite them in your Courts; hot Volumiſts and cold Biſhops; a ſwaſhbuckler againſt the Pope, and a dormouſe againſt the Devil, while the whole Dioceſſe be ſown with tares, and none to reſiſt the enemy, but ſuch as let him in at the Poſterne; a rare ſuperintendent at *Rome*, and a cipher at home. Hypocrites, the Goſpell faithfully preach'd to the poore, the deſolate Pariſhes viſited and duely fed; Loyterers throwne out, Wolves driven from the fold, had beene a better confutation of the Pope and Maſſe, than whole Hecatontomes of Controverſies; and all this careering with Speare in reſt, and thundring upon the ſteele Cap of *Baronius* or *Bellarmine*.

*Remon.* No ſeduced Perſons reclaim'd?

*Anſw.* More reclaimed Perſons ſeduc'd.

*Remon.* No hoſpitality kept?

*Anſw.* Bacchanalia's good ſtore in every Biſhops Family, and good gleeking.

*Remon.* No great offenders puniſh'd?

*Anſw.* The trophies of your high Commiſſion are renown'd.

*Remon.* No good Offices done for the publique?

*Anſw.* Yes, the good Office of reducing Monarchie to Tyrannie, of breaking pacifications, and calumniating the People to the King.

*Remon.* No care of the peace of the Church?

*Anſw.* No, nor of the Land; witneſſe the two Armies in the North that now lies plunder'd, and over-run by a Liturgie.

*Remon.* No diligence in preaching?

*Anſw.* Scarce any preaching at all.

*Remon.* No holineſſe in living?

*Anſw.* No.

*Remon.* Truely, Brethren, I can ſay no more, but that the fault is in your Eyes.

*Anſw.* If you can ſay no more than this, you were a proper Remonſtrant to ſtand up for the whole Tribe.

*Remon.* Wipe them, and looke better.

*Anſw.* Wipe your fat Corpulencies out of our light.

*Remon.* Yea, I beſeech God to open them rather that they may ſee good.

*Anſw.* If you mean good Prelates, let be your prayer, aske not impoſſibilities.

*Remon.* As for that proverb, the Biſhops foot hath been in it, it were more fit for a *Scurra* in *Trivio*, or ſome Ribald upon an Ale-bench.

*Anſw.* The fitter for them then of whom it was meant.

Pag. 167. *Remon.* I doubt not but they will ſay, the Biſhops foot hath been in your Booke, for I am ſure it is quite ſpoil'd by this juſt confutation; for your proverb, *Sapit Ollam.*

*Anſw.* Spoyld quoth ye? indeed it is ſo ſpoild, as a good Song is ſpoyld by a lewd ſinger, or as the ſaying is, God ſends meat, but the Cooks worke their wills: in that ſenſe we grant your Biſhops foot may have ſpoyld it, and made it *Sapere ollam*, if not *Sapere aulam*; which is the ſame in old Latin, and perhaps in plaine Engliſh. For certaine your confutation hath atchiev'd nothing againſt it, and left nothing upon it, but a foule taſte of your skillet foot, and a more perfect and diſtinguiſhable odour of your Socks, then of your Night-cap. And how the Biſhop ſhould confute a Booke with his Foot, unleſſe his Braines were dropt into his great Toe, I cannot meet with any man that can reſolve me, onely they tell me that certainly ſuch a Confutation muſt needs be goutie. So much for the Biſhops foot.

*Remonſt.* You tell us of *Bonners* Broth; it is the faſhion in ſome Countries to ſend in their Keal in the laſt Service, and this it ſeems is the manner amongſt our Smectymnuans.

*Anſw.* Your latter Service at the high Altar you mean; but ſoft Sir, the Feaſt was but begun, the Broth was your own, you have been inviting the Land to it this fourſcore years; and ſo long we have been your ſlaves to ſerve it up for you, much againſt our wills: we know you have the Beefe to it, ready in your Kitchins, we are ſure it was almoſt ſod before this Parliament begun; what direction you have given ſince to your Cooks to ſet it by in the Pantry till ſome fitter time, we know not, and therefore your deare Jeſt is loſt; this Broth was but your firſt Service: Alas, Sir, why doe you delude your Gueſts? Why doe not thoſe goodly Flanks and Briskets march up in your ſtately Chargers? doutleſſe, if need be, the Pope that owes you for mollifying the matter ſo well with him, and making him a true Church, will furniſh you with all the fat Oxen of *Italy*.

*Remonſt.* Learned and worthy Doctor *Moulin* ſhall tell them.

*Anſw.* *Moulin* ſayes in his Booke of the calling of Paſtors, that becauſe Biſhops were the Reformers of the Engliſh Church, therefore they were left remaining: This Argument is but of ſmall force to keepe you in your Cathedrals. For firſt it may be deny'd that Biſhops were our firſt Reformers, for *Wickliffe* was before them, and his egregious Labours are not to be neglected; beſides, our Biſhops were in this worke but the Diſciples of Prieſts, and began the Reformation before they were Biſhops. But what though *Luther* and other Monks were the Reformers of other places? does it follow therefore that Monks ought to continue? no, though *Luther* had taught ſo. And laſtly, *Moulins* Argument directly makes againſt you; for if there be nothing in it but this, Biſhops were left remaining becauſe they were the Reformers of the Church, by as good a Conſequence therefore they are now to be remov'd, becauſe they have been the moſt certaine deformers and ruiners of the Church. Thus you ſee how little it avails you to take Sanctuary among thoſe Churches which in the generall ſcope of your actions formerly you have diſregarded, and deſpis'd, however your faire words would now ſmooth it over otherwiſe.

*Remonſt.* Our Biſhops, ſome whereof being crown'd with Martyrdome, ſubſcrib'd the Goſpel with their Blood. *Pag.* 168.

*Anſw.* You boaſt much of Martyrs to uphold your Epiſcopacy; but if you would call to mind what *Euſebius* in his 5. l. recites from *Apollinarius* of *Hierapolis*, you ſhould then heare it eſteem'd no other then an old hereticall Argument, to prove a Poſition true, becauſe ſome that held it were Martyrs: This was that which gave boldneſſe to the *Marcioniſts*, and *Cataphryges* to avouch their impious Hereſies for pious Doctrine, becauſe they could reckon many Martyrs of their Sect; and when they were confuted in other Points, this was ever their laſt and ſtouteſt Plea.

*Remonſt.* In the mean time I beſeech the God of Heaven to humble you.

*Anſw.* We ſhall beſeech the ſame God to give you a more profitable and pertinent Humiliation then yet you know, and a leſſe miſtaken charitableneſſe, with that peace which you have hitherto ſo perverſely miſaffected.

# An APOLOGY for Smectymnuus.

IF, Readers, to that ſame great difficulty of well-doing what we certainly know, were not added in moſt men as great a careleſſenes of knowing what they and others ought to do, we had bin long ere this, no doubt but all of us, much farther on our way to ſome degree of Peace and Happineſſe in this Kingdome. But ſince our ſinfull neglect of practiſing that which we know to be undoubtedly true and good, hath brought forth among us, through Gods juſt Anger, ſo great a difficulty now to know that which otherwiſe might be ſoone learnt, and hath divided us by a Controverſie of great importance indeed, but of no hard ſolution, which is the more our puniſhment, I reſolv'd (of what ſmall moment ſoever I might be thought) to ſtand on that ſide where I ſaw both the plain Autority of Scripture leading, and the reaſon of Juſtice and Equity perſwading; with this opinion which eſteemes it more unlike a Chriſtian to be a cold neuter in the cauſe of the Church, then the Law of *Solon* made it puniſhable after a Sedition in the State. And becauſe I obſerve that Feare and dull Diſpoſition, Lukewarmeneſſe and Sloth, are not ſeldomer wont to cloak themſelves under the affected name of Moderation, then true and lively Zeale is cuſtomably diſparag'd with the terme of Indiſcretion, Bitterneſſe, and Choler, I could not to my thinking honor a good Cauſe more from the heart, then by defending it earneſtly, as oft as I could judge it to behoove me, notwithſtanding any falſe name that could be invented to wrong or undervalue an honeſt meaning. Wherein although I have not doubted to ſingle forth more then once ſuch of them as were thought the chiefe and moſt nominated Oppoſers on the other ſide, whom no Man elſe undertooke: If I have done well either to be confident of the Truth, whoſe force is beſt ſeene againſt the ableſt Reſiſtance, or to be jealous and tender of the hurt that might be done among the weaker by the intrapping Autority of great Names titl'd to falſe Opinions; or that it be lawful to attribute ſomewhat to Gifts of Gods imparting, which I boaſt not, but thankfully acknowledge, and feare alſo leſt at my certaine account they be reckon'd to me many rather then few; or if laſtly it be but Juſtice not to defraud of due eſteeme the weariſome labours and ſtudious watchings, wherein I have ſpent and tir'd out almoſt a whole Youth, I ſhall not diſtruſt to be acquitted of preſumption: knowing, that if heretofore all ages have receav'd with favour and good acceptance the earlieſt induſtry of him that hath beene hopefull, it were but hard meaſure now, if the freedome of any timely ſpirit ſhould be oppreſt meerely by the big and blunted fame of his elder adverſary; and that his ſufficiency muſt be now ſentenc't, not by pondering the reaſon he ſhewes, but by calculating the years he brings. However, as my purpoſe is not, nor hath beene formerly, to looke on my Adverſary abroad, through the deceaving glaſſe of other Mens great opinion of him, but at home, where I may finde him in the proper light of his owne worth, ſo now againſt the rancor of an evill tongue, from which I never thought ſo abſurdly, as that I of all Men ſhould be exempt, I muſt be forc't to proceed from the unfained and diligent inquiry of mine owne Conſcience at home (for better way I know not, Readers) to give a more true account of my ſelfe abroad then this modeſt Confuter, as he calls himſelfe, hath given of me. Albeit that in doing this I ſhall be ſenſible of two things which to me will be nothing pleaſant; the one is, that not unlikely I ſhall be thought too much a Party in mine own Cauſe, and therein to ſee leaſt: the other, that I ſhall be put unwillingly to moleſt the publick view with the vindication of a private name; as if it were worth the while that the People ſhould care whether ſuch a one were thus, or thus. Yet thoſe I intreat who have found the leaſure to read that Name, however of ſmall repute, unworthily defam'd, would be ſo good and ſo patient as to heare the ſame Perſon not unneedfully defended. I will not deny but that the beſt Apology againſt falſe Accuſers is ſilence and ſufferance, and honeſt deeds ſet againſt diſhoneſt words. And that I could at this time moſt eaſily and ſecurely, with the leaſt loſſe of Reputation, uſe no other defence, I need not deſpaire to win beliefe; whether I conſider both the fooliſh contriving and ridiculous aiming of theſe his ſlanderous bolts, ſhot ſo wide of any ſuſpicion to be faſtn'd on me, that I have oft with inward contentment perceav'd my friends congratulating themſelves in my innocence, and my Enemies aſham'd of their partners folly: Or whether I look at theſe preſent times wherein moſt men, now ſcarce permitted the liberty to think over their owne concernments, have remov'd the ſeat of their thoughts more outward to the expectation of publick events. Or whether the examples of Men, either noble or religious, who have ſat downe lately with a meeke ſilence and ſufferance under many libellous Endorſements, may be a rule to others, I might well appeaſe my ſelf to put up any reproaches in ſuch an honourable Society of fellow-ſufferers, uſing no other Defence. And were it that Slander would be content to make an end where it firſt fixes, and not ſeek to caſt out the like infamy upon each thing that hath but any relation to the Perſon traduc'd, I ſhould have pleaded againſt this Confuter by no other Advocates then thoſe which I firſt commended, Silence and Sufferance, and ſpeaking deeds againſt faltering words. But when I diſcern'd his intent was not ſo much to ſmite at me, as through me to render odious the Truth which I had written, and to ſtaine with ignominy that Evangelick Doctrine which oppoſes the tradition of Prelaty, I conceav'd my ſelfe to be now not as mine own Perſon, but as a Member incorporate into that Truth whereof I was perſwaded, and whereof I had declar'd openly to be a partaker. Whereupon I thought it my duty, if not to my ſelfe, yet to the religious Cauſe I had in hand, not to leave on my garment the leaſt ſpot or blemiſh in good name ſo long as God ſhould give me to ſay that which might wipe it off. Leſt thoſe diſgraces which I ought to ſuffer, if it ſo befall me, for my Religion, through my default Religion be made liable to ſuffer for me. And, whether it might not ſomething reflect upon thoſe reverent Men whoſe friend I may be thought in writing the Animadverſions, was not my laſt care to conſider; if I ſhould reſt under theſe reproaches, having the ſame common Adverſary with them, it might be counted ſmall credit for their cauſe to have found ſuch an aſſiſtant as this babler hath deviſ'd me. What other thing in his Book there is of diſpute or queſtion, in anſwering thereto I doubt not to be juſtifi'd; except there be who will condemne me to have waſted time in throwing downe that which could not keep it ſelfe up. As for others, who notwithſtanding what I can allege have yet decreed to miſ-interpret the intents of my Reply, I ſuppoſe they would have found as many cauſes to have miſconceav'd the reaſons of my ſilence.

TO beginne therefore an Apology for thoſe Animadverſions which I writ againſt the Remonſtrant in defence of *Smectymnuus*; ſince the Preface, which was purpoſely ſet before them, is not thought apologeticall anough, it will be beſt to acquaint ye, Readers, before other things, what the meaning was to write them in that manner which I did. For I do not look to be askt wherefore I writ the Book, it being no difficulty to anſwer that I did it to thoſe ends which the beſt Men propoſe to themſelves when they write: But wherefore in that manner neglecting the maine bulk of all that ſpecious Antiquity, which might ſtunne Children, but not Men, I choſe rather to obſerve ſome kinde of military advantages to await him at his forragings, at his watrings, and when ever he felt himſelfe ſecure, to ſolace his veine in deriſion of his more ſerious opponents. And here let me have pardon, Readers, if the remembrance of that which he hath licenc't himſelfe to utter contemptuouſly of thoſe reverend Men provoke me to doe that over againe which ſome expect I ſhould excuſe as too freely done; ſince I have two provocations, his lateſt inſulting in his ſhort anſwer, and their finall patience. I had no fear but that the Authors of *Smectymnuus*, to all the ſhew of ſolidity which the Remonſtrant could bring, were prepar'd both with skill and purpoſe to returne a ſuffizing anſwer, and were able anough to lay the duſt and pudder in antiquity, which he and his, out of ſtratagem, are wont to raiſe; but when I ſaw his weake Arguments headed with ſharpe taunts, and that his deſigne was, if he could not refute them, yet at leaſt with quips and ſnapping Adagies to vapour them out, which they bent only upon the buſineſſe were minded to let paſſe, by how much I ſaw them taking little thought for their own Injuries, I muſt confeſſe

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I took it as my part the leſſe to endure that my reſpected Friends, through their own unneceſſary patience, ſhould thus lye at the Mercy of a coy flurting ſtile; to be girded with frumps and curtall gibes, by one who makes ſentences by the Statute, as if all above three inches long were confiſcat. To me it ſeem'd an indignity, that whom his whole wiſdome could not move from their place, them his impetuous Folly ſhould preſume to ride over. And if I were more warme then was meet in any paſſage of that Booke, which yet I do not yeild, I might uſe therein the patronage of no worſe an Author then *Gregory Nyſſen*, who mentioning his ſharpneſſe againſt *Eunomius* in the defence of his brother *Baſil*, holds himſelfe irreprovable in that it *was not for himſelfe, but in the cauſe of his Brother*; *and in ſuch caſes*, ſaith he, *perhaps it is worthier pardon to be angry then to be cooler*. And whereas this Confuter taxes the whole Diſcourſe of Levity, I ſhall ſhew ye, Readers, whereſoever it ſhall be objected in particular, that I have anſwer'd with as little lightneſſe as the Remonſtrant hath given example. I have not beene ſo light as the palme of a Biſhop, which is the lighteſt thing in the world when he brings out his Book of Ordination: For then, contrary to that which is wont in releaſing out of priſon, any one that will pay his fees is layd hands on. Another reaſon, it would not be amiſſe though the Remonſtant were told, wherefore he was in that unuſuall manner beleaguer'd; and this was it, to pluck out of the heads of his Admirers the conceit that all who are not Prelaticall, are groſſe-headed, thick-witted, illiterat, ſhallow. Can nothing then but Epiſcopacy teach Men to ſpeak good Engliſh, to pick and order a ſet of words judiciouſly? Muſt we learne from Canons and quaint Sermonings, interlin'd with barbarous Latin, to illumin a period, to wreath an Enthymema with maiſtrous dexterity? I rather encline, as I have heard it obſerv'd, that a Jeſuits Italian when he writes, is ever naught, though he be borne and bred a *Florentine*; ſo to thinke that from like cauſes we may go neere to obſerve the ſame in the ſtile of a Prelat. For doubtleſſe that indeed according to Art is moſt eloquent, which returnes and approaches neereſt to Nature from whence it came; and they expreſſe Nature beſt, who in their lives leaſt wander from her ſafe leading, which may be call'd regenerate Reaſon. So that how he ſhould be truly eloquent who is not withall a good Man, I ſee not. Neverthleſſe as oft as is to be dealt with Men who pride themſelves in their ſuppoſed Art, to leave them unexcuſable wherin they will not be better'd; there be of thoſe that eſteeme Prelaty a figment, who yet can pipe if they can dance, nor will be unfurniſht to ſhew that what the Prelats admire and have not, others have and admire not. The knowledge whereof, and not of that only, but of what the Scripture teacheth us how we ought to withſtand the perverters of the Goſpell, were thoſe other motives which gave the Animadverſions no leave to remit a continuall vehemence throughout the Book. For as in teaching doubtleſſe the ſpirit of meekneſſe is moſt powerfull, ſo are the meeke only fit perſons to be taught: as for the proud, the obſtinate, and falſe Doctors of Mens devices, be taught they will not, but diſcover'd and laid open they muſt be. For how can they admit of teaching, who have the Condemnation of God already upon them for refuſing divine Inſtruction? that is, to be *fill'd with their own devices*, as in the Proverbs we may reade: therefore we may ſafely imitate the method that God uſes; *with the froward to be froward, and to throw ſcorne upon the ſcorner*, whom if any thing, nothing elſe will heale. And if *the righteous ſhall laugh at the deſtruction of the ungodly*, they may alſo laugh at their pertinacious and incurable obſtinacy, and at the ſame time be mov'd with deteſtation of their ſeducing malice, who imploy all their wits to defend a Prelaty uſurpt, and to deprave that juſt Government which Pride and Ambition, partly by fine fetches and pretences, partly by force, hath ſhoulder'd out of the Church. And againſt ſuch kind of deceavers openly and earneſtly to proteſt, leſt any one ſhould be inquiſitive wherefore this or that Man is forwarder then others, let him know that this Office goes not by Age or Youth, but to whomſoever God ſhall give apparently the Will, the Spirit, and the Utterance. Ye have heard the reaſons for which I thought not my ſelfe exempted from aſſociating with good Men in their labours toward the Churches wellfare: to which if any one brought oppoſition, I brought my beſt reſiſtance. If in requital of this, and for that I have not been negligent toward the reputation of my friends, I have gain'd a name beſtuck, or as I may ſay, bedeckt with the reproaches and reviles of this modeſt Confuter, it ſhall be to me neither ſtrange nor unwelcome, as that which could not come in a better time.

Having render'd an account what induc'd me to write thoſe Animadverſions in that manner as I writ them, I come now to ſee what the Confutation hath to ſay againſt them; but ſo as the Confuter ſhall hear firſt what I have to ſay againſt his Confutation. And becauſe he pretends to be a great Conjector at other Men by their Writings, I will not faile to give ye, Readers, a preſent taſte of him from his own title, hung out like a toling ſigne-poſt to call Paſſengers, not ſimply *a Confutation*, but *a modeſt Confutation*, with a Laudatory of it ſelfe obtruded in the very firſt word. Whereas a modeſt title ſhould only informe the buyer what the Book containes without furder inſinuation; this officious Epithet ſo haſtily aſſuming the modeſty which others are to judge of by reading, not the Author to anticipate to himſelfe by foreſtalling, is a ſtrong preſumption that his modeſty ſet there to ſale in the frontiſpice, is not much addicted to bluſh. A ſurer ſigne of his loſt ſhame he could not have given, then ſeeking thus unſeaſonably to prepoſſeſſe Men of his modeſty. And ſeeing he hath neither kept his word in the ſequel, nor omitted any kinde of boldneſſe in ſlandering, 'tis manifeſt his purpoſe was only to rub the forehead of his title with this word *modeſt*, that he might not want colour to be the more impudent throughout his whole Confutation. Next what can equally ſavour of Injuſtice and plaine Arrogance, as to prejudice and forecondemne his Adverſary in the title for *ſlanderous and ſcurrilous*, and as the Remonſtrants faſhion is, for *frivolous, tedious, and falſe*, not ſtaying till the Reader can hear him prov'd ſo in the following Diſcourſe; which is one cauſe of a ſuſpicion that in ſetting forth this Pamplet the Remonſtrant was not unconſulted with: thus his firſt addreſſe was *an humble Remonſtance by a dutifull Son of the Church*, almoſt as if he had ſaid her white-boy. His next was *a Defence* (a wonder how it ſcapt ſome praiſing adjunct) *againſt the frivolous and falſe Exceptions of Smectymnuus*, ſitting in the chaire of his Title-page upon his poore caſt Adverſaries both as a Judge and Party, and that before the Jury of Readers can be impannell'd. His laſt was *a ſhort Anſwer to a tedious Vindication*; ſo little can he ſuffer a Man to meaſure either with his eye or judgement, what is ſhort or what tedious, without his preoccupying direction: and from hence is begotten this *modeſt Confutation againſt a ſlanderous and ſcurrilous Libell*. I conceave, Readers, much may be gueſt at the Man and his Book, what depth there is, by the framing of his Title; which being in this Remonſtrant ſo raſh and unadviſed as ye ſee, I conceit him to be neere a kin to him who ſet forth a Paſſion Sermon with a formall Dedicatory in great Letters to our Saviour. Although I know that all we do ought to begin and end to his Praiſe and Glory, yet to inſcribe him in a void place with flouriſhes, as a Man in complement uſes to trick up the name of ſome Eſquire, Gentleman, or Lord Paramont at Common Law, to be his Book-patron, with the appendant form of a ceremonious preſentment, will ever appeare among the judicious to be but an inſuls and frigid affectation. As no leſſe was that before his Book againſt the Browniſts, to write a Letter to a Proſopopæa, a certain rhetoriz'd Woman whom he calls Mother, and complains of ſome that laid Whoredome to her charge; and certainly had he folded his Epiſtle with a Superſcription to be deliver'd to that female figure by any Poſt or Carrier who were not a Ubiquitary, it had beene a moſt miraculous greeting. We finde the Primitive Doctors as oft as they writ to Churches, ſpeaking to them as to a number of faithfull Brethren and Sons, and not to make a cloudy Tranſmigration of Sexes in ſuch a familiar way of writing as an Epiſtle ought to be, leaving the track of common adreſſe, to run up, and tread the Aire in metaphoricall Compellations, and many fond utterances better let alone. But I ſtep again to this Emblazoner of his Title-page, (whether it be the ſame Man or no I leave it in the midſt) and here I finde him pronouncing, without reprieve, thoſe Animadverſions to be *a ſlanderous and ſcurrilous Libell*. To which I, Readers, that they are neither ſlanderous, nor ſcurrilous, will anſwer in what place of his Book he ſhall be found with reaſon, and not inke only in his mouth. Nor can it be a Libell more than his owne, which is both nameleſſe and full of ſlanders; and if in this that it freely ſpeaks of things amiſſe in Religion, but eſtabliſht by act of State, I ſee not how *Wickleffe* and *Luther*, with all the firſt Martyrs and Reformers, could avoid the imputation of libelling. I never thought the humane frailty of erring in caſes of Religion Infamy to a State, no more then to a Councell; it had therefore beene neither civill nor chriſtianly, to derogate the Honour of the State for that cauſe, eſpecially when I ſaw the Parlament it ſelfe piouſly and magnanimouſly bent to ſupply and reforme the defects and overſights of their Fore-fathers, which to the godly and repentant ages of the Jewes were often matter of humble confeſſing and bewailing, not of confident aſſerting and maintaining. Of the State therefore I found good reaſon to ſpeak all honourable things, and to joyne in petition with good Men that petition'd: but againſt the Prelats who were the only ſeducers and miſ-leaders of the State to conſtitute the Government of the Church not rightly, methought I had not vehemence anough. And thus, Readers, by the example which hee hath ſet mee I have given yee two or three notes of him out of his Title-page; by which his firſtlings feare not to gueſſe boldly at his whole lumpe, for that gueſſe will not faile ye; and altho I tell him keen truth, yet he may beare with me, ſince I am like to chaſe him into ſome good knowledge, and others, I truſt, ſhall not miſ-ſpend their leaſure. For this my aime is, if I am forc't to be unpleaſing to him whoſe fault it is, I ſhall not forget at the ſame time to be uſefull in ſome thing to the ſtander-by.

As therefore he began in the Title, ſo in the next leafe he makes it his firſt buſineſſe to tamper with his Reader by ſycophanting and miſnaming the worke of his Adverſary. He calls it *a Mime thruſt forth upon the ſtage to make up the breaches of thoſe ſolemn Scenes betweene the Prelats and the Smectymnuans.* Wherein while he is ſo over-greedy to fix a name of ill ſound upon another, note how ſtupid he is to expoſe himſelfe or his own friends to the ſame ignominy; likening thoſe grave Controverſies to a piece of Stagery, or Scene-worke, where his owne Remonſtrant, whether in Buskin or Sock, muſt of all right be counted the chiefe Player, be it boaſting *Thraſo*, or *Davus that troubles all things*, or one who can ſhift into any ſhape, I meddle not; let him explicate who hath reſembl'd the whole Argument to a Comedy, for *Tragicall*, he ſays, *were too ominous*. Nor yet doth he tell us what a Mime is, whereof we have no pattern from ancient writers except ſome fragments, which containe many acute and wiſe ſentences. And this we know in *Laertius*, that the Mimes of *Sophron* were of ſuch reckning with *Plato*, as to take them nightly to read on, and after make them his pillow. *Scaliger* deſcribes a Mime to be a Poem imitating any action to ſtirre up laughter. But this being neither Poem, nor yet ridiculous, how is it but abuſively taxt to be a Mime? For if every Book which may by chance excite to laugh here and there, muſt be term'd thus, then may the Dialogues of *Plato*, who for thoſe his writings hath obtain'd the ſurname of Divine, be eſteem'd as they are by that Detractor in *Athenæus*, no better then *Mimes*. Becauſe there is ſcarce one of them, eſpecially wherein ſome notable Sophiſter lies ſweating and turmoyling under the inevitable and mercileſſe Dilemma's of *Socrates*, but that hee who reads, were it *Saturne* himſelfe, would be often rob'd of more then a ſmile. And whereas he tels us that *ſcurrilous Mime was a perſonated grim lowring Foole*, his fooliſh language unwittingly writes Foole upon his owne friend, for he who was there *perſonated*, was only the *Remonſtrant*; the Author is ever diſtinguiſh'd from the perſon he introduces. But in an ill houre hath his unfortunate raſhneſſe ſtumbl'd upon the mention of miming, that hee might at length ceaſe, which he hath not yet ſince he ſtept in, to gall and hurt him whom hee would aide. Could he not beware, could he not bethink him, was he ſo uncircumſpect, as not to foreſee, that no ſooner would that word *Mime* be ſet eye on in the Paper, but it would bring to minde that wretched Pilgrimage over *Minſhews* Dictionary call'd *Mundus alter & idem*, the idleſt and the paltrieſt Mime that ever mounted upon banke? Let him ask *the Author of thoſe toothleſſe Satyrs* who was the maker, or rather the anticreator of that univerſall foolery, who he was, who like that other principle of the *Maniches* the *Arch evill one*, when he had look't upon all that he had made and mapt out, could ſay no other but contrary to the Divine Mouth, that it was all very fooliſh. That grave and noble invention which the greateſt and ſublimeſt Wits in ſundry ages, *Plato* in *Critias*, and our two famous country-men, the one in his *Utopia*, the other in his *new Atlantis* choſe, I may not ſay as a Feild, but as a mighty Continent, wherein to diſplay the largeneſſe of their Spirits, by teaching this our world better and exacter things then were yet known or us'd: this petty Prevaricator of *America*, the Zanie of *Columbus* (for ſo he muſt be till his worlds end) having rambl'd over the huge topography of his own vain thoughts, no marvell if he brought us home nothing but a meer tankard drollery, a venereous parjetory for a ſtewes. Certainly he that could indure with a ſober pen to ſit and deviſe Laws for Drunkards to carouſe by, I doubt me whether the very ſoberneſſe of ſuch a one, like an unlicour'd *Silenus*, were not ſtark drunk. Let him go now and brand another man injuriouſly with the name of *Mime*, being himſelfe the looſeſt and moſt extravagant *Mime* that hath been heard of, whom no leſſe then almoſt halfe the world could ſerve for ſtage roome to play the *Mime* in. And let him adviſe again with Sir *Francis Bacon*, whom he cites to confute others, what it is *to turn the ſinnes of Chriſtendome into a mimicall mockery, to rip up the ſaddeſt vices with a laughing countenance*, eſpecially where neither reproofe nor better teaching is adjoynd. Nor is my meaning, Readers, to ſhift off a blame from my ſelfe, by charging the like upon my accuſer, but ſhall only deſire that Sentence may be reſpited, till I can come to ſome inſtance whereto I may give anſwer.

Thus having ſpent his firſt Onſet, not in confuting, but in a reaſonleſſe defaming of the Book, the method of his Malice hurries him to attempt the like againſt the Author; not by Proofes and Teſtimonies, but *having no certaine notice of me*, as he profeſſes, *furder then what he gathers from the Animadverſions*, blunders at me for the reſt, and flings out ſtray Crimes at a venture, which he could never, though he be a Serpent, ſuck from any thing that I have written, but from his own ſtufft magazin, and hoard of ſlanderous Inventions, over and above that which he converted to venome in the drawing. To me, Readers, it happens as a ſingular contentment; and let it be to good Men no ſlight ſatisfaction, that the Slanderer here confeſſes, he has *no furder notice of mee then his owne conjecture*. Although it had been honeſt to have inquir'd, before he utter'd ſuch infamous words, and I am credibly inform'd he did inquire; but finding ſmall comfort from the intelligence which he receav'd, whereon to ground the Falſities which he had provided, thought it his likelieſt courſe under a pretended ignorance to let drive at randome, leſt he ſhould loſe his odde Ends, which from ſome penurious Book of Characters he had been culling out and would faine apply. Not caring to burden me with thoſe Vices, whereof, among whom my Converſation hath been, I have been ever leaſt ſuſpected; perhaps not without ſome ſuttlety to caſt me into envie, by bringing on me a neceſſity to enter into mine own praiſes. In which Argument I know every wiſe Man is more unwillingly drawn to ſpeak, then the moſt repining eare can be averſe to heare. Neverthelеſſe ſince I dare not wiſh to paſſe this Life unperſecuted of ſlanderous tongues, for God hath told us that to be generally prais'd is wofull, I ſhall relye on his Promiſe to free the Innocent from cauſeleſſe Aſperſions: whereof nothing ſooner can aſſure me, then if I ſhall feele him now aſſiſting me in the juſt vindication of my ſelfe. which yet I could deferre, it being more meet that to thoſe other matters of publick debatement in this Book, I ſhould give attendance firſt, but that I feare it would but harme the Truth for me to reaſon in her behalf, ſo long as I ſhould ſuffer my honeſt eſtimation to lye unpurg'd from theſe inſolent ſuſpicions. And if I ſhall be large, or unwonted in juſtifying my ſelfe to thoſe who know me not, for elſe it would be needleſſe, let them conſider that a ſhort Slander will oft-times reach farder then a long Apology; and that he who will do juſtly to all Men, muſt begin from knowing how, if it ſo happen, to be not unjuſt to himſelf. I muſt be thought, if this Libeller (for now he ſhews himſelf to be ſo) can finde beliefe, after an inordinat and riotous Youth ſpent at *the Univerſity*, to have bin at length *vomited out thence*. For which commodious Lye, that he may be encourag'd in the trade another time, I thank him, for it hath given me an apt occaſion to acknowledge publickly with all gratefull minde, that more then ordinary favour and reſpect which I found above any of my Equals at the hands of thoſe curteous and learned Men, the Fellowes of that Colledge wherein I ſpent ſome Years: who at my parting, after I had taken two Degrees, as the manner is, ſignifi'd many ny wayes, how much better it would content them that I would ſtay; as by many Letters full of kindneſſe and loving reſpect, both before that time, and long after, I was aſſur'd of their ſingular good affection towards me. Which being likewiſe propenſe to all ſuch as were for their ſtudious and civil Life worthy of eſteeme, I could not wrong their Judgments, and upright Intentions, ſo much as to think I had that regard from them for other cauſe then that I might be ſtill encourag'd to proceed in the honeſt and laudable courſes, of which they apprehended I had given good proofe. And to thoſe ingenuous and friendly Men who were ever the countenancers of vertuous and hopefull Wits, I wiſh the beſt and happieſt things that Friends in abſence wiſh one to another. As for the common approbation or diſlike of that place, as now it is, that I ſhould eſteeme or diſeſteeme my ſelfe or any other the more for that, too ſimple and too credulous is the Confuter, if he thinke to obtaine with me, or any right Diſcerner. Of ſmall practize was that Phyſician who could not judge by what both ſhe or her Siſter hath of long time vomited, that the worſer ſtuffe ſhe ſtrongly keeps in her ſtomack, but the better ſhe is ever kecking at, and is queaſie. She vomits now out of ſickneſſe; but ere it be well with her, ſhe muſt vomit by ſtrong Phyſick. In the meane while that *Suburb ſinke*, as this rude Scavinger calls it, and more then ſcurrilouſly taunts it with the *plague*, having a worſe plague in his middle Entraile, that Suburb wherein I dwell, ſhall be in my account a more honourable place then his Univerſity. Which as in the time of her better health, and mine owne younger judgement, I never greatly admir'd, ſo now much leſſe. But he follows me to the City, ſtill uſurping and forging beyond his Book notice, which only he affirms to have had; *and where my morning haunts are he wiſſes not.* 'Tis wonder, that being ſo rare an Alchymiſt of ſlander, he could not extract that, as well as the Univerſity vomit, and the Suburb ſinke which his Art could diſtill ſo cunningly; but becauſe his Limbeck failes him, to give him and envie the more vexation, I'le tell him. Thoſe morning haunts are where they ſhould be at home, not ſleeping, or concocting the ſurfets of an irregular Feaſt, but up and ſtirring, in Winter often ere the ſound of any Bell awake men to labour, or to devotion; in Summer as oft with the Bird that firſt rouſes, or not much tardier, to reade good Authors, or cauſe them to be read, till the Attention be weary, or Memory have its full fraught: Then with uſefull and generous labours preſerving the Bodies health and hardineſſe; to render lightſome, cleare, and not lumpiſh obedience to the minde, to the cauſe of Religion, and our Countries liberty, when it ſhall require firme hearts in ſound bodies to ſtand and cover their ſtations, rather then to ſee the ruine of our Proteſtation, and the inforcement of a ſlaviſh Life. Theſe are the morning Practiſes, proceed now to the afternoon; in *Playhouſes*, he ſayes, *and the Bordelloes.* Your intelligence, unfaithful Spie of *Canaan:* he gives in his evidence, that *there he hath trac't me.* Take him at his word, Readers, but let him bring good Sureties ere ye diſmiſſe him, that while he pretended to dogge others, he did not turne in for his own pleaſure; for ſo much in effect he concludes againſt himſelfe, not contented to be caught in every other Gin, but he muſt be ſuch a novice, as to be ſtill hamper'd in his own Hempe. In the Animadverſions, ſaith he, I finde the mention of old Clokes, falſe Beards, Night-walkers, and ſalt Lotion; therefore the Animadverter haunts Playhouſes and Bordelloes; for if he did not, how could hee ſpeake of ſuch Gear? Now that he may know what it is to be a Childe, and yet to meddle with edg'd tooles, I turn his *Antiſtrephon* upon his own head; the Confuter knowes that theſe things are the furniture of Playhouſes and Bordelloes, therefore by the ſame reaſon the *Confuter himſelfe hath been trac't in thoſe places.* Was it ſuch a diſſolute Speech, telling of ſome Politicians who were wont to eaveſdrop in diſguiſes, to ſay they were often liable to a night-walking Cudgeller, or the emptying of a Urinall? What if I had writ as your Friend the Author of the aforeſaid *Mime*, *Mundus alter & idem*, to have bin raviſht like ſome young *Cephalus* or *Hylas*, by a troope of camping Huſwives in *Viraginea*, and that he was there forc't to ſweare himſelfe to an uxorious Varlet; then after a long ſervitude to have come into *Aphrodiſia* that pleaſant Countrey, that gave ſuch a ſweet ſmell to his Noſtrils among the ſhameleſſe Courtezans of *Deſvergonia?* Surely he would have then concluded me as conſtant at the Bordello, as the Gally-ſlave at his Oare. But ſince there is ſuch neceſſity to the hear-ſay of a Tire, a Periwig, or a Vizard, that Playes muſt have bin ſeene, what difficulty was there in that? when in the Colleges ſo many of the young Divines, and thoſe in next aptitude to Divinity, have bin ſeene ſo often upon the Stage, writhing and unboning their Clergie-limmes to all the antick and diſhoneſt geſtures of Trinculo's, Buffons, and Bawds; proſtituting the ſhame of that Miniſtery, which either they had, or were nigh having, to the eyes of Courtiers and Court-Ladies, with their Groomes and *Madamoiſellaes*. There while they acted, and overacted, among other young Scholars, I was a Spectator; they thought themſelves gallant Men, and I thought them fools; they made ſport, and I laught; they miſpronounc't, and I miſlik't; and to make up the *atticiſme*, they were out, and I hiſt. Judge now whether ſo many good Text men were not ſufficient to inſtruct me of falſe beards and vizards, without more Expoſitors: and how can this Confuter take the face to object to me the ſeeing of that which his reverent Prelats allow, and incite their young diſciples to act? For if it be unlawfull to ſit and behold a mercenary Comedian perſonating that which is leaſt unſeemly for a hireling to doe, how much more blamefull is it to indure the ſight of as vile things acted by Perſons either enter'd, or preſently to enter into the Miniſtery; and how much more foule and ignominious for them to be the Actors?

But becauſe as well by this upraiding to me the Bordello's, as by other ſuſpicious glancings in his Book, he would ſeem privily to point me out to his Readers, as one whoſe cuſtome of Life were not honeſt, but licentious; I ſhall intreat to be born with, though I digreſſe; and in a way not often trod, acquaint yee with the ſumme of my thoughts in this matter, through the courſe of my Yeares and Studies. Although I am not ignorant how hazardous it will be to do this under the noſe of the Envious, as it were in skirmiſh to change the compact Order, and inſtead of outward Actions, to bring inmoſt thoughts into front. And I muſt tell yee Readers, that by this ſort of Men I have bin already bitten at; yet ſhall they not for me know how ſlightly they are eſteem'd, unleſſe they have ſo much learning as to reade what in Greek Απειροκαλία is, which together with envie, is the common diſeaſe of thoſe who cenſure Books that are not for their reading. With me it fares now, as with him whoſe outward garment hath bin injur'd and ill-bedighted; for having no other ſhift, what helpe but to turne the inſide outwards, eſpecially if the lining be of the ſame, or, as it is ſometimes, much better? So if my name and outward demeanour be not evident anough to defend me, I muſt make tryall, if the diſcovery of my inmoſt thoughts can: Wherein of two purpoſes both honeſt, and both ſincere, the one perhaps I ſhall not miſſe; although I faile to gaine beliefe with others, of being ſuch as my perpetuall thoughts ſhall heere diſcloſe me, I may yet not faile of ſucceſſe in perſwading ſome to be ſuch really themſelves, as they cannot believe me to be more then what I fain. I had my time, Readers, as others have, who have good learning beſtow'd upon them, to be ſent to thoſe Places, where the opinion was, it might be ſooneſt attain'd; and as the manner is, was not unſtudied in thoſe Authors which are moſt commended; whereof ſome were grave Orators and Hiſtorians, whoſe matter methought I lov'd indeed, but as my Age then was, ſo I underſtood them; others were the ſmooth Elegiack Poets, whereof the Schooles are not ſcarce, whom both for the pleaſing ſound of their numerous Writing, which in imitation I found moſt eaſie, and moſt agreeable to natures part in me, and for their matter, which what it is, there be few who know not, I was ſo allur'd to read, that no recreation came to me better welcome: For that it was then thoſe Years with me which are excus'd, though they be leaſt ſevere, I may be ſav'd the labour to remember ye. Whence having obſerv'd them to account it the chiefe glory of their wit, in that they were ableſt to judge, to praiſe, and by that could eſteeme themſelves worthieſt to love thoſe high perfections, which under one or other name they took to celebrate; I thought with my ſelfe by every inſtinct and preſage of Nature, which is not wont to be falſe, that what imboldn'd them to this task, might with ſuch diligence as they us'd imbolden me; and that what judgment, wit, or elegance was my ſhare, would herein beſt appeare, and beſt value it ſelfe, by how much more wiſely, and with more love of Vertue

I

I ſhould chooſe (let rude eares be abſent) the object of not unlike praiſes : For albeit theſe thoughts to ſome will ſeeme vertuous and commendable, to others only pardonable, to a third ſort perhaps idle ; yet the mentioning of them now will end in ſerious. Nor blame it, Readers, in thoſe Years to propoſe to themſelves ſuch a reward, as the nobleſt Diſpoſitions above other things in this Life have ſometimes preferr'd : whereof not to be ſenſible, when good and faire in one Perſon meet, argues both a groſſe and ſhallow Judgement, and withall an ungentle, and ſwainiſh breſt. For by the firme ſetling of theſe perſwaſions, I became, to my beſt memory, ſo much a proficient, that if I found thoſe Authors any where ſpeaking unworthy things of themſelves, or unchaſte of thoſe Names which before they had extoll'd ; this effect it wrought with me, from that time forward their Art I ſtill applauded, but the Men I deplor'd ; and above them all, preferr'd the two famous renowners of *Beatrice* and *Laura*, who never write but honour of them to whom they devote their Verſe, diſplaying ſublime and pure thoughts, without tranſgreſſion. And long it was not after, when I was confirm'd in this opinion, that he who would not be fruſtrate of his hope to write well hereafter in laudable things, ought himſelfe to bee a true Poem ; that is, a compoſition and patterne of the beſt and honourableſt things ; not preſuming to ſing high praiſes of heroick Men, or famous Cities, unleſſe he have in himſelfe the experience and the practice of all that which is praiſeworthy. Theſe reaſonings, together with a certaine niceneſſe of Nature, an honeſt haughtineſſe, and ſelf-eſteem either of what I was, or what I might be, (which let envie call pride) and laſtly that Modeſty, whereof though not in the Title-page, yet here I may be excus'd to make ſome beſeeming profeſſion ; all theſe uniting the ſupply of their naturall aid together, kept me ſtill above thoſe low deſcents of Minde, beneath which he muſt deject and plunge himſelf, that can agree to ſalable and unlawfull proſtitutions. Next, (for heare me out now Readers) that I may tell ye whither my younger feet wander'd ; I betook me among thoſe lofty Fables and Romances, which recount in ſolemne Canto's, the deeds of Knighthood founded by our victorious Kings, and from hence had in renowne over all Chriſtendome : There I read it in the Oath of every Knight, that he ſhould defend to the expence of his beſt Blood, or of his Life, if it ſo befell him, the honour and chaſtity of Virgin or Matron : From whence even then I learnt what a noble vertue Chaſtity ſure muſt be, to the defence of which ſo many Worthies by ſuch a deare adventure of themſelves had ſworne ; and if I found in the ſtory afterward, any of them by word or deed, breaking that Oath, I judg'd it the ſame fault of the Poet, as that which is attributed to *Homer*, to have written undecent things of the Gods : Only this my mind gave me, that every free and gentle ſpirit, without that Oath, ought to be borne a Knight, nor needed to expect the gilt Spurre, or the laying of a Sword upon his ſhoulder to ſtir him up both by his counſell and his arme, to ſecure and protect the weakneſſe of any attempted Chaſtity. So that even thoſe Books, which to many others have bin the fuell of wantonneſſe and looſe living, I cannot thinke how, unleſſe by divine indulgence, prov'd to me ſo many incitements, as you have heard, to the love and ſteadfaſt obſervation of that Vertue which abhorres the ſociety of Bordello's. Thus from the Laureat fraternity of Poets, riper yeares, and the ceaſeleſſe round of ſtudy and reading, led me to the ſhady ſpaces of Philoſophy ; but chiefly to the divine Volumes of *Plato*, and his equall *Xenophon* : where if I ſhould tell ye what I learnt of Chaſtity and Love, I meane that which is truly ſo, whoſe charming cup is only Vertue, which ſhe bears in her hand to thoſe who are worthy ; the reſt are cheated with a thick intoxicating potion, which a certain Sorcereſſe, the abuſer of Loves name carries about, and how the firſt and chiefeſt office of Love begins and ends in the Soule, producing thoſe happy twins of her divine generation, Knowledg and Vertue ; with ſuch abſtracted ſublimities as theſe, it might be worth your liſtning, Readers, as I may one day hope to have ye in a ſtill time, when there ſhall be no chiding ; not in theſe noiſes, the Adverſary, as ye know, barking at the doore, or ſearching for me at the Burdello's, where it may be he has loſt himſelfe, and raps up without pitty the ſage and Rheumatick old *Prelateſſe* with all her young *Corinthian Laity*, to inquire for ſuch a one. Laſt of all, not in time, but as perfection is laſt, that care was ever had of me, with my earlieſt capacity, not to be negligently train'd in the precepts of Chriſtian Religion: This that I have hitherto related, hath bin to ſhew, that though Chriſtianity had bin but ſlightly taught me, yet a certain reſerv'dneſſe of naturall diſpoſition, and morall diſcipline learnt out of the nobleſt Philoſophy, was enough to keep me in diſdain of farre leſſe incontinences then this of the Bordello. But having had the doctrine of Holy Scripture, unfolding thoſe chaſte and high Myſteries, with timelieſt care infus'd, that *the body is for the Lord, and the Lord for the body*; thus alſo I argu'd to my ſelfe, that if unchaſtity in a Woman, whom Saint *Paul* termes the glory of Man, be ſuch a ſcandall and diſhonour, then certainly in a Man who is both the image and glory of God, it muſt, though commonly not ſo thought, be much more deflouring and diſhonourable; in that he ſins both againſt his owne body, which is the perfeter Sex, and his own glory which is in the Woman; and that which is worſt, againſt the image and glory of God which is in himſelfe. Nor did I ſlumber over that place, expreſſing ſuch high rewards of ever accompanying the Lamb, with thoſe celeſtiall Songs to others inapprehenſible, but not to thoſe who were not defil'd with Women, which doubtleſſe meanes Fornication: For Mariage muſt not be call'd a defilement. Thus large I have purpoſely bin, that if I have bin juſtly taxt with this Crime, it may come upon me after all this my confeſſion, with a tenne-fold ſhame: But if I have hitherto deſerv'd no ſuch opprobrious word, or ſuſpicion, I may hereby ingage my ſelfe now openly to the faithfull obſervation of what I have profeſt. I go on to ſhew you the unbridl'd impudence of this looſe rayler, who having once begun his race, regards not how farre he flyes out beyond all truth and ſhame; who from the ſingle notice of the Animadverſions, as he proteſts, will undertake to tell ye the very cloaths I weare, though he be much miſtaken in my Wardrobe: And like a ſon of *Belial*, without the hire of *Jeſabel*, charges me *of blaſpheming God and the King*, as ordnarily as he imagines *me to drink Sack and ſweare*, meerely becauſe this was a ſhred in his common place-Book, and ſeem'd to come off roundly, as if he were ſome Empirick of falſe Accuſations to try his poiſons upon me, whether they would work or no. Whom what ſhould I endeavour to refute more, when as that Book which is his only Teſtimony returnes the lye upon him; not giving him the leaſt hint of the Author to be either a Swearer, or a Sack-drinker. And for the Readers, if they can believe me, principally for thoſe reaſons which I have alleg'd, to be of Life and Purpoſe neither diſhoneſt, nor unchaſte, they will be eaſily induc't to thinke me ſober both of wine, and of word; but if I have bin already ſucceſſeleſſe in perſwading them, all that I can furder ſay, will be but vaine; and it will be better thrift to ſave two tedious labours, mine of excuſing, and theirs of needleſſe hearing.

Proceeding furder, I am met with a whole ging of words and phraſes not mine, for he hath maim'd them, and like a ſlye depraver mangl'd them in this his wicked Limbo, worſe then the ghoſt of *Deiphobus* appear'd to his friend *Ænæas*. Here I ſcarce know them, and he that would, let him repaire to the place in that Booke where I ſet them: For certainly this tormenter of Semicolons is as good at diſmembring and ſlitting ſentences, as his grave Fathers the Prelates have bin at ſtigmatizing and ſlitting Noſes. By ſuch handy-craft as this what might he not traduce? Only that odour which being his own muſt needs offend his ſenſe of ſmelling, ſince he will needes beſtow his foot among us, and not allow us to think he weares a Sock, I ſhall endeavour it may be offenceleſſe to other mens eares. The Remonſtrant having to do with grave and reverend Men his adverſaries, thought it became him to tell them in ſcorne, that *the Biſhops foot had beene in their Book and confuted it*; which when I ſaw him arrogate, to have done that with his heels that ſurpaſt the beſt conſideration of his head, to ſpurn a confutation among reſpected Men, I queſtion'd not the lawfulneſſe of moving his jollity to bethink him, what odor a Sock would have in ſuch a painful buſineſſe. And this may have chanc't to touch him more neerly then I was aware; for indeed a Biſhops foot that hath all his toes mauger the Gout, and a linnen Sock over it, is the apteſt embleme of the Prelate himſelfe; who being a Pluraliſt, may under one Surplice which is alſo linnen, hide foure Benefices beſides the metropolitan toe, and ſends a fouler ſtench to Heaven, then that which this young queaſineſſe reches at. And this is the immediate reaſon here why our inrag'd Confuter, that he may be as perfet an hypocrite as *Caiaphas*, ere he be a High Prieſt, cries out, *Horrid blaſphemy!* and like a recreant Jew calls for *ſtones*. I beſeech ye friends, ere the brickbats flye, reſolve me and your ſelves, is it blaſphemy, or any whit diſagreeing from Chriſtian meekneſſe, when as Chriſt himſelfe ſpeaking of unſavory traditions, ſcruples not to name the Dunghill and the Jakes, for me to anſwer a ſlovenly wincer of a confutation, that, if he would needs put his foot to ſuch a ſweaty ſervice, the odour of his Sock was like to be neither Musk, nor Benjamin? Thus did that fooliſh Monk in a barbarous Declamation accuſe *Petrarch* of blaſphemy for diſpraiſing the French Wines. But this which follows is plaine bedlam ſtuffe, this is the *Demoniack legion* indeed, which the Remonſtrant feard had been againſt him, and now he may ſee is for him: *You that love Chriſt*, ſaith he, *and know this miſcreant wretch, ſtone him to death, leſt you ſmart for his impunity.* What thinks the Remonſtrant? does he like that ſuch words as theſe ſhould come out of his ſhop, out of his Trojan horſe? to give the watch-word like *a Guiſian of Paris* to a mutiny or maſſacre; to proclaim a *Cruſada* againſt his fellow Chriſtian now in this troublous and divided time of the Kingdom? If he do, I ſhall ſay that to be the Remonſtrant is no better then to be a Jeſuit; and that if he and his accomplices could do as the rebels have done in *Ireland* to the Proteſtants, they would do in *England* the ſame to them that would no Prelats. For a more ſeditious and butcherly Speech no Cell of *Loyola* could have belch'd againſt one who in all his writing ſpake not, that any mans skin ſhould be rais'd. And yet this curſing *Shimei*, a hurler of ſtones, as well as a rayler, wants not the face inſtantly to make as though he *deſpair'd of victory unleſs a modeſt defence would get it him.* Did I erre at all, Readers, to foretell ye, when firſt I met with his title, that the epithet of modeſt there, was a certain red portending ſign, that he meant ere long to be moſt tempeſtuouſly bold, and ſhameleſs? Nevertheleſs *he dares not ſay but there may be hid in his nature as much venemous Atheiſme and profanation*, as he thinks, *hath broke out at his adverſaries lips*; *but he hath not the ſoare running upon him*, as he would intimate *I have.* Now truſt me not, Readers, if I be not already weary of pluming and footing this Seagull, ſo open he lies to ſtrokes, and never offers at another, but brings home the dorre upon himſelf. For if the ſore be running upon me, in all judgment I have ſcapt the diſeaſe; but he who hath as much infection hid in him, as he hath voluntarily confeſt, and cannot expell it, becauſe he is dull, for venomous Atheiſm were no treaſure to be kept within him elſe, let him take the part he hath choſen, which muſt needs follow, to ſwell and burſt with his own inward venom.

## SECTION I.

But mark, Readers, there is a kind of juſtice obſerv'd among them that do evil, but this Man loves injuſtice in the very order of his malice. For having all this while abus'd the good name of his adverſary with all manner of licence in revenge of his Remonſtrant, if they be not both one perſon, or as I am told, Father and Son, yet after all this he calls for ſatisfaction, when as he himſelf hath already taken the utmoſt farding. *Violence hath been done*, ſays he, *to the perſon of a holy and religious Prelat.* To which, ſomething in effect to what S. *Paul* anſwer'd of *Ananias*, I anſwer, *I wiſt not brethren that he was a holy and religious* Prelat; for evil is written of thoſe who would be Prelats. And finding him thus in diſguiſe without his ſuperſcription or *Phylactery* either of *holy* or *Prelat*, it were no ſin to ſerve him as *Longchamp* Biſhop of *Elie* was ſerv'd in his diſguiſe at *Dover:* He hath begun the meaſure nameleſs, and when he pleaſes we may all appear as we are. And let him be then what he will, he ſhall be to me ſo as I find him principl'd. For neither muſt Prelat or Arch-Prelat hope to exempt himſelf from being reckon'd as one of the vulgar, which is for him only to hope whom true wiſdom and the contempt of vulgar opinions exempts, it being taught us in the Pſalmes, that he who is in honour and underſtandeth not, is as the beaſts that periſh. And now firſt *the manner of handling that Cauſe* which I undertook, he thinks *is ſuſpicious*, as if the wiſeſt, and the beſt words were not ever to ſome or other ſuſpicious. But where is the offence, the diſagreement from Chriſtian meekneſs, or the precept of *Solomon* in anſwering folly? When the Remonſtrant talks of *froth and ſcum*, I tell him there is none, and bid him *ſpare his Ladle:* when he brings in the meſs with *Keale, Beef and Breweſſe*, what ſtomack in *England* could forbear to call for flanks and briskets? Capon and white broth having been likely ſometimes in the ſame room with Chriſt and his Apoſtles, why does it trouble him that it ſhould be now *in the ſame leafe*, eſpecially, where the diſcourſe is not continu'd but interrupt? And let him tell me, is he wont to ſay grace, doth he not then name holieſt names over the ſteame of coſtlieſt ſuperfluities? Does he judg it fooliſh or diſhoneſt to write that among religious things, which when he talks of religious things he can devoutly chew? Is he afraid to name Chriſt where thoſe things are written in the ſame leafe, whom he fears not to name while the ſame things are in his mouth? Doth not Chriſt himſelf teach the higheſt things by the ſimilitude *of old bottles and patcht cloaths?* Doth he not illuſtrate beſt things by things moſt evil? his own *coming* to be *as a thiefe in the night*, and the righteous Mans *wiſdom to that of an unjuſt Steward?* He might therefore have done better to have kept in *his canting beggars and heathen Altar* to ſacrifice his thredbare criticiſm of *Bomolochus* to an unſeaſonable Goddeſs fit for him call'd Importunity, and have reſerv'd his Greek derivation till he lecture to his freſh Men, for here his itching pedantry is but flouted.

But to the end that nothing may be omitted which may furder ſatisfie any conſcionable man, who notwithſtanding what I could explain before the Animadverſions, remains yet unſatisfi'd concerning that way of writing which I there defended, but this confuter whom it pinches, utterly diſapproves, I ſhall aſſay once again, and perhaps with more ſucceſs. If therefore the queſtion were in oratory, whether a vehement vein throwing out indignation or ſcorn upon an object that merits it, were among the apteſt *Ideas* of ſpeech to be allow'd, it were my work, and that an eaſie one, to make it clear both by the rules of beſt Rhetoricians, and the famouſeſt examples of the Greek and Roman Orations. But ſince the Religion of it is diſputed, and not the Art, I ſhall make uſe only of ſuch reaſons and authorities, as Religion cannot except againſt. It will be harder to gainſay, then for me to evince that in the teaching of men diverſly temper'd different ways are to be try'd. The Baptiſt we know was a ſtrict man, remarkable for auſterity and ſet-order of life. Our Saviour who had all gifts in him, was Lord to expreſs his indoctrinating power in what ſort him beſt ſeem'd; ſometimes by a mild and familiar converſe, ſometimes with plain and impartiall home-ſpeaking, regardleſs of thoſe whom the auditors might think he ſhould have had in more reſpect; otherwhiles with bitter and ireful rebukes, if not teaching, yet leaving excuſeleſs thoſe his wilful Impugners. What was all in him, was divided among many others the teachers of his Church; ſome to be ſevere and ever of a ſad gravity that they may win ſuch, and check ſometimes thoſe who be of nature over-confident and jocond; others were ſent more cheerful, free, and ſtill as it were at large, in the midſt of an untreſpaſſing honeſty, that they who are ſo temper'd may have by whom they might be drawn to ſalvation, and they who are too ſcrupulous, and dejected of ſpirit, might be often ſtrengthn'd with wiſe conſolations and revivings: no man being forc'd wholly to diſſolve that groundwork of nature which God created in him, the ſanguine to empty out all his ſociable livelineſs, the cholerick to expel quite the unſinning predominance of his anger; but that each radical humour and paſſion wrought upon and corrected as it ought, might be made the proper mould and foundation of every mans peculiar gifts and vertues. Some alſo were indu'd with a ſtaid moderation, and ſoundneſs of argument, to teach and convince the rational and ſober-minded; yet not therefore that to be thought the only expedient courſe of teaching, for in times of oppoſition when either againſt new hereſies ariſing, or old corruptions to be reform'd, this cool unpaſſionate mildneſs of poſitive wiſdom is not anough to damp and aſtoniſh the proud reſiſtance of carnal and falſe Doctors, then (that I may have leave to ſoare a while as the Poets uſe) then Zeal, whoſe ſubſtance is ethereal, arming in compleat diamond, aſcends his fiery Chariot drawn with two blazing Meteors figur'd like beaſts, but of a higher breed then any the Zodiack yields, reſembling two of thoſe four which *Ezechiel* and S. *John* ſaw, the one viſag'd like a Lion to expreſs power, high autority and indignation; the other of count'nance like a Man to caſt deriſion and ſcorn upon perverſe and fraudulent ſeducers: with theſe the invincible warriour Zeal ſhaking looſely the ſlack reins drives over the heads of ſcarlet Prelats, and ſuch as are inſolent to maintain traditions, bruſing their ſtiffe necks under his flaming wheels. Thus did the true Prophets of old combat with the falſe; thus Chriſt himſelf the fountain of meekneſs found acrimony anough to be ſtill galling and vexing the Prelatical Phariſees. But ye will ſay theſe had immediat warrant from God to be thus bitter; and I ſay, ſo much the plainlier is it prov'd, that there may be a ſanctifi'd bitterneſs againſt the enemies of truth. Yet that ye may not think Inſpiration only the warrant thereof, but that it is as any other vertue, of moral and general obſervation, the example of *Luther* may ſtand for all, whom God made choice of before others to be of higheſt eminence and power in reforming the Church; who not of revelation, but of judgment writ ſo vehemently againſt the chief defenders of old untruths in the Romiſh Church, that his own friends and favourers were many times offended with the fierceneſs of his ſpirit; yet he being cited before *Charles* the fifth to anſwer for his Books, and having divided them into three ſorts, whereof one was of thoſe which he had ſharply written, refus'd, though upon deliberation giv'n him, to retract or unſay any word therein, as we may read in *Sleidan*. Yea he defends his eagerneſs, as being *of an ardent ſpirit, and one who could not write a dull ſtile:* and affirm'd *he thought it Gods will to have the inventions of men thus laid open, ſeeing that matters quietly handled were quickly forgot.* And herewithal how uſeful and available God had made this tart Rhetorick in the Churches cauſe, he often found by his own experience. For when he betook himſelf to lenity and moderation, as they call it, he reapt nothing but contempt both from *Cajetan* and *Eraſmus*, from *Cocleus*, from *Ecchius* and others; inſomuch that blaming his friends who had ſo counſell'd him, he reſolv'd never to run into the like error: if at other times he ſeem to excuſe his vehemence, as more then what was meet, I have not examin'd through his works to know how far he gave way to his own fervent mind; it ſhall ſuffice me to look to mine own. And this I ſhall eaſily aver, though it may ſeem a hard ſaying, that the Spirit of God who is purity it ſelf, when he would reprove any fault ſeverly, or but relate things done or ſaid with indignation by others, abſtains not from ſome words not civil at other times to be ſpok'n. Omitting that place in *Numbers* at the killing of *Zimri* and *Coſbi* done by *Phineas* in the heigth of zeal, related, as the Rabbins expound, not without an obſcene word, we may find in *Deuteronomy* and three of the Prophets, where God denouncing bitterly the puniſhments of Idolaters, tells them in a term immodeſt to be utter'd in cool blood, that their wives ſhall be defil'd openly. But theſe, they will ſay, were honeſt words in that age when they were ſpok'n. Which is more then any Rabbin can prove; and certainly had God been ſo minded, he could have pickt ſuch words as ſhould never have come into abuſe. What will they ſay to this? *David* going againſt *Nabal*, in the very ſame breath when he had but juſt before nam'd the *name of God*, he vows not *to leave any alive of Nabals houſe that piſſeth againſt the Wall.* But this was unadviſedly ſpoke, you will anſwer, and ſet down to aggravate his infirmity. Turn then to the firſt of *Kings*, where God himſelf uſes the phraſe, *I will cut off from Jeroboam him that piſſeth againſt the wall.* Which had it been an unſeemly ſpeech in the heat of an earneſt expreſſion, then we muſt conclude that *Jonathan* or *Onkelos* the *Targumiſts* were of cleaner language then he that made the tongue; for they render it as briefly, *I will cut off all who are at years of diſcretion*, that is to ſay, ſo much diſcretion as to hide nakedneſs. Whereas God who is the author both of purity and eloquence, choſe this phraſe as fitteſt in that vehement character wherein he ſpake. Otherwiſe that plain word might have eaſily bin forborn: Which the *Maſoreths* and Rabbinical *Scholiaſts* not well attending, have often us'd to blur the margent with *Keri*, inſtead of *Ketiv*, and gave us this inſuls rule out of their *Talmud*, *That all words which in the Law are writ obſcenely, muſt be chang'd to more civil words:* Fools who would teach men to reade more decently then God thought good to write. And thus I take it to be manifeſt, that indignation againſt men and their actions notoriouſly bad, hath leave and autority oft times to utter ſuch words und phraſes as in common talk were not ſo mannerly to uſe. That ye may know, not only as the Hiſtorian ſpeaks, *that all thoſe things for which Men plough, build, or ſail, obey vertue*, but that all words, and whatſoever may be ſpoken, ſhall at ſome time in an unwonted manner wait upon her purpoſes.

Now that the Confutant may alſo know as he deſires, what force of teaching there is ſometimes in Laughter; I ſhall return him in ſhort, that Laughter being one way of anſwering *a Fool according to his folly*, teaches two ſorts of Perſons, firſt, the Fool himſelf *not to be wiſe in his own conceit*, as *Solomon* affirms; which is certainly a great document, to make an unwiſe Man know himſelf. Next, it teacheth the Hearers, in as much a ſcorn is one of thoſe Puniſhments which belong to Men carnally wiſe, which is oft in Scripture declar'd; for when ſuch are puniſht, *the ſimple are thereby made wiſe*, if *Salomons* rule be true. And I would ask, to what end *Eliah* mockt the falſe Prophets? was it to ſhew his wit, or to fulfill his humour? doubtleſs we cannot imagine that great ſervant of God had any other end in all which he there did, but to teach and inſtruct the poore miſledde People. And we may frequently read, that many of the Martyrs in the midſt of their troubles, were not ſparing to deride and ſcoff their ſuperſtitious perſecutors. Now may the Confutant adviſe again with Sir *Francis Bacon*, whether *Eliah* and the Martyrs did well to turn Religion into a Comedy, or Satyr; *to rip up the wounds* of Idolatry and Superſtition *with a laughing Countenance:* So that for pious gravity his Author here is matcht and overmatcht, and for wit and morality in one that follows.

*—laughing to teach the truth*
*What hinders? as ſome teachers give to Boys*
*Junkets and knacks, that they may learne apace.*
Thus *Flaccus* in his firſt Satyr, and his tenth:
*—Jeſting decides great things*
*Stronglier, and better oft then earneſt can.*

I could urge the ſame out of *Cicero*, and *Seneca*, but he may content him with this. And henceforward, if he can learn, may know as well what are the bounds, and objects of laughter and vehement Reproof, as he hath known hitherto how to deſerve them both. But leſt ſome may haply think, or thus expoſtulat with me after all this debatement, who made you the buſy Almoner to deal about this dole of laughter and reprehenſion, which no Man thanks your bounty for? To the urbanity of that Man I ſhold anſwer much after this ſort: That I, friend Objecter, having read of heathen Philoſophers, ſome to have taught, that whoſoever would but uſe his ear to liſten, might hear the voice of his guiding *Genius* ever before him, calling and as it were pointing to that way which is his part to follow; others, as the Stoicks, to account Reaſon, which they call the *Hegemonicon*, to be the common *Mercury* conducting without error thoſe that give themſelves obediently to be led accordingly: having read this, I could not eſteem ſo poorly of the Faith which I profeſs, that God had left nothing to thoſe who had forſaken all other doctrines for his, to be an inward witneſs and warrant of what they have to do, as that they ſhould need to meaſure themſelves by other Mens meaſures, how to give ſcope or limit to their proper actions; for that were to make us the moſt at a ſtand, the moſt uncertaine and accidentall wanderers in our doings, of all Religions in the World. So that the queſtion ere while mov'd, who he is that ſpends thus the benevolence of laughter and reproof ſo liberally upon ſuch Men as the Prelats, may return with a more juſt demand, who he is not of place and knowledg never ſo mean, under whoſe contempt and jerk theſe men are not deſervedly faln? Neither can Religion receive any wound by diſgrace thrown upon the Prelats, ſince Religion and they ſurely were never in ſuch amity. They rather are the men who have wounded Religion, and their ſtripes muſt heal her. I might alſo tell them, what *Electra* in *Sophocles*, a wiſe Virgin anſwer'd her wicked Mother, who thought her ſelf too violently reprov'd by her the Daughter:

*'Tis you that ſay it, not I; you do the deeds,*
*And your ungodly deeds find me the words.*

If therefore the Remonſtrant complain of Libels, it is becauſe he feels them to be right aim'd. For I ask again, as before in the Animadverſions, how long is it ſince he hath diſreliſht Libels? we never heard the leaſt mutter of his voice againſt them while they flew abroad without controul or check, defaming the Scots and Puritans. And yet he can remember of none but *Lyſimachus Nicanor*, and *that he miſlik'd and cenſur'd.* No more but of one can the Remonſtrant remember? What if I put him in mind of one more? What if of one more whereof the Remonſtrant in many likelihoods may be thought the Author? Did he never ſee a Pamphlet intitl'd after his own faſhion, *A Survey of that fooliſh, ſeditious, ſcandalous, profane Libel, the Proteſtation proteſted?* The Child doth not more expreſly refigure the viſage of his Father, then that Book reſembles the ſtile of the Remonſtrant, in thoſe idioms of ſpeech, wherein he ſeems moſt to delight: and in the ſeventeenth Page three lines together taken out of the Remonſtrance word for word, not as a Citation, but as an Author borrows from himſelf. Whoever it be, he may as juſtly be ſaid to have libell'd, as he againſt whom he writes: there ye ſhall find another man then here is made ſhew of, there he bites as faſt as this whines. *Vinegar in the Ink* is there *the antidote of Vipers. Laughing* in a religious Controverſy is there *a thrifty Phyſick to expel his melancholy.* In the mean time the Teſtimony of Sir *Francis Bacon* was not miſalledg'd, complaining that Libels on the Biſhops part were utter'd openly; and if he hop'd the Prelats *had no intelligence with the Libellors*, he delivers it but as his favourable opinion. But had he contradicted himſelf, how could I aſſoil him here, more then a little before, where I know not how, by entangling himſelf, he leaves an aſperſion upon *Job*, which by any elſe I never heard laid to his charge? For having affirm'd that *there is no greater confuſion then the confounding of jeſt and earneſt*, preſently he brings the example of *Job glancing at conceits of mirth, when he ſat among the people with the gravity of a Judg upon him.* If Jeſt and Earneſt be ſuch a confuſion, then were the people much wiſer then *Job*, for *he ſmil'd, and they believ'd him not.* To defend Libels, which is that whereof I am next accus'd, was far from my purpoſe. I had not ſo little ſhare in good name, as to give another that advantage againſt my ſelf. The ſum of what I ſaid was, that a more free permiſſion of writing at ſome times might be profitable, in ſuch a queſtion eſpecially wherein the Magiſtrates are not fully reſolv'd; and both ſides have equal liberty to write, as now they have. Not as when the Prelats bore ſway, in whoſe time the Books of ſome men were confuted, when they who ſhould have anſwer'd were in cloſe priſon, deny'd the uſe of pen or paper. And the *divine Right of Epiſcopacy* was then valiantly aſſerted, when he who would have been reſpondent muſt have bethought himſelf withal how he could refute the *Clink* or the *Gate-houſe*. If now therefore they be perſu'd with bad words, who perſecuted others with bad deeds, it is a way to leſſen tumult rather then to encreaſe it; whenas anger thus freely vented ſpends it ſelf ere it break out into action, though *Machiavel* whom he cites, or any *Machiavilian* Prieſt think the contrary.

## SECT. 3.

Now Readers I bring ye to his third Section; wherein very cautiouſly, and no more than needs, leſt I ſhould take him for ſome Chaplain at hand, ſome Squire of the body to his Prelat, one that ſerves not at the Altar only, but at the Court cup-board, he will beſtow on us a pretty model of himſelfe; and ſobs me out half a dozen tizical Mottoes where-ever he had them, hopping ſhort in the meaſure of Convulſion-fits; in which labour the agony of his Wit having ſcap'd narrowly, inſtead of well ſiz'd periods, he greets us with a quantity of thum-ring poſies. *He has a fortune therefore good, becauſe he is content with it.* This is a piece of ſapience not worth the brain of a fruit-trencher; as if Content were the meaſure of what is good or bad in the guiſt of Fortune. For by this rule a bad Man may have a good fortune, becauſe he may be oft times content with it for many reaſons which have no affinity with Vertue, as love of eaſe, want of ſpirit to uſe more, and the like. *And therefore content*, he ſays, *becauſe it neither goes before, nor comes behind his merit.* Belike then if his fortune ſhould go before his merit, he would not be content, but reſign, if we believe him, which I do the leſs, becauſe he implyes, that if it came behind his merit, he would be content as little. Whereas if a wiſe

Man's content ſhould depend upon ſuch a *Therefore*, becauſe his fortune came not behind his merit, how many wiſe Men could have content in this world? In his next pithy ſymbol I dare not board him, for he paſſes all *the ſeven wiſe Maſters of Greece*, attributing to himſelf that which on my life *Salomon* durſt not; *to have affections ſo equally temper'd, that they neither too haſtily adhere to the truth before it be fully examin'd, nor too lazily afterward.* Which unleſs he only were exempted out of the corrupt maſs of *Adam*, born without Sin original, and living without actual, is impoſſible. Had *Salomon* (for it behoves me to inſtance in the wiſeſt, dealing with ſuch a tranſcendent Sage as this) had *Salomon* affections ſo equally temper'd, as *not adhering too lazily to the truth*, when God warn'd him of his halting in Idolatry? do we read that he repented haſtily? did not his affections lead him haſtily from an examin'd truth, how much more would they lead him ſlowly to it? Yet this Man beyond a *Stoick Apathy* ſees truth as in a rapture, and cleaves to it; not as through the dim glaſs of his affections, which in this frail manſion of fleſh, are ever unequally temper'd, puſhing forward to error, and keeping back from truth oft times the beſt of Men. But how far this boaſter is from knowing himſelf, let his *Preface* ſpeak. Something I thought it was that made him ſo quick-ſighted to gather ſuch ſtrange things out of the Animadverſions, whereof the leaſt conception could not be drawn from thence, of *Suburb-ſinks*, ſometimes *out of wit and cloaths*; ſometimes *in new Serge, drinking Sack, and ſwearing*; now I know it was this equal temper of his affections that gave him to ſee clearer then any fenel rub'd Serpent. Laſtly, he has reſolv'd *that neither perſon nor cauſe ſhall improper him.* I may miſtake his meaning, for the word ye hear is *improper.* But whether if not a Perſon, yet a good Parſonage or Impropriation bought out for him would not *improper* him, becauſe there may be a quirk in the word, I leave it for a Canoniſt to reſolve.

## SECT. 4.

And thus ends this Section, or rather Diſſection of himſelf, ſhort ye will ſay both in breath and extent, as in our own praiſes it ought to be, unleſs wherein a good name hath bin wrongfully attainted. Right, but if ye look at what he aſcribes to himſelf, *that temper of his affections* which cannot any where be but in Paradiſe, all the judicious *Panegyricks* in any language extant are not half ſo prolixe. And that well appears in his next removal. For what with putting his fancy to the tiptoe in this deſcription of himſelf, and what with adventuring preſently to ſtand upon his own legs without the crutches of his margent, which is the ſluce moſt commonly that feeds the drouth of his Text, he comes ſo lazily on in a Similie, with his *arm full of weeds*, and demeans himſelf in the dull expreſſion ſo like a dough kneaded thing, that he has not ſpirit enough left him ſo far to look to his *Syntaxis*, as to avoid nonſenſe. For it muſt be underſtood there that *the Stranger*, and not *he who brings the bundle*, would be *deceav'd in cenſuring the field*, which this hipſhot *Grammarian* cannot ſet into right frame of conſtruction, neither here in the Similitude, nor in the following *Reddition* thereof; which being to this purpoſe, that *the faults of the beſt pickt out, and preſented in groſs, ſeem monſtrous, this*, ſaith he, *you have done, in pinning on his ſleeve the faults of others*; as if to pick out his own faults, and to pin the faults of others upon him, were to do the ſame thing. To anſwer therefore how I have cull'd out the evil actions of the Remonſtrant from his Vertues, I am acquitted by the dexterity and conveyance of his nonſenſe, looſing that for which he brought his parable. But what of other Mens faults I have pinn'd upon his ſleeve, let him ſhew. For whether he were the Man who term'd the Martyrs *Foxian* Confeſſors, it matters not; he that ſhall ſtep up before others to defend a Church-Government, which wants almoſt no circumſtance, but only a name to be a plain Popedom, a Government which changes the fatherly and ever-teaching Diſcipline of Chriſt into that lordly and uninſtructing Juriſdiction which properly makes the Pope Antichriſt, makes himſelf an acceſſory to all the evil committed by thoſe, who are arm'd to do miſchief by that undue Government; which they by their wicked deeds do with a kind of paſſive and unwitting Obedience to God deſtroy. But he by plauſible words and traditions againſt the Scripture obſtinately ſeeks to maintain. They by their own wickedneſs ruining their own unjuſt autority, make room for good to ſucceed. But he by a ſhew of good upholding the evil which in them undoes it ſelf, hinders the good which they by accident let in. Their manifeſt crimes ſerve to bring forth an enſuing good, and haſten a remedy againſt themſelves; and his ſeeming good tends to reinforce their ſelf-puniſhing crimes and his own, by doing his beſt to delay all redreſs. Shall not all the miſchief which other men do be laid to his charge, if they do it by that unchurchlike power which he defends? Chriſt ſaith, *he that is not with me is againſt me, and he that gathers not with me ſcatters.* In what degree of enmity to Chriſt ſhall we place that man then, who ſo is with him, as that it makes more againſt him, and ſo gathers with him, that it ſcatters more from him? ſhall it avail that man to ſay he honours the Martyrs memory, and treads in their ſteps? No; the Phariſees confeſt as much of the holy Prophets. Let him and ſuch as he, when they are in their beſt actions, even at their prayers, look to hear that which the Phariſees heard from *John* the *Baptiſt* when they leaſt expected, when they rather lookt for praiſe from him; *Generation of Vipers, who hath warn'd ye to flee from the wrath to come?* Now that ye have ſtarted back from the purity of Scripture, which is the only rule of Reformation, to the old vomit of your traditions; now that ye have either troubl'd or leven'd the people of God, and the Doctrine of the Goſpel with ſcandalous Ceremonies and maſs-borrow'd Liturgies, do ye turn the uſe of that truth which ye profeſs, to countenance that falſhood which ye gain by? We alſo reverence the Martyrs, but rely only upon the Scriptures. And why we ought not to rely upon the Martyrs, I ſhall be content with ſuch reaſons as my Confuter himſelf affords me; who is, I muſt needs ſay for him, in that point as officious an Adverſary as I would wiſh to any man. For, *firſt*, ſaith he, *there may be a Martyr in a wrong Cauſe, and as couragious in ſuffering as the beſt; ſometimes in a good Cauſe with a forward ambition diſpleaſing to God. Other whiles they that ſtory of them out of blind zeal or malice, may write many things of them untruly.* If this be ſo, as ye hear his own confeſſion, with what ſafety can the Remonſtrant rely upon the Martyrs as *Patrons of his Cauſe*, when as any of thoſe who are alledg'd for the approvers of our Liturgy or Prelaty, might have bin, though not in a wrong cauſe, Martyrs? yet whether not vainly ambitious of that honour, or whether not miſreported or miſunderſtood in thoſe their opinions, God only knows. The Teſtimony of what we believe in Religion muſt be ſuch as the Conſcience may reſt on to be infallible and incorruptible, which is only the Word of God.

### SECT. 5.

His fifth Section finds it ſelf agriev'd that the Remonſtrant ſhould be taxt with the illegal proceeding of the high Commiſſion, and Oath *ex officio*: And firſt *whether they were illegal or no, 'tis more than he knows.* See this malevolent Fox; that Tyranny which the whole Kingdom cry'd out againſt as ſtung with Adders and Scorpions, that Tyranny which the Parliament in compaſſion of the Church and Commonwealth hath diſſolv'd and fetch'd up by the roots, for which it hath receav'd the publick Thanks and Bleſſings of thouſands, this obſcure thorn-eater of Malice and Detraction, as well as of *Quodlibets* and *Sophiſms*, knows not whether it were illegal or not. Evil, evil would be your reward ye Worthies of the Parliament, if this Sophiſter and his Accomplices had the cenſuring or the ſounding forth of your labours. And that the Remonſtrant cannot waſh his hands of all the cruelties exercis'd by the Prelats, is paſt doubting. They ſcourg'd the Confeſſors of the Goſpel, and he held the Scourgers garments. They executed their rage, and he, if he did nothing elſe, defended the Government with the Oath that did it, and the Ceremonies which were the cauſe of it: does he think to be counted guiltleſs?

### SECT. 6.

In the following Section I muſt foretel ye, Readers, the doings will be rough and dangerous, the bating of a *Satyr*. And if the work ſeem more trivial or boiſtrous then for this Diſcourſe, let the Remonſtrant thank the folly of this Confuter, who could not let a private word paſs, but he muſt make all this blaze of it. I had ſaid, that becauſe the Remonſtrant was ſo much offended with thoſe who were tart againſt the Prelats, ſure he lov'd toothleſs Satyrs, which I took were as improper as a toothed Sleekſtone. This Champion from behind the Arras cries out, that thoſe toothleſs Satyrs were of the Remonſtrants making; and arms himſelf here tooth and nail, and *horn* to boot, to ſupply the want of teeth, or rather of gums in the Satyrs. And for an onſet tells me, that the ſimily of a Sleekſtone *ſhews I can be as bold with a Prelat as familiar with a Laundreſs.* But does it not argue rather the laſcivious promptneſs of his own fancy, who from the harmleſs mention of a Sleekſtone could neigh out the remembrance of his old converſation among the *Viraginian* trollops? For me, if he move me, I ſhall claim his own Oath, the Oath *ex officio* againſt any Prieſt or Prelat in the Kingdom, to have ever as much hated ſuch pranks as the beſt and chaſteſt of them all. That exception which I made againſt toothleſs Satyrs the Confuter hopes I had from the *Satyriſt*, but is far deceav'd: neither had I ever read the hobbling *Diſtich* which he means. For this good hap I had from a careful education, to be inur'd and ſeaſon'd betimes with the beſt and eleganteſt Authors of the learned Tongues, and thereto brought an ear that could meaſure a juſt cadence, and ſcan without articulating; rather nice and humorous in what was tolerable, then patient to read every drawling Verſifier. Whence lighting upon this title of *toothleſs Satyrs*, I will not conceal ye what I thought, Readers, that ſure this muſt be ſome ſucking Satyr, who might have done better to have us'd his coral, and made an end of breeding, ere he took upon him to weild a Satyrs whip. But when I heard him talk of *ſcouring the ruſted ſwords of elviſh Knights*, do not blame me, if I chang'd my thought, and concluded him ſome deſperate Cutler. But why *his ſcornful muſe could never abide with tragick ſhoos her ancles for to hide*, the pace of the verſe told me that her maukin knuckles were never ſhapen to that royal buskin. And turning by chance to the ſixth Satyr of his ſecond Book, I was confirm'd; where having begun loftily *in Heavens univerſal Alphabet*, he falls down to that wretched poorneſs and frigidity as to talk of *Bridge-ſtreet in Heav'n, and the Oſtler of Heav'n*; and there wanting other matter to catch him a heat, (for certain he was in the frozen *Zone* miſerably benumm'd) with thoughts lower then any Beadle betakes him to whip the ſign-poſts of *Cambridge* Alehouſes, the ordinary ſubject of freſhmens tales, and in a ſtrain as pitiful. Which for him who would be counted *the firſt Engliſh Satyr*, to abaſe himſelf to, who might have learnt better among the Latin and Italian Satyriſts, and in our own tongue from the *Viſion and Creed of Pierce plowman*, beſides others before him, manifeſted a preſumptuous undertaking with weak and unexamin'd ſhoulders. For a Satyr as it was born out of a *Tragedy*, ſo ought to reſemble his parentage, to ſtrike high, and adventure dangerouſly at the moſt eminent vices among the greateſt perſons, and not to creep into every blind Taphouſe that fears a Conſtable more then a Satyr. But that ſuch a Poem ſhould be toothleſs, I ſtill affirm it to be a bull, taking away the eſſence of that which it calls it ſelf. For if it bite neither the perſons nor the vices, how is it a Satyr? and if it bite either, how is it toothleſs? ſo that toothleſs Satyrs are as much as if he had ſaid toothleſs teeth. What we ſhould do therefore with this learned Comment upon *Teeth* and *Horns*, which hath brought this Confutant into his *pedantick* Kingdom of *Cornucopia*, to reward him for gloſſing upon *Horns* even to the *Hebrew root*, I know not unleſs we ſhould commend him to be Lecturer in *Eaſt-cheap* upon St. *Luke*'s day, when they ſend their Tribute to that famous hav'n by *Detford*. But we are not like to ſcape him ſo. For now the worm of *Criticiſm* works in him, he will tell us the derivation of *German Rutters, of Meat, and of Ink*, which doubtleſs, rightly apply'd with ſome gall in it, may prove good to heal this tetter of *Pedagoguiſm* that beſpreads him, with ſuch a *Tenaſmus* of originating, that if he be an Arminian, and deny original Sin, all the *Etymologies* of his Book ſhall witneſs that his brain is not meanly tainted with that infection.

### SECT. 7.

His ſeventh Section labours to cavil out the flaws which were found in the Remonſtrants Logick; who having laid down for a general propoſition, that *civil Polity is variable and arbitrary*, from whence was inferr'd logically upon him that he had concluded the Polity of *England* to be arbitrary, for general includes particular; here his Defendant is not aſham'd to confeſs that the Remonſtrants propoſition was ſophyſtical *by a Fallacy* call'd, *ad plures interrogationes*: which ſounds to me ſomewhat ſtrange that a Remonſtrant of that pretended ſincerity ſhould bring deceitful and double dealing Propoſitions to the Parlament. The truth is, he had let ſlip a ſhrewd paſſage ere he was aware, not thinking the concluſion would turn upon him with ſuch a terrible edge, and not knowing how to wind out of the briars, he or his ſubſtitute ſeems more willing to lay the integrity of his Logick to pawn, and grant a fallacy in his own *Major* where none is, then be forc't to uphold the Inference. For that diſtinction *of poſſible and lawful* is ridiculous to be ſought for in that propoſition; no man doubting that it is poſſible to change the form of civil Polity; and that it is held lawful by that *Major*, the word *arbitrary* implies. Nor will this help him, to deny that it is arbitrary *at any time or by any undertakers*, (which are two limitations invented by him ſince) for when it ſtands as he will have it now by his ſecond Edition, *civil Polity is variable, but not at any time or by any undertakers*, it will reſult upon him, belike then at ſome time, and by ſome undertakers it may. And ſo he goes on mincing the matter, till he meets with ſomething in Sir *Francis Bacon*, then he takes heart again, and holds his *Major* at large. But by and by, as ſoon as the ſhadow of Sir *Francis* hath left him, he falls off again warping and warping till he come to contradict himſelf in diameter; and denies flatly that it is *either variable or arbitrary, being once ſettl'd*. Which third ſhift is no leſs a piece of laughter: For before the Polity was ſettl'd, how could it be variable, whenas it was no Polity at all, but either an *Anarchy* or a *Tyranny*? That limitation therefore *of after ſetling* is a mere *Tautology*. So that in fine his former Aſſertion is now recanted, *and civil Polity is neither variable nor arbitrary.*

### SECT. 8.

Whatever elſe may perſwade me that this Confutation was not made without ſome aſſiſtance or advice of the Remonſtrant, yet in this eighth Section that his hand was not greatly intermixt, I can eaſily believe. For it begins with this ſurmiſe, that *not having to accuſe the Remonſtrant to the King, I do it to the Parlament*; which conceit of the man cleanly ſhoves the King out of the Parlament, and makes two bodies of one. Whereas the Remonſtrant in the Epiſtle to his laſt *ſhort anſwer, gives his ſuppoſal that they cannot be ſever'd in the Rights of their ſeveral Concernments.* Mark, Readers, if they cannot be ſever'd in what is ſeveral (which caſts a Bull's eye to go yoke with the toothleſs Satyrs) how ſhould they be ſever'd in their common concernments, the welfare of the Land, by due accuſation of ſuch as are the common grievances, among which I took the Remonſtrant to be one? And therefore if I accus'd him to the Parlament, it was the ſame as to accuſe him to the King. Next he caſts it into the diſh of I know not whom, that *they flatter ſome of the Houſe, and libel others whoſe Conſciences made them vote contrary to ſome proceedings.* Thoſe ſome proceedings can be underſtood of nothing elſe but the *Deputies* execution. And can this private Concocter of male-content, at the very inſtant when he pretends to extol the Parlament, afford thus to blur over, rather then to mention that publick triumph of their juſtice and conſtancy ſo high, ſo glorious, ſo reviving to the fainted Common-wealth, with ſuch a ſuſpicious and murmuring expreſſion as to call it *ſome proceedings*? and yet immediately he falls to glozing, as if he were the only man that rejoyc'd at theſe times. But I ſhall diſcover to ye Readers, that this his praiſing of them is as full of nonſenſe and ſcolaſtick foppery, as his meaning he himſelf diſcovers to be full of cloſe malignity. His firſt *Encomium* is, *that the Sun looks not upon a braver, nobler Convocation then is that of King, Peers, and Commons.* One thing I beg of ye Readers, as ye bear any zeal to learning, to elegance, and that which is call'd *Decorum* in the writing of Praiſe, eſpecially on ſuch a noble Argument, ye would not be offended, though I rate this cloiſter'd Lubber according to his deſerts. Where didſt thou learn to be ſo aguiſh, ſo puſillanimous, thou lozel Bachelour of Art, as againſt all cuſtom and uſe of Speech to term the high and ſovran Court of Parlament, a Convocation? Was this the flower of all thy *Synonyma's* and voluminous *Papers*, whoſe beſt *Folio's* are predeſtin'd to no better end then to make winding ſheets in Lent for Pilchers? Could'ſt thou preſume thus with one word's ſpeaking to clap as it were under hatches the King with all his Peers and Gentry into ſquare Caps, and Monkiſh Hoods? How well doſt thou now appear to be a chip of the old block, that could find *Bridge-ſtreet and Ale-houſes in Heav'n*? why didſt thou not, to be his perfect imitator, liken the King to the Vice-chancellour, and the Lords to the Doctors? Neither is this an indignity only but a reproach, to call that inviolable Reſidence of Juſtice and Liberty, by ſuch an odious name as now a *Convocation* is become, which would be nothing injur'd, though it were ſtil'd the houſe of bondage, whereout ſo many cruel tasks, ſo many unjuſt burdens have been laden upon the bruiſed conſciences of ſo many Chriſtians throughout the land. But which of thoſe worthy deeds, whereof we and our poſterity muſt confeſs this Parlament to have done ſo many and ſo noble, which of thoſe memorable acts comes firſt into his praiſes? none of all, not one. What will he then praiſe them for? not for any thing doing, but for deferring to do, for deferring to chaſtiſe his leud and inſolent *Compriests:* Not that they have deferr'd all, but that he hopes they will remit what is yet behind. For the reſt of his Oratory that follows, ſo juſt is it in the language of ſtall epiſtle nonſenſe, that if he who made it can underſtand it, I deny not but that he may deſerve for his pains a caſt Doublet. When a man would look he ſhould vent ſomething of his own, as ever in a ſet ſpeech the manner is with him that knows any thing, he, leſt we ſhould not take notice anough of his barren ſtupidity, declares it by Alphabet, and refers us to odd remnants in his Topicks. Nor yet content with the wonted room of his margent, but he muſt cut out large flocks and creeks into his text to unlade the fooliſh frigate of his unſeaſonable Autorities, not wherewith to praiſe the Parlament, but to tell them what he would have them do. What elſe there is, he jumbles together in ſuch a loſt conſtruction, as no man either letter'd or unletter'd will be able to piece up. I ſhall ſpare to tranſcribe him, but if I do him wrong, let me be ſo dealt with.

Now although it be a digreſſion from the enſuing matter, yet becauſe it ſhall not be ſaid I am apter to blame others than to make trial my ſelf, and that I may after this harſh diſcord touch upon a ſmoother ſtring awhile to entertain my ſelf and him that liſt, with ſome more pleaſing fit, and not the leaſt to teſtifie the gratitude which I owe to thoſe publick benefactors of their Country, for the ſhare I enjoy in the common peace and good by their inceſſant labours; I ſhall be ſo troubleſom to this Declamer for once, as to ſhew him what he might have better ſaid in their praiſe: Wherein I muſt mention only ſome few things of many, for more then that to a digreſſion may not be granted. Although certainly their Actions are worthy not thus to be ſpoken of by the way, yet if hereafter it befal me to attempt ſomething more anſwerable to their great Merits, I perceave how hopeleſs it will be to reach the heigth of their prayſes at the accompliſhment of that expectation that weights upon their noble Deeds, the unfiniſhing whereof already ſurpaſſes what others before them have left enacted with their utmoſt performance through many ages. And to the end we may be confident that what they do, proceeds neither from uncertain opinion, nor ſudden counſels, but from mature wiſdom, deliberate vertue, and deer affection to the publick good, I ſhall begin at that which made them likelieſt in the eyes of good men to effect thoſe things for the recovery of decay'd Religion and the Commonwealth, which they who were beſt minded had long wiſht for, but few, as the times then were deſperate, had the courage to hope for. Firſt therefore, the moſt of them being either of ancient and high Nobility, or at leaſt of known and well reputed Anceſtry, which is a great advantage towards Vertue one way, but in reſpect of wealth, eaſe and flattery, which accompanies a nice and tender education, is as much a hindrance another way; the good which lay before them they took, in imitating the worthieſt of their Progenitors; and the evil which aſſaulted their younger years by the temptation of riches, high birth, and that uſual bringing up, perhaps too favourable and too remiſs, through the ſtrength of an inbred goodneſs, and with the help of divine Grace, that had markt them out for no mean purpoſes, they nobly overcame. Yet had they a greater danger to cope with; for being train'd up in the knowledg of learning, and ſent to thoſe places which were intended to be the ſeed-plots of Piety and the liberal Arts, but were become the nurſeries of Superſtition and empty Speculation, as they were proſperous againſt thoſe vices which grow upon youth out of idleneſs and ſuperfluity, ſo were they happy in working off the harms of their abuſed ſtudies and labours, correcting by the clearneſs of their own judgment the errors of their miſ-inſtruction, and were as *David* was, wiſer then their teachers. And although their lot fell into ſuch times, and to be bred in ſuch places, where if they chanc't to be taught any thing good, or of their own accord had learn't it, they might ſee that preſently untaught them by the cuſtom and ill example of their Elders; ſo far in all probability was their youth from being miſled by the ſingle power of Example, as their riper years were known to be unmov'd with the baits of preferment, and undaunted for any diſcouragement and terror which appear'd often to thoſe that lov'd Religion and their native Liberty: which two things God hath inſeparably knit together, and hath diſclos'd to us that they who ſeek to corrupt our Religion are the ſame that would enthrall our civil Liberty. Thus in the midſt of all diſadvantages and diſreſpects (ſome alſo at laſt not without impriſonment and open diſgraces in the cauſe of their Country) having given proof of themſelves to be better made and fram'd by nature to the love and practiſe of Vertue, then others under the holieſt precepts and beſt examples have been headſtrong and prone to vice; and having in all the trials of a firm ingrafted honeſty not oftner buckl'd in the conflict, then giv'n every oppoſition the foil, this moreover was added by favour from Heav'n, as an ornament and happineſs to their Vertue, that it ſhould be neither obſcure in the opinion of men, nor eclipſt for want of matter equal to illuſtrat it ſelf; God and man conſenting in joynt approbation to chooſe them out as worthieſt above others to be both the great reformers of the Church, and the reſtorers of the Common-wealth. Nor did they deceave that expectation which with the eyes and deſires of their Countrey was fixt upon them; for no ſooner did the force of ſo much united Excellence meet in one Globe of brightneſs and efficacy, but encountring the dazl'd reſiſtance of Tyranny, they gave not over, though their enemies were ſtrong and ſuttle, till they had laid her groveling upon the fatal block; with one ſtroke winning again our loſt Liberties and Charters, which our Fore-fathers after ſo many battels could ſcarce maintain. And meeting next, as I may ſo reſemble, with the ſecond life of Tyranny (for ſhe was grown an ambiguous monſter, and to be ſlain in two ſhapes) guarded with Superſtition which hath no ſmall power to captivate the minds of men otherwiſe moſt wiſe, they neither were taken with her miter'd hypocriſie, nor terrifi'd with the puſh of her beſtial horns, but breaking them immediately forc't her to unbend the pontifical brow, and recoil: Which repulſe only given to the Prelats (that we may imagine how happy their removal would be) was the producement of ſuch glorious effects and conſequences in the Church, that if I ſhould compare them with thoſe exploits of higheſt fame in Poems and *Panegyricks* of old, I am certain it would but diminiſh and impair their worth, who are now my Argument: For thoſe ancient Worthies deliver'd men from ſuch Tyrants as were content to inforce only an outward obedience, letting the Mind be as free as it could; but theſe have freed us from a doctrine of Tyranny that offer'd violence and corruption even to the inward perſuaſion. They ſet at liberty Nations and Cities of men good and bad mixt together; but theſe opening the priſons and dungeons, call'd out of darkneſs and bonds the elect Martyrs and Witneſſes of their Redeemer. They reſtor'd the Body to eaſe and wealth; but theſe the oppreſt Conſcience to that freedom which is the chief prerogative of the Goſpel, taking off thoſe cruel burdens impos'd not by neceſſity, as other Tyrants are wont for the ſafeguard of their lives, but laid upon our necks by the ſtrange wilfulneſs and wantonneſs of a needleſs and jolly perſecuter call'd Indifference. Laſtly, ſome of thoſe ancient Deliverers have had immortal praiſes for preſerving their Citizens from a famine of corn. But theſe by this only repulſe of an unholy *Hierarchy*, almoſt in a moment repleniſht with ſaving knowledg their Countrey nigh famiſht for want of that which ſhould feed their ſouls. All this being done while two Armies in the field ſtood gazing on, the one in reverence of ſuch Nobleneſs quietly gave back and diſlodg'd; the other, ſpight of the unrulineſs, and doubted fidelity in ſome Regiments, was either perſwaded or compell'd to disband and retire home. With ſuch a Majeſty had their Wiſdom begirt it ſelf, that whereas others had levied war to ſubdue a Nation that ſought for peace, they ſitting here in peace could ſo many miles extend the force of their ſingle words as to overawe the diſſolute ſtoutneſs of an armed Power ſecretly ſtir'd up and almoſt hir'd againſt them. And having by a ſolemn proteſtation vow'd themſelves and the Kingdom anew to God and his ſervice, and by a prudent foreſight above what their Fathers thought on, prevented the diſſolution and fruſtrating of their deſigns by an untimely breaking up, notwithſtanding all the treaſonous Plots againſt them, all the rumours either of Rebellion or Invaſion, they have not bin yet brought to change their conſtant reſolution, ever to think fearleſly of their own ſafeties, and hopefully of the Common-wealth: which hath gain'd them ſuch an admiration from all good men, that now they hear it as their ord'nary ſurname, to be ſaluted the Fathers of their Country, and ſit as Gods among daily Petitions and publick Thanks flowing in upon them. Which doth ſo little yet exalt them in their own thoughts, that with all gentle affability, and curteous acceptance they both receave and return that tribute of thanks which is tender'd them; teſtifying their zeal and deſire to ſpend themſelves as it were piece-meal upon the grievances and wrongs of their diſtreſſed Nation: inſomuch that the meaneſt Artizans and Labourers, at other times alſo Women, and often the younger ſort of Servants aſſembling with their complaints, and that ſometimes in a leſs humble guiſe then for Petitioners, have gone with confidence, that neither their meanneſs would be rejected, nor their ſimplicity contemn'd, nor yet their urgency diſtaſted either by the dignity, wiſdom, or moderation of that ſupreme Senate; nor did they depart unſatisfi'd. And indeed, if we conſider the general concourſe of Suppliants, the free and ready admittance, the willing and ſpeedy redreſs in what is poſſible, it will not ſeem much otherwiſe, then as if ſome divine Commiſſion from Heav'n were deſcended to take into hearing and commiſeration the long remedileſs afflictions of this Kingdom; were it not that none more then themſelves labour to remove and divert ſuch thoughts, leſt men ſhould place too much confidence in their Perſons, ſtill referring us and our Prayers to him that can grant all, and appointing the monthly return of publick Faſts and Supplications. Therefore the more they ſeek to humble themſelves, the more does God by manifeſt ſigns and Teſtimonies, viſibly honour their proceedings; and ſets them as the mediators of this his Cov'nant which he offers us to renew. Wicked men daily conſpire their hurt, and it comes to nothing; Rebellion rages in our Iriſh Province, but with miraculous and loſleſs victories of few againſt many, is daily diſcomfited and broken; if we neglect not this early pledg of Gods inclining towards us, by the ſlackneſs of our needful aids. And whereas at other times we count it ample honour when God vouchſafes to make man the inſtrument and ſubordinate worker of his gracious Will, ſuch acceptation have their Prayers found with him, that to them he hath bin pleas'd to make himſelf the Agent, and Immediat performer of their deſires; diſſolving their difficulties when they are thought inexplicable, cutting out ways for them where no paſſage could be ſeen; as who is there ſo regardleſs of Divine Providence, that from late occurrences will not confeſs? If therefore it be ſo high a grace when men are prefer'd to be but the inferior officers of good things from God, what is it when God himſelf condeſcends, and works with his own Hands to fulfil the requeſts of Men? which I leave with them as the greateſt praiſe that can belong to human Nature: Not that we ſhould think they are at the end of their glorious Progreſs, but that they will go on to follow his Almighty leading, who ſeems to have thus cov'nanted with them; that if the Will and the Endeavour ſhall be theirs, the performance and the perfeting ſhall be his. Whence only it is that I have not fear'd, though many wiſe men have miſcarried in praiſing great deſigns before the utmoſt event, becauſe I ſee who is their aſſiſtant, who their confederat, who hath ingag'd his omnipotent Arm to ſupport and crown with ſucceſs their Faith, their Fortitude, their juſt and magnanimous Actions, till he have brought to paſs all that expected good which his Servants truſt is in his thoughts to bring upon this Land in the full and perfet Reformation of his Church.

Thus far I have digreſt, Readers, from my former Subject; but into ſuch a Path, as I doubt not ye will agree with me, to be much fairer and more delightful then the rode-way I was in. And how to break off ſuddenly into thoſe jarring notes which this Confuter hath ſet me, I muſt be wary, unleſs I can provide againſt offending the Ear, as ſome Muſicians are wont skilfully to fall out of one key into another, without breach of Harmony. By luck therefore his ninth Section is ſpent in mournful Elegy, certain paſſionat Soliloquies; and two whole pages of interrogatories that praiſe the Remonſtrant even to the ſonetting of *his freſh Cheeks, quick Eyes, round Tongue, agil Hand, and nimble Invention.*

In his tenth Section he will needs erect Figures, and tell Fortunes; *I am no Biſhop,* he ſays, *I was never born to it:* let me tell therefore this Wizzard, ſince he calculats ſo right, that he may know there be in the World, and I among thoſe, who nothing admire his Idol a Biſhoprick, and hold that it wants ſo much to be a Bleſſing, as that I rather deem it the meereſt, the falſeſt, the moſt unfortunate gift of Fortune. And were the puniſhment and miſery of being a Prelat Biſhop, terminated only in the Perſon, and did not extend to the affliction of the whole Dioceſs, if I would wiſh any thing in the bitterneſs of Soul to mine enemy, I would wiſh him the biggeſt and fatteſt Biſhoprick. But he proceeds; and the Familiar belike informs him, that *a rich Widow, or a Lecture, or both, would content me:* whereby I perceive him to be more ignorant in his art of divining then any Gipſy. For this I cannot omit without ingratitude to that Providence above, who hath ever bred me up in plenty, although my Life hath not bin unexpenſive in Learning, and voyaging about; ſo long as it ſhall pleaſe him to lend me what he hath hitherto thought good, which is anough to ſerve me in all honeſt and liberal occaſions, and ſomething over beſides, I were unthankful to that higheſt Bounty, if I ſhould make my ſelf ſo poor, as to ſolicite needily any ſuch kind of *rich hopes* as this Fortune-teller dreams of. And that he may furder learn how his Aſtrology is wide all the houſes of Heav'n in ſpelling Marriages, I care not if I tell him thus much profeſtly, though it be to the loſing of my *rich hopes*, as he calls them, that I think with them who both in prudence and elegance of Spirit, would chooſe a Virgin of mean fortunes honeſtly bred, before the wealthieſt Widow. The Feind therefore that told our *Chaldean* the contrary was a lying Feind. His next venom he utters againſt a Prayer which he found in the Animadverſions, angry it ſeems to find any prayers but in the Service-book; he diſlikes it, and I therefore like it the better. *It was theatrical*, he ſays; and yet it conſiſted moſt of Scripture language; it had no *Rubrick* to be ſung in an antick Coap upon the Stage of a High Altar. *It was big-mouth'd*, he ſays; no marvel, if it were fram'd as the Voice of three Kingdoms: neither was it a Prayer ſo much as a Hymn in proſe, frequent both in the Prophets, and in human Authors; therefore the ſtile was greater then for an ordinary Prayer. *It was an aſtoniſhing Prayer.* I thank him for that confeſſion, ſo it was intended to aſtound and to aſtoniſh the guilty Prelats; and this Confuter confeſſes that with him it wrought that effect. But in that which follows, he does not play the Soothſayer, but the diabolick ſlanderer of Prayers. *It was made*, he ſays, *not ſo much to pleaſe God, or to benefit the weal-publick* (how dares the Viper judg that?) *but to intimate*, ſaith he, *your good abilities to her that is your rich hopes, your* Maronilla. How hard is it when a man meets with a Fool to keep his Tongue from folly? That were miſerable indeed to be a Courter of *Maronilla*, and withal of ſuch a hapleſs invention, as that no way ſhould be left me to preſent my meaning, but to make my ſelf a canting Probationer of oriſons. The Remonſtrant when he was as young as I, could

*Toothleſs* *Teach each hollow Grove to ſound his love,*
*Satyrs,* *Wearying Eccho with one changeleſs word.*

And ſo he well might, and all his Auditory beſides with his *teach each.*

*Toothleſs* *Whether ſo me liſt my lovely Thoughts to ſing,*
*Satyrs,* *Come dance ye nimble Dryads by my ſide,*
*Whiles I report my Fortunes or my Loves.*

Delicious! he had that whole Bevie at command whether in Morrice or at Maypole; whileſt I by this figure-caſter muſt be imagin'd in ſuch diſtreſs as to ſue to *Maronilla*, and yet left ſo impoveriſht of what to ſay, as to turn my Liturgy into my Ladies Pſalter. Believe it Graduat, I am not altogether ſo ruſtick, and nothing ſo irreligious, but as far diſtant from a Lecturer, as the meereſt Laick, for any conſecrating hand of a Prelat that ſhall ever touch me. Yet I ſhall not decline the more for that, to ſpeak my opinion in the Controverſy next mov'd, *Whether the People may be allow'd for competent judges of a Miniſters ability.* For how elſe can be fulfill'd that which God hath promis'd, to pour out ſuch abundance of knowledg upon all ſorts of Men in the times of the Goſpel? how ſhould the People examine the Doctrine which is taught them, as Chriſt and his Apoſtles continually bid them do? how ſhould they *diſcern and beware of falſe Prophets, and try every Spirit,* if they muſt be thought unfit to judg of the Miniſters abilities? The Apoſtles ever labour'd to perſwade the Chriſtian flock that they *were call'd in Chriſt to all perfectneſs of ſpiritual knowledg, and full aſſurance of underſtanding in the myſtery of God.* But the non-reſident and plurality-gaping Prelats, the gulphs and whirlepools of Benefices, but the dry pits of all ſound Doctrine, that they may the better preach what they liſt to their ſheep, are ſtill poſſeſſing them that they are ſheep indeed, without judgment, without underſtanding, *the very Beaſts of Mount Sinai,* as this Confuter calls them; which words of theirs may ſerve to condemn them out of their owne mouths, and to ſhew the groſs contrarieties that are in their opinions: For while none think the people ſo void of knowledg as the Prelats think them, none are ſo backward and malignant as they to beſtow knowledg upon them; both by ſuppreſſing the frequency of Sermons, and the printed explanations of the Engliſh Bible. No marvel if the people turn beaſts, when their Teachers themſelves, as *Iſaiah* calls them, *are dumb and greedy dogs that can never have anough, ignorant, blind, and cannot underſtand; who while they all look their own way, every one for his gain from his quarter,* how many parts of the Land are fed with windy Ceremonies inſtead of ſincere Milk; and while one Prelat enjoys the nouriſhment and right of twenty Miniſters, how many waſte places are left as dark as *Galile of the Gentiles, ſitting in the region and ſhadow of Death;* without preaching Miniſter, without light. So little care they of Beaſts to make them Men, that by their ſorcerous doctrine of Formalities, they take the way to transform them out of Chriſtian men into *Judaizing* beaſts. Had they but taught the Land, or ſuffer'd it to be taught, as Chriſt would it ſhould have bin, in all plenteous diſpenſation of the Word, then the poor Mechanick might have ſo accuſtom'd his ear to good teaching, as to have diſcern'd between faithful teachers and falſe. But now with a moſt inhumane cruelty they who have put out the peoples eyes, reproach them of their blindneſs; juſt as the Phariſees their true Fathers were wont, who could not indure that the People ſhould be thought competent judges of Chriſts doctrine, although we know they judg'd far better then thoſe great Rabbies: yet *this People,* ſaid they, *that knows not the law is accurſt.* We need not the autority of *Pliny* brought to tell us, the People cannot judg of a Miniſter: yet that hurts not. For as none can judg of a Painter, or Statuary, but he who is an Artiſt, that is, either in the *Practick* or *Theory,* which is often ſeparated from the practick, and judges learnedly without it; ſo none can judg of a Chriſtian Teacher, but he who hath either the practice, or the knowledg of Chriſtian Religion, though not ſo artfully digeſted in him. And who almoſt of the meaneſt Chriſtians hath not heard the Scriptures often read from his childhood, beſides ſo many Sermons and Lectures more in number then any Student hath heard in Philoſophy, whereby he may eaſily attain to know when he is wiſely taught, and when weakly? Whereof three ways I remember are ſet down in Scripture: The one is to read often that beſt of Books written to this purpoſe, that not the wiſe only, but the ſimple and ignorant may learn by them; the other way to know of a Miniſter, is by the life he leads, whereof the meaneſt underſtanding may be apprehenſive. The laſt way to judg aright in this point is, when he who judges, lives a Chriſtian life himſelf. Which of theſe three will the Confuter affirm to exceed the capacity of a plain Artizan? And what reaſon then is there left wherefore he ſhould be deny'd his voice in the election of his Miniſter, as not thought a competent diſcerner? It is but arrogance therefore, and the pride of a *metaphyſical* fume, to think that *the mutinous rabble* (for ſo he calls the Chriſtian Congregation) *would be ſo miſtaken in a Clerk of the Univerſity* that were to be their Miniſter. I doubt me thoſe Clerks that think ſo, are more miſtaken in themſelves; and what with truanting and debauchery, what with falſe grounds and the weakneſs of natural faculties in many of them (it being a Maxim in ſome men to ſend the ſimpleſt of their ſons thither) perhaps there would be found among them as many unſolid and corrupted judgments both in doctrine and life, as in any other two Corporations of like bigneſs. This is undoubted that if any Carpenter, Smith, or Weaver, were ſuch a bungler in his Trade, as the greater number of them are in their Profeſſion, he would ſtarve for any cuſtom. And ſhould he exerciſe his Manufacture as little as they do their Talents, he would forget his Art: and ſhould he miſtake his Tools as they do theirs, he would marr all the work he took in hand. How few among them that know to write, or ſpeak in a pure ſtile, much leſs to diſtinguiſh the *idea's*, and various kinds of ſtile; in Latin barbarous, and oft not without *ſoleciſms*, declaming in rugged and miſcellaneous geare blown together by the four winds, and in their choice preferring the gay rankneſs of *Apuleius*, *Arnobius*, or any modern Suſtianiſt, before the native *Latiniſms* of *Cicero*. In the Greek tongue moſt of them unletter'd, or *unenter'd to any ſound proficiency in thoſe* Attick *Maſters of moral Wiſdom and Eloquence*. In the Hebrew Text, which is ſo neceſſary to be underſtood, except it be ſome few of them, their lips are utterly uncircumcis'd. No leſs are they out of the way in Philoſophy, peſtring their heads with the ſapleſs dotages of old *Paris* and *Salamanca*. And that which is the main point, in their Sermons affecting the Comments and poſtils of Friers and Jeſuits, but ſcorning and ſlighting the reformed Writers: Inſomuch that the better ſort among them will confeſs it a rare matter to hear a true edifying Sermon in either of their great Churches; and that ſuch as are moſt humm'd and applauded there, would ſcarce be ſuffer'd the ſecond hearing in a grave Congregation of pious Chriſtians. Is there cauſe why theſe men ſhould overween, and be ſo queaſy of the rude multitude, leſt their deep worth ſhould be undervalu'd for want of fit Umpires? No my *matriculated Confutant*, there will not want in any Congregation of this Iſland, that hath not been altogether famiſht, or wholly perverted with Prelatiſh leven; there will not want divers plain and ſolid men, that have learnt by the experience of a good Conſcience, what it is to be well taught, who will ſoon look through and through both the lofty nakedneſs of your *latinizing* Barbarian, and the finical gooſery of your neat Sermon-actor. And ſo I leave you and your fellow *Stars*, as you term them, *of either Horizon*, meaning I ſuppoſe either *Hemiſphere*, unleſs you will be ridiculous in your Aſtronomy: For the rational Horizon in Heav'n is but one, and the ſenſible Horizons in Earth are innumerable; ſo that your Alluſion was as erroneous as your Stars. But that you did well to prognoſticat them all at loweſt in the Horizon; that is, either ſeeming bigger then they are through the miſt and vapour which they raiſe, or elſe ſinking, and waſted to the ſnuff in their Weſtern ſocket.

### SECT. 11.

His eleventh Section intends I know not what, unleſs to clog us with the reſidue of his phlegmatick ſloth, diſcuſſing with a heavy pulſe the *expedience of ſet formes*: which no queſtion but to ſome, and for ſome time may be permitted, and perhaps there may be uſefully ſet forth by the Church a common *Directory* of publick Prayer, eſpecially in the adminiſtration of the Sacraments. But that it ſhould therefore be inforc't where both Miniſter and People profeſs to have no need, but to be ſcandaliz'd by it, that, I hope, every ſenſible Chriſtian will deny: And the reaſons of ſuch denial the Confuter himſelf, as his bounty ſtill is to his Adverſary, will give us out of his affirmation. Firſt ſaith he, *God in his Providence hath choſen ſome to teach others, and pray for others, as Miniſters and Paſtors.* Whence I gather, that however the faculty of others may be, yet that they whom God hath ſet apart to his Miniſtry, are by him endu'd with an ability of Prayer; becauſe their Office is to pray for others, and not to be the lip-working Deacons of other mens appointed words. Nor is it eaſily credible, that he who can preach well, ſhould be unable to pray well; when as it is indeed the ſame ability to ſpeak affirmatively, or doctrinally, and only by changing the mood, to ſpeak prayingly. In vain therefore do they pretend to want utterance in prayer, who can find utterance to preach. And if prayer be the gift of the Spirit, why do they admit thoſe to the Miniſtry, who want a main gift of their Function, and preſcribe gifted men to uſe that which is the remedy of another man's want; ſetting them their taſk to read, whom the Spirit of God ſtands ready to aſſiſt in his Ordinance with the gift of free conceptions? What if it be granted to the infirmity of ſome Miniſters (though ſuch ſeem rather to be half-Miniſters) to help themſelves with a ſet form, ſhall it therefore be urg'd upon the plenteous graces of others? And let it be granted to ſome people while they are Babes in Chriſtian Gifts, were it not better to take it away ſoon after, as we do loitering Books, and *interlineary* tranſlations from Children; to ſtir up and exerciſe that portion of the Spirit which is in them, and not impoſe it upon Congregations who not only deny to need it, but as a thing troubleſome and offenſive, refuſe it? Another reaſon which he brings for Liturgy is *the preſerving of Order, Unity, and Piety*; and the ſame ſhall be my reaſon againſt Liturgy. For I, Readers, ſhall always be of this opinion, that obedience to the Spirit of God, rather then to the fair ſeeming pretences of Men, is the beſt and moſt dutiful order that a Chriſtian can obſerve. If the Spirit of God maniſeſt the gift of Prayer in his Miniſter, what more ſeemly order in the Congregation, then to go along with that man in our devouteſt affections? for him to abridg himſelf by reading, and to foreſtal himſelf in thoſe petitions, which he muſt either omit, or vainly repeat, when he comes into the Pulpit under a ſhew of order, is the greateſt diſorder. Nor is Unity leſs broken, eſpecially by our Liturgy, though this Author would almoſt bring the Communion of Saints to a Communion of Liturgical words. For what other reformed Church holds Communion with us by our Liturgy, and does not rather diſlike it? and among our ſelves who knows it not to have been a perpetual cauſe of diſunion?

Laſtly, it hinders Piety rather then ſets it forward, being more apt to weaken the ſpiritual faculties, if the people be not wean'd from it in due time; as the daily pouring in of hot waters quenches the natural heat. For not only the body and the mind, but alſo the improvement of God's Spirit is quickn'd by uſing. Whereas they who will ever adhere to Liturgy, bring themſelves in the end to ſuch a paſs by over-much leaning, as to loſe even the legs of their devotion. Theſe inconveniencies and dangers follow the compelling of ſet forms: but that the toleration of the Engliſh Liturgy now in uſe, is more dangerous then the compelling of any other which the reformed Churches uſe, theſe reaſons following may evince. To contend that it is fantaſtical, if not ſenſeleſs in ſome places, were a copious argument, eſpecially in the *Reſponſories*. For ſuch Alternations as are there us'd muſt be by ſeveral perſons; but the Miniſter and the People cannot ſo ſever their intereſts, as to ſuſtain ſeveral perſons; he being the only mouth of the whole body which he preſents. And if the people pray, he being ſilent, or they ask one thing, and he another, it either changes the property, making the Prieſt the People, and the People the Prieſt by turns, or elſe makes two Perſons and two Bodies Repreſentative where there ſhould be but one. Which if it be nought elſe, muſt needs be a ſtrange quaintneſs in ordinary prayer. The like, or worſe may be ſaid of the *Litany*, wherein neither Prieſt nor People ſpeak any intire ſenſe of themſelves throughout the whole, I know not what to name it; only by the timely contribution of their parted ſtakes, cloſing up as it were the *Schiſm* of a ſlic'd prayer, they pray not in vain, for by this means they keep Life between them in a piece of gaſping ſenſe, and keep down the ſawcineſs of a continual rebounding nonſenſe. And hence it is that as it hath been far from the imitation of any warranted prayer, ſo we all know it hath been obvious to be the pattern of many a Jig. And he who hath but read in good Books of Devotion and no more, cannot be ſo either of ear or judgment unpractis'd to diſtinguiſh what is grave, *pathetical*, devout, and what not, but will preſently perceive this Liturgy all over in conception lean and dry, of affections empty and unmoving, of paſſion, or any heigth whereto the Soul might ſoar upon the wings of zeal, deſtitute and barren; beſides Errors, *Tautologies*, Impertinences, as thoſe thanks in the Womans Churching for her delivery from Sun-burning and Moon-blaſting, as if ſhe had been travailing not in her bed, but in the deſerts of *Arabia*. So that while ſome men ceaſe not to admire the incomparable frame of our Liturgy, I cannot but admire as faſt what they think is become of judgment and taſte in other men, that they can hope to be heard without laughter. And if this were all, perhaps it were a compliable matter. But when we remember this our Liturgy where we found it, whence we had it, and yet where we left it, ſtill ſerving to all the abominations of the Antichriſtian Temple, it may be wonder'd how we can demur whether it ſhould be done away or no, and not rather fear we have highly offended in uſing it ſo long. It hath indeed been pretended to be more ancient then the Maſſe, but ſo little prov'd, that whereas other corrupt Liturgies have had withal ſuch a ſeeming Antiquity, as that their publiſhers have ventur'd to aſcribe them with their worſt corruptions either to St. *Peter*, St. *James*, St. *Mark*, or at leaſt to *Chryſoſtome* or *Baſil*, ours hath been never able to find either Age or Author allowable, on whom to father thoſe things therein which are leaſt offenſive, except the two Creeds, for *Te Deum* has a ſmach in it of *Limbus Patrum:* As if Chriſt had not *open'd the Kingdom of Heaven* before he had *overcome the ſharpneſs of Death.* So that having receiv'd it from the Papal Church as an original Creature, for ought can be ſhewn to the contrary, form'd and faſhion'd by work-maſters ill to be truſted, we may be aſſur'd that if God loath the beſt of an Idolater's prayer, much more the conceited fangle of his prayer. This Confuter himſelf confeſſes that a Community of the ſame ſet form in prayers, is that which *makes Church and Church truly one*; we then uſing a Liturgy far more like to the Maſs-book then to any Proteſtant ſet-form, by his own words muſt have more Communion with the *Romiſh Church*, then with any of the Reformed. How can we then not partake with them the curſe and vengeance of their ſuperſtition, to whom we come ſo near in the ſame ſet-form and dreſs of our devotion? Do we think to ſift the matter finer then we are ſure God in his jealouſie will, who deteſted both the Gold and the Spoil of idolatrous Cities, and forbid the eating of things offer'd to Idols? Are we ſtronger then he, to brook that which his heart cannot brook? It is not ſurely becauſe we think that prayers are no where to be had but at *Rome*; that were a foul ſcorn and indignity caſt upon all the reformed Churches, and our own: if we imagine that all the godly Miniſters of *England* are not able to new mould a better and more pious Liturgy then this which was conceiv'd and infanted by an idolatrous Mother, how baſely were that to eſteem of God's Spirit, and all the holy bleſſings and privileges of a true Church above a falſe? Heark ye Prelats, is this your glorious Mother of *England*, who whenas Chriſt hath taught her to pray, thinks it not enough unleſs ſhe add thereto the teaching of Antichriſt? How can we believe ye would refuſe to take the ſtipend of *Rome*, when ye ſhame not to live upon the alms-basket of her prayers? Will ye perſwade us that ye can curſe *Rome* from your hearts, when none but *Rome* muſt teach ye to pray? *Abraham* diſdain'd to take ſo much as a thred or a ſhoo-latchet from the King of *Sodom*, though no foe of his, but a wicked King; and ſhall we receive our prayers at the bounty of our more wicked Enemies, whoſe gifts are no gifts, but the inſtruments of our bane? Alas that the Spirit of God ſhould blow as an uncertain wind, ſhould ſo miſtake his inſpiring, ſo miſbeſtow his gifts promis'd only to the elect, that the idolatrous ſhould find words acceptable to preſent God with, and abound to their neighbours, while the true profeſſors of the Goſpel can find nothing of their own worth the conſtituting, wherewith to worſhip God in publick. Conſider if this be to magnify the Church of *England*, and not rather to diſplay her nakedneſs to all the world. Like therefore as the retaining of this Romiſh Liturgy is a provocation to God, and a diſhonour to our Church, ſo is it by thoſe ceremonies, thoſe purifyings and offrings at the Altar, a pollution and diſturbance to the Goſpel it ſelf; and a kind of driving us with the fooliſh *Galatians* to another Goſpel. For that which the Apoſtles taught hath freed us in Religion from the *Ordinances of men*, and commands that *burdens be not laid* upon the Redeemed of Chriſt; though the Formaliſt will ſay, what no decency in God's worſhip? Certainly Readers, the worſhip of God ſingly in it ſelf, the very act of prayer and thankſgiving, with thoſe free and unimpos'd expreſſions which from a ſincere heart unbidden come into the outward geſture, is the greateſt decency that can be imagin'd. Which to dreſs up and garniſh with a deviſ'd bravery aboliſht in the Law, and diſclam'd by the Goſpel, adds nothing but a deformed uglineſs; and hath ever afforded a colourable pretence to bring in all thoſe traditions and carnalities that are ſo killing to the power and virtue of the Goſpel. What was that which made the Jews, figur'd under the names of *Aholah* and *Aholibah*, go a whoring after all the Heathens inventions, but that they ſaw a Religion gorgeouſly attir'd and deſirable to the eye? What was all that the falſe Doctors of the primitive Church, and ever ſince have done, but *to make a fair ſhew in the fleſh*, as St. *Paul*'s words are? If we have indeed given a bill of Divorce to Popery and Superſtition, why do we not ſay as to a divorc'd wife; Thoſe things which are yours take them all with you, and they ſhall ſweep after you? Why were not we thus wiſe at our parting from *Rome?* Ah like a crafty Adultreſs ſhe forgot not all her ſmooth looks and inticing words at her parting; yet keep theſe letters, theſe tokens, and theſe few ornaments; I am not all ſo greedy of what is mine, let them preſerve with you the memory, of what I am? No, but of what I was, once fair and lovely in your eyes. Thus did thoſe tender hearted Reformers dotingly ſuffer themſelves to be overcome with Harlots language. And ſhe like a Witch, but with a contrary policy, did not take ſomething of theirs, that ſhe might ſtill have power to bewitch them, but for the ſame intent left ſomething of her own behind her. And that her whoriſh cunning ſhould prevail to work upon us her deceitful ends, though it be ſad to ſpeak, yet ſuch is our blindneſs, that we deſerve. For we are deep in dotage. We cry out *Sacrilege and Miſdevotion* againſt thoſe who in zeal have demoliſh't the dens and cages of her unclean wallowings. We ſtand for a Popiſh Liturgy as for the Ark of our Cov'nant. And ſo little does it appear our prayers are from the heart, that multitudes of us declare, they know not how to pray but by rote. Yet they can learnedly invent a prayer of their own to the Parlament, that they may ſtill ignorantly read the prayers of other men to God. They object, that if we muſt forſake all that is *Rome*'s, we muſt bid adieu to our Creed; and I had thought our Creed had been of the Apoſtles, for ſo it bears title. But if it be hers, let her take it. We can want no Creed, ſo long as we want not the Scriptures. We magnify thoſe who in reforming our Church have inconſiderately and blamefully permitted the old leven to remain and ſour our whole lump. But *they were Martyrs*; true, and he that looks well into the book of God's providence, if he read there that God for this their negligence and halting, brought all that following perſecution upon this Church, and on themſelves, perhaps will be found at the laſt day not to have read amiſs.

### SECT. 12.

But now, Readers, we have the Port within ſight; his laſt Section which is no deep one, remains only to be foarded, and then the wiſht ſhoar. And here firſt it pleaſes him much, that he hath diſcri'd me, as he conceives, to be unread in the Councels. Concerning which matter it will not be unneceſſary to ſhape him this anſwer; That ſome years I had ſpent in the ſtories of thoſe Greek and Roman Exploits, wherein I found many things both nobly done, and worthily ſpoken: when coming in the method of time to that age wherein the Church had obtain'd a Chriſtian Emperor, I ſo prepar'd my ſelf, as being now to read examples of wiſdom and goodneſs among thoſe who were formoſt in the Church, not elſe where to be parallell'd: But to the amazement of what I expected, Readers, I found it all quite contrary; excepting in ſome very few, nothing but Ambition, Corruption, Contention, Combuſtion: inſomuch that I could not but love the Hiſtorian *Socrates*, who in the proem to his fifth Book profeſſes, *He was fain to intermix affairs of State, for that it would be elſe an extream annoyance to hear in a continu'd Diſcourſe the endleſs brabbles and counterplottings of the Biſhops.* Finding therefore the moſt of their actions in ſingle to be weak, and yet turbulent, full of ſtrife, and yet flat of ſpirit, and the ſum of their beſt Councels there collected, to be moſt commonly in queſtions either trivial and vain, or elſe of ſhort and eaſy deciſion, without that great buſtle which they made; I concluded that if their ſingle ambition and ignorance was ſuch, then certainly united in a Council it would be much more; and if the compendious recital of what they there did was ſo tedious and unprofitable, then ſurely to ſit out the whole extent of their tattle in a dozen volumes, would be a loſs of time irrecoverable. Beſides that which I had read of St. *Martin*, who for his laſt ſixteen years could never be perſwaded to be at any Council of the Biſhops. And *Gregory Nazianzen* betook him to the ſame reſolution, affirming to *Procopius*, *that of any Council or Meeting of Biſhops he never ſaw good end; nor any remedy thereby of evil in the Church, but rather an increaſe. For*, ſaith he, *their Contentions and deſire of Lording no tongue is able to expreſs.* I have not therefore, I confeſs, read more of the Councels ſave here and there; I ſhould be ſorry to have been ſuch a prodigal of my time: but that which is better, I can aſſure this Confuter, I have read into them all. And if I want any thing yet, I ſhall reply ſomething toward that which in the defence of *Muræna* was anſwer'd by *Cicero* to *Sulpitius* the Lawyer. If ye provoke me (for at no hand elſe will I undertake ſuch a frivolous labour) I will in three months be an expert Counceliſt. For be not deceiv'd, Readers, by men that would overawe your ears with big Names and huge Tomes that contradict and repeal one another, becauſe they can cram a margent with Citations. Do but winnow their chaffe from their wheat, ye ſhall ſee their great heap ſhrink and wax thin paſt belief. From hence he paſſes to enquire wherefore I ſhould blame the vices of the Prelats only, ſeeing the inferiour Clergy is known to be as faulty. To which let him hear in brief; that thoſe Prieſts whoſe vices have been notorious, are all Prelatical, which argues both the impiety of that opinion, and the wicked remiſneſs of that government. We hear not of any which are call'd *Nonconformiſts*, that have been accus'd for ſcandalous living; but are known to be pious, or at leaſt ſober men. Which is a great good argument that they are in the truth, and Prelats in the error. He would be reſolv'd next, *What the corruptions of the Univerſities concern the Prelats?* and to that let him take this, That the Remonſtrant having ſpok'n as if Learning would decay with the removal of Prelats, I ſhew'd him that while Books were extant and in print, Learning could not readily be at a worſe paſs in the Univerſities then it was now under their government. Then he ſeeks to juſtify the pernicious Sermons of the Clergy, as if they upheld Soveranty, whenas all Chriſtian Soveranty is by law, and to no other end but to the maintenance of the common good. But their Doctrine was plainly the diſſolution of Law, which only ſets up Sov'ranty, and the erecting of an arbitrary ſway according to privat will, to which they would enjoin a ſlaviſh obedience without Law; which is the known definition of a Tyrant, and a tyranniz'd people. A little beneath he denies that great riches in the Church are the baits of pride and ambition: of which error to undeceive him, I ſhall allege a reputed divine Autority, as ancient as *Conſtantine*, which his love to Antiquity mnſt not except againſt; and to add the more waight, he ſhall learn it rather in the words of our old Poet *Gower* then in mine, that he may ſee it is no new opinion, but a truth deliver'd of old by a voice from Heav'n, and ratify'd by long experience.

This Conſtantine which heal hath found,
Within Rome anon let found
Two Churches which he did make
For Peter and for Pauls ſake:
Of whom he had a viſion,
And yafe therto poſſeſſion
Of Lordſhip and of worlds good;
But how ſo that his will was good
Toward the Pope and his Franchiſe,
Yet hath it proved otherwiſe
To ſee the working of the deed:
For in Cronick thus I read,
Anon as he hath made the yeſt,
A voice was heard on high the left,
Of which all Rome was adrad,
And ſaid, This day venim is ſhad
In holy Church, of temporall
That medleth with the ſpirituall;

And how it ſtant in that degree,
Yet may a man the ſooth ſee.
God amend it whan he will,
I can thereto none other ſkill.

But there were beaſts of prey, ſaith he, before wealth was beſtow'd on the Church. What though? becauſe the Vulturs had then but ſmall pickings, ſhall we therefore go and fling them a full gorge? if they for lucre uſe to creep into the Church undiſcernably, the more wiſdom will it be ſo to provide that no revenu there may exceed the golden mean: For ſo, good Paſtors will be content, as having need of no more, and knowing withal the precept and example of Chriſt and his Apoſtles, and alſo will be leſs tempted to ambition. The bad will have but ſmall matter whereon to ſet their miſchief awork: And the worſt and ſutleſt heads will not come at all, when they ſhall ſee the crop nothing anſwerable to their capacious greedineſs: For ſmall temptations allure but dribling offendors; but a great purchaſe will call ſuch as both are moſt able of themſelves, and will be moſt inabl'd hereby to compaſs dangerous projects. But ſaith he, *A widows houſe will tempt as well as a Biſhops Palace.* Acutely ſpok'n! Becauſe neither we nor the Prelats can aboliſh widows houſes, which are but an occaſion taken of evil without the Church, therefore we ſhall ſet up within the Church a Lottery of ſuch prizes as are the direct inviting cauſes of avarice and ambition, both unneceſſary and harmful to be propos'd, and moſt eaſie, moſt convenient and needful to be remov'd. *Yea but they are in a wiſe Diſpencers hand:* Let them be in whoſe hand they will, they are moſt apt to blind, to puff up and pervert the moſt ſeeming good. And how they have bin kept from Vultures, what ever the diſpencers care hath bin, we have learnt by our miſeries. But this which comes next in view, I know not what good vein or humor took him when he let drop into his paper: I that was ere while the ignorant, the loyterer, on the ſudden by his permiſſion am now granted *to know ſomething.* And that *ſuch a volley of expreſſions* he hath met withal, *as he would never deſire to have them better cloth'd.* For me, Readers, although I cannot ſay that I am utterly untrain'd in thoſe rules which beſt Rhetoricians have giv'n, or unacquainted with thoſe examples which the prime authors of eloquence have written in any learned tongu, yet true eloquence I find to be none, but the ſerious and hearty love of truth: And that whoſe mind ſo ever is fully poſſeſt with a fervent deſire to know good things, and with the deareſt charity to infuſe the knowledg of them into others, when ſuch a man would ſpeak, his words (by what I can expreſs) like ſo many nimble and airy ſervitors trip about him at command, and in well-order'd files, as he would wiſh, fall aptly into their own places. But now to the remainder of our diſcourſe. Chriſt refus'd great riches, and large honours at the Devils hand. But why, ſaith he, *as they were tender'd by him from whom it was a ſin to receave them.* Timely remember'd: why is it not therefore as much a ſin to receave a Liturgy of the maſſes giving, were it for nothing elſe but for the giver? *But he could make no uſe of ſuch a high eſtate,* quoth the Confuter; opportunly. For why then ſhould the ſervant take upon him to uſe thoſe things which his maſter had unfitted himſelf to uſe, that he might teach his miniſters to follow his ſteps in the ſame miniſtery? But *they were offer'd him to a bad end:* So they prove to the Prelats, who after their preferment moſt uſually change the teaching labour of the Word, into the unteaching eaſe of Lordſhip over conſciences and purſes. But he proceeds, *God entic't the Iſraelites with the promiſe of Canaan.* Did not the Prelats bring as ſlaviſh minds with them, as the Jews brought out of *Egypt*, they had left out that inſtance. Beſides that it was then the time, when as the beſt of them, as Saint *Paul* ſaith, *was ſhut up unto the faith under the Law* their School-maſter, who was forc't to intice them as children with childiſh enticements. But the Goſpel is our manhood, and the Miniſtery ſhould be the manhood of the Goſpel, not to look after, much leſs ſo baſely to plead for earthly Rewards. *But God incited* the wiſeſt man *Solomon with theſe means.* Ah Confuter of thy ſelf, this example hath undone thee; *Solomon* askt an underſtanding heart, which the Prelats have little care to ask. He askt no riches, which is their chief care: therefore was the prayer of *Solomon* pleaſing to God; he gave him wiſdom at his requeſt, and riches without asking, as now he gives the Prelats riches at their ſeeking, and no wiſdom becauſe of their perverſe asking. But he gives not over yet, *Moſes had an eye to the reward.* To what Reward, thou man that lookſt with *Balaams* eyes? to what Reward had the faith of *Moſes* an eye? He that had forſaken all the greatneſs of *Egypt*, and choſe a troubleſome journey in his old age through the Wilderneſs, and yet arriv'd not at his journeys end: His faithful eyes were fixt upon that incorruptible Reward, promis'd to *Abraham* and his ſeed in the *Meſſiah*; he ſought a heav'nly Reward which could make him happy, and never hurt him, and to ſuch a Reward every good man may have a reſpect; But the Prelats are eager of ſuch Rewards as cannot make them happy, but can only make them worſe. *Jacob*, a Prince born, vow'd, that if God would *but give him bread to eat, and raiment to put on, then the Lord ſhould be his God.* But the Prelats of mean birth, and oft-times of loweſt, making ſhew as if they were call'd to the ſpiritual and humble miniſtery of the Goſpel, yet murmur, and think it a hard ſervice, unleſs contrary to the tenour of their Profeſſion, they may eat the bread and wear the honours of Princes: So much more covetous and baſe they are then *Simon Magus*, for he proffer'd a Reward to be admitted to that work, which they will not be meanly hir'd to. But ſaith he, *Are not the Clergy members of Chriſt, why ſhould not each member thrive alike?* Carnal Textman! As if worldly thriving were one of the privileges we have by being in Chriſt, and were not a providence oft-times extended more liberally to the Infidel then the Chriſtian. Therefore muſt the Miniſters of Chriſt not be over rich or great in the World, becauſe their Calling is ſpiritual, not ſecular; becauſe they have a ſpecial Warfare, which is not to be intangl'd with many impediments; becauſe their Maſter Chriſt gave them this Precept, and ſet them this Example, told them this was the myſtery of his coming, by mean things and perſons to ſubdue mighty ones: and laſtly, becauſe a middle eſtate is moſt proper to the office of teaching, whereas higher dignity teaches far leſs, and blinds the Teacher. Nay, ſaith the Confuter, fetching his laſt indeavour, *The Prelats will be very loth to let go their Baronies, and Votes in Parlament*, and calls it *Gods Cauſe*, with an unſufferable impudence. *Not that they love the Honours and the Means*; good men and generous, *but that they would not have their Country made guilty of ſuch a ſacrilege and injuſtice.* A worthy Patriot for his owne corrupt ends! That which he imputes a ſacrilege to his Countrey, is the only way left them to purge that abominable ſacrilege out of the Land, which none but the Prelats are guilty of: Who for the diſcharge of one ſingle duty receive and keep that which might be anough to ſatisfy the labours of many painful Miniſters better deſerving then themſelves: Who poſſeſs huge Benefices for lazie Performances, great Promotions only for the execution of a cruel diſgoſpelling Juriſdiction: Who ingroſs many pluralities under a *non-reſident* and ſlubbring diſpatch of Souls: Who let hundreds of Pariſhes famiſh in one *Dioceſs*, while they the Prelats are mute, and yet injoy that wealth that would furniſh all thoſe dark places with able ſupply; and yet they eat, and yet they live at the rate of Earls, and yet hoard up: They who chaſe away all the faithful Shepherds of the flock, and bring in a dearth of ſpiritual food, robbing thereby the Church of her deareſt treaſure, and ſending herds of ſouls ſtarvling to Hell, while they feaſt and riot upon the labours of hireling Curats, conſuming and purloining even that which by their foundation is allow'd, and left to the poor, and to reparations of the Church. Theſe are they who have bound the Land with the ſin of Sacrilege, from which mortal ingagement we ſhall never be free, till we have totally remov'd with one labour as one individual thing Prelaty and Sacrilege. And herein will the King be a true Defender of the Faith, not by paring or leſſening, but by diſtributing in due proportion the maintenance of the Church, that all parts of the Land may equally partake the plentiful and diligent preaching of the Faith, the ſcandal of Ceremonies thrown out that delude and circumvent the Faith; and the uſurpation of Prelats laid level, who are in words the Fathers, but in their deeds the oppugners of the Faith. This is that which will beſt confirm him in that glorious title. Thus ye have heard, Readers, how many ſhifts and wiles the Prelats have invented to ſave their ill got booty. And if it be true, as in Scripture it is foretold, that pride and covetouſneſs are the ſure marks of thoſe falſe Prophets which are to come, then boldly conclude theſe to be as great ſeducers as any of the latter times. For between this and the Judgment-day do not look for any arch Deceavers, who in ſpight of Reformation will uſe more craft, or leſs ſhame to defend their love of the world and their ambition then theſe Prelats have done. And if ye think that ſoundneſs of Reaſon, or what force of Argument ſoever will bring them to an ingenuous ſilence, ye think that which will never be. But if ye take that courſe which *Eraſmus* was wont to ſay *Luther* took againſt the Pope and Monks, if ye denounce war againſt their Miters and their Bellies, ye ſhall ſoon diſcern that *Turbant* of pride which they wear upon their heads, to be no *Helmet of Salvation*, but the meer mettle and horn-work of Papal Juriſdiction; and that they have alſo this gift, like a certain kind of ſome that are poſſeſt, to have their voice in their Bellies, which being well drain'd and taken down, their great Oracle, which is only there, will ſoon be dumb, and the *Divine right of Epiſcopacy* forthwith expiring, will put us no more to trouble with tedious antiquities and diſputes.

# The Reaſon of Church-Government urg'd againſt PRELATY.

## In Two Books.

### The Preface.

IN the publiſhing of humane Lawes, which for the moſt part aime not beyond the good of civill ſociety, to ſet them barely forth to the People without reaſon or preface, like a phyſicall preſcript, or only with threatnings, as it were a lordly Command, in the judgment of *Plato* was thought to be done neither generouſly nor wiſely. His advice was, ſeeing that perſuaſion certainly is a more winning, and more manlike way to keep Men in obedience then fear, that to ſuch Laws as were of principall moment, there ſhould be us'd as an induction, ſome well temper'd diſcourſe, ſhewing how good, how gainful, how happy it muſt needs be to live according to honeſty and juſtice; which being utter'd with thoſe native colours and graces of ſpeech, as true eloquence, the daughter of vertue, can beſt beſtow upon her mother's praiſes, would ſo incite, and in a manner charm the multitude into the love of that which is really good, as to imbrace it ever after, not of cuſtom and awe, which moſt men do, but of choice and purpoſe, with true and conſtant delight. But this practice we may learn from a better and more ancient authority then any heathen writer hath to give us; and indeed being a point of ſo high wiſdom and worth, how could it be but we ſhould find it in that Book, within whoſe ſacred context all wiſdome is infolded? *Moſes* therefore the only Lawgiver that we can believe to have been viſibly taught of God, knowing how vain it was to write Laws to men whoſe hearts were not firſt ſeaſon'd with the knowledge of God and of his works, began from the book of *Geneſis*, as a prologue to his Laws; which *Joſephus* right well hath noted. That the nation of the Jews, reading therein the univerſall goodneſs of God to all Creatures in the Creation, and his peculiar favour to them in his election of *Abraham* their anceſtor, from whom they could derive ſo many bleſſings upon themſelves, might be mov'd to obey ſincerely, by knowing ſo good a reaſon of their obedience. If then in the adminiſtration of civil Juſtice, and under the obſcurity of Ceremonial Rites, ſuch care was had by the wiſeſt of the Heathen, and by *Moſes* among the Jews, to inſtruct them at leaſt in a general reaſon of that Government to which their ſubjection was requir'd, how much more ought the Members of the Church under the Goſpel, ſeek to inform their underſtanding in the reaſon of that Government which the Church claims to have over them? eſpecially for that the Church hath in her immediate cure thoſe inner parts and affections of the mind where the ſeat of Reaſon is, having power to examine our ſpiritual knowledg, and to demand from us in God's behalf a ſervice intirely reaſonable. But becauſe about the manner and order of this Government, whether it ought to be Presbyterial or Prelatical, ſuch endleſs queſtion, or rather uproar is ariſen in this Land, as may be juſtly term'd what the Feaver is to the Phyſicians, the eternal Reproach of our Divines; whilſt other profound Clerks of late greatly, as they conceive, to the advancement of Prelaty, are ſo earneſtly meting out the Lydian Proconſular *Aſia*, to make good the prime Metropolis of *Epheſus*, as if ſome of our Prelats in all haſte meant to change their Soil, and become Neighbours to the Engliſh Bp of *Chalcedon*; and whilſt good *Breerwood* as buſily beſtirs himſelf in our vulgar tongue, to divide preciſely the three Patriarchats, of *Rome*, *Alexandria*,

*dria*, and *Antioch*; and whether to any of theſe *England* doth belong. I ſhall in the mean while not ceaſe to hope, through the Mercy and Grace of Chriſt, the Head and Husband of his Church, that *England* ſhortly is to belong, neither to See Patriarchal, nor See Prelatical, but to the faithful feeding and diſciplining of that miniſterial Order, which the bleſſed Apoſtles conſtituted throughout the Churches; and this I ſhall eſſay to prove, can be no other then that of Presbyters and Deacons. And if any man incline to think I undertake a task too difficult for my years, I truſt, through the ſupreme inlightning aſſiſtance far otherwiſe; for my years, be they few or many, what imports it? ſo they bring reaſon, let that be lookt on: and for the task, from hence that the queſtion in hand is ſo needful to be known at this time, chiefly by every meaner capacity, and contains in it the explication of many admirable and heavenly privileges reacht out to us by the Goſpel, I conclude the task muſt be eaſy: God having to this end ordain'd his Goſpel to be the revelation of his power and wiſdom in Chriſt Jeſus. And this is one depth of his Wiſdom, that he could ſo plainly reveal ſo great a meaſure of it to the groſs diſtorted apprehenſion of decay'd mankind. Let others therefore dread and ſhun the Scriptures for their darkneſs, I ſhall wiſh I may deſerve to be reckon'd among thoſe who admire and dwell upon them for their clearneſs. And this ſeems to be the cauſe why in thoſe places of holy Writ, wherein is treated of Church-Government, the reaſons thereof are not formally and profeſtly ſet down, becauſe to him that heeds attentively the drift and ſcope of Chriſtian profeſſion, they eaſily imply themſelves; which thing further to explain, having now prefac'd enough, I ſhall no longer defer.

## CHAP. I.

## *That Church Government is preſcrib'd in the Goſpel, and that to ſay otherwiſe is unſound.*

THE firſt and greateſt reaſon of Church-Government, we may ſecurely, with the aſſent of many on the adverſe part, affirm to be, becauſe we find it ſo ordain'd and ſet out to us by the Appointment of God in the Scriptures; but whether this be Presbyterial, or Prelatical, it cannot be brought to the ſcanning, until I have ſaid what is meet to ſome who do not think it for the eaſe of their inconſequent Opinions, to grant that Church-Diſcipline is platform'd in the Bible, but that it is left to the diſcretion of Men. To this conceit of theirs I anſwer, that it is both unſound and untrue; for there is not that thing in the world of more grave and urgent importance throughout the whole life of Man, than is Diſcipline. What need I inſtance? He that hath read with judgment, of Nations and Common-wealths, of Cities and Camps, of Peace and War, Sea and Land, will readily agree that the flouriſhing and decaying of all Civil Societies, all the moments and turnings of humane Occaſions are mov'd to and fro as upon the Axle of Diſcipline. So that whatſoever power or ſway in mortal things weaker men have attributed to Fortune, I durſt with more confidence (the honour of Divine Providence ever ſav'd) aſcribe either to the vigor or the ſlackneſs of Diſcipline. Nor is there any ſociable perfection in this Life, Civil or Sacred, that can be above Diſcipline; but ſhe is that which with her muſical Cords preſerves and holds all the parts thereof together. Hence in thoſe perfect Armies of *Cyrus* in *Xenophon*, and *Scipio* in the Roman ſtories, the excellence of military Skill was eſteem'd, not by the not needing, but by the readieſt ſubmitting to the Edicts of their Commander. And certainly Diſcipline is not only the removal of Diſorder; but if any viſible ſhape can be given to divine things, the very viſible ſhape and image of Vertue, whereby ſhe is not only ſeen in the regular geſtures and motions of her heavenly Paces as ſhe walks, but alſo makes the harmony of her Voice audible to mortal ears. Yea, the Angels themſelves, in whom no diſorder is fear'd, as the Apoſtle that ſaw them in his rapture deſcribes, are diſtinguiſht and quaternion'd into their Celeſtial Princedoms, and Satrapies, according as God himſelf has writ his Imperial Decrees through the great Provinces of Heav'n. The ſtate alſo of the Bleſſed in Paradiſe, though never ſo perfect, is not therefore left without Diſcipline, whoſe golden ſurvaying Reed marks out and meaſures every Quarter and Circuit of *New Jeruſalem*. Yet is it not to be conceiv'd that thoſe eternal Effluences of Sanctity and Love in the glorified Saints, ſhould by this means be confin'd and cloy'd with repetitiou of that which is preſcrib'd, but that our happineſs may orb it ſelf into a thouſand vagancies of glory and delight, and with a kind of eccentrical Equation be, as it were, an invariable Planet of Joy and Felicity; how much leſs can we believe that God would leave his frail and feeble, tho not leſs beloved Church here below, to the perpetual ſtumble of Conjecture and Diſturbance in this our dark Voyage, without the Card and Compaſs of Diſcipline? Which is ſo hard to be of Man's making, that we may ſee even in the guidance of a Civil State to worldly happineſs, it is not for every learned, or every wiſe Man, though many of them conſult in common, to invent or frame a Diſcipline: but if it be at all the work of Man, it muſt be of ſuch a one as is a true knower of himſelf, and himſelf in whom Contemplation and Practice, Wit, Prudence, Fortitude, and Eloquence, muſt be rarely met, both to comprehend the hidden cauſes of things, and ſpan in his thoughts all the various effects that Paſſion or Complexion can work in Man's nature; and hereto muſt his hand be at defiance with Gain, and his heart in all Vertues heroick. So far is it from the ken of theſe wretched Projectors of ours, that beſcraul their Pamphlets every day with new Forms of Government for our Church. And therefore all the antient Lawgivers were either truly inſpir'd, as *Moſes*, or were ſuch men as with Authority anough might give it out to be ſo, as *Minos*, *Lycurgus*, *Numa*, becauſe they wiſely forethought that men would never quietly ſubmit to ſuch a Diſcipline as had not more of God's hand in it than Man's. To come within the narrowneſs of Houſhold-Government, obſervation will ſhew us many deep Counſellors of State and Judges do demean themſelves incorruptly in the ſettl'd courſe of Affairs, and many worthy Preachers upright in their Lives, powerful in their Audience: but look upon either of theſe men where they are left to their own diſciplining at home, and you ſhall ſoon perceive, for all their ſingle knowledg and uprightneſs, how deficient they are in the regulating of their own Family; not only in what may concern the vertuous and decent compoſure of their minds in their ſeveral places, but that which is of a lower and eaſier performance, the right poſſeſſing of the outward Veſſel, their Body, in Health or Sickneſs, Reſt or Labour, Diet or Abſtinence, whereby to render it more pliant to the Soul, and uſeful to the Common-wealth: which if men were but as good to diſcipline themſelves, as ſome are to tutor their Horſes and Hawks, it could not be ſo groſs in moſt houſholds. If then it appear ſo hard, and ſo little known how to govern a Houſe well, which is thought of ſo eaſy diſcharge, and for every man's undertaking; what skill of Man, what Wiſdom, what Parts can be ſufficient to give Laws and Ordinances to the elect Houſhold of God? If we could imagine that he had left it at random without his provident and gracious ordering, who is he ſo arrogant, ſo preſumptuous, that durſt diſpoſe and guide the living Ark of the Holy Ghoſt, though he ſhould find it wandring in the Field of *Bethſhemeſh*, without the conſcious warrant of ſome high Calling? But no profane Inſolence can parallel that which our Prelates dare avouch, to drive outragiouſly, and ſhatter the holy Ark of the Church, not born upon their ſhoulders with pains and labour in the Word, but drawn with rude Oxen their Officials, and their own brute Inventions. Let them make ſhews of reforming while they will, ſo long as the Church is mounted upon the Prelatical Cart, and not as it ought, between the hands of the Miniſters, it will but ſhake and totter; and he that ſets to his hand, though with a good intent to hinder the ſhogging of it, in this unlawful Waggonry wherein it rides, let him beware it be not fatal to him as it was to *Uzza*. Certainly if God be the Father of his Family the Church, wherein could he expreſs that Name more, then in training it up under his own Allwiſe and dear Oeconomy, not turning it looſe to the havock of Strangers and Wolves, that would ask no better plea then this to do in the Church of Chriſt, whatever Humour, Faction, Policy, or licentious Will would prompt them to? Again, if Chriſt be the Church's Husband, expecting her to be preſented before him a pure unſpotted Virgin; in what could he ſhew his tender Love to her more, then in preſcribing his own ways, which he beſt knew would be to the improvement of her health and beauty, with much greater care doubtleſs than the Perſian King could appoint for his Queen *Eſther*, thoſe maiden dietings and ſet preſcriptions of Baths and Odours, which may render her at laſt the more amiable to his eye? For of any Age or Sex, moſt unfitly may a Virgin be left to an uncertain and arbitrary Education. Yea, though ſhe be well inſtructed, yet is ſhe ſtill under a more ſtrait tuition, eſpecially if betroth'd. In like manner the Church bearing the ſame reſemblance, it were not reaſon to think ſhe ſhould be left deſtitute of that care which is as neceſſary and proper to her, as Inſtruction. For publick Preaching indeed is the Gift of the Spirit, working as beſt ſeems to his ſecret Will; but Diſcipline is the practick work of preaching directed and apply'd, as is moſt requiſite, to particular Duty; without which it were all one to the benefit of Souls, as it would be to the cure of Bodies. If all the Phyſicians in *London* ſhould get into the ſeveral Pulpits of the City, and aſſembling all the diſeaſed in every Pariſh, ſhould begin a learned Lecture of Pleuriſies, Palſies, Lethargies, to which perhaps none there preſent were inclin'd; and ſo without ſo much as feeling one Puls, or giving the leaſt order to any skilful Apothecary, ſhould diſmiſs 'em from time to time, ſome groaning, ſome languiſhing, ſome expiring, with this only charge, to look well to themſelves, and do as they hear. Of what excellence and neceſſity then Church-Diſcipline is, how beyond the Faculty of man to frame, and how dangerous to be left to man's Invention, who would be every foot turning it to ſiniſter Ends; how properly alſo it is the Work of God as Father, and of Chriſt as Husband of the Church, we have by thus much heard.

## CHAP. II.

### *That Church-Government is ſet down in Holy Scripture, and that to ſay otherwiſe is untrue.*

As therefore it is unſound to ſay, that God hath not appointed any ſet Government in his Church, ſo is it untrue. Of the time of the Law there can be no doubt: for to let paſs the firſt Inſtitution of Prieſts and Levites, which is too clear to be inſiſted upon, when the Temple came to be built, which in plain judgment could breed no eſſential change either in Religion, or in the Prieſtly Government; yet God to ſhew how little he could endure that men ſhould be tampring and contriving in his Worſhip, though in things of leſs regard, gave to *David* for *Solomon*, not only a pattern and model of the Temple, but a direction for the courſes of the Prieſts and Levites, and for all the work of their Service. At the return from the Captivity, things were only reſtor'd after the Ordinance of *Moſes* and *David*; or if the leaſt alteration be to be found, they had with them inſpired men, Prophets; and it were not ſober to ſay they did ought of moment without divine Intimation. In the Propheſy of *Ezekiel*, from the 40*th* Chapter onward, after the deſtruction of the Temple, God by his Prophet ſeeking to wean the hearts of the Jews from their old Law, to expect a new and more perfect Reformation under Chriſt, ſets out before their eyes the ſtately Fabrick and Conſtitution of his Church, with all the Eccleſiaſtical Functions appertaining: indeed the Deſcription is as ſorted beſt to the apprehenſion of thoſe times, typical and ſhadowie, but in ſuch manner as never yet came to paſs, nor never muſt literally, unleſs we mean to annihilat the Goſpel. But ſo exquiſit and lively the deſcription is in portraying the new ſtate of the Church, and eſpecially in thoſe points where Government ſeems to be moſt active, that both Jews and Gentiles might have good cauſe to be aſſur'd, that God, when ever he meant to reform his Church, never intended to leave the Government thereof delineated here in ſuch curious Architecture, to be patch't afterwards, and varniſh't over with the devices and imbelliſhings of mans Imagination. Did God take ſuch delight in meaſuring out the Pillars, Arches, and Doors of a material Temple? Was he ſo punctual and circumſpect in Lavers, Altars, and Sacrifices ſoon after to be abrogated, leſt any of theſe ſhould have been made contrary to his mind? Is not a far more perfect work, more agreeable to his perfection in the moſt perfect ſtate of the Church Militant, the new Alliance of God to man? Should not he rather now by his own preſcribed Diſcipline have caſt his Line and Level upon the Soul of Man which is his rational Temple, and by the divine Square and Compaſs thereof, form and regenerate in us the lovely ſhapes of Vertues and Graces, the ſooner to edify and accompliſh that immortal ſtature of Chriſt's Body, which is his Church, in all her glorious Lineaments and Proportions? And that this indeed God hath done for us in the Goſpel we ſhall ſee with open eyes, not under a Vail. We may paſs over the Hiſtory of the *Acts* and other places, turning only to thoſe Epiſtles of St. *Paul* to *Timothy* and *Titus*; where the ſpiritual eye may diſcern more goodly and gracefully erected, then all the magnificence of Temple or Tabernacle, ſuch a heavenly Structure of Evangelic Diſcipline, ſo diffuſive of Knowledg and Charity to the proſperous increaſe and growth of the Church, that it cannot be wonder'd if that elegant and artful Symmetry of the promiſed new Temple in *Ezekiel*, and all thoſe ſumptuous things under the Law were made to ſignify the inward beauty and ſplendor of the Chriſtian Church thus govern'd. And whether this be commanded, let it now be judg'd. St. *Paul* after his Preface to the firſt of *Timothy*, which he concludes in the 17*th* Verſe with *Amen*, enters upon the ſubject of his Epiſtle, which is to eſtabliſh the Church-government, with a command. *This charge I commit to thee ſon* Timothy; *according to the Prophecies which went before on thee, that thou by them might'ſt war a good Warfare:* which is plain enough thus expounded: This charge I commit to thee, wherein I now go about to inſtruct thee how thou ſhalt ſet up Church-diſcipline, that thou might'ſt war a good Warfare, bearing thy ſelf conſtantly and faithfully in the Miniſtry, which in the 1*ſt* to the *Corinthians* is alſo call'd a Warfare; and ſo after a kind of Parentheſis concerning *Hymenæus*, he returns to his command, though under the mild word of Exhorting, *Chap.* 2. *ver.* 1. I exhort therefore; as if he had interrupted his former command by the occaſional mention of *Hymenæus*. More beneath in the 14*th* verſe of the 3*d* Chapter, when he hath deliver'd the Duties of Biſhops or Presbyters, and Deacons, not once naming any other Order in the Church, he thus adds; *Theſe things write I unto thee, hoping to come unto thee ſhortly* (ſuch neceſſity it ſeems there was) *but if I tarry long, that thou may'ſt know how thou ought'ſt to behave thy ſelf in the Houſe of God.* From this place it may be juſtly ask't, whether *Timothy* by this here written, might know what was to be known concerning the Orders of Church-governors or no? If he might, then in ſuch a clear Text as this may we know too without further jangle; if he might not, then did St. *Paul* write inſufficiently, and moreover ſaid not true, for he ſaith here he might know; and I perſwade my ſelf he did know ere this was written, but that the Apoſtle had more regard to the inſtruction of us, then to the informing of him. In the fifth Chapter, after ſome other Church-Precepts concerning Diſcipline, mark what a dreadful command follows, *Ver.* 21. *I charge thee before God and the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and the elect Angels, that thou obſerve theſe things:* and as if all were not yet ſure enough, he cloſes up the Epiſtle with an adjuring charge thus; *I give thee charge in the ſight of God, who quickneth all things, and before Chriſt Jeſus, that thou keep this Commandment:* that is, the whole Commandment concerning Diſcipline, being the main purpoſe of the Epiſtle: although *Hooker* would fain have this denouncement refer'd to the particular Precept going before, becauſe the word Commandment is in the ſingular number, not remembring that even in the firſt Chapter of this Epiſtle, the word Commandment is us'd in a plural Senſe, *Ver.* 5. *Now the end of the Commandment is Charity:* And what more frequent then in like manner to ſay the Law of *Moſes*? So that either to reſtrain the ſignificance too much, or too much to inlarg it, would make the Adjuration either not ſo waighty, or not ſo pertinent. And thus we find here that the Rules of Church-diſcipline are not only commanded, but hedg'd about with ſuch a terrible impalement of Commands, as he that will break through wilfully to violate the leaſt of them, muſt hazard the wounding of his Conſcience even to death. Yet all this notwithſtanding we ſhall find them broken well nigh all by the fair pretenders even of the next Ages. No leſs to the contempt of him whom they fain to be the Arch-founder of Prelaty, St. *Peter*, who by what he writes in the 5th Chapter of his firſt *Epiſtle*, ſhould ſeem to be far another man then Tradition reports him: there he commits to the Presbyters only full Authority, both of feeding the Flock, and Epiſcopating; and commands that obedience be given to them as to the mighty hand of God, which is his mighty Ordinance. Yet all this was as nothing to repel the ventrous boldneſs of Innovation that enſu'd, changing the Decrees of God that are immutable, as if they had been breath'd by Man. Neverthelеſs when Chriſt, by thoſe Viſions of St. *John*, foreſhews the Reformation of his Church, he bids them take his Reed, and mete it out again after the firſt Pattern, for he preſcribes him no other. *Ariſe, ſaid the Angel, and meaſure the Temple of God, and the Altar, and them that worſhip therein.* What is there in the World can meaſure men but Diſcipline? Our word Ruling imports no leſs. Doctrine indeed is the meaſure, or at leaſt the reaſon of the meaſure, it's true; but unleſs the meaſure be apply'd to that which it is to meaſure, how can it actually do its proper work? Whether therefore Diſcipline be all one with Doctrine, or the particular Application thereof to this or that Perſon, we all agree that Doctrine muſt be ſuch only as is commanded; or whether it be ſomething really differing from Doctrine, yet was it only of Gods appointment, as being the moſt adequat meaſure of the Church and her Children, which is here the Office of a great Evangeliſt, and the Reed given him from Heaven. But that part of the Temple which is not thus meaſur'd, ſo far is it from being in Gods tuition or delight, that in the following Verſe he rejects it; however in ſhew and viſibility it may ſeem a part of his Church, yet in as much as it lies thus unmeaſur'd, he leaves it to be trampl'd by the Gentiles; that is, to be polluted with idolatrous and Gentiliſh Rites and Ceremonies. And that the principal Reformation here foretold, is already come to paſs, as well in Diſcipline as in Doctrine, the ſtate of our neighbour Churches afford us to behold. Thus through all the periods and changes of the Church, it hath been prov'd that God hath ſtill reſerv'd to himſelf the right of enacting Church-Government.

## CHAP. III.

### *That it is dangerous and unworthy the Goſpel, to hold that Church-Government is to be pattern'd by the Law, as* Bp. Andrews, *and the Primat of* Armagh *maintain.*

WE may return now from this interpoſing difficulty thus remov'd, to affirm, that ſince Church-Government is ſo ſtrictly commanded in Gods Word, the firſt and greateſt reaſon why we ſhould ſubmit thereto, is becauſe God hath ſo commanded. But whether of theſe two, Prelaty, or Presbytery can prove it ſelf to be ſupported by this firſt and greateſt reaſon, muſt be the next diſpute. Wherein this Poſition is to be firſt laid down, as granted; that I may not follow a Chaſe rather than an Argument, that one of theſe two, and none other, is of Gods ordaining; and if it be, that Ordinance muſt be evident in the Goſpel. For the imperfect and obſcure Inſtitution of the Law, which the Apoſtles themſelves doubt not oft-times to vilify, cannot give Rules to the compleat and glorious Miniſtration of the Goſpel, which looks on the Law as on a Child, not as on a Tutor. And that the Prelats have no ſure foundation in the Goſpel, their own guiltineſs doth manifeſt; they would not elſe run queſting up as high as *Adam* to fetch their Original, as 'tis ſaid one of them lately did in publick. To which aſſertion, had I heard it, becauſe I ſee they are ſo inſatiable of Antiquity, I ſhould have gladly aſſented, and confeſt them yet more antient: For *Lucifer* before *Adam*, was the firſt Prelat Angel; and both he, as is commonly thought, and our forefather *Adam*, as we all know, for aſpiring above their Orders, were miſerably degraded. But others better adviſ'd, are content to receive their beginnings from *Aaron* and his Sons, among whom *B. Andrews* of late years, and in theſe times the Primat of *Armagh* for their learning, are reputed the beſt able to ſay what may be ſaid in this Opinion. The Primat in his diſcourſe about the original of Epiſcopacy newly reviſ'd, begins thus. The ground of Epiſcopacy is fetcht partly from the pattern preſcribed by God in the Old Teſtament, and partly from the imitation thereof brought in by the Apoſtles. Herein I muſt entreat to be excuſ'd of the deſire I have to be ſatisfi'd, how for example the ground of Epiſcopacy is fetch't partly from the example of the Old Teſtament, by whom next, and by whoſe Authority. Secondly, how the Church-Government under the Goſpel, can be rightly call'd an imitation of that in the Old Teſtament; for that the Goſpel is the end and fulfilling of the Law, our liberty alſo from the Bondage of the Law, I plainly read. How then the ripe age of the Goſpel ſhould be put to School again, and learn to govern her ſelf from the infancy of the Law, the ſtronger to imitate the weaker, the Freeman to follow the Captive, the learned to be leſſon'd by the rude, will be a hard undertaking to evince from any of thoſe principles which either Art or Inſpiration hath written. If any thing done by the Apoſtles may be drawn howſoever to a likeneſs of ſomething Moſaical, if it cannot be prov'd that it was done of purpoſe in imitation, as having the right thereof grounded in Nature, and not in Ceremony or Type, it will little avail the matter. The whole Judaick Law is either political, and to take pattern by that, no Chriſtian Nation ever thought it ſelf oblig'd in Conſcience; or moral, which contains in it the obſervation of whatſoever is ſubſtantially, and perpetually true and good, either in Religion, or courſe of Life. That which is thus Moral, beſides what we fetch from thoſe unwritten Laws and Ideas which nature hath ingraven in us, the Goſpel, as ſtands with her dignity moſt, lectures to us from her own authentick hand-writing and command, not copies out from the borrow'd Manuſcript of a ſubſervient ſcrowl, by way of imitating: As well might ſhe be ſaid in her Sacrament of Water, to imitate the Baptiſm of *John*. What though ſhe retain Excommunication us'd in the Synagogue, retain the morality of the Sabbath? ſhe does not therefore imitate the Law her underling, but perfect her. All that was morally deliver'd from the Law to the Goſpel, in the Office of the Prieſts and Levites, was, that there ſhould be a Miniſtry ſet apart to teach and diſcipline the Church; both which Duties the Apoſtles thought good to commit to the Presbyters. And if any diſtinction of Honour were to be made among them, they directed it ſhould be to thoſe not that only rule well, but eſpecially to thoſe that labour in the Word and Doctrine. By which we are taught, that laborious teaching is the moſt honourable Prelaty that one Miniſter can have above another in the Goſpel: If therefore the ſuperiority of Biſhopſhip be grounded on the Prieſthood as a part of the Moral Law, it cannot be ſaid to be an Imitation; for it were ridiculous that Morality ſhould imitate Morality, which ever was the ſame thing. This very word of patterning or imitating, excludes Epiſcopacy from the ſolid and grave Ethical Law, and betrays it to be a meer Child of Ceremony, or likelier ſome miſbegotten thing, that having pluckt the gay Feathers of her obſolete bravery, to hide her own deformed bareneſs, now vaunts and glories in her ſtolen Plumes. In the mean while, what danger there is againſt the very Life of the Goſpel, to make in any thing the Typical Law her Pattern, and how impoſſible in that which touches the Prieſtly Government, I ſhall uſe ſuch light as I have receiv'd, to lay open. It cannot be unknown by what Expreſſions the holy Apoſtle S. *Paul* ſpares not to explain to us the nature and condition of the Law, calling thoſe Ordinances which were the chief and eſſential Offices of the Prieſts, the Elements and Rudiments of the World, both weak and beggarly. Now to breed, and bring up the Children of the Promiſe, the Heirs of Liberty and Grace, under ſuch a kind of Government as is profeſt to be but an imitation of that Miniſtry which engender'd to bondage the ſons of *Agar*; how can this be but a foul injury and derogation, if not a cancelling of that Birth-right and immunity which Chriſt hath purchas'd for us with

1 Tim. 5.

with his blood? For the miniſtration of the Law conſiſting of carnal things, drew to it ſuch a Miniſtery as conſiſted of carnal reſpects, dignity, precedence, and the like. And ſuch a Miniſtery eſtabliſh't in the Goſpel, as is founded upon the points and terms of ſuperiority, and neſts it ſelf in worldly honours, will draw to it, and we ſee it doth, ſuch a Religion as runs back again to the old pomp and glory of the fleſh: For doubtleſs there is a certain attraction and magnetick force betwixt the Religion and the miniſterial form therof. If the Religion be pure, ſpiritual, ſimple and lowly, as the Goſpel moſt truly is, ſuch muſt the face of the Miniſtery be. And in like manner if the form of the miniſtery be grounded in the worldly degrees of Autority, Honour, temporal Juriſdiction, we ſee with our eyes it will turn the inward power and purity of the Goſpel into the outward carnality of the Law; evaporating and exhaling the internal worſhip into empty conformities, and gay ſhews. And what remains then but that we ſhould run into as dangerous and deadly Apoſtacy as our lamentable neighbours the Papiſts, who by this very ſnare and pitfal of imitating the Ceremonial Law, fell into that irrecoverable Superſtition, as muſt needs make void the Cov'nant of Salvation to them that perſiſt in this blindneſs?

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## CHAP. IV.

### *That it is impoſſible to make the Prieſthood of* Aaron *a pattern whereon to ground Epiſcopacy.*

THat which was promis'd next, is to declare the impoſſibility of grounding Evangelick Government in the imitation of the Jewiſh Prieſthood; which will be done by conſidering both the quality of the Perſons, and the Office it ſelf. *Aaron* and his ſons were the Princes of their Tribe before they were ſanctified to the Prieſthood: that perſonal Eminence which they held above the other *Levites*, they receav'd not only from their Office, but partly brought it into their Office; and ſo from that time forward the Prieſts were not choſen out of the whole number of the Levites, as our Biſhops, but were born inheritors of the Dignity. Therefore unleſs we ſhall chooſe our Prelats only out of the Nobility, and let them run in a blood, there can be no poſſible imitation of Lording over their Brethren in regard of their perſons altogether unlike. As for the Office, which was a repreſentation of Chriſts own Perſon more immediately in the High-prieſt, and of his whole Prieſtly Office in all the other, to the performance of which the Levites were but as Servitors and Deacons, it was neceſſary there ſhould be a diſtinction of dignity between two Functions of ſo great odds. But there being no ſuch difference among our Miniſters, unleſs it be in reference to the Deacons, it is impoſſible to found a Prelaty upon the imitation of this Prieſthood: For wherein, or in what work is the Office of a Prelat excellent above that of a Paſtor? in Ordination you'll ſay, but flatly againſt Scripture; for there we know *Timothy* receav'd Ordination by the hands of the Presbytery, notwithſtanding all the vain deluſions that are us'd to evade that Teſtimony, and maintain an unwarrantable Uſurpation. But wherefore ſhould Ordination be a cauſe of ſetting up a ſuperiour degree in the Church? Is not that whereby Chriſt became our Saviour a higher and greater work, then that whereby he did ordain Meſſengers to preach and publiſh him our Saviour? Every Miniſter ſuſtains the Perſon of Chriſt in his higheſt work of communicating to us the Myſteries of our Salvation, and hath the power of binding and abſolving; how ſhould he need a higher dignity to repreſent or execute that which is an inferior work in Chriſt? Why ſhould the performance of Ordination, which is a lower office, exalt a Prelat, and not the ſeldom diſcharge of a higher and more noble Office, which is preaching and adminiſtring, much rather depreſs him? Verily neither the nature, nor the example of Ordination doth any way require an imparity between the ordainer and the ordained:

dained: For what more natural than every like to produce his like, Man to beget Man, Fire to propagate Fire? And in examples of higheſt opinion the ordainer is inferior to the ordained; for the Pope is not made by the precedent Pope, but by Cardinals, who ordain and conſecrate to a higher and greater Office than their own.

# CHAP. V.

## *To the Arguments of B.* Andrews, *and the* Primat.

IT follows here to attend to certain objections in a little Treatiſe lately printed among others of like ſort at *Oxford*, and in the Title ſaid to be out of the rude draughts of Biſhop *Andrews*: And ſurely they be rude draughts indeed, in ſo much that it is marvel to think what his friends meant to let come abroad ſuch ſhallow reaſonings with the name of a Man ſo much bruited for learning. In the 12 and 23 pages he ſeems moſt notoriouſly inconſtant to himſelf; for in the former place he tells us he forbears to take any argument of Prelaty from *Aaron*, as being the type of Chriſt. In the latter he can forbear no longer, but repents him of his raſh gratuity, affirming, that to ſay, Chriſt being come in the fleſh, his figure in the High-prieſt ceaſeth, is the ſhift of an Anabaptiſt; and ſtiffly argues, that Chriſt being as well King as Prieſt, was as well fore-reſembled by the Kings then, as by the High-prieſt: So that if his coming take away the one Type, it muſt alſo the other. Marvellous piece of Divinity! and well worth that the Land ſhould pay ſix thouſand pounds a year for in a Biſhoprick, although I read of no Sophiſter among the Greeks that was ſo dear, neither *Hippias* nor *Protagoras*, nor any whom the Socratick School famouſly refuted without hire. Here we have the type of the King ſow'd to the typet of the Biſhop, ſuttly to caſt a jealouſie upon the Crown, as if the right of Kings, like *Meleager* in the Metamorphoſis, were no longer liv'd then the firebrand of Prelaty. But more likely the Prelats fearing (for their own guilty carriage proteſts they do fear) that their fair days cannot long hold, practize by poſſeſſing the King with this moſt falſe doctrine, to engage his power for them, as in his own quarrel, that when they fall they may fall in a general ruin, juſt as cruel *Tyberius* would wiſh,

*When I die, let the Earth be roul'd in flames.*

But where, O Biſhop, doth the purpoſe of the Law ſet forth Chriſt to us as a King? That which never was intended in the Law, can never be aboliſh'd as part thereof. When the Law was made, there was no King: if before the Law, or under the Law God by a ſpecial type in any King would foreſignifie the future Kingdom of Chriſt, which is not yet viſibly come; what was that to the Law? The whole ceremonial Law and Types can be in no Law elſe, comprehend nothing but the propitiatory Office of Chriſt's Prieſtood; which being in ſubſtance accompliſht, both Law and Prieſthood fades away of it ſelf, and paſſes into air like a tranſitory viſion, and the right of Kings neither ſtands by any Type nor falls. We acknowledg that the civil Magiſtrate wears an Autority of God's giving, and ought to be obey'd as his Vicegerent. But to make a King a Type, we ſay is an abuſive and unskilful ſpeech, and of a moral ſolidity makes it ſeem a ceremonial ſhadow: Therefore your typical chain of King and Prieſt muſt unlink. But is not the type of Prieſt taken away by Chriſts coming? No, ſaith this famous Proteſtant Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, it is not; and he that ſaith it is, is an Anabaptiſt. What think ye, Readers, do ye not underſtand him? What can be gather'd hence but that the Prelat would ſtill ſacrifice? conceave him Readers, he would miſſificate. Their Altars indeed were in a fair forwardneſs; and by ſuch arguments as theſe they were ſetting up the molten Calf of their Maſs again, and of their great Hierarch the Pope. For if the Type of Prieſt be not taken away, then neither of the High-prieſt, it were a ſtrange beheading; and High-prieſt more then one there cannot be, and that one can be no leſs then a Pope. And this doubtleſs was the bent of his career, though never ſo covertly. Yea but there was ſomething elſe in the High-prieſt beſides the figure, as is plain by S. *Pauls* acknowledging him. 'Tis true, that in the 17th of *Deut.* whence this autority ariſes to the Prieſt in matters too hard for the ſecular Judges, as muſt needs be many in the occaſions of thoſe times, involv'd ſo with ceremonial Niceties, no wonder though it be commanded to enquire at the mouth of the Prieſts, who beſides the Magiſtrates their collegues, had the Oracle of Urim to conſult with. And whether the High-prieſt *Ananias* had not incroach't beyond the limits of his prieſtly autority, or whether us'd it rightly, was no time then for S. *Paul* to conteſt about. But if this inſtance be able to aſſert any right of juriſdiction to the Clergy, it muſt impart it in common to all Miniſters, ſince it were a great folly to ſeek for Counſel in a hard intricat ſcruple from a Dunce Prelat, when there might be found a ſpeedier ſolution from a grave and learned Miniſter, whom God hath gifted with the judgment of Urim more amply oft-times then all the Prelats together, and now in the Goſpel hath granted the privilege of this oraculous Ephod alike to all his Miniſters. The reaſon therefore of imparity in the Prieſts, being now, as is aforeſaid, really annull'd both in their perſon, and in their repreſentative Office, what right of juriſdiction ſoever can be from this place levitically bequeath'd, muſt deſcend upon the Miniſters of the Goſpel equally, as it finds them in all other points equal. Well then, he is finally content to let *Aaron* go; *Eleazar* will ſerve his turn, as being a Superior of ſuperiors, and yet no type of Chriſt in *Aarons* life-time. O thou that would'ſt wind into any figment, or phantaſm to ſave thy Miter! Yet all this will not fadge, though it be cunningly interpoliſht by ſome ſecond hand with crooks and emendations: Here then, the type of Chriſt in ſome one particular, as of entring yearly into the Holy of Holies, and ſuch like, reſted upon the High-prieſt only as more immediately perſonating our Saviour: but to reſemble his whole ſatisfactory Office all the lineage of *Aaron* was no more then ſufficient. And all, or any of the Prieſts conſider'd ſeparately without relation to the higheſt, are but as a lifeleſs trunk, and ſignifie nothing. And this ſhews the excellence of Chriſts Sacrifice, who at once and in one perſon fulfill'd that which many hundreds of Prieſts many times repeating had anough to foreſhew. What other imparity there was among themſelves, we may ſafely ſuppoſe it depended on the dignity of their Birth and Family, together with the circumſtances of a carnal Service, which might afford many priorities. And this I take to be the ſum of what the Biſhop hath laid together to make plea for Prelaty by imitation of the Law: Though indeed, if it may ſtand, it will infer Popedom all as well. Many other courſes he tries, enforcing himſelf with much oſtentation of endleſs Genealogies, as if he were the man that S. *Paul* forewarns us of in *Timothy*, but ſo unvigorouſly, that I do not fear his winning of many to his Cauſe, but ſuch as doting upon great names are either over-weak, or over ſudden of Faith. I ſhall not refuſe therefore to learn ſo much prudence as I find in the Roman Souldier that attended the Croſs, not to ſtand breaking of legs, when the breath is quite out of the body, but paſs to that which follows. The Primat of *Armagh* at the beginning of his Tractat ſeeks to avail himſelf of that place in the 66th of *Eſaiah*, I will take of them for Prieſts and Levites, ſaith the Lord, to uphold hereby ſuch a form of ſuperiority among the Miniſters of the Goſpel, ſucceeding thoſe in the Law, as the Lords-day did the Sabbath. But certain if this method may be admitted of interpreting thoſe prophetical paſſages concerning Chriſtian times in a punctual correſpondence, it may with equal probability be urg'd upon us, that we are bound to obſerve ſome monthly Solemnity anſwerable to the new Moons, as well as the Lords-day which we keep in lieu of the Sabbath: for in the 23d verſe the Prophet joins them in the ſame manner together, as before he did the Prieſts and Levites, thus. *And it ſhall come to paſs that from one New Moon to another, and from one Sabbath to another ſhall all fleſh come to worſhip before me, ſaith the Lord.* Undoubtedly with as good conſequence may it be alledg'd from hence, that we are to ſolemnize ſome religious monthly meeting different from the Sabbath, as from the other any diſtinct formality of Eccleſiaſtical Orders may be inferr'd. This rather will appear to be the lawful and unconſtrain'd ſenſe of the Text, that God in taking of them for Prieſts and Levites, will not eſteem them unworthy, though Gentiles, to undergo any function in the Church, but will make of them a full and perfect Miniſtery, as was that of the Prieſts and Levites in their kind. And Biſhop *Andrews* himſelf, to end the controverſie, ſends us a candid Expoſition of this quoted verſe from the 24th page of his ſaid book, plainly deciding that God by thoſe legal names there of Prieſts and Levites means our Presbyters and Deacons; for which either ingenuous confeſſion, or ſlip of his pen we give him thanks, and withal to him that brought theſe Treatiſes into one volume, who ſetting the contradictions of two learned Men ſo near together, did not foreſee. What other deducements or analogies are cited out of S. *Paul* to prove a likeneſs between the Miniſters of the Old and New Teſtament, having tri'd their ſinews, I judg they may paſs without harm doing to our Cauſe. We may remember then that Prelaty neither hath nor can have foundation in the Law, nor yet in the Goſpel; which aſſertion as being for the plainneſs thereof a matter of eye-ſight, rather then of diſquiſition, I voluntarily omit, not forgetting to ſpecifie this note again, that the earneſt deſire which the Prelats have to build their Hierarchy upon the ſandy bottom of the Law, gives us to ſee abundantly the little aſſurance which they find to reare up their high roofs by the autority of the Goſpel, repulſt as it were from the writings of the Apoſtles, and driven to take ſanctuary among the Jews. Hence that open confeſſion of the Primat before mention'd; Epiſcopacy is fetcht partly from the pattern of the Old Teſtament, and partly from the New as an imitation of the Old; though nothing can be more rotten in Divinity then ſuch a poſition as this, and is all one as to ſay, Epiſcopacy is partly of divine inſtitution, and partly of mans own carving. For who gave the autority to fetch more from the pattern of the Law then what the Apoſtles had already fetcht, if they fetcht any thing at all, as hath been prov'd they did not? So was *Jeroboams* Epiſcopacy partly from the pattern of the Law, and partly from the pattern of his own Carnality; a parti-colour'd and a parti-member'd Epiſcopacy: and what can this be leſs then a monſtrous? Others therefore among the Prelats, perhaps not ſo well able to brook, or rather to juſtifie this foul relapſing to the old Law, have condeſcended at laſt to a plain confeſſing that both the names and offices of Biſhops and Presbyters at firſt were the ſame, and in the Scriptures no where diſtinguiſht. This grants the Remonſtrant in the fift Section of his defence, and in the Preface to his laſt ſhort anſwer. But what need reſpect be had whether he grant or grant it not, when as through all Antiquity, and even in the loftieſt times of Prelaty, we find it granted? *Jerome* the learned'ſt of the Fathers hides not his opinion, that Cuſtom only, which the Proverb calls a Tyrant, was the maker of Prelaty; before his audacious workmanſhip the Churches were rul'd in common by the Presbyters: and ſuch a certain truth this was eſteem'd, that it became a decree among the Papal Canons compil'd by *Gratian*. *Anſelme* alſo of *Canterbury*, who to uphold the points of his Prelatiſm made himſelf a traytor to his Country, yet commenting the Epiſtles to *Titus* and the *Philippians*, acknowledges from the clearneſs of the Text, what *Jerome* and the Church Rubrick hath before acknowledg'd. He little dreamt then that the weeding-hook of Reformation would after two ages pluck up his glorious poppy from inſulting over the good corn. Though ſince ſome of our Britiſh Prelats, ſeeing themſelves preſt to produce Scripture, try all their cunning, if the New Teſtament will not help them, to frame of their own heads as it were with wax a kind of Mimick Biſhop limm'd out to the life of a dead Prieſthood: Or elſe they would ſtrain us out a certain figurative Prelat, by wringing the collective allegory of thoſe ſeven Angels into ſeven ſingle Rochets. Howſoever ſince it thus appears that cuſtom was the creator of Prelaty, being leſs ancient then the government of Presbyters, it is an extreme folly to give them the hearing that tell us of Biſhops through ſo many ages: and if againſt their tedious muſter of Citations, Sees, and Succeſſions, it be reply'd that wagers and Church antiquities, ſuch as are repugnant to the plain dictat of Scripture, are both alike the arguments of fools, they have their anſwer. We rather are to cite all thoſe ages to an arraignment before the Word of God, wherefore, and what pretending, how preſuming they durſt alter that divine Inſtitution of Presbyters, which the Apoſtles who were no various and inconſtant men ſurely had ſet up in the Churches; and why they chuſe to live by cuſtom and catalogue, or as St. *Paul* ſaith by ſight and viſibility, rather then by faith? But firſt I conclude from their own mouths, that God's command in Scripture, which doubtleſs ought to be the firſt and greateſt reaſon of Church-government, is wanting to Prelaty. And certainly we have plenteous warrant in the doctrine of Chriſt to determine that the want of this reaſon is of it ſelf ſufficient to confute all other pretences that may be brought in favour of it.

## CHAP. VI.

*That Prelaty was not ſet up for prevention of Schiſm, as is pretended; or if it were, that it performs not what it was firſt ſet up for, but quite the contrary.*

YET becauſe it hath the outſide of a ſpecious reaſon, and ſpecious things we know are apteſt to work with humane lightneſs and frailty, even againſt the ſolideſt truth that ſounds not plauſibly, let us think it worth the examining for the love of infirmer Chriſtians, of what importance this their ſecond reaſon may be. Tradition they ſay hath taught them, that for the prevention of growing Schiſm the Biſhop was heav'd above the Presbyter. And muſt Tradition then ever thus to the world's end be the perpetual canker-worm to eat out God's Commandments? are his decrees ſo inconſiderate and ſo fickle, that when the ſtatutes of *Solon* or *Lycurgus* ſhall prove durably good to many ages, his in forty years ſhall be found defective, ill contriv'd, and for needful cauſes to be alter'd? Our Saviour and his Apoſtles did not only foreſee, but foretel and forewarn us to look for Schiſm. Is it a thing to be imagin'd of God's wiſdom, or at leaſt of Apoſtolic prudence, to ſet up ſuch a Government in the tenderneſs of the Church, as ſhould incline, or not be more able then any other to oppoſe it ſelf to Schiſm? It was well known what a bold lurker Schiſm was, even in the houſhold of Chriſt, between his own Diſciples and thoſe of *John* the Baptiſt about faſting: and early in the Acts of the Apoſtles the noiſe of Schiſm had almoſt drown'd the proclaiming of the Goſpel; yet we read not in Scripture that any thought was had of making Prelats, no not in thoſe places where diſſention was moſt rife. If Prelaty had been then eſteem'd a remedy againſt Schiſm, where was it more needful then in that great variance among the Corinthians which St. *Paul* ſo labour'd to reconcile? and whoſe eye could have found the fitteſt remedy ſooner then his? and what could have made the remedy more available, then to have us'd it ſpeedily? And laſtly, what could have been more neceſſary then to have written it for our inſtruction? yet we ſee he neither commended it to us, nor us'd it himſelf. For the ſame diviſion remaining there, or elſe burſting forth again more then twenty years after St. *Paul*'s death, we find in *Clement*'s Epiſtle of venerable Autority, written to the yet factious *Corinthians*, that they were ſtill govern'd by Presbyters. And the ſame of other Churches out of *Hermas*, and divers other the ſcholers of the Apoſtles, by the late induſtry of the learned *Salmaſius* appears. Neither yet did this worthy *Clement*, St. *Paul*'s Diſciple, though writing to them to lay aſide Schiſm, in the leaſt word adviſe them to change the Presbyterian Government into Prelaty. And therefore if God afterward gave or permitted this inſurrection of Epiſcopacy, it is to be fear'd he did it in his wrath, as he gave the Iſraelites a King. With ſo good a will doth he uſe to alter his own choſen Government once eſtabliſh'd. For mark whether this rare device of mans brain, thus preferr'd before the Ordinance of God, had better ſucceſs then fleſhly wiſdom, not counſelling with God, is wont to have. So far was it from removing Schiſm, that if Schiſm parted the Congregations before, now it rent and mangl'd, now it rag'd. Hereſie begat Hereſie with a certain monſtrous haſte of pregnancy in her birth, at once born and bringing forth. Contentions, before brotherly, were now hoſtile. Men went to chooſe their Biſhop as they went to a pitcht field, and the day of his election was like the ſacking of a City, ſometimes ended with the blood of thouſands. Nor this among Hereticks only, but men of the ſame belief, yea Confeſſors, and that with ſuch odious ambition, that *Euſebius* in his eighth Book teſtifies he abhorr'd to write. And the reaſon is not obſcure, for the poor dignity, or rather burden, of a Parochial Presbyter could not ingage any great party, nor that to any deadly feud: but Prelaty was a power of that extent and ſway, that if her election were popular, it was ſeldom not the cauſe of ſome faction or broil in the Church. But if her dignity came by favour of ſome Prince, ſhe was from that time his creature, and obnoxious to comply with his ends in ſtate, were they right or wrong. So that inſtead of finding Prelaty an impeacher of Schiſm or Faction, the more I ſearch the more I grow into all perſwaſion to think rather that faction and ſhe, as with a ſpouſal ring, are wedded together, never to be divorc'd. But here let every one behold the juſt and dreadful judgment of God meeting with the audacious pride of man that durſt offer to mend the ordinances of Heaven. God out of the ſtrife of men brought forth by his Apoſtles to the Church that beneficent and ever diſtributing office of Deacons, the Stewards and Miniſters of holy alms: Man, out of the pretended care of peace and unity, being caught in the ſnare of his impious boldneſs to correct the will of Chriſt, brought forth to himſelf upon the Church that irreconcileable Schiſm of Perdition and Apoſtacy, the Roman Antichriſt; for that the exaltation of the Pope aroſe out of the reaſon of Prelaty, it cannot be deny'd. And as I noted before, that the pattern of the High Prieſt pleaded for in the Goſpel (for take away the head Prieſt, the reſt are but a carcaſs) ſets up with better reaſon a Pope then an Archbiſhop; for if Prelaty muſt ſtill riſe and riſe till it come to a Primat, why ſhould it ſtay there? whenas the Catholick Government is not to follow the diviſion of Kingdoms, the Temple beſt repreſenting the univerſal Church, and the High Prieſt the univerſal Head: ſo I obſerve here, that if to quiet Schiſm there muſt be one head of Prelaty in a Land, or Monarchy, riſing from a provincial to a national Primacy, there may upon better grounds of repreſſing Schiſm be ſet up one Catholick head over the Catholick Church. For the peace and good of the Church is not terminated in the ſchiſmleſs eſtate of one or two Kingdoms, but ſhould be provided for by the joint conſultation of all reformed Chriſtendom: that all controverſie may end in the final pronounce or canon of one Arch-primat or Proteſtant Pope. Although by this means, for ought I ſee, all the diameters of Schiſm may as well meet and be knit up in the center of one grand falſhood. Now let all impartial men arbitrate what goodly inference theſe two main reaſons of the Prelats have, that by a natural league of conſequence make more for the Pope then for themſelves; yea, to ſay more home, are the very womb for a new Subantichriſt to breed in, if it be not rather the old force and power of the ſame man of ſin counterfeiting Proteſtant. It was not the prevention of Schiſm, but it was Schiſm it ſelf, and the hateful thirſt of Lording in the Church that firſt beſtow'd a being upon Prelaty; this was the true cauſe, but the pretence is ſtill the ſame. The Prelats, as they would have it thought, are the only mawls of Schiſm. Forſooth if they be put down, a deluge of innumerable Sects will follow; we ſhall be all Browniſts, Familiſts, Anabaptiſts. For the word Puritan ſeems to be quaſht, and all that heretofore were counted ſuch, are now Browniſts. And thus do they raiſe an evil report upon the expected reforming Grace that God hath bid us hope for, like thoſe faithleſs ſpies, whoſe carcaſſes ſhall periſh in the wilderneſs of their own confuſed ignorance, and never taſte the good of Reformation. Do they keep away Schiſm? if to bring a num and chill ſtupidity of Soul, an unactive blindneſs of mind upon the people by their leaden Doctrine, or no Doctrine at all; if to perſecute all knowing and zealous Chriſtians by the violence of their Courts, be to keep away Schiſm, they keep away Schiſm indeed: and by this kind of Diſcipline all *Italy* and *Spain* is as purely and politickly kept from Schiſm as *England* hath been by them. With as good a plea might the dead-palſie boaſt to a man, 'tis I that free you from ſtitches and pains, and the troubleſome feeling of cold and heat, of wounds and ſtrokes; if I were gone, all theſe would moleſt you. The winter might as well vaunt it ſelf againſt the Spring, I deſtroy all noyſome and rank weeds, I keep down all peſtilent vapours; yes, and all wholeſome herbs, and all freſh dews, by your violent and hide-bound froſt: but when the gentle weſt winds ſhall open the fruitful boſom of the Earth, thus over-girded by your impriſonment, then the flowers put forth and ſpring, and then the Sun ſhall ſcatter the miſts, and the manuring hand of the tiller ſhall root up all that burdens the ſoil without thank to your bondage. But far worſe then any frozen captivity is the bondage of Prelats, for that other, if it keep down any thing which is good within the Earth, ſo doth it likewiſe that which is ill; but theſe let out freely the ill, and keep down the good, or elſe keep down the leſſer ill, and let out the greateſt. Be aſham'd at laſt to tell the Parlament, ye curb Schiſmaticks, whenas they know ye cheriſh and ſide with Papiſts, and are now as it were one party with them, and 'tis ſaid they help to petition for ye. Can we believe that your Government ſtrains in good earneſt at the petty gnats of Schiſm, whenas we ſee it makes nothing to ſwallow the Camel Hereſie of *Rome*, but that indeed your throats are of the right Phariſaical ſtrain? Where are thoſe Schiſmaticks with whom the Prelats hold ſuch hot skirmiſh? ſhew us your Acts, thoſe glorious Annals which your Courts of loathed memory lately deceas'd have left us? Thoſe Schiſmaticks I doubt me will be found the moſt of them ſuch as whoſe only Schiſm was to have ſpoke the truth againſt your high abominations and cruelties in the Church; this is the Schiſm ye hate moſt, the removal of your criminous Hierarchy. A politick Government of yours, and of a pleaſant conceit, ſet up to remove thoſe as a pretended Schiſm, that would remove you as a palpable Hereſie in Government. If the Schiſm would pardon ye that, ſhe might go jagg'd in as many cuts and ſlaſhes as ſhe pleas'd for you. As for the rending of the Church, we have many reaſons to think it is not that which ye labour to prevent ſo much as the rending of your pontifical ſleeves: that Schiſm would be the ſoreſt Schiſm to you, that would be Browniſm and Anabaptiſm indeed. If we go down, ſay you, as if *Adrian's* wall were broke, a flood of Sects will ruſh in. What Sects? What are their opinions? give us the Inventory; it will appear both by your former proſecutions and your preſent inſtances, that they are only ſuch to ſpeak of as are offended with your lawleſs Government, your Ceremonies, your Liturgy, an extract of the Maſs-book tranſlated. But that they ſhould be contemners of publick prayer, and Churches us'd without ſuperſtition, I truſt God will manifeſt it e're long to be as falſe a ſlander, as your former ſlanders againſt the Scots. Noiſe it till ye be hoarſe, that a rabble of Sects will come in; it will be anſwer'd ye, No rabble Sir Prieſt, but a unanimous multitude of good Proteſtants will then join to the Church, which now becauſe of you ſtand ſeparated. This will be the dreadful conſequence of your removal. As for thoſe terrible names of Sectaries and Schiſmaticks which ye have got together, we know your manner of fight, when the quiver of your arguments, which is ever thin, and weakly ſtor'd, after the firſt brunt is quite empty, your courſe is to betake ye to your other quiver of ſlander, wherein lies your beſt archery. And whom ye could not move by ſophiſtical arguing, them you think to confute by ſcandalous miſnaming; thereby inciting the blinder ſort of people to miſlike and deride ſound Doctrine and good Chriſtianity, under two or three vile and hateful terms. But if we could eaſily indure and diſſolve your doubtieſt reaſons in argument, we ſhall more eaſily bear the worſt of your unreaſonableneſs in calumny and falſe report: Eſpecially being foretold by Chriſt, that if he our Maſter were by your predeceſſors call'd Samaritan and Belzebub, we muſt not think it ſtrange if his beſt Diſciples in the Reformation, as at firſt by thoſe of your Tribe they were call'd Lollards and Huſſites, ſo now by you be term'd Puritans and Browniſts. But my hope is, that the people of *England* will not ſuffer themſelves to be juggl'd thus out of their Faith and Religion by a miſt of names caſt before their eyes, but will ſearch wiſely by the Scriptures, and look quite through this fraudulent aſperſion of a diſgraceful name into the things themſelves: knowing that the Primitive Chriſtians in their times were accounted ſuch as are now call'd Familiſts and Adamites, or worſe. And many on the Prelatick ſide, like the Church of *Sardis*, have a name to live, and yet are dead; to be Proteſtants, and are indeed Papiſts in moſt of their principles. Thus perſwaded, this your old fallacy we ſhall ſoon unmask, and quickly apprehend how you prevent Schiſm, and who are your Schiſmaticks. But what if ye prevent and hinder all good means of preventing Schiſm? That way which the Apoſtles us'd, was to call a Council; from which by any thing that can be learnt from the fifteenth of the *Acts*, no faithful Chriſtian was debarr'd, to whom knowledg and piety might give entrance. Of ſuch a Council as this every parochial Conſiſtory is a right homogeneous and conſtituting part, being in it ſelf as it were a little Synod, and towards a general Aſſembly moving upon her own baſis in an even and firm progreſſion, as thoſe ſmaller Squares in battel unite in one great Cube, the main Phalanx, an emblem of truth and ſtedfaſtneſs. Whereas on the other ſide Prelaty aſcending by a gradual monarchy from Biſhop to Archbiſhop, from thence to Primat, and from thence, for there can be no reaſon yielded neither in Nature, nor in Religion, wherefore, if it have lawfully mounted thus high, it ſhould not be a Lordly Aſcendant in the Horoſcope of the Church, from Primat to Patriarch, and ſo to Pope: I ſay, Prelaty thus aſcending in a continual pyramid upon pretence to perfect the Churches unity, if notwithſtanding it be found moſt needful, yea the utmoſt help to dearn up the rents of Schiſm by calling a Council, what does it but teach us that Prelaty is of no force to effect this work which ſhe boaſts to be her maſter-piece; and that her pyramid aſpires and ſharpens to ambition, not to perfection or unity? This we know, that as often as any great Schiſm diſparts the Church, and Synods be proclam'd, the Presbyters have as great right there, and as free vote of old, as the Biſhops, which the Canon-law conceals not. So that Prelaty, if ſhe will ſeek to cloſe up diviſions in the Church, muſt be forc't to diſſolve and unmake her own pyramidal figure, which ſhe affirms to be of ſuch uniting power, whenas indeed it is the moſt dividing and ſchiſmatical form that Geometricians know of, and muſt be fain to inglobe or incube her ſelf among the Presbyters; which ſhe hating to do, ſends her haughty Prelats from all parts with their forked Miters, the badg of Schiſm, or the ſtamp of his cloven foot, whom they ſerve I think, who according to their Hierarchies acuminating ſtill higher and higher in a cone of Prelaty, inſtead of healing up the gaſhes of the Church, as it happens in ſuch pointed bodies meeting, fall to gore one another with their ſharp ſpires for upper place and precedence, till the Council it ſelf prove the greateſt Schiſm of all. And thus they are ſo far from hindring diſſention, that they have made unprofitable, and even noyſome, the chiefeſt remedy we have to keep Chriſtendom at one, which is by Councils: and theſe, if we rightly conſider Apoſtolick example, are nothing elſe but general Presbyteries. This ſeem'd ſo far from the Apoſtles to think much of, as if hereby their dignity were impair'd, that, as we may gather by thoſe Epiſtles of *Peter* and *John*, which are likely to be lateſt written, when the Church grew to a ſetling, like thoſe heroick Patricians of *Rome* (if we may uſe ſuch compariſon) haſting to lay down their Dictatorſhip, they rejoyc'd to call themſelves, and to be as Fellow-elders among their Brethren; knowing that their high office was but as the ſcaffolding of the Church yet unbuilt, and would be but a troubleſome disfigurement, ſo ſoon as the building was finiſh'd. But the lofty minds of an age or two after, ſuch was their ſmall diſcerning, thought it a poor indignity, that the high rear'd Government of the Church ſhould ſo on a ſudden, as it ſeem'd to them, ſquat into a Presbytery. Next, or rather before Councils, the timelieſt prevention of Schiſm is to preach the Goſpel abundantly and powerfully throughout all the Land, to inſtruct the Youth religiouſly, to endeavour how the Scriptures may be eaſieſt underſtood by all men; to all which the proceedings of theſe men have been on ſet purpoſe contrary. But how, O Prelats, ſhould you remove Schiſm? and how ſhould you not remove and oppoſe all the means of removing Schiſm? when Prelaty is a Schiſm it ſelf from the moſt reformed and moſt flouriſhing of our neighbour Churches abroad, and a ſad ſubject of diſcord and offence to the whole nation at home. The remedy which you alledge is the very diſeaſe we groan under; and never can be to us a remedy but by removing it ſelf. Your predeceſſors were believ'd to aſſume this pre-eminence above their brethren, only that they might appeaſe diſſention. Now God and the Church calls upon you, for the ſame reaſon, to lay it down, as being to thouſands of good men offenſive, burdenſome, intolerable. Surrender that pledg, which, unleſs you foully uſurpt it, the Church gave you, and now claims it again, for the reaſon ſhe firſt lent it. Diſcharge the truſt committed to you, prevent Schiſm, and that ye can never do, but by diſcharging your ſelves. That Government which ye hold, we confeſs, prevents much, hinders much, removes much; but what? the Schiſms and Grievances of the Church? no, but all the peace and unity, all the welfare not of the Church alone, but of the whole Kingdom. And if it be ſtill permitted ye to hold, will cauſe the moſt ſad, I know not whether Separation be anough to ſay, but ſuch a wide gulph of diſtraction in this Land, as will never cloſe her diſmal gap until ye be forc'd (for of your ſelves ye will never do as that Roman *Curtius* nobly did) for the Churches peace and your Countries, to leap into the midſt, and be no more ſeen. By this we ſhall know whether yours be that ancient Prelaty which you ſay was firſt conſtituted for the reducement of quiet and unanimity into the Church, for then you will not delay to prefer that above your own preferment. If otherwiſe, we muſt be confident that your Prelaty is nothing elſe but your ambition, an inſolent preferring of your ſelves above your brethren; and all your learned ſcraping in antiquity, even to diſturb the bones of old *Aaron* and his ſons in their graves, is but to maintain and ſet upon our necks a ſtately and ſevere dignity, which you call ſacred, and is nothing in very deed but a grave and reverent gluttony, a ſanctimonious avarice, in compariſon of which, all the duties and dearneſſes which ye owe to God or to his Church, to Law, Cuſtom, or Nature, ye have reſolv'd to ſet at nought. I could put you in mind what Counſel *Clement* a Fellow-labourer with the Apoſtles gave to the Presbyters of *Corinth*, whom the people, though unjuſtly, ſought to remove. Who among you, ſaith he, is noble minded, who is pitiful, who is charitable? let him ſay thus, If for me this ſedition, this enmity, theſe differences be, I willingly depart, I go my ways, only let the flock of Chriſt be at peace with the Presbyters that are ſet over it. He that ſhall do this, ſaith he, ſhall get him great honour in the Lord, and all places will receive him. This was *Clement*'s Counſel to good and holy men, that they ſhould depart rather from their juſt office, then by their ſtay to ravle out the ſeamleſs garment of Concord in the Church. But I have better counſel to give the Prelats, and far more acceptable to their ears, this advice in my opinion is fitter for them: Cling faſt to your Pontifical Sees, bate not, quit your ſelves like Barons, ſtand to the utmoſt for your haughty Courts and Votes in Parliament. Still tell us, that you prevent Schiſm, though Schiſm and Combuſtion be the very iſſue of your bodies, your firſt-born; and ſet your Country a bleeding in a Prelatical mutiny, to fight for your pompe, and that ill-favour'd weed of temporal honour that ſits diſhonourably upon your laick ſhoulders, that ye may be fat and fleſhy, ſwoln with high thoughts, and big with miſchievous deſigns, when God comes to viſit upon you all this fourſcore years vexation of his Church under your Egyptian Tyranny. For certainly of all thoſe bleſſed Souls which you have perſecuted, and thoſe miſerable ones which you have loſt, the juſt vengeance does not ſleep.

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## CHAP. VII.

### *That thoſe many Sects and Schiſms by ſome ſuppos'd to be among us, and that Rebellion in* Ireland, *ought not to be a hindrance, but a haſtning of Reformation.*

AS for thoſe many Sects and Diviſions rumor'd abroad to be amongſt us, it is not hard to perceive that they are partly the mere fictions and falſe alarms of the Prelats, thereby to caſt amazements and panick terrors into the hearts of weaker Chriſtians, that they ſhould not venture to change the preſent deformity of the Church for fear of I know not what worſe inconveniencies. With the ſame objected fears and ſuſpicions, we know that ſuttle Prelat *Gardner* ſought to divert the firſt Reformation. It may ſuffice us to be taught by St. *Paul*, that there muſt be Sects for the manifeſting of thoſe that are ſound-hearted. Theſe are but winds and flaws to try the floting veſſel of our Faith, whether it be ſtanch and ſail well, whether our ballaſt be juſt, our anchorage and cable ſtrong. By this is ſeen who lives by Faith and certain knowledg, and who by credulity and the prevailing opinion of the age, whoſe vertue is of an unchangeable grain, and whoſe of a ſlight waſh. If God come to try our conſtancy, we ought not to ſhrink or ſtand the leſs firmly for that, but paſs on with more ſtedfaſt reſolution to eſtabliſh the Truth, though it were through a lane of Sects and Hereſies on each ſide. Other things men do to the glory of God: but Sects and Errors, it ſeems, God ſuffers to be for the glory of good men, that the world may know and reverence their true fortitude and undaunted conſtancy in the Truth. Let us not therefore make theſe things an incumbrance, or an excuſe of our delay in reforming, which God ſends us as an incitement to proceed with more honour and alacrity. For if there were no oppoſition, where were the trial of an unfained goodneſs and magnanimity? Vertue that wavers is not vertue, but vice revolted from it ſelf, and after a while returning. The actions of juſt and pious men do not darken in their middle courſe; but *Solomon* tells us, they are as the ſhining light, that ſhineth more and more unto the perfet day. But if we ſhall ſuffer the trifling doubts and jealouſies of future Sects to overcloud the fair beginnings of purpos'd Reformation, let us rather fear that another proverb of the ſame wiſe man be not upraided to us, that the way of the wicked is as darkneſs, they ſtumble at they know not what. If Sects and Schiſms be turbulent in the unſetl'd eſtate of a Church, while it lies under the amending hand, it beſt beſeems our Chriſtian courage to think they are but as the throws and pangs that go before the birth of Reformation, and that the work it ſelf is now in doing. For if we look but on the nature of elemental and mixt things, we know they cannot ſuffer any change of one kind or quality into another, without the ſtruggle of contrarieties. And in things artificial, ſeldom any elegance is wrought without a ſuperfluous waſt and refuſe in the tranſaction. No marble ſtatue can be politely carv'd, no fair edifice built without almoſt as much rubbiſh and ſweeping. Inſomuch that even in the ſpiritual conflict of St. *Paul's* converſion, there fell ſcales from his eyes that were not perceiv'd before. No wonder then in the reforming of a Church, which is never brought to effect without the fierce encounter of truth and falſhood together, if, as it were the ſplinters and ſhares of ſo violent a jouſting, there fall from between the ſhock many fond errors and fanatick opinions, which when Truth has the upper hand, and the Reformation ſhall be perfeted, will eaſily be rid out of the way, or kept ſo low, as that they ſhall be only the exerciſe of our knowledg, not the diſturbance or interruption of our faith. As for that which *Barclay* in his image of Minds writes concerning the horrible and barbarous conceits of Engliſhmen in their Religion, I deem it ſpoken like what he was, a fugitive Papiſt, traducing the Iland whence he ſprung. It may be more judiciouſly gather'd from hence, that the Engliſhman of many other Nations is leaſt atheiſtical, and bears a natural diſpoſition of much reverence and awe towards the Deity; but in his weakneſs and want of better inſtruction, which among us too frequently is neglected, eſpecially by the meaner ſort, turning the bent of his own wits, with a ſcrupulous and ceaſeleſs care, what he might do to inform himſelf aright of God and his Worſhip, he may fall not unlikely ſometimes, as any other Land-man, into an uncouth opinion. And verily if we look at his native towardlineſs in the rough caſt without breeding, ſome Nation or other may haply be better compos'd to a natural civility and right judgment then he. But if he get the benefit once of a wiſe and well rectifi'd nurture, which muſt firſt come in general from the godly vigilance of the Church, I ſuppoſe that where-ever mention is made of Countries, Manners, or Men, the Engliſh People among the firſt that ſhall be prais'd, may deſerve to be accounted a right pious, right honeſt, and right hardy Nation. But thus while ſome ſtand dallying and deferring to reform for fear of that which ſhould mainly haſten them forward, leſt Schiſm and Error ſhould encreaſe, we may now thank our ſelves and our delays, if inſtead of Schiſm a bloody and inhumane rebellion be ſtrook in between our ſlow movings. Indeed againſt violent and powerful oppoſition there can be no juſt blame of a lingring diſpatch. But this I urge againſt thoſe that diſcourſe it for a maxim, as if the ſwift opportunities of eſtabliſhing or reforming Religion were to attend upon the fleam of ſtate-buſineſs. In ſtate many things at firſt are crude and hard to digeſt, which only time and deliberation can ſupple and concoct. But in Religion, wherein is no immaturity, nothing out of ſeaſon, it goes far otherwiſe. The door of Grace turns upon ſmooth hinges wide opening to ſend out, but ſoon ſhutting to recal the precious offers of mercy to a Nation: which unleſs watchfulneſs and zeal, two quick-ſighted and ready-handed virgins, be there in our behalf to receive, we looſe: and ſtill the ofter we looſe, the ſtraiter the door opens, and the leſs is offer'd. This is all we get by demurring in God's ſervice. 'Tis not rebellion that ought to be the hindrance of Reformation, but it is the want of this which is the cauſe of that. The Prelats which boaſt themſelves the only bridlers of Schiſm, God knows have been ſo cold and backward both there and with us to repreſs Hereſie and Idolatry, that either through their careleſſneſs or their craft all this miſchief is befaln. What can the Iriſh Subject do leſs in God's juſt diſpleaſure againſt us, then revenge upon Engliſh bodies the little care that our Prelats have had of their Souls? Nor hath their negligence been new in that Iland, but ever notorious in Queen *Elizabeth*'s days, as *Camden* their known friend forbears not to complain. Yet ſo little are they toucht with remorſe of theſe their cruelties, for theſe cruelties are theirs, the bloody revenge of thoſe Souls which they have famiſh'd, that whenas againſt our brethren the Scots, who by their upright and loyal deeds have now bought themſelves an honourable name to poſterity, whatſoever malice by ſlander could invent, rage in hoſtility attempt, they greedily attempted, toward theſe murdrous Iriſh, the enemies of God and Mankind, a curſed off-ſpring of their own connivance, no man takes notice but that they ſeem to be very calmly and indifferently affected. Where then ſhould we begin to extinguiſh a rebellion that hath its cauſe from the miſgovernment of the Church? where, but at the Churches reformation, and the removal of that Government which purſues and wars with all good Chriſtians under the name of Schiſmaticks, but maintains and foſters all Papiſts and Idolaters as tolerable Chriſtians? And if the ſacred Bible may be our light, we are neither without example, nor the witneſs of God himſelf, that the corrupted eſtate of the Church is both the cauſe of tumult and civil wars, and that to ſtint them, the peace of the Church muſt firſt be ſetl'd. *Now for a long ſeaſon*, ſaith *Azariah* to King *Aſa*, Iſrael *hath been without the true God, and without a teaching Prieſt, and without Law: and in thoſe times there was no peace to him that went out, nor to him that came in, but great vexations were upon all the inhabitants of the countries. And Nation was deſtroy'd of Nation, and City of City, for God did vex them with all adverſity. Be ye ſtrong therefore*, ſaith he to the Reformers of that age, *and let not your hands be weak, for your work ſhall be rewarded.* And in thoſe Prophets that liv'd in the times of Reformation after the Captivity, often doth God ſtir up the People to conſider that while eſtabliſhment of Church-matters was neglected, and put off, there was *no peace to him that went* Zech. 8. *out or came in; for I*, ſaith God, *had ſet all men every one againſt his neighbour.* But from the very day forward that they went ſeriouſly and effectually about Hag. 2. the welfare of the Church, he tells them that they themſelves might perceive the ſudden change of things into a proſperous and peaceful condition. But it will here be ſaid that the Reformation is a long work, and the miſeries of *Ireland* are urgent of a ſpeedy redreſs. They be indeed; and how ſpeedy we are, the poor afflicted remnant of our martyr'd Countrymen that ſit there on the Sea-ſhore, counting the hours of our delay with their ſighs, and the minutes with their falling tears, perhaps with the deſtilling of their bloody wounds, if they have not quite by this time caſt off, and almoſt curſt the vain hope of our founder'd ſhips and aids, can beſt judg how ſpeedy we are to their relief. But let their ſuccours be haſted, as all need and reaſon is; and let not therefore the Reformation, which is the chiefeſt cauſe of ſucceſs and victory, be ſtill procraſtinated. They of the Captivity in their greateſt extremities could find both counſel and hands anough at once to build, and to expect the enemies aſſault. And we for our parts, a populous and mighty Nation, muſt needs be faln into a ſtrange plight either of effeminacy or confuſion, if *Ireland*, that was once the conqueſt of one ſingle Earl with his private forces, and the ſmall aſſiſtance of a petty Kerniſh Prince, ſhould now take up all the Wiſdom and Proweſs of this potent Monarchy, to quell a barbarous crew of Rebels, whom if we take but the right courſe to ſubdue, that is, beginning at the Reformation of our Church, their own horrid Murders and Rapes will ſo fight againſt them, that the very Sutlers and Horſe-boys of the Camp will be able to rout and chaſe them without the ſtaining of any noble Sword. To proceed by other method in this Enterprize, be our Captains and Commanders never ſo expert, will be as great an Error in the Art of War, as any Novice in Souldierſhip ever committed. And thus I leave it as a declared Truth, that neither the fear of Sects, no nor Rebellion, can be a fit plea to ſtay Reformation, but rather to puſh it forward with all poſſible diligence and ſpeed.

## *The Second* BOOK.

HOW happy were it for this frail, and as it may be truly call'd, mortal Life of Man, ſince all earthly things which have the name of good and convenient in our daily uſe, are withal ſo cumberſome and full of trouble, if Knowledg, yet which is the beſt and lightſomeſt poſſeſſion of the mind, were, as the common ſaying is, no burden; and that what it wanted of being a load to any part of the body, it did not with a heavy advantage overlay upon the Spirit? For not to ſpeak of that Knowledg that reſts in the contemplation of natural Cauſes and Dimenſions, which muſt needs be a lower Wiſdom, as the Object is low, certain it is that he who hath obtain'd in more then the ſcantieſt meaſure to know any thing diſtinctly of God, and of his true Worſhip, and what is infallibly good and happy in the ſtate of man's Life, what in it ſelf evil and miſerable, though vulgarly not ſo eſteem'd; he that hath obtain'd to know this, the only high valuable Wiſdom indeed, remembring alſo that God even to a ſtrictneſs requires the improvement of theſe his entruſted Gifts, cannot but ſuſtain a ſorer burden of mind, and more preſſing then any ſupportable toil or weight which the Body can labour under: how and in what manner he ſhall diſpoſe and employ thoſe ſums of Knowledg and Illumination which God hath ſent him into this world to trade with. And that which aggravats the burden more, is, that having receiv'd amongſt his allotted parcels certain pretious Truths of ſuch an orient luſtre as no Diamond can equal; which nevertheleſs he has in charge to put off at any cheap rate, yea, for nothing to them that will; the great Merchants of this world fearing that this cours would ſoon diſcover, and diſgrace the fals glitter of their deceitful Wares wherewith they abuſe the People, like poor Indians, with Beads and Glaſſes, practize by all means how they may ſuppreſs the venting of ſuch Rarities, and at ſuch a cheapnes as would undo them, and turn their Traſh upon their hands. Therefore by gratifying the corrupt deſires of men in fleſhly Doctrines, they ſtir them up to perſecute with hatred and contempt all thoſe that ſeek to bear themſelves uprightly in this their ſpiritual Factory: which they foreſeeing, though they cannot but teſtify of Truth, and the excellency of that heavenly Traffick which they bring, againſt what oppoſition or danger ſoever, yet needs muſt it ſit heavily upon their Spirits, that being in God's prime Intention and their own, ſelected Heralds of Peace, and diſpenſers of Treaſure ineſtimable, without price to them that have no Pence, they find in the diſcharge of their Commiſſion, that they are made the greateſt Variance and Offence, a very Sword and Fire both in Houſe and City over the whole Earth. This is that which the ſad Profet *Jeremiah* laments, *Wo is me my Mother, that thou haſt born me a man of ſtrife and contention!* And although divine Inſpiration muſt certainly have been ſweet to thoſe ancient Profets, yet the irkſomeneſs of that Truth which they brought was ſo unpleaſant unto them, that every where they call it a Burden. Yea that myſterious Book of *Revelation*, which the great Evangeliſt was bid to eat, as it had been ſome eye-brightning Electuary of Knowledg and Foreſight, though it were ſweet in his Mouth, and in the learning, it was bitter in his belly, bitter in the denouncing. Nor was this hid from the wiſe Poet *Sophocles*, who in that place of his Tragedy, where *Tireſias* is call'd to reſolve K. *Edipus* in a matter which he knew would be grievous, brings him in bemoaning his lot, that he knew more then other men. For ſurely to every good and peaceable Man it muſt in nature needs be a hateful thing to be the diſpleaſer and moleſter of thouſands; much better would it like him doubtleſs to be the Meſſenger of Gladnes and Contentment, which is his chief intended buſineſs to all mankind, but that they reſiſt and oppoſe their own true happineſs. But when God commands to take the Trumpet, and blow a dolorous or a jarring Blaſt, it lies not in man's Will what he ſhall ſay, or what he ſhall conceal. If he ſhall think to be ſilent, as *Jeremiah* did, becauſe of the reproach and deriſion he met with daily, and *all his familiar Friends watcht for his halting*, to be reveng'd on him for ſpeaking the Truth, he would be forc't to confeſs as he confeſt; *his Word was in my heart as a burning fire ſhut up in my bones; I was weary with forbearing, and could not ſtay.* Which might teach theſe times not ſuddenly to condemn all things that are ſharply ſpoken, or vehemently written, as proceeding out of Stomach, Virulence, and ill Nature; but to conſider rather that if the Prelats have leave to ſay the worſt that can be ſaid, and do the worſt that can be done, while they ſtrive to keep to themſelves, to their great pleaſure and commodity, thoſe things which they ought to render up, no man can be juſtly offended with him that ſhall endeavour to impart and beſtow, without any gain to himſelf, thoſe ſharp but ſaving words, which would be a terror and a torment in him to keep back. For me, I have determin'd to lay up as the beſt Treaſure, and ſolace of a good old Age, if God voutſafe it me, the honeſt liberty of free Speech from my Youth, where I ſhall think it available in ſo dear a Concernment as the Churches good. For if I be either by diſpoſition, or what other cauſe, too inquiſitive, or ſuſpicious of my ſelf and mine own doings, who can help it? But this I foreſee, that ſhould the Church be brought under heavy oppreſſion, and God have given me ability the while to reaſon againſt that Man that ſhould be the Author of ſo foul a deed; or ſhould ſhe, by bleſſing from above on the induſtry and courage of faithful Men, change this her diſtracted eſtate into better days, without the leaſt furderance or contribution of thoſe few Talents which God at that preſent had lent me, I foreſee what ſtories I ſhould hear within my ſelf, all my life after, of Diſcourage and Reproach.. Timorous and ingrateful, the Church of God is now again at the foot of her inſulting Enemies, and thou bewailſt; what matters it for thee, or thy bewailing? When time was, thou couldſt not find a ſyllable of all that thou haſt read, or ſtudied, to utter in her behalf. Yet eaſe and leaſure was given thee for thy retired Thoughts, out of the ſweat of other men. Thou hadſt the diligence, the parts, the language of a Man, if a vain Subject were to be adorn'd or beautifi'd; but when the Cauſe of God and his Church was to be pleaded, for which purpoſe that Tongue was given thee which thou haſt, God liſten'd if he could hear thy Voice among his zealous Servants, but thou wert dumb as a beaſt; from hence forward be that which thine own brutiſh ſilence hath made thee. Or elſe I ſhould have heard on the other ear; Slothful, and ever to be ſet light by, the Church hath now overcom her late Diſtreſſes after the unwearied labours of many her true Servants that ſtood up in her defence; thou alſo wouldſt take upon thee to ſhare amongſt them of their joy: But wherefore thou? where canſt thou ſhew any Word or Deed of thine which might have haſten'd her peace? whatever thou doſt now talk, or write, or look, is the Alms of other mens active prudence and zeal. Dare not now to ſay, or do any thing better then thy former ſloth and infancy; or if thou darſt, thou doſt impudently to make a thrifty purchaſe of boldneſs to thy ſelf, out of the painful Merits of other men: what before was thy Sin, is now thy Duty, to be abject and worthleſs. Theſe, and ſuch like leſſons as theſe, I know would have been my Matins daily, and my Even-ſong. But now by this litle diligence, mark what a privilege I have gain'd with good Men and Saints, to claim my right of lamenting the tribulations of the Church, if ſhe ſhould ſuffer, when others that have ventur'd nothing for her ſake, have not the honour to be admitted Mourners. But if ſhe lift up her drooping head and proſper, among thoſe that have ſomething more then wiſht her welfare, I have my charter and freehold of rejoycing to me and my Heirs. Concerning therefore this wayward Subject againſt Prelaty, the touching whereof is ſo diſtaſtful and diſquietous to a number of men, as by what hath been ſaid I may deſerve of charitable Readers to be credited, that neither Envy nor Gall hath enterd me upon this Controverſy, but the enforcement of Conſcience only, and a preventive fear leſt the omitting of this Duty ſhould be againſt me when I would ſtore up to my ſelf the good proviſion of peaceful hours: So leſt it ſhould be ſtill imputed to me, as I have found it hath been, that ſome ſelf-pleaſing humor of vain-glory hath incited me to conteſt with Men of high eſtimation, now while green years are upon my head, from this needleſs ſurmiſal I ſhall hope to diſſwade the intelligent and equal Auditor, if I can but ſay ſuccesfully that which in this Exigent behoovs me, although I would be heard only, if it might be, by the elegant and learned Reader, to whom principally for a while I ſhall beg leave I may addreſs my ſelf. To him it will be no new thing, though I tell him that if I hunted after praiſe, by the oſtentation of Wit and Learning, I ſhould not write thus out of mine own ſeaſon, when I have neither yet compleated to my mind the full Circle of my private ſtudies, although I complain not of any inſufficiency to the matter in hand; or were I ready to my wiſhes, it were a folly to commit any thing elaborately compos'd to the careleſs and interrupted liſtening of theſe tumultuous times. Next, if I were wiſe only to my own ends, I would certainly take ſuch a Subject as of it ſelf might catch applauſe, whereas this hath all the Diſadvantages on the contrary, and ſuch a Subject as the publiſhing whereof might be delay'd at pleaſure, and time enough to pencil it over with all the curious touches of Art, even to the perfection of a faultleſs Picture; whenas in this Argument the not deferring is of great moment to the good ſpeeding, that if Solidity have leiſure to do her office, Art cannot have much. Laſtly, I ſhould not chuſe this manner of writing, wherein knowing my ſelf inferior to my ſelf, led by the genial Power of Nature to another Task, I have the uſe, as I may account it, but of my left hand. And though I ſhall be fooliſh in ſaying more to this purpoſe, yet ſince it will be ſuch a folly, as wiſeſt Men going about to commit, have only confeſt and ſo committed, I may truſt with more reaſon, becauſe with more folly, to have courteous pardon. For although a Poet, ſoaring in the high Region of his Fancies, with his Garland and ſinging Robes about him, might, without Apology, ſpeak more of himſelf then I mean to do; yet for me ſitting here below in the cool Element of Proſe, a mortal thing among many Readers of no Empyreal Conceit, to venture and divulge unuſual things of my ſelf, I ſhall petition to the gentler ſort, it may not be envy to me. I muſt ſay therefore, that after I had from my firſt years, by the ceaſeleſs diligence and care of my Father, whom God recompence, been exercis'd to the Tongues, and ſome Sciences, as my Age would ſuffer, by ſundry Maſters and Teachers both at home and at the Schools, it was found, that whether ought was impos'd me by them that had the overlooking, or betak'n to of mine own choiſe in Engliſh, or other Tongue, proſing or verſing, but chiefly this latter, the ſtile by certain vital Signs it had, was likely to live. But much latelier in the privat Academies of *Italy*, whither I was favor'd to reſort, perceiving that ſome Trifles which I had in memory, compos'd at under twenty or thereabout (for the manner is, that every one muſt give ſome proof of his wit and reading there) met with acceptance above what was lookt for, and other things which I had ſhifted in ſcarſity of Books and Conveniences to patch up amongſt them, were receiv'd with written Encomiums, which the Italian is not forward to beſtow on men of this ſide the *Alps*, I began thus far to aſſent both to them and divers of my Friends here at home; and not leſs to an inward prompting which now grew daily upon me, that by labour and intent ſtudy, (which I take to be my portion in this Life) joyn'd with the ſtrong propenſity of Nature, I might perhaps leave ſomething ſo written to after-times, as they ſhould not willingly let it die. Theſe thoughts at once poſſeſt me, and theſe other; That if I were certain to write as men buy Leaſes, for three Lives and downward, there ought no regard be ſooner had then to God's Glory, by the honour and inſtruction of my Country. For which cauſe, and not only for that I knew it would be hard to arrive at the ſecond Rank among the Latines, I apply'd my ſelf to that Reſolution which *Arioſto* follow'd againſt the perſwaſions of *Bembo*, to fix all the Induſtry and Art I could unite to the adorning of my native Tongue; not to make verbal Curioſities the end, that were a toylſom Vanity, but to be an Interpreter and Relater of the beſt and ſageſt things among mine own Citizens throughout this Iland in the mother dialect. That what the greateſt and choiceſt Wits of *Athens*, *Rome*, or modern *Italy*, and thoſe Hebrews of old did for their Country, I in my proportion, with this over and above, of being a Chriſtian, might do for mine; not caring to be once nam'd abroad, though perhaps I could attain to that, but content with theſe Britiſh Ilands as my World, whoſe Fortune hath hitherto bin, that if the Athenians, as ſome ſay, made their ſmall Deeds great and renowned by their eloquent writers, *England* hath had her noble Atchievements made ſmall by the unskilful handling of Monks and Mechanicks.

Time ſerves not now, and perhaps I might ſeem too profuſe to give any certain account of what the mind at home, in the ſpacious circuits of her muſing, hath liberty to propoſe to her ſelf, though of higheſt hope, and hardeſt attempting, whether that Epick form whereof the two Poems of *Homer*, and thoſe other two of *Virgil* and *Taſſo* are a diffuſe, and the Book of *Job* a brief Model: or whether the rules of *Ariſtotle* herein are ſtrictly to be kept, or Nature to be follow'd, which in them that know Art, and uſe Judgment, is no tranſgreſſion, but an inriching of Art. And laſtly, what King or Knight before the Conqueſt might be choſen in whom to lay the pattern of a Chriſtian *Hero*. And as *Taſſo* gave to a Prince of *Italy* his chois, whether he would command him to write of *Godfreys* expedition againſt the Infidels, or *Beliſarius* againſt the Gothes, or *Charlemain* againſt the Lombards; if to the inſtinct of Nature and the imboldning of Art ought may be truſted, and that there be nothing advers in our Climat, or the fate of this Age, it haply would be no raſhneſs from an equal diligence and inclination, to preſent the like offer in our own ancient Stories. Or whether thoſe Dramatick Conſtitutions, wherein *Sophocles* and *Euripides* raign, ſhall be found more doctrinal and exemplary to a Nation. The Scripture alſo affords us a Divine paſtoral Drama in the Song of *Salomon*, conſiſting of two Perſons, and a double *Chorus*, as *Origen* rightly judges. And the Apocalyps of Saint *John* is the majeſtick Image of a high and ſtately Tragedy, ſhutting up and intermingling her ſolemn Scenes and Acts with a ſevenfold *Chorus* of Halleluja's and harping Symphonies: and this my opinion the grave autority of *Pareus*, commenting that Book, is ſufficient to confirm. Or if occaſion ſhall lead, to imitat thoſe magnifick Odes and Hymns wherein *Pindarus* and *Callimachus* are in moſt things worthy, ſome others in their frame judicious, in their matter moſt an end faulty. But thoſe frequent Songs throughout the Law and Prophets beyond all theſe, not in their divine Argument alone, but in the very critical Art of Compoſition, may be eaſily made appear over all the kinds of Lyrick Poeſy, to be incomparable. Theſe abilities, whereſoever they be found, are the inſpired gift of God rarely beſtow'd, but yet to ſome (though moſt abuſe) in every Nation: and are of power, beſide the Office of a Pulpit, to inbreed and cheriſh in a great People the ſeeds of Vertu, and publick Civility, to allay the perturbations of the Mind, and ſet the affections in right tune; to celebrate in glorious and lofty Hymns the Throne and Equipage of Gods Almightineſs, and what he works, and what he ſuffers to be wrought with high Providence in his Church; to ſing victorious Agonies of Martyrs and Saints, the Deeds and Triumphs of juſt and pious Nations, doing valiantly through Faith againſt the enemies of Chriſt; to deplore the general relapſes of Kingdoms and States from juſtice and Gods true worſhip. Laſtly, whatſoever in Religion is holy and ſublime, in Vertu amiable or grave, whatſoever hath Paſſion or Admiration in all the changes of that which is call'd Fortune from without, or the wily ſuttleties and refluxes of mans thoughts from within; all theſe things with a ſolid and treatable ſmoothneſs to paint out and deſcribe. Teaching over the whole Book of Sanctity and Vertu, through all the inſtances of Example, with ſuch delight to thoſe, eſpecially of ſoft and delicious Temper, who will not ſo much as look upon Truth her ſelf, unleſs they ſee her elegantly dreſt;

that whereas the Paths of honeſty and good Life appear now rugged and difficult, though they be indeed eaſy and pleaſant, they would then appear to all men both eaſy and pleaſant, though they were rugged and difficult indeed. And what a benefit this would be to our Youth and Gentry, may be ſoon gueſt by what we know of the Corruption and Bane which they ſuck in daily from the writings and interludes of libidinous and ignorant Poetaſters, who having ſcars ever heard of that which is the main conſiſtence of a true Poem, the choys of ſuch Perſons as they ought to introduce, and what is moral and decent to each one, do for the moſt part lap up vitious Principles in ſweet Pils to be ſwallow'd down, and make the taſt of vertuous Documents harſh and ſowr. But becauſe the Spirit of man cannot demean it ſelf lively in this Body without ſome recreating intermiſſion of Labour, and ſerious things, it were happy for the Commonwealth, if our Magiſtrates, as in thoſe famous Governments of old, would take into their care, not only the deciding of our contentious Law-Caſes and Brauls, but the managing of our publick Sports, and feſtival Paſtimes, that they might be, not ſuch as were autoriz'd a while ſince, the provocations of Drunkenneſs and Luſt, but ſuch as may inure and harden our Bodies by Martial exerciſes to all warlike skil and performance; and may civilize, adorn, and make diſcreet our Minds by the learned and affable meeting of frequent Academies, and the procurement of wiſe and artful recitations, ſweetned with eloquent and graceful inticements to the love and practice of Juſtice, Temperance and Fortitude, inſtructing and bettering the Nation at all opportunities, that the call of Wiſdom and Vertu may be heard every where, as *Solomon* ſaith, *She crieth without, ſhe uttereth her voice in the Streets, in the top of high places, in the chief concours, and in the openings of the Gates:* Whether this may not be not only in Pulpits, but after another perſwaſive method, at ſet and ſolemn Paneguries, in Theaters, Porches, or what other place or way, may win moſt upon the People to receive at once both Recreation, and Inſtruction; let them in authority conſult. The thing which I had to ſay, and thoſe Intentions which have liv'd within me ever ſince I could conceive my ſelf any thing worth to my Country, I return to crave excuſe that urgent Reaſon hath pluckt from me, by an abortive and foredated diſcovery. And the accompliſhment of them lies not but in a power above mans to promiſe; but that none hath by more ſtudious ways endeavour'd, and with more unwearied Spirit that none ſhall, that I dare almoſt aver of my ſelf, as far as life and free leaſure will extend; and that the Land had once infranchis'd her ſelf from this impertinent yoke of Prelaty, under whoſe inquiſitorius and tyrannical duncery, no free and ſplendid Wit can flouriſh. Neither do I think it ſhame to covenant with any knowing Reader, that for ſome few years yet I may go on truſt with him toward the payment of what I am now indebted, as being a work not to be rais'd from the heat of Youth, or the vapours of Wine; like that which flows at waſt from the Pen of ſome vulgar Amoriſt, or the trencher fury of a riming Paraſite; nor to be obtain'd by the invocation of Dame Memory and her Siren Daughters, but by devout Prayer to that eternal Spirit, who can enrich with all utterance and knowledg, and ſends out his Seraphim, with the hallow'd Fire of his Altar, to touch and purify the Lips of whom he pleaſes: to this muſt be added induſtrious and ſelect Reading, ſteddy Obſervation, inſight into all ſeemly and generous Arts and Affairs; till which in ſome meaſure be compaſt, at mine one peril and coſt, I refuſe not to ſuſtain this expectation from as many as are not loth to hazard ſo much credulity upon the beſt Pledges that I can give them. Although it nothing content me to have diſclos'd thus much before hand, but that I truſt hereby to make it manifeſt with what ſmall willingneſs I endure to interrupt the purſuit of no leſs hopes then theſe, and leave a calm and pleaſing Solitarines, fed with cherful and confident thoughts, to imbark in a troubl'd Sea of noiſes and hoars Diſputes, from beholding the bright countenance of Truth, in the quiet and ſtill Air of delightful Studies, to come into the dim reflection of hollow Antiquities ſold by the ſeeming bulk, and there be fain to club quotations with men whoſe learning and belief lies in marginal ſtuffings; who when they have, like good ſumpters, laid ye down their horſ-load of Citations and Fathers at your door, with a Rapſody of who and who were Biſhops here or there, ye may take off their Packſaddles, their days work is don, and Epiſcopacy, as they think, ſtoutly vindicated. Let any gentle Apprehenſion that can diſtinguiſh learned Pains from unlearned Drudgery, imagin what pleaſure or profoundneſs can be in this, or what honour to deal againſt ſuch Adverſaries. But were it the meaneſt under-ſervice, if God by his ſecretary Conſcience injoin it, it were ſad for me if I ſhould draw back, for me eſpecially; now when all men offer their aid to help, eaſe and lighten the difficult labours of the Church, to whoſe ſervice, by the intentions of my Parents and Friends, I was deſtin'd of a Child, and in mine own reſolutions, till coming to ſome maturity of years, and perceiving what Tyranny had invaded the Church, that he who would take Orders muſt ſubſcribe ſlave, and take an Oath withal; which unleſs he took with a Conſcience that would retch, he muſt either ſtrait perjure, or ſplit his Faith; I thought it better to prefer a blameleſs ſilence before the ſacred Office of ſpeaking, bought and begun with ſervitude and forſwearing. Howſoever thus Church-outed by the Prelats, hence may appear the right I have to meddle in theſe matters, as before the neceſſity and conſtraint appear'd.

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## CHAP. I.

### *That* Prelaty *oppoſeth the reaſon and end of the Goſpel three ways, and firſt in her outward Form.*

AFter this digreſſion, it would remain that I ſhould ſingle out ſome other reaſon which might undertake for Prelaty to be a fit and lawful Church-Government; but finding none of like validity with theſe that have alredy ſped according to their fortune, I ſhall add one reaſon why it is not to be thought a Church-Government at all, but a Church-Tyranny, and is at hoſtile Terms with the end and reaſon of Chriſts Evangelick Miniſtry. Albeit I muſt confeſs to be half in doubt whether I ſhould bring it forth or no, it being ſo contrary to the eye of the World, and the World ſo potent in moſt mens Hearts, that I ſhall endanger either not to be regarded, or not to be underſtood: For who is there almoſt that meaſures Wiſdom by ſimplicity, Strength by ſuffering, Dignity by lowlineſs? who is there that counts it firſt to be laſt, ſomthing to be nothing, and reckons himſelf of great command in that he is a Servant? Yet God when he meant to ſubdue the World and Hell at once, part of that to Salvation, and this wholy to Perdition, made chois of no other Weapons, or Auxiliaries then theſe, whether to ſave or to deſtroy. It had been a ſmall Maiſtery for him to have drawn out his Legions into array, and flankt them with his Thunder; therefore he ſent Fooliſhneſs to confute Wiſdom, Weakneſs to bind Strength, Deſpiſedneſs to vanquiſh Pride: And this is the great myſtery of the Goſpel made good in Chriſt himſelf, who as he teſtifies came not to be miniſter'd to, but to miniſter; and muſt be fulfil'd in all his Miniſters till his ſecond coming. To go againſt theſe principles St. *Paul* ſo fear'd, that if he ſhould but affect the Wiſdom of words in his preaching, he thought it would be laid to his charge, that he had made the Croſs of Chriſt to be of none effect. Whether then Prelaty do not make of none effect the Croſs of Chriſt, by the principles it hath ſo contrary to theſe, nullifying the power and end of the Goſpel, it ſhall not want due proof, if it want not due belief. Neither ſhall I ſtand to trifle with one that will tell me of Quiddities and Formalities, whether Prelaty or Prelateity in abſtract notion be this or that; it ſuffices me that I find it in his Skin, ſo I find it inſeparable, or not oftner otherwiſe then a Phenix hath bin ſeen: although I perſwade me that whatever faultines was but ſuperficial to Prelaty at the beginning, is now by the juſt Judgment of God, long ſince branded and inworn into the very eſſence thereof. Firſt therefore, if to do the work of the Goſpel, Chriſt our Lord took upon him the form of a Servant; how can his Servant in this Miniſtry take upon him the form of a Lord? I know *Bilſon* hath decipher'd us all the galanteries of *Signore* and *Monſignore*, and *Monſieur*, as circumſtantially as any punctualiſt of *Caſteel*, *Naples*, or *Fountain-Bleau* could have done: but this muſt not ſo complement us out of our right minds, as to be to learn that the form of a Servant was a mean, laborious, and vulgar Life apteſt to teach; which form Chriſt thought fitteſt, that he might bring about his Will according to his own Principles, chooſing the meaner things of this World, that he might put under the high. Now whether the pompous Garb, the lordly Life, the Wealth, the haughty diſtance of Prelaty be thoſe meaner things of the World, whereby God in them would manage the myſtery of his Goſpel, be it the verdit of common ſenſe. For Chriſt ſaith in St. *John*, *The Servant is not greater then his Lord, nor he that is ſent greater then he that ſent him*; and adds, *If ye know theſe things, happy are ye if ye do them.* Then let the Prelats well adviſe, if they neither know, nor do theſe things, or if they know, and yet do them not, wherein their Happineſs conſiſts. And thus is the Goſpel fruſtrated by the Lordly form of Prelaty.

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## CHAP. II.

### *That the ceremonius doctrin of Prelaty oppoſeth the reaſon and end of the Goſpel.*

THAT which next declares the heavenly Power, and reveals the deep myſtery of the Goſpel, is the pure ſimplicity of Doctrine, accounted the fooliſhneſs of this World, yet croſſing and confounding the Pride and Wiſdom of the Fleſh. And wherein conſiſts this fleſhly Wiſdom and Pride? in being altogether ignorant of God and his Worſhip? No ſurely, for Men are naturally aſham'd of that. Where then? It conſiſts in a bold preſumption of ordering the Worſhip and Service of God after mans own Will in Traditions and Ceremonies. Now if the Pride and Wiſdom of the Fleſh were to be defeated and confounded, no doubt but in that very point wherein it was proudeſt, and thought it ſelf wiſeſt, that ſo the victory of the Goſpel might be the more illuſtrious. But our Prelats, inſtead of expreſſing the ſpiritual Power of their Miniſtry, by warring againſt this chief bulwark and ſtrong hold of the Fleſh, have enter'd into faſt League with the principal Enemy againſt whom they were ſent, and turn'd the ſtrength of fleſhly Pride and Wiſdom againſt the pure ſimplicity of ſaving Truth. Firſt, miſtruſting to find the Autority of their Order in the immediat Inſtitution of Chriſt, or his Apoſtles, by the clear evidence of Scripture, they fly to the carnal ſupportment of Tradition; when we appeal to the Bible, they to the unweildy Volumes of Tradition: And do not ſhame to reject the Ordinance of him that is eternal, for the pervers iniquity of ſixteen hundred Years; chooſing rather to think Truth it ſelf a Liar, then that ſixteen Ages ſhould be taxt with an error; not conſidering the general Apoſtaſy that was foretold, and the Churches flight into the Wildernes. Nor is this anough; inſtead of ſhewing the reaſon of their lowly Condition from divine example and command, they ſeek to prove their high pre-eminence from human Conſent and Authority. But let them chaunt while they will of Prerogatives, we ſhall tell them of Scripture; of Cuſtom, we of Scripture; of Acts and Statutes, ſtill of Scripture; till the quick and pearcing Word enter to the dividing of their Souls, and the mighty weaknes of the Goſpel throw down the weak mightines of mans reaſoning. Now for their demeanor within the Church, how have they disfigur'd and defac't that, more then angelick brightneſs, the unclouded ſerenity of Chriſtian Religion, with the dark overcaſting of ſuperſtitious Coaps and flaminical Veſtures, wearing on their Backs, and I abhor to think, perhaps in ſome worſe Place, the unexpreſſible Image of God the Father? Tell me ye Prieſts, wherefore this Gold, wherefore theſe Robes and Surplices over the Goſpel? Is our Religion guilty of the firſt Treſpaſs, and hath need of cloathing to cover her Nakedneſs? What does this elſe but caſt an ignominy upon the perfection of Chriſts miniſtry, by ſeeking to adorn it with that which was the poor remedy of our Shame? Believe it, wondrous Doctors, all corporeal reſemblances of inward Holineſs and Beauty are now paſt; he that will cloath the Goſpel now, intimates plainly, that the Goſpel is naked, uncomely, that I may not ſay reproachful. Do not, ye Church-maſkers, while Chriſt is clothing upon our Barenes with his righteous Garment, to make us acceptable in his Fathers ſight; do not, as ye do, cover and hide his righteous verity with the polluted clothing of your Ceremonies, to make it ſeem more decent in your own eyes. *How beautiful*, ſaith *Iſaiah*, *are the Feet of him that bringeth good tidings, that publiſheth Salvation!* Are the feet ſo beautiful, and is the very bringing of theſe tidings ſo decent of it ſelf? What new Decency then can be added to this by your ſpinſtry? Ye think by theſe gaudy gliſterings to ſtir up the devotion of the rude Multitude; ye think ſo, becauſe ye forſake the heavenly teaching of S. *Paul* for the helliſh Sophiſtry of Papiſm. If the Multitude be rude, the lips of the Preacher muſt give Knowledg, and not Ceremonies. And although ſome Chriſtians be new born Babes comparatively to ſome that are ſtronger, yet in reſpect of Ceremony, which is but the rudiment of the Law, the weakeſt Chriſtian hath thrown off the robes of his Minority, and is a perfect man, as to legal Rites. What childrens food there is in the Goſpel we know to be no other than the *ſincerity of the Word, that they may grow thereby.* But is here the utmoſt of your outbraving the ſervice of God? No. Ye have bin bold, not to ſet your threſhold by his threſhold, or your poſts by his poſts, but your Sacrament, your Sign, call it what you will, by his Sacrament, baptizing the Chriſtian Infant with a ſolemn ſprinkle, and unbaptizing for your own part with a profane and impious forefinger: as if when ye had laid the purifying element upon his Forehead, ye meant to cancel and croſs it out again with a caracter not of Gods bidding. O but the innocence of theſe Ceremonies! O rather the ſottiſh abſurdity of this excuſe! What could be more innocent than the waſhing of a cup, a glaſs, or hands before meat, and that under the Law when ſo many Waſhings were commanded, and by long tradition? yet our Saviour deteſted their Cuſtoms, though never ſo ſeeming harmleſs, and charges them ſeverely that they had tranſgreſt the Commandments of God by their traditions, and worſhipt him in vain. How much more then muſt theſe, and much groſſer Ceremonies now in force delude the end of Chriſt's coming in the fleſh againſt the fleſh, and ſtifle the ſincerity of our new Cov'nant, which hath bound us to forſake all carnal Pride and Wiſdom, eſpecially in matters of Religion? Thus we ſee again how Prelaty, ſailing in oppoſition to the main end and power of the Goſpel, doth not join in that miſterious Work of Chriſt, by lowlineſs to confound height, by ſimplicity of doctrin the wiſdom of the world, but contrariwiſe hath made it ſelf high in the world and the fleſh, to vanquiſh things by the world accounted low, and made it ſelf wiſe in tradition and fleſhly ceremony, to confound the purity of doctrin which is the Wiſdom of God.

## CHAP. III.

### *That Prelatical Juriſdiction oppoſeth the reaſon and end of the Goſpel and of State.*

THe third and laſt Conſideration remains, whether the Prelats in their function do work according to the Goſpel, practizing to ſubdue the mighty things of this world by things weak, which S. *Paul* hath ſet forth to be the power and excellence of the Goſpel; or whether in more likelihood they band themſelves with the prevalent things of this world, to over-run the weak things which Chriſt hath made choice to work by; and this will ſooneſt be diſcern'd by the cours of their Juriſdiction. But here again I find my thoughts almoſt in ſuſpenſe betwixt yea and no, and am nigh turning mine eye which way I may beſt retire, and not proceed in this ſubject, blaming the ardency of my mind that fixt me too attentively to come thus far. For Truth, I know not how, hath this unhappineſs fatal to her, ere ſhe can come to the trial and inſpection of the Underſtanding; being to paſs through many little wards and limits of the ſeveral Affections and Deſires, ſhe cannot ſhift it, but muſt put on ſuch colours and attire, as thoſe pathetical handmaids of the Soul pleaſe to lead her in to their Qneen: And if ſhe find ſo much favour with them, they let her paſs in her own likeneſs; if not, they bring her into the preſence habited and colour'd like a notorious falſhood. And contrary when any Falſhood comes that way, if they like the errand ſhe brings, they are ſo artful to counterfeit the very ſhape and viſage of Truth, that the Underſtanding not being able to diſcern the fucus which theſe Inchantreſſes with ſuch cunning have laid upon the feature ſometimes of Truth, ſometimes of Falſhood interchangeably, ſentences for the moſt part one for the other at the firſt bluſh, according to the ſuttle impoſture of theſe ſenſual miſtreſſes that keep the ports and paſſages between her and the object. So that were it not for leaving imperfect that which is already ſaid, I ſhould go near to relinquiſh that which is to follow. And becauſe I ſee that moſt Men, as it happens in this world, either weakly or falſly principl'd, what through ignorance, and what through cuſtom of licence, both in diſcours and writing, by what hath bin of late written in vulgar, have not ſeem'd to attain the deciſion of this point, I ſhall likewiſe aſſay thoſe wily Arbitreſſes who in moſt men have, as was heard, the ſole uſhering of Truth and Falſhood between the ſenſe and the ſoul, with what loyalty they will uſe me in convoying this Truth to my underſtanding; the rather for that by as much acquaintance as I can obtain with them, I do not find them engag'd either one way or other. Concerning therefore Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, I find ſtill more controverſie, who ſhould adminiſter it; then diligent enquiry made to learn what it is, for had the pains bin taken to ſearch out that, it had bin long ago enroul'd to be nothing elſe but a pure tyrannical forgery of the Prelats; and that juriſdictive power in the Church there ought to be none at all. It cannot be conceiv'd that what men now call Juriſdiction in the Church, ſhould be other thing then a Chriſtian Cenſorſhip; and therefore is it moſt commonly and truly nam'd Eccleſiaſtical Cenſure. Now if the Roman Cenſor, a civil function, to that ſevere aſſize of ſurvaying and controuling the privateſt and ſlieſt manners of all men and all degrees, had no Juriſdiction, no courts of Plea, or Inditement, no punitive force annext; whether it were that to this manner of correction the intanglement of ſuits was improper, or that the notice of thoſe upright Inquiſitors extended to ſuch the moſt covert and ſpiritous vices as would ſlip eaſily between the wider and more material graſp of the Law; or that it ſtood more with the Majeſty of that Office to have no other Serjeants or Maces about them but thoſe inviſible ones of Terror and Shame: Or laſtly, were it their fear, leſt the greatneſs of this Autority and Honour, arm'd with Juriſdiction, might ſtep with eaſe into a Tyranny: In all theſe reſpects, with much more reaſon undoubtedly, ought the cenſure of the Church be quite deveſted and diſintal'd of all Juriſdiction whatſoever. For if the cours of Judicature to a political Cenſorſhip ſeem either too tedious, or too contentious, much more may it to the diſcipline of the Church, whoſe definitive decrees are to be ſpeedy, but the execution of rigour ſlow, contrary to what in legal proceedings is moſt uſual; and by how much the leſs contentious it is, by ſo much will it be the more Chriſtian. And if the Cenſor in his moral Epiſcopy, being to judg moſt in matters not anſwerable by writ or action, could not uſe an inſtrument ſo groſs and bodily as Juriſdiction is, how can the Miniſter of the Goſpel manage the corpulent and ſecular trial of Bill and Proceſs in things meerly ſpiritual? Or could that Roman Office, without this juridical Sword or Saw, ſtrike ſuch a reverence of it ſelf into the moſt undaunted hearts, as with one ſingle daſh of ignominy to put all the Senate and Knighthood of *Rome* into a tremble? ſurely much rather might the heavenly Miniſtery of the Evangel bind her ſelf about with far more pearcing beams of Majeſty and awe, by wanting the beggarly help of halings and amercements in the uſe of her powerful Keies. For when the Church without temporal ſupport is able to do her great works upon the unforc't obedience of men, it argues a Divinity about her. But when ſhe thinks to credit and better her ſpiritual efficacy, and to win her ſelf reſpect and dread by ſtrutting in the falſe viſard of worldly autority, 'tis evident that God is not there, but that her apoſtolick vertu is departed from her, and hath left her *Key-cold:* Which ſhe perceaving as in a decay'd nature, ſeeks to the outward fomentations and chaſings of worldly help, and external flouriſhes, to fetch, if it be poſſible, ſome motion into her extream parts, or to hatch a counterfeit life with the crafty and arteficial heat of Juriſdiction. But it is obſervable, that ſo long as the Church, in true imitation of Chriſt, can be content to ride upon an Aſs, carrying her ſelf and her Government along in a mean and ſimple guiſe, ſhe may be, as he is, a Lion of the tribe of *Juda*; and in her humility all men with loud Hoſanna's will confeſs her Greatneſs. But when deſpiſing the mighty operation of the Spirit by the weak things of this world, ſhe thinks to make her ſelf bigger and more conſiderable, by uſing the way of civil force and juriſdiction, as ſhe ſits upon this Lion ſhe changes into an Aſs, and inſtead of Hoſanna's every man pelts her with ſtones and dirt. Laſtly, if the wiſdom of the Romans fear'd to commit Juriſdiction to an Office of ſo high eſteem and dred as was the Cenſors, we may ſee what a ſoleciſm in the art of policy it hath bin all this while through Chriſtendom to give juriſdiction to Eccleſiaſtical Cenſure. For that ſtrength, joyn'd with Religion, abus'd and pretended to ambitious ends, muſt of neceſſity breed the heavieſt and moſt quelling Tyranny not only upon the necks, but even to the ſouls of men: which if Chriſtian *Rome* had bin ſo cautelous to prevent in her Church, as Pagan *Rome* was in her State, we had not had ſuch a lamentable experience thereof as now we have from thence upon all Chriſtendom. For although I ſaid before, that the Church coveting to ride upon the lionly form of Juriſdiction, makes a transformation of her ſelf into an Aſs, and becomes deſpicable, that is to thoſe whom God hath enlight'nd with true knowledg; but where they remain yet in the reliques of Superſtition, this is the extremity of their bondage, and blindneſs, that while they think they do obeiſance to the Lordly viſage of a Lion, they do it to an Aſs, that through the juſt Judgment of God is permitted to play the dragon among them becauſe of their wilful ſtupidity. And let *England* here well rub her eyes, leſt by leaving Juriſdiction and Church-Cenſure to the ſame perſons, now that God hath bin ſo long medicining her eye-ſight, ſhe do not with her overpolitick fetches mar all, and bring her ſelf back again to worſhip this Aſs beſtriding a Lion. Having hitherto explain'd, that to Eccleſiaſtical Cenſure no juriſdictive power can be added, without a childiſh and dangerous overſight in Policy, and a pernicious contradiction in evangelick Diſcipline, as anon more fully; it will be next to declare wherein the true reaſon and force of Church-Cenſure conſiſts, which by then it ſhall be laid open to the root; ſo little is it that I fear leſt any crookedneſs, any wrincle or ſpot ſhould be found in Presbyterial Government, that if *Bodin* the famous French Writer, though a Papiſt, yet affirms that the Commonwealth which maintains this Diſcipline will certainly flouriſh in Vertu and Piety, I dare aſſure my ſelf that every true Proteſtant will admire the Integrity, the Uprightneſs, the divine and gracious Purpoſes thereof, and even for the reaſon of it ſo coherent with the doctrin of the Goſpel, beſide the evidence of command in Scripture, will confeſs it to be the only true Church-government; and that contrary to the whole end and myſtery of Chriſt's coming in the fleſh, a falſe appearance of the ſame is exercis'd by Prelaty. But becauſe ſome count it rigorous, and that hereby men ſhall be liable to a double Puniſhment, I will begin ſomewhat higher, and ſpeak of Puniſhment. Which, as it is an evil, I eſteem to be of two ſorts, or rather two degrees only, a reprobate Conſcience in this life, and Hell in the other world. Whatever elſe men call Puniſhment or Cenſure, is not properly an Evil, ſo it be not an illegal violence, but a ſaving med'cin ordain'd of God both for the publick and privat good of Man; who conſiſting of two parts, the inward and the outward, was by the eternal Providence left under two ſorts of cure, the Church and the Magiſtrat. The Magiſtrat hath only to deal with the outward part, I mean not of the Body alone, but of the Mind in all her outward acts, which in Scripture is call'd the outward man. So that it would be helpful to us if we might borrow ſuch Authority as the Rhetoricians by patent may give us, with a kind of Promethean skill to ſhape and faſhion this outward Man into the ſimilitude of a Body, and ſet him viſible before us;

imagining the inner Man only as the Soul. Thus then the Civil Magiſtrat looking only upon the outward Man, (I ſay as a Magiſtrat, for what he doth further, he doth it as a Member of the Church) if he find in his complexion, skin, or outward temperature the Signs and Marks, or in his doings the Effects of Injuſtice, Rapine, Luſt, Cruelty, or the like, ſometimes he ſhuts up as in frenetick or infectious Diſeaſes; or confines within dores, as in every ſickly eſtate. Sometimes he ſhaves by Penalty or Mulct, or els to cool and take down thoſe luxuriant Humors which Wealth and Exceſs have caus'd to abound. Otherwhiles he ſeres, he cauterizes, he ſcarifi's, lets blood; and finally, for utmoſt remedy cuts off. The Patients, which moſt an end are brought into his Hoſpital, are ſuch as are far gone, and beſide themſelves, (unleſs they be falſly accus'd) ſo that Force is neceſſary to tame and quiet them in their unruly fits, before they can be made capable of a more human cure. His general End is the outward Peace and Welfare of the Commonwealth, and civil Happineſs in this Life. His particular End in every Man is, by the infliction of pain, damage, and diſgrace, that the Senſes and common perceivance might carry this Meſſage to the Soul within, that it is neither eaſeful, profitable, nor praiſ-worthy in this Life to do evil. Which muſt needs tend to the good of Man, whether he be to live or die; and be undoubtedly the firſt means to a natural Man, eſpecially an Offender, which might open his eyes to a higher conſideration of Good and Evil, as it is taught in Religion. This is ſeen in the often penitence of thoſe that ſuffer, who, had they ſcapt, had gon on ſinning to an immeſurable heap, which is one of the extreameſt puniſhments. And this is all that the Civil Magiſtrat, as ſo being, confers to the healing of Man's mind, working only by terrifying Plaiſters upon the rind and orifice of the Sore; and by all outward appliances, as the Logicians ſay, *a poſteriori*, at the Effect, and not from the Cauſe; not once touching the inward bed of Corruption, and that hectick diſpoſition to evil, the ſource of all Vice and Obliquity againſt the Rule of Law. Which how inſufficient it is to cure the Soul of Man, we cannot better gueſs then by the Art of bodily Phyſick. Therefore God, to the intent of further healing man's deprav'd Mind, to this Power of the Magiſtrat, which contents it ſelf with the reſtraint of evil doing in the external Man, added that which we call Cenſure, to purge it and remove it clean out of the inmoſt Soul. In the beginning this Autority ſeems to have bin plac't, as all both civil and religious Rites once were, only in each Father of a Family: Afterwards among the Heathen, in the wiſe Men and Philoſophers of the Age; but ſo as it was a thing voluntary, and no ſet Government. More diſtinctly among the Jews, as being God's peculiar, where the Prieſts, Levites, Profets, and at laſt the Scribes and Phariſees took charge of inſtructing and overſeeing the Lives of the People. But in the Goſpel, which is the ſtraiteſt and the deareſt Cov'nant can be made between God and Man, we being now his adopted Sons, and nothing fitter for us to think on then to be like him, united to him, and as he pleaſes to expreſs it, to have fellowſhip with him, it is all neceſſity that we ſhould expect this bleſt Efficacy of healing our inward Man to be miniſtr'd to us in a more familiar and effectual Method then ever before. God being now no more a Judg after the Sentence of the Law, nor, as it were, a Schoolmaſter of periſhable Rites, but a moſt indulgent Father, governing his Church as a Family of Sons in their diſcreet Age: and therefore in the ſweeteſt and mildeſt manner of paternal Diſcipline, he hath committed this other Office of preſerving in healthful conſtitution the inner Man, which may be term'd the Spirit of the Soul, to his ſpiritual Deputy the Miniſter of each Congregation; who being beſt acquainted with his own Flock, hath beſt reaſon to know all the ſecreteſt Diſeaſes likely to be there. And look by how much the internal Man is more excellent and noble then the external, by ſo much is his Cure more exactly, more throughly, and more particularly to be perform'd. For which cauſe the Holy Ghoſt by the Apoſtles joyn'd to the Miniſter, as Aſſiſtant in this great Office, ſometimes a certain number of grave and faithful Brethren, (for neither doth the Phyſician do all in reſtoring his Patient, he preſcribes, another prepares the Med'cin, ſome tend, ſome watch, ſome viſit) much more may a Miniſter partly not ſee all, partly err as a Man: Beſides, that nothing can be more for the mutual honour and love of the People to their

Paſtor, and his to them, then when in ſelect numbers and courſes they are ſeen partaking, and doing reverence to the holy Duties of Diſcipline by their ſerviceable and ſolemn Preſence, and receiving honour again from their Imployment, not now any more to be ſeparated in the Church by Vails and Partitions as Laicks and unclean, but admitted to wait upon the Tabernacle as the rightful Clergy of Chriſt, a choſen Generation, a royal Prieſthood, to offer up ſpiritual Sacrifice in that meet place to which God and the Congregation ſhall call and aſſign them. And this all Chriſtians ought to know, that the Title of Clergy S. *Peter* gave to all God's People, till Pope *Higinus* and the ſucceeding Prelates took it from them, appropriating that Name to themſelves and their Prieſts only; and condemning the reſt of God's Inheritance to an injurious and alienat condition of Laity, they ſeparated from them by local Partitions in Churches, through their groſs ignorance and pride imitating the old Temple: and excluded the Members of Chriſt from the property of being Members, the bearing of orderly and fit Offices in the Eccleſiaſtical Body, as if they had meant to ſow up that Jewiſh Vail which Chriſt by his death on the Croſs rent in ſunder. Although theſe Uſurpers could not ſo preſently overmaſter the Liberties and lawful Titles of God's freeborn Church; but that *Origen*, being yet a Lay-man, expounded the Scriptures publickly, and was therein defended by *Alexander* of *Jeruſalem*, and *Theoctiſtus* of *Cæſarea*, producing in his behalf divers Examples, that the privilege of teaching was antiently permitted to many worthy Laymen: And *Cyprian* in his Epiſtles profeſſes he will do nothing without the advice and aſſent of his aſſiſtant Laicks. Neither did the firſt *Nicene* Councel, as great and learned as it was, think it any robbery to receive in, and require the help and preſence of many learned lay Brethren, as they were then call'd. Many other Autorities to confirm this Aſſertion, both out of Scripture and the Writings of next Antiquity, *Golartius* hath collected in his Notes upon *Cyprian*; whereby it will be evident, that the Laity, not only by Apoſtolick permiſſion, but by conſent of many the ancienteſt Prelates, did participat in Church-Offices as much as is deſir'd any lay Elder ſhould now do. Sometimes alſo not the Elders alone, but the whole Body of the Church is intereſted in the Work of Diſcipline, as oft as publick Satisfaction is given by thoſe that have given publick Scandal. Not to ſpeak now of her right in Elections. But another reaſon there is in it, which though Religion did not commend to us, yet moral and civil Prudence could not but extol. It was thought of old in Philoſophy, that ſhame, or to call it better, the reverence of our Elders, our Brethren and Friends, was the greateſt Incitement to vertuous Deeds, and the greateſt diſſuaſion from unworthy Attempts that might be. Hence we may read in the Iliad, where *Hector* being wiſht to retire from the Battel, many of his Forces being routed, makes anſwer, that he durſt not for ſhame, leſt the Trojan Knights and Dames ſhould think he did ignobly. And certain it is that wheras Terror is thought ſuch a great ſtickler in a Common-wealth, honourable ſhame is a far greater, and has more reaſon: for where ſhame is, there is fear; but where fear is, there is not preſently ſhame. And if any thing may be done to imbreed in us this generous and chriſtianly Reverence one of another, the very Nurs and Guardian of Piety and Vertue, it cannot ſooner be then by ſuch a Diſcipline in the Church, as may uſe us to have in awe the Aſſemblies of the Faithful, and to count it a thing moſt grievous, next to the grieving of God's Spirit, to offend thoſe whom he hath put in Autority, as a healing ſuperintendence over our Lives and Behaviours, both to our own happineſs, and that we may not give offence to good men, who without amends by us made, dare not, againſt God's Command, hold Communion with us in holy things. And this will be accompanied with a religious dread of being outcaſt from the company of Saints, and from the fatherly protection of God in his Church, to conſort with the Devil and his Angels. But there is yet a more ingenuous and noble degree of honeſt ſhame, or call it, if you will, an eſteem, whereby men bear an inward Reverence toward their own Perſons. And if the Love of God, as a Fire ſent from Heaven to be ever kept alive upon the Altar of our Hearts, be the firſt Principle of all godly and vertuous Actions in men, this pious and juſt honouring of our ſelves is the ſecond, and may be thought as the radical moiſture and fountain-head, whence every laudable and worthy Enterprize iſſues forth. And although I have given it the name of a liquid thing, yet is it not incontinent to bound it ſelf, as humid things are, but hath in it a moſt reſtraining and powerful abſtinence to ſtart back, and globe it ſelf upward from the mixture of any ungenerous and unbeſeeming motion, or any Soil wherewith it may peril to ſtain it ſelf. Something I confeſs it is to be aſham'd of evil doing in the preſence of any; and to reverence the Opinion and the Countenance of a good Man rather than a bad, fearing moſt in his ſight to offend, goes ſo far as almoſt to be vertuous; yet this is but ſtill the fear of Infamy, and many ſuch, when they find themſelves alone, ſaving their Reputation, will compound with other Scruples, and come to a cloſe treaty with their dearer Vices in ſecret. But he that holds himſelf in reverence and due eſteem, both for the dignity of God's Image upon him, and for the price of his Redemption, which he thinks is viſibly markt upon his Forehead, accounts himſelf both a fit Perſon to do the nobleſt and godlieſt Deeds, and much better worth then to deject and defile, with ſuch a debaſement and ſuch a pollution as Sin is, himſelf ſo highly ranſom'd and enobl'd to a new Friendſhip and filial Relation with God. Nor can he fear ſo much the offence and reproach of others, as he dreads and would bluſh at the reflection of his own ſevere and modeſt eye upon himſelf, if it ſhould ſee him doing or imagining that which is ſinful, though in the deepeſt ſecrecy. How ſhall a Man know to do himſelf this right, how to perform this honourable duty of Eſtimation and Reſpect towards his own Soul and Body? which way will lead him beſt to this Hill-top of Sanctity and Goodneſs, above which there is no higher aſcent but to the Love of God, which from this ſelf-pious regard cannot be aſunder? No better way doubtleſs then to let him duly underſtand, that as he is call'd by the high Calling of God to be holy and pure, ſo is he by the ſame appointment ordain'd, and by the Churches call admitted to ſuch Offices of Diſcipline in the Church, to which his own ſpiritual Gifts, by the Example of Apoſtolick Inſtitution, have autoriz'd him. For we have learnt that the ſcornful term of *Laick*, the conſecrating of Temples, Carpets, and Table-cloths, the railing in of a repugnant and contradictive Mount *Sinai* in the Goſpel, as if the touch of a lay Chriſtian, who is nevertheleſs God's living Temple, could profane dead Judaiſms, the excluſion of Chriſt's People from the Offices of holy Diſcipline through the pride of a uſurping Clergy, cauſes the reſt to have an unworthy and abject Opinion of themſelves, to approach to holy Duties with a ſlaviſh fear, and to unholy doings with a familiar boldneſs. For ſeeing ſuch a wide and terrible diſtance between religious things and themſelves, and that in reſpect of a wooden Table, and the perimeter of holy Ground about it, a flagon Pot, and a linen Corporal, the Prieſt eſteems their Layſhips unhallow'd and unclean, they fear Religion with ſuch a fear as loves not, and think the purity of the Goſpel too pure for them, and that any uncleanneſs is more ſutable to their unconſecrated Eſtate. But when every good Chriſtian, throughly acquainted with all thoſe glorious Privileges of Sanctification and Adoption, which render him more ſacred then any dedicated Altar or Element, ſhall be reſtor'd to his right in the Church, and not excluded from ſuch place of ſpiritual Government, as his Chriſtian Abilities, and his approved good Life in the eye and teſtimony of the Church, ſhall prefer him to, this and nothing ſooner will open his eyes to a wiſe and true valuation of himſelf; which is ſo requiſite and high a point of Chriſtianity, and will ſtir him up to walk worthy the honourable and grave Imployment wherewith God and the Church hath dignifi'd him; not fearing leſt he ſhould meet with ſome outward holy thing in Religion, which his Lay-touch or preſence might profane; but leſt ſomething unholy from within his own Heart, ſhould diſhonour and profane in himſelf that Prieſtly Unction and Clergy-right whereto Chriſt hath entitl'd him. Then would the Congregation of the Lord ſoon recover the true likeneſs and viſage of what ſhe is indeed, a holy Generation, a royal Prieſthood, a ſaintly Communion, the Houſhold and City of God. And this I hold to be another conſiderable Reaſon why the Functions of Church-Government ought to be free and open to any Chriſtian man, though never ſo laick, if his Capacity, his Faith and prudent demeanour commend him. And this the Apoſtles warrant us to do. But the Prelats object, that this will bring profaneneſs into the Church: to whom may be reply'd, that none have brought that in more then their own irreligious courſes, nor more driven Holineſs out of living into liveleſs things. For whereas God, who hath cleans'd every beaſt and creeping worm, would not ſuffer S. *Peter* to call them common or unclean, the Prelat Biſhops, in their printed Orders hung up in Churches, have proclaim'd the beſt of Creatures, Mankind, ſo unpurifi'd and contagious, that for him to lay his Hat or his Garment upon the Chancel-Table, they have defin'd it no leſs hainous, in expreſs words, than to profane the Table of the Lord. And thus have they by their Canaanitiſh Doctrine, (for that which was to the Jew but Jewiſh, is to the Chriſtian no better then Canaanitiſh) thus have they made common and unclean, thus have they made profane that nature which God hath not only clean'd, but Chriſt alſo hath aſſum'd. And now that the equity and juſt reaſon is ſo perſpicuous, why in Eccleſiaſtick cenſure the aſſiſtance ſhould be added of ſuch, as whom not the vile odour of Gain and Fees (forbid it God, and blow it with a Whirlwind out of our Land) but Charity, Neighbourhood, and duty to Church-Government hath call'd together, where could a wiſe man wiſh a more equal, gratuitous, and meek examination of any Office that he might happen to commit againſt Chriſtianity then here? Would he prefer thoſe proud ſimoniacal Courts? Thus therefore the Miniſter aſſiſted attends his Heavenly and Spiritual Cure: where we ſhall ſee him both in the courſe of his proceeding; and firſt in the excellency of his end, from the Magiſtrate far different, and not more different then excelling. His end is to recover all that is of man, both Soul and Body, to an everlaſting Health: and yet as for worldly Happineſs, which is the proper Sphere wherein the Magiſtrate cannot but confine his motion without a hideous exorbitancy from Law, ſo little aims the Miniſter, as his intended ſcope, to procure the much Proſperity of this Life, that ofttimes he may have cauſe to wiſh much of it away, as a Diet puffing up the Soul with a ſlimy fleſhineſs, and weakning her principal Organick parts. Two heads of evil he has to cope with, Ignorance and Malice. Againſt the former he provides the daily Manna of incorruptible Doctrine, not at thoſe ſet Meals only in publick, but as oft as he ſhall know that each Infirmity, or Conſtitution requires. Againſt the latter with all the branches thereof, not medling with that reſtraining and ſtyptick Surgery which the Law uſes, not indeed againſt the malady, but againſt the Eruptions, and outermoſt Effects thereof; he on the contrary, beginning at the prime cauſes and roots of the Diſeaſe, ſends in thoſe two divine Ingredients of moſt cleanſing power to the Soul, Admonition and Reproof; beſides which two there is no Drug or Antidote that can reach to purge the mind, and without which all other Experiments are but vain, unleſs by accident. And he that will not let theſe paſs into him, though he be the greateſt King, as *Plato* affirms, muſt be thought to remain impure within, and unknowing of thoſe things wherein his pureneſs and his knowledg ſhould moſt appear. As ſoon therefore as it may be diſcern'd that the Chriſtian Patient, by feeding otherwhere on Meats not allowable, but of evil Juice, hath diſorder'd his Diet, and ſpread an ill Humour through his Vains, immediatly diſpoſing to a Sickneſs, the Miniſter, as being much nearer both in Eye and Duty then the Magiſtrate, ſpeeds him betimes to overtake that diffus'd Malignance with ſome gentle Potion of Admoniſhment; or if ought be obſtructed, puts in his opening and diſcuſſive Confections. This not ſucceeding after once or twice, or oftner, in the preſence of two or three his faithful Brethren appointed thereto, he adviſes him to be more careful of his deareſt Health, and what it is that he ſo raſhly hath let down into the divine Veſſel of his Soul, God's Temple. If this obtain not, he then, with the counſel of more Aſſiſtants, who are inform'd of what diligence hath been already us'd, with more ſpeedy Remedies lays neerer ſiege to the entrenched Cauſes of his Diſtemper, not ſparing ſuch fervent and well-aim'd Reproofs as may beſt give him to ſee the dangerous eſtate wherein he is. To this alſo his Brethren and Friends intreat, exhort, adjure; and all theſe Endeavours, as there is hope left, are more or leſs repeated. But if neither the regard of himſelf, nor the reverence of his Elders and Friends prevail with him, to leave his vitious Appetite, then as the time urges, ſuch Engines of Terror God hath given into the hand of his Miniſter as to ſearch the tendereſt Angles of the Heart: one while he ſhakes his ſtubborneſs with racking convulſions nigh deſpair, otherwhiles with deadly corroſives he gripes the very roots of his faulty liver to bring him to life through the entry of death. Hereto the whole Church beſeech him, beg of him, deplore him, pray for him. After all this perform'd with what patience and attendance is poſſible, and no relenting on his part, having done the utmoſt of their cure, in the name of God and of the Church they diſſolve their fellowſhip with him, and holding forth the dreadful ſponge of Excommunion, pronounce him wip'd out of the liſt of God's Inheritance, and in the cuſtody of Satan till he repent. Which horrid ſentence, tho it touch neither life nor limb, nor any worldly poſſeſſion, yet has it ſuch a penetrating force, that ſwifter then any chymical ſulphur, or that lightning which harms not the skin, and rifles the entrals, it ſcorches the inmoſt Soul. Yet even this terrible denouncement is left to the Church for no other cauſe but to be as a rough and vehement cleanſing medicin, where the malady is obdurat, a mortifying to life, a kind of ſaving by undoing. And it may be truly ſaid, that as the mercies of wicked men are cruelties, ſo the cruelties of the Church are mercies. For if repentance ſent from Heaven meet this loſt wanderer, and draw him out of that ſteep journey wherein he was haſting towards deſtruction, to come and reconcile to the Church, if he bring with him his bill of health, and that he is now clear of infection, and of no danger to the other ſheep, then with incredible expreſſions of joy all his brethren receive him, and ſet before him thoſe perfumed bankets of Chriſtian conſolation; with pretious ointments bathing and fomenting the old, and now to be forgotten ſtripes which terror and ſhame had inflicted; and thus with heavenly ſolaces they cheer up his humble remorſe, till he regain his firſt health and felicity. This is the approved way which the Goſpel preſcribes, theſe are the *ſpiritual weapons of holy cenſure*, and miniſterial *warfare, not carnal, but mighty t[illegible]ugh God to the pulling down of ſtrong holds, caſting down imaginations, and every high thing that exalteth it ſelf againſt the knowledg of God, and bringing into captivity every thought to the obedience of Chriſt.* 2 Cor. 10. What could be done more for the healing and reclaming that divine particle of God's breathing, the Soul, and what could be done leſs? he that would hide his faults from ſuch a wholſome curing as this, and count it a twofold puniſhment, as ſome do, is like a man that having foul diſeaſes about him, periſhes for ſhame, and the fear he has of a rigorous inciſion to come upon his fleſh. We ſhall be able by this time to diſcern whether Prelatical Juriſdiction be contrary to the Goſpel or no. Firſt therefore the government of the Goſpel being economical and paternal, that is, of ſuch a family where there be no ſervants, but all ſons in obedience, not in ſervility, as cannot be deny'd by him that lives but within the ſound of Scripture; how can the Prelats juſtify to have turn'd the fatherly orders of Chriſt's houſhold, the bleſſed meekneſs of his lowly roof, thoſe ever open and inviting doors of his dwelling-houſe, which delight to be frequented with only filial acceſſes; how can they juſtify to have turn'd theſe domeſtick privileges into the bar of a proud judicial Court, where fees and clamours keep ſhop and drive a trade, where bribery and corruption ſolicits, paltring the free and monileſs power of diſcipline with a carnal ſatisfaction by the purſe? Contrition, humiliation, confeſſion, the very ſighs of a repentant Spirit are there ſold by the penny. That undeflour'd and unblemiſhable ſimplicity of the Goſpel, not ſhe her ſelf, for that could never be, but a falſe-whited, a lawnie reſemblance of her, like that air-born *Helena* in the fables, made by the ſorcery of Prelats, inſtead of calling her Diſciples from the receit of cuſtom, is now turn'd Publican her ſelf; and gives up her body to a mercenary whoredom under thoſe fornicated Arches which ſhe calls God's houſe, and in the ſight of thoſe her altars which ſhe hath ſet up to be ador'd, makes merchandize of the bodies and ſouls of men. Rejecting Purgatory for no other reaſon, as it ſeems, then becauſe her greedineſs cannot defer, but had rather uſe the utmoſt extortion of redeemed penances in this life. But becauſe theſe matters could not be thus carri'd without a begg'd and borrow'd force from worldly autority, therefore Prelaty ſlighting the deliberat and choſen counſel of Chriſt in his ſpiritual government, whoſe glory is in the weakneſs of fleſhly things, to tread upon the creſt of the world's pride and violence by the power of ſpiritual Ordinances, hath on the contrary made theſe her friends and champions which are Chriſt's enemies in this his high deſign, ſmothering and extinguiſhing the ſpiritual force of his bodily weakneſs in the diſcipline of his Church with the boiſtrous and carnal tyranny of an undue, unlawful, and ungoſpel-like Juriſdiction. And thus Prelaty both in her fleſhly ſupportments, in her carnal Doctrine of Ceremony and Tradition, in her violent and ſecular power, going quite counter to the prime end of Chriſt's coming in the fleſh, that is to revele his truth, his glory, and his might, in a clean contrary manner then Prelaty ſeeks to do, thwarting and defeating the great myſtery of God ; I do not conclude that Prelaty is Antichriſtian, for what need I? the things themſelves conclude it. Yet if ſuch like practiſes, and not many worſe then theſe of our Prelats, in that great darkneſs of the Roman Church, have not exempted both her and her preſent members from being judg'd to be Antichriſtian in all orthodoxal eſteem, I cannot think but that it is the abſolute voice of Truth and all her children to pronounce this Prelaty, and theſe her dark deeds in the midſt of this great Light wherein we live, to be more Antichriſtian than Antichriſt himſelf.

# The CONCLUSION.

## *The miſchief that Prelaty does in the State.*

I Add one thing more to thoſe great ones that are ſo fond of Prelaty : this is certain, that the Goſpel being the hidden might of Chriſt, as hath been heard, hath ever a victorious power join'd with it, like him in the *Revelation* that went forth on the white Horſe with his bow and his crown conquering, and to conquer. If we let the Angel of the Goſpel ride on his own way, he does his proper buſineſs, conquering the high thoughts, and the proud reaſonings of the fleſh, and brings them under to give obedience to Chriſt with the Salvation of many Souls. But if ye turn him out of his rode, and in a manner force him to expreſs his irreſiſtible power by a Doctrine of carnal might, as Prelaty is, he will uſe that fleſhly ſtrength which ye put into his hands to ſubdue your Spirits by a ſervile and blind ſuperſtition, and that again ſhall hold ſuch dominion over your captive minds, as returning with an inſatiat greedineſs and force upon your worldly wealth and power, wherewith to deck and magnify her ſelf, and her falſe worſhips, ſhe ſhall ſpoil and havock your eſtates, diſturb your eaſe, diminiſh your honour, inthraul your liberty under the ſwelling mood of a proud Clergy, who will not ſerve or feed your Souls with ſpiritual food ; look not for it, they have not wherewithal, or if they had, it is not in their purpoſe. But when they have glutted their ingrateful bodies, at leaſt if it be poſſible that thoſe open Sepulchres ſhould ever be glutted, and when they have ſtufft their idoliſh Temples with the waſteful pillage of your eſtates, will they yet have any compaſſion upon you, and that poor pittance which they have left you ; will they be but ſo good to you as that raviſher was to his ſiſter, when he had us'd her at his pleaſure ; will they but only hate ye, and ſo turn ye looſe? no, they will not, Lords and Commons, they will not favour ye ſo much. What will they do then in the name of God and Saints, what will theſe man-haters yet with more deſpight and miſchief do? I'll tell ye, or at leaſt remember ye, for moſt of ye know it already. That they may want nothing to make them true merchants of *Babylon*, as they have done to your Souls, they will ſell your Bodies, your Wives, your Children, your Liberties, your Parlaments, all theſe things, and if there be ought elſe dearer then theſe, they will ſell at an out-cry in their Pulpits to the arbitrary and illegal diſpoſe of any one that may hereafter be call'd a King, whoſe mind ſhall ſerve him to liſten to their bargain. And by their corrupt and ſervile Doctrines boring our ears to an everlaſting ſlavery, as they have done hitherto, ſo will they yet do their beſt to repeal and eraſe every line and clauſe of both our great Charters. Nor is this only what they will do, but what they hold as the main reaſon and myſtery of their advancement that they muſt do; be the Prince never ſo juſt and equal to his Subjects, yet ſuch are their malicious and depraved eyes, that they ſo look on him, and ſo underſtand him, as if he requir'd no other gratitude, or piece of ſervice from them then this. And indeed they ſtand ſo opportunely for the diſturbing or the deſtroying of a State, being a knot of creatures whoſe dignities, means, and preferments have no foundation in the Goſpel, as they themſelves acknowledg, but only in the Princes favour, and to continue ſo long to them, as by pleaſing him they ſhall deſerve: whence it muſt needs be they ſhould bend all their intentions and ſervices to no other ends but to his, that if it ſhould happen that a Tyrant (God turn ſuch a ſcourge from us to our enemies) ſhould come to graſp the Scepter, here were his ſpear-men and his lances, here were his firelocks ready, he ſhould need no other Pretorian band nor penſionary then theſe, if they could once with their perfidious preachments awe the people. For although the Prelats in time of Popery were ſometimes friendly anough to *Magna Charta*, it was becauſe they ſtood upon their own bottom, without their main dependance on the Royal nod: but now being well acquainted that the Proteſtant Religion, if ſhe will reform her ſelf rightly by the Scriptures, muſt undreſs them of all their guilded vanities, and reduce them, as they were at firſt, to the lowly and equal order of Presbyters, they know it concerns them nearly to ſtudy the times more then the text, and to lift up their eyes to the hills of the Court, from whence only comes their help; but if their pride grow weary of this crouching and obſervance, as e're long it would, and that yet their minds clime ſtill to a higher aſcent of worldly honour, this only refuge can remain to them, that they muſt of neceſſity contrive to bring themſelves and us back again to the Popes Supremacy, and this we ſee they had by fair degrees of late been doing. Theſe be the two fair ſupporters between which the ſtrength of Prelaty is born up, either of inducing Tyranny, or of reducing Popery. Hence alſo we may judg that Prelaty is meer falſhood. For the property of Truth is, where ſhe is publickly taught, to unyoke and ſet free the minds and ſpirits of a Nation firſt from the thraldom of Sin and Superſtition, after which all honeſt and legal freedom of civil Life cannot be long abſent; but Prelaty, whom the tyrant Cuſtom begot a natural tyrant in Religion, and in State the agent and miniſter of Tyranny, ſeems to have had this fatal gift in her nativity like another *Midas*, that whatſoever ſhe ſhould touch or come near either in ecclesial or political Government, it ſhould turn, not to Gold, though ſhe for her part could wiſh it, but to the droſs and ſcum of ſlavery, breeding and ſetling both in the Bodies and the Souls of all ſuch as do not in time, with the ſovran treacle of ſound Doctrine, provide to fortify their hearts againſt her Hierarchy. The ſervice of God who is Truth, her Liturgy confeſſes to be perfect freedom; but her works and her opinions declare that the ſervice of Prelaty is perfect ſlavery, and by conſequence perfect falſhood. Which makes me wonder much that many of the Gentry, ſtudious men, as I hear, ſhould engage themſelves to write, and ſpeak publickly in her defence, but that I believe their honeſt and ingenuous natures coming to the Univerſities to ſtore themſelves with good and ſolid Learning, and there unfortunately fed with nothing elſe but the ſcragged and thorny Lectures of monkiſh and miſerable Sophiſtry, were ſent home again with ſuch a ſcholaſtical Bur in their throats, as hath ſtopt and hinder'd all true and generous Philoſophy from entring, crack't their voices for ever with metaphyſical Gargariſms, and hath made them admire a ſort of formal outſide men prelatically addicted, whoſe unchaſten'd and unwrought minds were never yet initiated or ſubdu'd under the true lore of Religion or moral Vertue, which two are the beſt and greateſt points of Learning, but either ſlightly train'd up in a kind of hypocritical and hackny cours of literature to get their living by, and dazle the ignorant, or elſe fondly overſtudied in uſeleſs controverſies, except thoſe which they uſe with all the ſpecious and deluſive ſuttlety they are able, to defend their prelatical *Sparta*, having a Goſpel and Church-government ſet before their eyes, as a fair field wherein they might exerciſe the greateſt vertues and the greateſt deeds of Chriſtian Autority, in mean fortunes and little furniture of this world; which even the ſage Heathen Writers, and thoſe old *Fabritii* and *Curii* well knew to be a manner of working, then which nothing could lik'n a mortal man more to God, who delights moſt to

work

work from within himſelf, and not by the heavy luggage of corporeal inſtruments, they underſtand it not, and think no ſuch matter, but admire and dote upon worldly riches and honours, with an eaſy and intemperate life, to the bane of Chriſtianity: yea, they and their Seminaries ſhame not to profeſs, to petition, and never lin pealing our ears, that unleſs we fat them like Boors, and cram them as they liſt with Wealth, with Deaneries, and Pluralities, with Baronies and ſtately Preferments, all Learning and Religion will go underfoot. Which is ſuch a ſhameleſs, ſuch a beſtial plea, and of that odious impudence in Church-men, who ſhould be to us a pattern of temperance and frugal mediocrity, who ſhould teach us to contemn this world, and the gaudy things thereof, according to the promiſe which they themſelves require from us in Baptiſm, that ſhould the Scripture ſtand by and be mute, there is not that ſect of Philoſophers among the Heathen ſo diſſolute, no not *Epicurus*, nor *Ariſtippus* with all his Cyrenaick rout, but would ſhut his School-doors againſt ſuch greazy Sophiſters; not any College of Mountebanks, but would think ſcorn to diſcover in themſelves with ſuch a brazen forehead the outrageous deſire of filthy lucre. Which the Prelats make ſo little conſcience of, that they are ready to fight, and if it lay in their power, to maſſacre all good Chriſtians under the names of horrible Schiſmaticks for only finding fault with their temporal dignities, their unconſcionable wealth and revenues, their cruel autority over their Brethren that labour in the Word, while they ſnore in their luxurious exceſs: Openly proclaiming themſelves now in the ſight of all men, to be thoſe which for a while they ſought to cover under ſheeps clothing, ravenous and ſavage wolves, threatning inroades and bloody incurſions upon the flock of Chriſt, which they took upon them to feed, but now clame to devour as their prey. More like that huge Dragon of *Egypt* breathing out waſte and deſolation to the Land, unleſs he were daily fatn'd with Virgins blood. Him our old Patron St. *George* by his matchleſs valour ſlew, as the Prelat of the Garter that reads his Collect can tell. And if our Princes and Knights will imitate the fame of that old Champion, as by their order of Knighthood ſolemnly taken, they vow, far be it that they ſhould uphold and ſide with this Engliſh Dragon; but rather to do as indeed their oath binds them, they ſhould make it their knightly adventure to purſue and vanquiſh this mighty ſail-wing'd Monſter that menaces to ſwallow up the Land, unleſs her bottomleſs gorge may be ſatisfi'd with the blood of the King's daughter the Church; and may, as ſhe was wont, fill her dark and infamous den with the bones of the Saints. Nor will any one have reaſon to think this as too incredible or too tragical to be ſpok'n of Prelaty, if he conſider well from what a maſs of ſlime and mud the ſlothful, the covetous and ambitious hopes of Church-promotions and fat Biſhopricks, ſhe is bred up and nuzzl'd in, like a great *Python* from her youth, to prove the general poyſon both of Doctrine and good Diſcipline in the Land. For certainly ſuch hopes and ſuch principles of earth as theſe wherein ſhe welters from a young one, are the immediate generation both of a ſlaviſh and tyrannous life to follow, and a peſtiferous contagion to the whole Kingdom, till like that fenborn Serpent ſhe be ſhot to death with the darts of the Sun, the pure and powerful beams of God's Word. And this may ſerve to deſcribe to us in part, what Prelaty hath bin, and what, if ſhe ſtand, ſhe is like to be toward the whole body of people in *England*. Now that it may appear how ſhe is not ſuch a kind of evil, as hath any good or uſe in it, which many evils have, but a diſtill'd quinteſſence, a pure elixir of miſchief, peſtilent alike to all, I ſhall ſhew briefly, e're I conclude, that the Prelats, as they are to the ſubjects a calamity, ſo are they the greateſt underminers and betrayers of the Monarch, to whom they ſeem to be moſt favourable. I cannot better liken the ſtate and perſon of a King then to that mighty Nazarite *Samſon*; who being diſciplin'd from his birth in the precepts and the practice of temperance and ſobriety, without the ſtrong drink of injurious and exceſſive deſires, grows up to a noble ſtrength and perfection with thoſe his illuſtrious and ſunny Locks, the Laws, waving and curling about his god-like ſhoulders. And while he keeps them about him undiminiſht and unſhorn, he may with the jaw-bone of an Aſs, that is with the word of his meaneſt officer, ſuppreſs and put to confuſion thouſands of thoſe that riſe againſt his juſt power. But laying down his head among the ſtrumpet flatteries of Prelats, while he ſleeps and thinks no harm, they wickedly ſhaving off all thoſe bright and waighty treſſes of his Laws, and juſt Prerogatives, which were his ornament and ſtrength, deliver him over to indirect and violent counſels, which as thoſe Philiſtins put out the fair and far-ſighted eyes of his natural diſcerning, and make him grind in the priſon-houſe of their ſiniſter ends and practices upon him: Till he, knowing this Prelatical Raſor to have bereft him of his wonted might, nouriſh again his puiſſant hair, the golden beams of Law and Right; and they ſternly ſhook, thunder with ruin upon the heads of thoſe his evil Counſellors, but not without great affliction to himſelf. This is the ſum of their loyal ſervice to Kings; yet theſe are the men that ſtill cry, The King, the King, the Lord's Anointed. We grant it, and wonder how they came to light upon any thing ſo true; and wonder more, if Kings be the Lord's Anointed, how they dare thus oyl over and beſmear ſo holy an Unction with the corrupt and putrid oyntment of their baſe flatteries; which while they ſmooth the skin, ſtrike inward and envenom the life-blood. What fidelity Kings can expect from Prelats, both examples paſt, and our preſent experience of their doings at this day, whereon is grounded all that hath bin ſaid, may ſuffice to inform us. And if they be ſuch clippers of Regal Power, and ſhavers of the Laws, how they ſtand affected to the Law-giving Parlament, your ſelves, worthy Peers and Commons, can beſt teſtify; the current of whoſe glorious and immortal actions hath bin only oppos'd by the obſcure and pernicious deſigns of the Prelats, until their inſolence broke out to ſuch a bold affront, as hath juſtly immur'd their haughty looks within ſtrong walls. Nor have they done any thing of late with more diligence, then to hinder or break the happy aſſembling of Parlaments, however needful to repair the ſhatter'd and disjointed frame of the Commonwealth; or if they cannot do this, to croſs, to diſinable, and traduce all Parlamentary Proceedings. And this, if nothing elſe, plainly accuſes them to be no lawful Members of the Houſe, if they thus perpetually mutinie againſt their own body. And though they pretend, like *Salomon*'s harlot, that they have right thereto. by the ſame judgment that *Salomon* gave, it cannot belong to them, whenas it is not only their aſſent, but their endeavour continually to divide Parlaments in twain; and not only by dividing, but by all other means to aboliſh and deſtroy the free uſe of them to all poſterity. For the which, and for all their former miſdeeds, whereof this Book and many Volumes more cannot contain the moytie, I ſhall move ye Lords in the behalf I dare ſay of many thouſand good Chriſtians, to let your juſtice and ſpeedy ſentence paſs againſt this great malefactor Prelaty. And yet in the midſt of rigor I would beſeech ye to think of mercy; and ſuch a mercy, I fear I ſhall overſhoot with a deſire to ſave this falling Prelaty, ſuch a mercy (if I may venture to ſay it) as may exceed that which for only ten righteous perſons would have ſav'd *Sodom*. Not that I dare adviſe ye to contend with God, whether he or you ſhall be more merciful, but in your wiſe eſteems to ballance the offences of thoſe peccant Cities with theſe enormous riots of ungodly miſrule that Prelaty hath wrought both in the Church of Chriſt, and in the State of this Kingdom. And if ye think ye may with a pious preſumption ſtrive to go beyond God in mercy, I ſhall not be one now that would diſſwade ye. Though God for leſs then ten juſt perſons would not ſpare *Sodom*, yet if you can find after due ſearch but only one good thing in Prelaty either to Religion or civil Government, to King or Parlament, to Prince or People, to Law, Liberty, Wealth or Learning, ſpare her, let her live, let her ſpread among ye, till with her ſhadow all your Dignities and Honours, and all the glory of the Land be darken'd and obſcur'd. But on the contrary, if ſhe be found to be malignant, hoſtile, deſtructive to all theſe, as nothing can be ſurer, then let your ſevere and impartial Doom imitate the divine Vengeance; rain down your puniſhing force upon this godleſs and oppreſſing Government: and bring ſuch a dead Sea of ſubverſion upon her, that ſhe may never in this Land riſe more to afflict the holy reformed Church, and the elect People of God.

# OF
# Prelatical Episcopacy,

## *And whether it may be deduc'd from the Apoſtolical Times by virtue of thoſe Teſtimonies which are alledg'd to that purpoſe in ſome late Treatiſes; one whereof goes under the Name of* James *Archbiſhop of* Armagh.

EPISCOPACY, as it is taken for an Order in the *Church* above a *Presbyter*, or as we commonly name him the Miniſter of a Congregation, is either of Divine Conſtitution, or of Human. If onely of Human, we have the ſame human Privilege that all Men have ever had ſince *Adam*, being born free, and in the Miſtreſs Iland of all the *Britiſh*, to retain this *Epiſcopacy*, or to remove it, conſulting with our own Occaſions and Conveniencies, and for the prevention of our own Dangers and Diſquiets, in what beſt manner we can deviſe, without running at a loſs, as we muſt needs in thoſe ſtale and uſeleſs Records of either uncertain or unſound Antiquity; which if we hold faſt to the grounds of the Reformed *Church*, can neither skill of us, nor we of it, ſo oft as it would lead us to the broken reed of *Tradition*. If it be of *Divine* Conſtitution, to ſatisfie us fully in that, the Scripture onely is able, it being the onely Book left us of *Divine* Authority, not in any thing more divine then in the all-ſufficiency it hath to furniſh us, as with all other ſpirituall Knowledg, ſo with this in particular, ſetting out to us a perfect Man of *God*, accompliſh't to all the good works of his charge: Through all which Book can be no where, either by plain Text, or ſolid reaſoning, found any difference between a Biſhop and a Presbyter, ſave that they be two names to ſignify the ſame Order. Notwithſtanding this clearneſs, and that by all evidence of Argument, *Timothy* and *Titus* (whom our Prelates claim to imitate onely in the controuling part of their Office) had rather the Vicegerency of an Apoſtleſhip commited to them, then the ordinary charge of a Biſhoprick, 2 Tim. 4. as being Men of an extraordinary calling; yet to verify that which St. *Paul* foretold of ſucceeding times, when Men began to have itching Eares, then not contented with the plentifull and wholſom fountaines of the Goſpel, they began after their owne Luſts to heap to themſelves Teachers; and as if the divine Scripture wanted a Supplement, and were to be eek't out, they cannot think any doubt reſolv'd, and any Doctrine confirm'd, unleſs they run to that indigeſted heap and frie of Authors, which they call Antiquity. Whatſoever time, or the heedleſs hand of blind chance, hath drawn down from of old to this preſent, in her huge Drag-net, whether Fiſh, or Sea-weed, Shells, or Shrubbs, unpickt, unchoſen, thoſe are the Fathers. Seeing therefore ſome Men, deeply converſant in Books, have had ſo little care of late to give the World a better account of their reading, then by divulging needleſs Tractats, ſtufft with ſpecious names of *Ignatius*, and *Polycarpus*; with fragments of old *Martyrologies*, and *Legends*, to diſtract and ſtagger the multitude of credulous Readers, and miſlead them from their ſtrong guards and places of Safety, under the tuition of Holy Writ; it came into my thoughts to perſwade my ſelf, ſetting all diſtances, and nice reſpects aſide, that I could do Religion, and my Country no better ſervice for the time, then doing my utmoſt endeavour to recall the People of GOD from this vain forraging after Straw, and to reduce them to their firm Stations under the ſtandard of the Goſpel; by making appear to them, firſt the inſufficiency, next the inconveniency; and laſtly, the impiety of theſe gay Teſtimonies, that their great Doctors would bring them to dote on. And in performing this, I ſhall not ſtrive to be more exact in Method, then as their citations lead me.

Firſt, therefore concerning *Ignatius* ſhall be treated fully, when the Author ſhall come to inſiſt upon ſome places in his Epiſtles. Next to prove a ſucceſſion of 27 *Biſhops* from *Timothy*, he cites one *Leontius* Biſhop of *Magneſia*, out of the 11*th* Act of the *Chalcedonian* Council: this is but an obſcure and ſingle witneſs, and for his faithful dealing who ſhall commend him to us, with this his Catalogue of *Biſhops?* What know we further of him, but that he might be as factious and falſe a *Biſhop*, as *Leontius* of *Antioch*, that was a hundred years his Predeceſſor? For neither the praiſe of his Wiſdom, or his Vertue, hath left him memorable to Poſterity, but only this doubtful relation, which we muſt take at his word: and how ſhall this Teſtimony receive credit from his word, whoſe very Name had ſcarce been thought on but for this bare Teſtimony? But they will ſay, he was a Member of the Council, and that may deſerve to gain him Credit with us. I will not ſtand to argue, as yet with fair allowance I might, that we may as juſtly ſuſpect there were ſome bad and ſlippery men in that Council, as we know there are wont to be in our Convocations: Nor ſhall I need to plead at this time, that nothing hath been more attempted, nor with more ſubtlety brought about, both antiently by other *Hereticks*, and modernly by Papiſts, then to falſify the Editions of the Councils, of which we have none but from our Adverſaries hands, whence Canons, Acts, and whole ſpurious Councils are thruſt upon us; and hard it would be to prove in all, which are legitimat againſt the lawful rejection of an urgent, and free diſputer. But this I purpoſe not to take advantage of; for what avails it to wrangle about the corrupt Editions of Councils, when as we know that many Years ere this time, which was almoſt 500 Years after *Chriſt*, the Councils themſelves were fouly corrupted with ungodly Prelatiſm, and ſo far plung'd into worldly Ambition, as that it ſtood them upon long ere this to uphold their now well-taſted Hierarchy by what a fair pretext ſoever they could, in like manner as they had now learnt to defend many other groſs Corruptions by as ancient, and ſuppoſed authentick Tradition as Epiſcopacy? And what hope can we have of this whole Council to warrant us a matter, 400 Years at leaſt above their time, concerning the diſtinction of *Biſhop* and *Presbyter*, when as we find them ſuch blind Judges of things before their eyes, in their decrees of precedency between *Biſhop* and *Biſhop*, acknowledging *Rome* for the Apoſtolick Throne, and *Peter* in that See for the Rock, the Baſis, and the Foundation of the Catholick Church and Faith, contrary to the interpretation of more antient Fathers? and therefore from a miſtaken Text did they give to *Leo*, as *Peters* ſucceſſor, a kind of Preheminence above the whole Council, as *Euagrius* expreſſes (for now the Pope was come to that height, as to arrogate to himſelf by his Vicars incompetible honours) and yet having thus yielded to *Rome* the univerſal Primacy for ſpiritual Reaſons, as they thought, they conclude their ſitting with a carnal and ambitious Decree, to give the ſecond place of Dignity to *Conſtantinople* from reaſon of State, becauſe it was New *ROME*; and by like conſequence, doubtleſs of earthly Privileges annext to each other City, was the BISHOP thereof to take his place.

I may ſay again therefore, what hope can we have of ſuch a Council, as beginning in the Spirit, ended thus in the Fleſh? Much rather ſhould we attend to what *Euſebius*, the antienteſt Writer extant of Church-Hiſtory, notwithſtanding all the helps he had above theſe, confeſſes in the 4*th* Chapter of his 3*d* Book, That it was no eaſy matter to tell who were thoſe that were left Biſhops of the Churches by the Apoſtles, more then by what a man might gather from the *Acts* of the Apoſtles, and the Epiſtles of St. *Paul*, in which number he reckons *Timothy* for Biſhop of *Epheſus*. So as may plainly appear, that this Tradition of Biſhoping *Timothy* over *Epheſus*, was but taken for granted out of that place in St. *Paul*, which was only an intreating him to tarry [illegible] *Epheſus*, to do ſomthing left him in charge. Now if *Euſebius*, a famous Writer, thought it ſo difficult to tell who were appointed Biſhops by the Apoſtles, much more may we think it difficult to *Leontius*, an obſcure Biſhop, ſpeaking beyond his own Dioceſs: and certainly much more hard was it for either of them to determine what kind of Biſhops theſe were, if they had ſo little means to know who they were; and much leſs reaſon have we to ſtand to their definitive Sentence, ſeeing they have bin ſo raſh to raiſe up ſuch lofty Biſhops and Biſhopricks out of places in Scripture meerly miſunderſtood.

1 Tim. 1. 3.

Thus while we leave the Bible to gad after theſe Traditions of the Antients, we hear the Antients themſelves confeſſing, that what knowledg they had in this point was ſuch as they had gather'd from the Bible.

Since therefore Antiquity it ſelf hath turn'd over the Controverſy to that ſovran Book which we had fondly ſtraggl'd from, we ſhall do better not to detain this venerable Apparition of *Leontius* any longer, but diſmiſs him with his Liſt of ſeven and twenty, to ſleep unmoleſted in his former obſcurity.

Now for the word προεστὼς, it is more likely that *Timothy* never knew the word in that ſenſe; it was the vanity of thoſe next ſucceeding times not to content themſelves with the ſimplicity of Scripture-phraſe, but muſt make a new Lexicon to name themſelves by; one will be call'd προεστὼς, or *Antiſtes*, a word of Precedence; another would be term'd a Gnoſtick, as *Clemens*; a third *Sacerdos*, or Prieſt, and talks of Altars; which was a plain ſign that their Doctrin began to change, for which they muſt change their expreſſions. But that place of *Juſtin Martyr* ſerves rather to convince the Author, then to make for him, where the name προεστὼς τῶν ἀδελφῶν, the Preſident, or Paſtor of the Brethren (for to what end is he their Preſident, but to teach them?) cannot be limited to ſignify a Prelatical Biſhop, but rather communicates that Greek appellation to every ordinary *Presbyter:* For there he tells what the Chriſtians had wont to do in their ſeveral Congregations, to read and expound, to pray and adminiſter, all which he ſays the προεστὼς, or *Antiſtes* did. Are theſe the Offices only of a Biſhop, or ſhall we think that every Congregation where theſe things were done, which he attributes to this *Antiſtes*, had a *Biſhop* preſent among them? Unleſs they had as many *Antiſtites* as *Presbyters*, which this place rather ſeems to imply; and ſo we may infer even from their own alledg'd Authority, *that* Antiſtes *was nothing elſe but Presbyter.*

As for that nameleſs Treatiſe of *Timothy*'s Martyrdom, only cited by *Photius* that liv'd almoſt 900 Years after *Chriſt*, it hanſomly follows in that Author, the Martyrdom of the ſeven Sleepers, that ſlept (I tell you but what mine Author ſays) three hundred ſeventy and two years; for ſo long they had bin ſhut up in a Cave without meat, and were found living. This Story of *Timothy's* Epheſian Biſhoprick, as it follows in order, ſo may it for truth, if it only ſubſiſt upon its own Authority, as it doth; for *Photius* only ſaith he read it, he does not aver it. That other legendary piece found among the lives of the Saints, and ſent us from the ſhop of the Jeſuits at *Lovain*, does Euſeb. *l.* 6. κεφ. κδ.
but bear the name of *Polycrates*, how truly who can tell? and ſhall have ſome more weight with us, when *Polycrates* can perſwade us of that which he affirms in the ſame place of *Euſebius*'s 5*th* Book, that St. *John* was a Prieſt, and wore the golden Breſtplate: and why ſhould he convince us more with his Traditions of *Timothy*'s Epiſcopacy, then he could convince *Victor* Biſhop of *Rome* with his Traditions concerning the Feaſt of Eaſter, who not regarding his irrefragable inſtances of examples taken from *Philip* and his Daughters that were Propheteſſes, or from *Polycarpus*, no nor from St. *John* himſelf, excommunicated both him, and all the Aſian Churches, for celebrating their Eaſter judaically? He may therefore go back to the ſeven Biſhops his Kinſmen, and make his moan to them, that we eſteem his traditional Ware as lightly as *Victor* did.

Thoſe of *Theodoret*, *Felix*, and *John* of *Antioch*, are Autorities of later times, and therefore not to be receiv'd for their Antiquities ſake to give in evidence concerning an Allegation, wherein Writers, ſo much their Elders, we ſee ſo eaſily miſcarry. What if they had told us that *Peter*, who as they ſay left *Ignatius* Biſhop of *Antioch*, went afterwards to *Rome*, and was Biſhop there, as this *Ignatius*, and *Irenæus*, and all Antiquity with one mouth deliver? there be nevertheleſs a number of learned and wiſe Proteſtants, who have written, and will maintain, that *Peter's* being at *Rome* as Biſhop, cannot ſtand with concordance of Scripture.

Now come the Epiſtles of *Ignatius* to ſhew us firſt, that *Oneſimus* was Biſhop of *Epheſus*; next to aſſert the difference of *Biſhop* and *Presbyter*, wherin I wonder that men, teachers of the Proteſtant Religion, make no more difficulty of impoſing upon our Belief a ſuppoſititious ofspring of ſome dozen Epiſtles, whereof five are rejected as ſpurious, containing in them Hereſies and Trifles;

which cannot agree in Chronology with *Ignatius*, entitling him Arch-biſhop of *Antioch Theopolis*, which name of *Theopolis* that City had not till *Juſtinians* time, long after, as *Credenus* mentions; which argues both the barbarous time, and the unſkilful fraud of him that foiſted this Epiſtle upon *Ignatius*. In the Epiſtle to thoſe of *Tarſus*, he condemns them for Miniſters of Satan, that ſay *Chriſt is God above all*. To the *Philippians* them that kept their Eaſter as the *Aſian* Churches, as *Polycarpus* did, and them that faſted upon any Saturday, or Sunday, except one, he counts as thoſe that had ſlain the *Lord*. To thoſe of *Antioch*, he ſalutes the Sub-Deacons, Chaunters, Porters, and Exorciſts, as if theſe had bin Orders of the Church in his time: thoſe other Epiſtles leſs queſtion'd, are yet ſo interlarded with Corruptions, as may juſtly indue us with a wholſome ſuſpition of the reſt. As to the *Trallians*, he writes that *a Biſhop hath power over all beyond all Government and Autority whatſoever.* Surely then no Pope can deſire more than *Ignatius* attributes to every Biſhop; but what will become then of the Archbiſhops and Primats, if every Biſhop in *Ignatius*'s judgment be as ſupream as a Pope? To the *Epheſians*, near the very place from whence they fetch their proof for Epiſcopacy, there ſtands a line that caſts an ill hue upon all the Epiſtle; *Let no man err*, ſaith he; unleſs a man be within the rays or encloſure of the Altar, he is depriv'd of the bread of Life. I ſay not but this may be ſtretch'd to a figurative conſtruction, but yet it has an ill look, eſpecially being follow'd beneath with the mention of I know not what Sacrifices. In the other Epiſtle to *Smyrna*, wherein is written that they ſhould follow their Biſhop as *Chriſt* did his Father, and the *Presbytery* as the *Apoſtles*; not to ſpeak of the inſulſe, and ill-laid compariſon, this cited place lies upon the very brim of another Corruption, which had they that quote this paſſage, ventur'd to let us read, all men would have readily ſeen what grain the Teſtimony had bin of, where it is ſaid, that it is not lawful without a Biſhop to baptize, nor to offer, nor to do Sacrifice. What can our Church make of theſe Phraſes but ſcandalous? And but a little further he plainly falls to contradict the Spirit of *God* in *Solomon*, judg by the words themſelves; *My Son*, ſaith he, *honour God and the King*; but I ſay, honour *God* and the Biſhop as High-prieſt, bearing the Image of *God* according to his ruling, and of *Chriſt* according to his Prieſting, and after him honour the King. Excellent *Ignatius!* can ye blame the *Prelats* for making much of this Epiſtle? Certainly if this Epiſtle can ſerve you to ſet a Biſhop above a *Presbyter*, it may ſerve you next to ſet him above a King. Theſe, and other like places in abundance through all thoſe ſhort Epiſtles, muſt either be adulterat, or elſe *Ignatius* was not *Ignatius*, nor a Martyr, but moſt adulterate, and corrupt himſelf. In the midſt therefore of ſo many forgeries, where ſhall we fix to dare ſay this is *Ignatius?* As for his ſtile who knows it? ſo disfigur'd and interrupted as it is, except they think that where they meet with any thing ſound, and orthodoxal, there they find *Ignatius*, and then they believe him not for his own Authority, but for a truths ſake, which they derive from elſwhere: to what end then ſhould they cite him as Authentick for Epiſcopacy, when they cannot know what is Authentick in him, but by the judgment which they brought with them, and not by any *judgment* which they might ſafely learn from him? How can they bring ſatisfaction from ſuch an Author, to whoſe very eſſence the Reader muſt be fain to contribute his own Underſtanding? Had *God* ever intended that we ſhould have ſought any part of uſeful Inſtruction from *Ignatius*, doubtles he would not have ſo ill provided for our knowledg, as to ſend him to our hands in this broken and disjointed plight; and if he intended no ſuch thing, we do injuriouſly in thinking to taſt better the pure Evangelick Manna, by ſeaſoning our Mouths with the tainted ſcraps and fragments of an unknown Table, and ſearching among the verminous and polluted Rags dropt overworn from the toyling ſhoulders of Time, with theſe deformedly to quilt and interlace the intire, the ſpotleſs, and undecaying robe of Truth, the daughter not of Time, but of Heaven, only bred up here below in Chriſtian Hearts, between two grave and holy Nurſes, the Doctrine and Diſcipline of the Goſpel.

Next follows *Irenæus* Biſhop of *Lions*, who is cited to affirm *that* Polycarpus *was made Biſhop of* Smyrna *by the Apoſtles*; and this it may ſeem, none could better tell then he who had both ſeen and heard *Polycarpus*: But when did he hear him? himſelf confeſſes to *Florinus*, when he was a Boy. Whether that Age in *Irenæus* may not be liable to many miſtakings; and whether a Boy may be truſted to take an exact account of the manner of a Church Conſtitution, and upon what terms, and within what limits, and with what kind of Commiſſion *Polycarpus* receiv'd his Charge, let a man conſider, ere he be cerdulous. It will not be deny'd that he might have ſeen *Polycarpus* in his youth, a man of great eminence in the Church, to whom the other *Presbyters* might give way for his *Vertue*, *Wiſdom*, and the reverence of his Age; and ſo did *Anicetus* Biſhop of *Rome*, even in his own City, give him a kind of priority in adminiſtring the Sacrament, as may be read in *Euſebius*: but that we ſhould hence conclude a diſtinct, and ſuperior order from the young obſervation of *Irenæus*, nothing yet alledg'd can warrant us, unleſs we ſhall believe ſuch as would face us down, that *Calvin*, and after him *Beza* were Biſhops of *Geneva*, becauſe that in the unſettl'd ſtate of the Church, while things were not fully compos'd, their worth and learning caſt a greater ſhare of buſineſs upon them, and directed mens eyes principally towards them; and yet theſe men were the diſſolvers of Epiſcopacie. We ſee the ſame neceſſity in ſtate Affairs; *Brutus* that expell'd the Kings out of *Rome*, was for the time forc't to be as it were a King himſelf, till matters were ſet in order, as in a free Commonwealth. He that had ſeen *Pericles* lead the Athenians which way he liſted, haply would have ſaid he had bin their Prince, and yet he was but a powerful and eloquent Man in a Democratie, and had no more at any time then a temporary and elective ſway, which was in the will of the people when to abrogate. And it is moſt likely that in the Church, they which came after theſe Apoſtolick Men, being leſs in Merit, but bigger in Ambition, ſtrove to invade thoſe Privileges by intruſion and plea of right, which *Polycarpus*, and others like him poſſeſt from the voluntary ſurrender of Men ſubdu'd by the excellencie of their heavenly Gifts; which becauſe their Succeſſors had not, and ſo could neither have that Autority, it was their policy to divulge that the eminence which *Polycarpus* and his equals enjoy'd, was by right of conſtitution, not by free will of condeſcending. And yet thus far *Irenæus* makes againſt them as in that very place to call *Polycarpus* an Apoſtolical *Presbyter*. But what fidelity his relations had in general, we cannot ſooner learn then by *Euſebius*, who neer the end of his third Book, ſpeaking of *Papias* a very ancient Writer, one that had heard St. *John*, and was known to many that had ſeen, and bin acquainted with others of the Apoſtles, but being of a ſhallow wit, and not underſtanding thoſe Traditions which he receiv'd, fill'd his Writings with many new Doctrines, and fabulous conceits; he tells us there, that divers Eccleſiaſtical Men, and *Irenæus* among the reſt, while they lookt at his Antiquity, became infected with his Errors. Now if *Irenæus* were ſo raſh as to take unexamin'd opinions from an Author of ſo ſmall capacity, when he was a Man, we ſhould be more raſh our ſelves to rely upon thoſe obſervations which he made when he was a Boy. And this may be a ſufficient reaſon to us why we need no longer muſe at the ſpreading of many idle Traditions ſo ſoon after the Apoſtles, whilſt ſuch as this *Papias* had the throwing them about, and the inconſiderate zeal of the next Age, that heeded more the Perſon then the Doctrine, had the gathering them up. Where ever a man, who had bin any way converſant with the *Apoſtles*, was to be found, thither flew all the inquiſitive ears, although the exerciſe of right inſtructing was chang'd into the curioſity of impertinent fabling: where the Mind was to be edified with ſolid *Doctrine*, there the fancy was ſooth'd with ſolemn Stories: with leſs fervency was ſtudied what Saint *Paul*, or Saint *John* had written then was liſten'd to one that could ſay here he taught, here he ſtood, this was his ſtature; and thus he went habited, and O happy this houſe that harbour'd him, and that cold ſtone whereon he reſted, this Village wherein he wrought ſuch a miracle, and that pavement bedew'd with the warm effuſion of his laſt blood, that ſprouted up into eternal Roſes to crown his Martyrdom. Thus while all their thoughts were pour'd out upon circumſtances, and the gazing after ſuch Men as had ſat at table with the *Apoſtles* (many of which *Chriſt* hath profeſt, yea though they had caſt out Devils in his name, he will not know at the laſt day) by this means they loſt their time, and truanted in the fundamental grounds of ſaving knowledg, as was ſeen ſhortly by their Writings. Laſtly for *Irenæus*, we have cauſe to think him leſs judicious in his reports from hand to hand of what the *Apoſtles* did, when we find him ſo negligent in keeping the *Faith* which they writ, as to ſay in his third Book againſt Hereſies, that the obedience of *Mary* was the cauſe of Salvation to her ſelf, and all Mankind; and in his fift Book, that as *Eve* was ſeduc't to fly *God*, ſo the Virgin *Mary* was perſwaded to obey *God*, that the Virgin *Mary* might be made the Advocate of the Virgin *Eve*. Thus if *Irenæus* for his neerneſs to the *Apoſtles*, muſt be the Patron of *Epiſcopacy* to us, it is no marvel though he be the Patron of Idolatry to the Papiſt, for the ſame cauſe. To the Epiſtle of thoſe Brethren of *Smyrna*, that write the Martyrdom of *Polycarpus*, and ſtile him an Apoſtolical, and Prophetical Doctor, and Biſhop of the Church in *Smyrna*, I could be content to give ſome credit for the great honour and affection which I ſee thoſe Brethren bear him, and not undeſervedly if it be true which they there ſay that he was a Prophet, and had a voice from Heaven to comfort him at his death, which they could hear, but the reſt could not for the noiſe and tumult that was in the place; and beſides, if his body were ſo precious to the Chriſtians, that he was never wont to pull off his ſhoes for one or other that ſtill ſtrove to have the Office, that they might come to touch his feet, yet a light ſcruple or two I would gladly be reſolv'd in: If *Polycarpus* (who, as they ſay, was a *Prophet* that never fail'd in what he foretold) had declar'd to his friends, that he knew by viſion, he ſhould die no other death then burning, how it came to paſs that the fire when it came to proof, would not do his work, but ſtarting off like a full ſail from the maſt, did but reflect a golden light upon his unviolated limbs, exhaling ſuch a ſweet odour, as if all the incenſe of *Arabia* had bin burning, in ſo much that when the bill-men ſaw that the fire was over-aw'd, and could not do the deed, one of them ſteps to him and ſtabs him with a ſword, at which wound ſuch abundance of blood guſht forth as quencht the fire. By all this relation it appears not how the fire was guilty of his death, and then how can his Propheſie be fulfill'd? Next how the ſtanders-by could be ſo ſoon weary of ſuch a glorious ſight, and ſuch a fragrant ſmell, as to haſten the Executioner to put out the fire with the Martyrs Blood, unleſs perhaps they thought, as in all perfumes, that the Smoak would be more odorous then the Flame: Yet theſe good brethren ſay he was Biſhop of *Smyrna*. No man queſtions it, if Biſhop and *Presbyter* anciently were all one, and how does it appear by any thing in this teſtimony that they were not? If among his other high titles of Prophetical, Apoſtolical, and moſt Admired of thoſe times, he be alſo ſtil'd Biſhop of the Church of *Smyrna* in a kind of ſpeech, which the Rhetoricians call κατ' ἐξοχὴν, for his excellence ſake, as being the moſt famous of all the *Smyrnian Presbyters*; it cannot be prov'd neither from this nor that other place of *Irenæus*, that he was therefore in diſtinct and monarchical order above the other *Presbyters*; it is more probable, that if the whole *Presbytery* had been as renowned as he, they would have term'd every one of them ſeverally Biſhop of *Smyrna*. Hence it is that we read ſometimes of two Biſhops in one place; and had all the *Presbyters* there been of like worth, we might perhaps have read of twenty.

*Tertullian* accoſts us nexts (for *Polycrates* hath had his Anſwer) whoſe Teſtimony, ſtate but the queſtion right, is of no more force to deduce *Epiſcopacy*, then the two former. He ſays that the Church of *Smyrna* had *Polycarpus* plac't there by *John*, and the Church of *Rome Clement* ordain'd by *Peter*; and ſo the reſt of the Churches did ſhew what Biſhops they had receiv'd by the appointment of the *Apoſtles*. None of this will be contradicted, for we have it out of the Scripture that Biſhops or *Presbyters*, which were the ſame, were left by the *Apoſtles* in every Church, and they might perhaps give ſome ſpecial charge to *Clement*, or *Polycarpus*, or *Linus*, and put ſome ſpecial truſt in them for the experience they had of their Faith and Conſtancy; it remains yet to be evinc't out of this and the like places, which will never be, that the word Biſhop is otherwiſe taken, then in the language of Saint *Paul*, and the *Acts*, for an order above *Presbyters*. We grant them Biſhops, we grant them worthy Men, we grant them plac't in ſeveral Churches by the *Apoſtles*; we grant that *Irenæus* and *Tertul* affirm this, but that they were plac't in a ſuperiour Order above the *Presbytery*, ſhew from all theſe words why we ſhould grant. 'Tis not enough to ſay the *Apoſtle* left this man Biſhop in *Rome*, and that other in *Epheſus*, but to ſhew when they alter'd their own Decree ſet down by St. *Paul*, and made all the *Presbyters* underlings to one Biſhop. But ſuppoſe *Tertullian* had made an imparity where none was originally, ſhould he move us, that goes about to prove an imparity between *God* the Father, and *God* the Son, as theſe words import in his Book againſt *Praxeas?* The Father is the whole ſubſtance, but the Son a derivation, and portion of the whole, as he himſelf profeſſes, becauſe the Father is greater than me. Believe him now for a faithful relater of Tradition, whom you ſee ſuch an unfaithful expounder of the Scripture; beſides, in his time all allowable Tradition was now loſt. For this ſame Author whom you bring to teſtifie the Ordination of *Clement* to the Biſhoprick of *Rome* by *Peter*, teſtifies alſo in the beginning of his Treatiſe concerning Chaſtity, that the Biſhop of *Rome* did then uſe to ſend forth his Edicts by the name of *Pontifex Maximus*, and *Epiſcopus Epiſcoporum*, chief Prieſt, and Biſhop of Biſhops: For ſhame then do not urge that Autority to keep up a Biſhop, that will neceſſarily ingage you to ſet up a *Pope.* As little can your advantage be from *Hegeſippus* an Hiſtorian of the ſame time not extant, but cited by *Euſebius*; his words are, that in every City all things ſo ſtood in his time as the Law, and the *Prophets*, and our Lord did preach. If they ſtood ſo, then ſtood not Biſhops above *Presbyters*; for what our Lord and his Diſciples taught, *God* be thanked, we have no need to go learn of him: and you may as well hope to perſwade us out of the ſame Author, that *James* the Brother of our Lord was a *Nazarite*, and that to him only it was lawful to enter into the Holy of Holies; that his food was not upon any thing that had life, Fiſh, or Fleſh; that he us'd no wollen Garments, but only Linen, and ſo as he trifles on.

If therefore the Tradition of the Church were now grown ſo ridiculous, and diſconſenting from the Doctrine of the *Apoſtles*, even in thoſe points which were of leſt moment to mens particular ends, how well may we be aſſur'd it was much more degenerated in point of *Epiſcopacy*, and Precedency, things which could afford ſuch plauſible Pretences, ſuch commodious traverſes for Ambition, and Avarice to lurk behind?

As for thoſe *Brittain* Biſhops which you cite, take heed what you do; for our *Brittain* Biſhops, leſs ancient then theſe, were remarkable for nothing more then their Poverty, as *Sulp. Severus*, and *Beda* can remember you of Examples good ſtore.

Laſtly (for the fabulous *Metaphraſtes* is not worth an Anſwer) that Authority of *Clemens Alexandrinus* is not to be found in all his Works; and wherever it be extant, it is in controverſie, whether it be *Clemens* or no; or if it were, it ſays only that Saint *John* in ſome places conſtituted Biſhops: queſtionleſs he did, but where does *Clement* ſay he ſet them above *Presbyters?* No man will gainſay the conſtitution of *Biſhops*; but the raiſing them to a ſuperiour, and diſtinct order above *Presbyters*, ſeeing the Goſpel makes them one and the ſame thing, a thouſand ſuch Allegations as theſe will not give Prelatical *Epiſcopacy*, one Chapel of eaſe above a Pariſh Church. And thus much for this cloud I cannot ſay rather then petty-fog of Witneſſes, with which Epiſcopal Men would caſt a miſt before us, to deduce their exalted *Epiſcopacy* from Apoſtolick Times. Now although, as all men well know, it be the wonted ſhift of Errour, and fond Opinion, when they find themſelves outlaw'd by the Bible, and forſaken of ſound Reaſon, to betake them with all ſpeed to their old ſtarting hole of Tradition, and that wild, and overgrown covert of Antiquity, thinking to frame there a large room, and find good ſtabling, yet thus much their own deify'd Antiquity betrays them, to inform us that Tradition hath had very ſeldom or never the gift of Perſwaſion; as that which Church-Hiſtories report of thoſe *Eaſt* and *Weſtern Paſchaliſts* formerly ſpoken of will declare. Who would have thought that *Polycarpus* on the one ſide could have err'd in what he ſaw Saint *John* do, or *Anicetus* Biſhop of *Rome* on the other ſide, in what he or ſome of his friends might pretend to have ſeen Saint *Peter*, or Saint *Paul* do, and yet neither of theſe could perſwade either when to keep Eaſter? The like frivolous Contention troubled the Primitive Engliſh Churches, while *Colmanus*, and *Wilfride* on either ſide deducing their Opinions, the one from the undeniable Example of

Saint *John*, and the learned Biſhop *Anatolius*, and laſtly the miraculous *Columba*, the other from Saint *Peter* and the *Nicene* Councel, could gain no ground each of other, till King *Oſwy* perceiving no likelihood of ending the Controverſie that way, was fain to decide it himſelf good King, with that ſmall knowledg, wherewith thoſe times had furniſht him. So when thoſe pious Greek *Emperours* began, as *Cedrenus* relates, to put down Monks, and aboliſh Images, the old Idolaters finding themſelves blaſted, and driven back by the prevailing light of the Scripture, ſent out their ſturdy *Monks* call'd the *Abramites*, to alledge for Images the ancient Fathers *Dionyſius*, and this our objected *Irenæus*: nay they were ſo high flown in their Antiquity, that they undertook to bring the *Apoſtles*, and *Luke* the *Evangeliſt*, yea *Chriſt* himſelf, from certain Records that were then current, to patronize their Idolatry. Yet for all this the worthy Emperour *Theophilus*, even in thoſe dark times, choſe rather to nouriſh himſelf and his people with the ſincere Milk of the Goſpel, then to drink from the mixt Confluence of ſo many corrupt and poyſonous Waters, as Tradition would have perſwaded him to by moſt ancient ſeeming Authorities. In like manner all the reformed Churches abroad, unthroning *Epiſcopacy*, doubtleſs were not ignorant of theſe Teſtimonies alledg'd to draw it in a line from the *Apoſtles* days; for ſurely the Author will not think he hath brought us now any new Authorities, or Conſiderations into the world, which the Reformers in other places were not adviſ'd of: and yet we ſee, the interceſſion of all theſe Apoſtolick Fathers could not prevail with them to alter their reſolved Decree of reducing into order their uſurping and over-provender'd *Epiſcopants*; and *God* hath bleſt their Work this hundred years with a proſperous and ſtedfaſt, and ſtill happy Succeſs. And this may ſerve to prove the Inſufficiency of theſe preſent *Epiſcopal* Teſtimonies, not only in themſelves, but in the account of thoſe ever that have been the followers of Truth. It will next behoove us to conſider the Inconvenience we fall into, by uſing our ſelves to be guided by theſe kind of Teſtimonies. He that thinks it the part of a well-learned Man to have read diligently the ancient Stories of the Church, and to be no ſtranger in the Volumes of the Fathers, ſhall have all judicious Men conſenting with him; not hereby to controul, and new fangle the Scripture, *God* forbid, but to mark how Corruption and *Apoſtacy* crept in by degrees, and to gather up where ever we find the remaining ſparks of original Truth, wherewith to ſtop the mouths of our Adverſaries, and to bridle them with their own curb, who willingly paſs by that which is Orthodoxal in them, and ſtudiouſly cull out that which is commentitious, and beſt for their turns, not weighing the Fathers in the ballance of Scripture, but Scripture in the ballance of the Fathers. If we therefore, making firſt the Goſpel our Rule and Oracle, ſhall take the good which we light on in the Fathers, and ſet it to oppoſe the evil which other men ſeek from them, in this way of ſkirmiſh we ſhall eaſily maſter all Superſtition and falſe Doctrine; but if we turn this our diſcreet and wary uſage of them into a blind devotion towards them, and whatſoever we find written by them, we both forſake our own grounds and reaſons which led us at firſt to part from *Rome*, that is to hold to the Scriptures againſt all Antiquity; we remove our Cauſe into our Adverſaries own Court, and take up there thoſe caſt Principles which will ſoon cauſe us to ſoder up with them again, in as much as believing Antiquity for it ſelf in any one point, we bring an ingagement upon our ſelves of aſſenting to all that it charges upon us. For ſuppoſe we ſhould now, neglecting that which is clear in Scripture, that a Biſhop and *Presbyter* is all one both in Name and Office, and that what was done by *Timothy* and *Titus*, executing an extraordinary place, as fellow-labourers with the *Apoſtles*, and of a univerſal charge in planting Chriſtianity through divers Regions, cannot be drawn into particular and daily example; ſuppoſe that neglecting this clearneſs of the Text, we ſhould by the uncertain, and corrupted Writings of ſucceeding times, determine that Biſhop and *Presbyter* are different, becauſe we dare not deny what *Ignatius*, or rather the *Perkin Warbeck* of *Ignatius*, ſays; then muſt we be conſtrain'd to take upon our ſelves a thouſand Superſtitions and falſities which the Papiſts will prove us down in from as good Authorities, and as ancient as theſe that ſet a Biſhop above a *Presbyter*. And the plain truth is, that when any of our men of thoſe that are wedded to Antiquity come to diſpute with a Papiſt, and leaving the Scriptures put themſelves without appeal to the Sentence of *Synods* and Councels, uſing in the cauſe of *Sion* the hir'd Souldiery of revolted *Iſrael*, where they give the *Romaniſts* one buff, they receive two counterbuffs. Were it therefore but in this regard, every true Biſhop ſhould be afraid to conquer in his Cauſe by ſuch Authorities as theſe, which if we admit for the Authorities ſake, we open a broad paſſage for a multitude of Doctrines that have no ground in Scripture to break in upon us.

Laſtly, I do not know, it being undeniable that there are but two Eccleſiaſtical Orders, Biſhops and Deacons, mention'd in the *Goſpel*, how it can be leſs then Impiety to make a demur at that, which is there ſo perſpicuous, confronting, and parallelling the ſacred Verity of Saint *Paul* with the offals and ſweepings of Antiquity, that met as accidentally and abſurdly, as *Epicurus* his Atoms, to patch up a Leucippean *Ignatius*, enclining rather to make this phantaſm an expounder, or indeed a depraver of Saint *Paul*, then Saint *Paul* an examiner, and diſcoverer of this Impoſtorſhip; nor caring how ſlightly they put off the verdit of holy Text unſalv'd, that ſays plainly there be but two Orders, ſo they maintain the Reputation of their imaginary Doctor that proclaims three. Certainly if *Chriſts* Apoſtle have ſet down but two, then according to his own words, though he himſelf ſhould unſay it, and not only the Angel of *Smyrna*, but an Angel from Heaven ſhould bear us down that there be three, Saint *Paul* has doom'd him twiſe, Let him be accurſt, for *Chriſt* hath pronounc't that no tittle of his Word ſhall fall to the ground; and if one jot be alterable, it is as poſſible that all ſhould periſh: and this ſhall be our *Righteouſneſs*, our ample warrant, and ſtrong aſſurance both now, and at the laſt day never to be aſham'd of, againſt all the heaped names of Angels, and Martyrs, Councels, and Fathers urg'd upon us, if we have given our ſelves up to be taught by the pure, and living Precept of *Gods* Word only, which without more additions, nay with a forbidding of them, hath within it ſelf the promiſe of Eternal Life, the end of all our weariſom Labours, and all our ſuſtaining Hopes. But if any ſhall ſtrive to ſet up his *Ephod*, and *Teraphim* of Antiquity againſt the brightneſs and perfection of the *Goſpel*; let him fear leſt he and his *Baal* be turn'd into *Boſheth*. And thus much may ſuffice to ſhew that the pretended *Epiſcopacy* cannot be deduc'd from the *Apoſtolical* TIMES.

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# OF REFORMATION in ENGLAND, AND THE Cauſes that hitherto have hindred it.

*In two Books. VVritten to a Friend.*

*SIR*,

AMidſt thoſe deep and retired thoughts, which with every Man chriſtianly inſtructed, ought to be moſt frequent, of *God*, and of his miraculous *Ways* and *Works* amongſt Men, and of our *Religion* and *Works*, to be perform'd to him; after the Story of our Saviour *Chriſt*, ſuffering to the loweſt bent of weakneſſe in the *Fleſh*, and preſently triumphing to the higheſt pitch of *Glory* in the *Spirit*, which drew up his Body alſo, till we in both be united to him in the Revelation of his Kingdom: I do not know of any thing more worthy to take up the whole paſſion of Pity on the one ſide, and Joy on the other, then to conſider firſt, the foul and ſudden Corruption, and then after many a tedious Age, the long deferr'd, but much more wonderful and happy Reformation of the *Church* in theſe latter days. Sad it is to think how that Doctrin of the *Goſpel*, planted by Teachers divinely inſpir'd, and by them winnow'd, and ſifted from the Chaff of overdated Ceremonies, and refin'd to ſuch a ſpiritual height and temper of Purity, and knowledg of the Creator, that the Body, with all the Circumſtances of Time and Place, were purifi'd by the Affections of the regenerate Soul, and nothing left impure, but Sin; *Faith* needing not the weak, and fallible Office of the Senſes, to be either the Uſhers or Interpreters of heavenly Myſteries, ſave where our Lord himſelf in his Sacraments ordain'd, that ſuch a Doctrine ſhould, through the groſſneſs and blindneſs of her Profeſſors, and the fraud of deceivable Traditions, drag ſo downwards, as to backſlide one way into the Jewiſh beggery of old caſt Rudiments, and ſtumble forward another way into the new-vomited Paganiſm of ſenſual Idolatry, attributing Purity or Impurity to things indifferent, that they might bring the inward Acts of the *Spirit* to the outward and cuſtomary Eye-ſervice of the Body, as if they could make *God* earthly and fleſhly, becauſe they could not make themſelves *heavenly* and *ſpiritual*; they began to draw down all the divine Intercours betwixt *God* and the Soul, yea, the very ſhape of *God* himſelf, into an exterior and bodily Form, urgently pretending a neceſſity and obligement of joyning the Body in a formal Reverence, and *Worſhip* circumſcrib'd; they hallow'd it, they fum'd it, they ſprincl'd it, they bedeck't it, not in Robes of pure Innocency, but of pure Linen, with other deformed and fantaſtick dreſſes, in Palls and Miters, Gold, and Guegaw's fetcht from *Aron*'s old Wardrobe, or the *Flamins Veſtry*: then was the *Prieſt* ſet to *con his Motions* and his *Poſtures*, his *Liturgies* and his *Lurries*, till the Soul by this means of over-bodying her ſelf, given up juſtly to fleſhly delights, bated her Wing apace downward: And finding the eaſe ſhe had from her viſible and ſenſuous Collegue the Body, in performance of *religious* Duties, her Pineons now broken, and flagging, ſhifted off from her ſelf the labour of high ſoaring any more, forgot her heavenly flight, and left the dull and droyling Carcas to plod on in the old Road, and drudging Trade of outward Conformity. And here out of queſtion from her pervers conceiting of *God*, and holy things, ſhe had faln to believe no *God* at all, had not cuſtom and the worm of Conſcience nipt her Incredulity hence to all the Duties of evangelical Grace, inſtead of the adoptive and chearful boldneſs which our new Alliance with *God* requires, came ſervile, and thral-like fear: For in very deed, the ſuperſtitious Man, by his good Will, is an Atheiſt; but being ſcar'd from thence by the pangs and gripes of a boiling Conſcience, all in a pudder ſhuffles up to himſelf ſuch a *God*, and ſuch a *Worſhip* as is moſt agreeable to remedy his fear; which fear of his, as alſo is his hope, fixt only upon the *Fleſh*, renders likewiſe the whole faculty of his Apprehenſion carnal; and all the inward Acts of *Worſhip*, iſſuing from the native ſtrength of the Soul, run out laviſhly to the upper Skin, and there harden into a Cruſt of Formality. Hence Men came to ſcan the *Scriptures* by the Letter, and in the Covenant of our Redemption, magnifi'd the external Signs more then the quickning Power of the *Spirit*; and yet looking on them through their own guiltineſs, with a ſervile fear, and finding as little comfort, or rather terror from them again, they knew not how to hide their ſlaviſh approach to *Gods* Beheſts by them not underſtood, nor worthily receav'd, but by cloaking their ſervile crouching to all *religious* Preſentments, ſomtimes lawful, ſomtimes Idolatrous, under the name of *Humility*, and terming the py-bald Frippery, and oſtentation of Ceremonies, Decency.

Then was Baptiſm chang'd into a kind of Exorciſm, and Water, ſanctifi'd by *Chriſts* Inſtitute, thought little enough to waſh off the Original Spot without the Scratch, or croſs impreſſion of a Prieſt's fore-finger: And that Feaſt of Free-grace, and Adoption to which *Chriſt* invited his Diſciples to ſit as Brethren, and Co-heirs of the happy Covenant, which at that Table was to be ſeal'd to them, even that Feaſt of Love and heavenly-admitted Fellowſhip, the Seal of filial Grace, became the ſubject of Horror, and glouting Adoration, pageanted about like a dreadful Idol: Which ſometimes deceives wel-meaning Men, and beguiles them of their Reward, by their voluntary Humility; which indeed is fleſhly Pride, preferring a fooliſh Sacrifice, and the Rudiments of the World, as Saint *Paul* to the *Coloſſians* explaineth, before a ſavory Obedience to *Chriſts* Example. Such was *Peters* unſeaſonable *Humility*, as then his Knowledg was ſmall, when *Chriſt* came to waſh his feet; who at an impertinent time would needs ſtrain Courteſy with his Maſter, and falling troubleſomly upon the lowly, alwiſe, and unexaminable intention of *Chriſt*, in what he went with reſolution to do, ſo provok't by his interruption the meek *Lord*, that he threat'nd to exclude him from his heavenly Portion, unleſs he could be content to be leſs arrogant and ſtiff-neckt in his Humility.

But to dwell no longer in characterizing the *Depravities* of the *Church*, and how they ſprung, and how they took increaſe; when I recall to mind at laſt, after ſo many dark Ages, wherein the huge overſhadowing Train of *Error* had almoſt ſwept all the Stars out of the Firmament of the *Church*; how the bright and bliſsful *Reformation* (by Divine Power) ſtrook through the black and ſettled Night of *Ignorance* and *Antichriſtian Tyranny*, methinks a ſoveraign and reviving Joy muſt needs ruſh into the Boſom of him that reads or hears; and the ſweet Odour of the returning *Goſpel* imbath his Soul with the fragrancy of Heaven. Then was the Sacred BIBLE ſought out of the duſty Corners where profane Falſhood and Neglect had thrown it, the *Schools* opened, *Divine* and *Humane Learning* rak't out of the *Embers* of *forgotten Tongues*, the *Princes* and *Cities* trooping apace to the new erected Banner of *Salvation*; the *Martyrs*, with the unreſiſtable *might* of *Weakneſs*, ſhaking the *Powers* of *Darkneſs*, and ſcorning the *fiery Rage* of the old *red Dragon*.

The pleaſing purſuit of theſe Thoughts hath oft-times led me into a ſerious queſtion and debatement with my ſelf, how it ſhould come to paſs that *England* (having had this *Grace* and *Honour* from GOD to be the firſt that ſhould ſet up the Standard for the recovery of *loſt Truth*, and blow the firſt *Evangelick Trumpet* to the *Nations*, holding up, as from a Hill, the new Lamp of *ſaving Light* to all Chriſtendom) ſhould now be laſt, and moſt unſettl'd in the enjoyment of that *Peace*, whereof ſhe taught the way to others; although indeed our *Wickleſs* preaching, at which all the ſucceeding *Reformers* more effectually lighted their *Tapers*, was to his Countrymen but a ſhort Blaze, ſoon dampt and ſtifl'd by the *Pope* and *Prelats* for ſix or ſeven Kings Reigns; yet methinks the *Precedency* which GOD gave this *Iland*, to be the firſt *Reſtorer* of *buried Truth*, ſhould have been followed with more happy ſucceſs, and ſooner attain'd Perfection; in which as yet we are amongſt the laſt: for, albeit in *purity* of *Doctrine* we agree with our Brethren; yet in Diſcipline, which is the *execution* and *applying* of *Doctrine* home, and laying the *Salve* to the very *Orifice* of the *Wound*, yea, tenting and ſearching to the *Core*, without which *Pulpit-Preaching* is but ſhooting at Rovers; in this we are no better then a *Schiſm* from all the *Reformation*, and a ſore Scandal to them; for while we hold *Ordination* to belong only to *Biſhops*, as our *Prelats* do, we muſt of neceſſity hold alſo their *Miniſters* to be no *Miniſters*, and ſhortly after their *Church* to be no *Church*. Not to ſpeak of thoſe ſenſeleſs *Ceremonies* which we only retain, as a dangerous earneſt of ſliding back to *Rome*, and ſerving meerly, either as a miſt to cover nakedneſs where true *Grace* is extinguiſht, or as an Enterlude to ſet out the *Pomp* of *Prelatiſm*. Certainly it would be worth the while therefore, and the pains, to enquire more particularly, what, and how many the chief Cauſes have been, that have ſtill hindred our *uniform Conſent* to the reſt of the *Churches* abroad, at this time eſpecially when the *Kingdom* is in a good *propenſity* thereto; and all Men in Prayers, in Hopes, or in Diſputes, either for or againſt it.

Yet will I not inſiſt on that which may ſeem to be the Cauſe on GODS part; as his Judgment on our Sins, the tryal of his own, the unmaſking of Hypocrites: nor ſhall I ſtay to ſpeak of the continual eagerneſs and extream diligence of the *Pope* and *Papiſts* to ſtop the furtherance of *Reformation*, which know they have no hold or hope of *England* their loſt Darling, longer then the *Government* of *Biſhops* bolſters them out; and therefore plot all they can to uphold them, as may be ſeen by the Book of *Santa Clara* the Popiſh *Prieſt* in defence of *Biſhops*, which came out piping hot much about the time that one of our own *Prelats*, out of an ominous fear, had writ on the ſame *Argument*; as if they had join'd their Forces, like good Confederates, to ſupport one falling *Babel*.

But I ſhall chiefly endeavour to declare thoſe Cauſes that hinder the forwarding of *true Diſcipline*, which are among our ſelves. Orderly proceeding will divide our Inquiry into our *Fore-fathers Days*, and into *our Times*. HENRY VIII. was the firſt that rent this *Kingdom* from the *Popes* Subjection totally; but his Quarrel being more about *Supremacy*, then other faultineſs in *Religion* that he regarded, it is no marvel if he ſtuck where he did. The next default was in the *Biſhops*, who though they had renounc't the *Pope*, they ſtill hugg'd the *Popedom*, and ſhar'd the Authority among themſelves, by their ſix bloody Articles, perſecuting the *Proteſtants* no ſlacker then the *Pope* would have done. And doubtles, whenever the *Pope* ſhall fall, if his ruine be not like the ſudden down-come of a Tower, the *Biſhops*, when they ſee him tottering, will leave him, and fall to ſcrambling, catch who may, he a Patriarchdom, and another what comes next hand; as the French Cardinal of late, and the *See* of *Canterbury* hath plainly affected.

In *Edward* the VI's Days, why a compleat *Reformation* was not effected, to any conſiderate Man may appear. Firſt, He no ſooner entred into his Kingdom, but into a War with *Scotland*; from whence the Protector returning with Victory, had but newly put his hand to repeal the ſix *Articles*, and throw the Images out of *Churches*, but Rebellions on all ſides, ſtir'd up by obdurate Papiſts, and other Tumults, with a plain War in *Norfolk*, holding tack againſt two of the Kings *Generals*, made them of force content themſelves with what they had already done. Hereupon follow'd ambitious Contentions among the *Peers*, which ceas'd not but with the Protector's death, who was the moſt zealous in this point: And then *Northumberland* was he that could do moſt in *England*, who little minding *Religion*, (as his Apoſtacy well ſhew'd at his death) bent all his Wit how to bring the Right of the *Crown* into his own Line. And for the *Biſhops*, they were ſo far from any ſuch worthy Attempts, as that they ſuffer'd themſelves to be the common Stales to countenance, with their proſtituted Gravities, every Politick Fetch that was then on foot, as oft as the potent *Statiſts* pleas'd to employ them. Never do we read that they made uſe of their Authority, and high Place of acceſs, to bring the jarring Nobility to *Chriſtian Peace*, or to withſtand their diſloyal Projects: but if a Toleration for *Maſs* were to be beg'd of the King for his Siſter MARY, leſt CHARLES the Fifth ſhould be angry; who but the grave Prelats, *Cranmer* and *Ridley*, muſt be ſent to extort it from the young King? But out of the Mouth of that godly and Royal *Child*, Chriſt himſelf return'd ſuch an awful repulſe to thoſe halting and time-ſerving *Prelats*, that after much bold importunity, they went their way not without ſhame and tears.

Nor was this the firſt time that they diſcover'd to be followers of this World; for when the Protectors Brother, Lord *Sudley*, the Admiral, through private malice and mal-engine was to loſe his Life, no man could be found fitter then Biſhop *Latimer* (like another Doctor *Shaw*) to divulge in his Sermon the forged Accuſations laid to his charge, thereby to defame him with the People, who elſe 'twas thought would take ill the innocent mans Death, unleſs the Reverend *Biſhop* could warrant them there was no foul play. What could be more impious then to debar the Children of the King from their right to the Crown? To comply with the ambitious Uſurpation of a Traytor, and to make void the laſt Will of HENRY VIII. to which the Breakers had ſworn obſervance? Yet Biſhop *Cranmer* one of the Executors, and the other *Biſhops* none refuſing (leſt they ſhould reſiſt the Duke of *Northumberland*) could find in their Conſciences to ſet their hands to the diſinabling and defeating not only of Princeſs MARY the *Papiſt*, but of ELIZABETH the *Proteſtant*, and (by the *Biſhops* judgment) the lawful Iſſue of King HENRY.

Who then can think (though theſe *Prelats* had ſought a further *Reformation*) that the leaſt wry face of a *Politician* would not have huſh't them? But it will be ſaid, Theſe men were *Martyrs*: What then? Though every true Chriſtian will be a *Martyr* when he is called to it; not preſently does it follow that every one ſuffering for Religion, is without exception. Saint *Paul* writes, that *A man may give his Body to be burnt*, (meaning for Religion) *and yet not have Charity*: He is not therefore above all poſſibility of erring, becauſe he burns for ſome Points of Truth.

Witnes the *Arians* and *Pelagians* which were ſlain by the Heathen for *Chriſts* ſake, yet we take both theſe for no true friends of *Chriſt*. If the *Martyrs* (ſaith *Cyprian* in his 30*th* Epiſtle) decree one thing, and the *Goſpel* another, either the *Martyrs* muſt loſe their Crown by not obſerving the *Goſpel* for which they are *Martyrs*, or the Majeſty of the *Goſpel* muſt be broken and lie flat, if it can be overtopt by the *novelty* of any other *Decree*.

And herewithal I invoke the *Immortal* DEITY, *reveler* and *judg* of Secrets, That wherever I have in this BOOK plainly and roundly (though worthily and truly) laid open the faults and blemiſhes of *Fathers*, *Martyrs*, or Chriſtian *Emperors*, or have otherwiſe inveighed againſt Error and Superſtition with vehement Expreſſions; I have done it, neither out of malice, nor liſt to ſpeak evil, nor any vain glory, but of meer neceſſity to vindicate the ſpotleſs *Truth* from an ignominious Bondage, whoſe native worth is now become of ſuch a low eſteem, that ſhe is like to find ſmall credit with us for what ſhe can ſay, unleſs ſhe can bring a Ticket from *Crarmer*, *Latimer*, and *Ridley*; or prove her ſelf a retainer to *Conſtantine*, and wear his *badg*. More tolerable it were for the *Church* of GOD, that all theſe Names were utterly aboliſht like the *Brazen Serpent*, then that mens fond opinion ſhould thus idolize them, and the Heavenly *Truth* be thus captivated.

Now to proceed, whatſoever the *Biſhops* were, it ſeems they themſelves were unſatisfi'd in matters of *Religion* as they then ſtood, by that Commiſſion granted to 8 *Biſhops*, 8 other *Divines*, 8 *Civilians*, 8 *common Lawyers*, to frame *Eccleſiaſtical Conſtitutions*; which no wonder if it came to nothing, for (as *Hayward* relates) both their Profeſſions and their Ends were different. Laſtly, We all know by Examples, that exact *Reformation* is not perfeted at the firſt puſh, and thoſe unweildy Times of *Edward* VI. may hold ſome Plea by this excuſe. Now let any reaſonable man judg whether that *Kings Reign* be a fit time from whence to pattern out the Conſtitution of a *Church Diſcipline*, much leſs that it ſhould yield occaſion from whence to foſter and eſtabliſh the continuance of Imperfection, with the commendatory ſubſcriptions of *Confeſſors* and *Martyrs*, to intitle and ingage a glorious *Name* to a groſs *Corruption*. It was not *Epiſcopacy* that wrought in them the Heavenly fortitude of *Martyrdom*, as little is it that *Martyrdom* can make good *Epiſcopacy*; but it was *Epiſcopacy* that led the good and holy men through the temptation of the *Enemy*, and the ſnare of this preſent World, to many blame-worthy and opprobrious *Actions*. And it is ſtill *Epiſcopacy* that before all our eyes worſens and ſlugs the moſt Learned, and ſeeming religious of our *Miniſters*, who no ſooner advanc't to it, but like a ſeething Pot ſet to cool, ſenſibly exhale and reak out the greateſt part of that zeal, and thoſe Gifts which were formerly in them, ſettling in a skinny congealment of eaſe and ſloth at the top: and if they keep their Learning by ſome potent ſway of Nature, 'tis a rare chance; but their *Devotion* moſt commonly comes to that queazy temper of Lukewarmneſs, that gives a Vomit to GOD himſelf.

But what do we ſuffer miſ-ſhapen and enormous *Prelatiſm*, as we do, thus to blanch and varniſh her deformities with the fair Colours, as before of *Martyrdom*, ſo now of *Epiſcopacy?* They are not *Biſhops*, GOD and all *good Men* know they are not, that have fill'd this Land with late Confuſion and Violence, but a Tyrannical crew and Corporation of Impoſters that have blinded and abus'd the World ſo long under that Name. He that inabl'd with *Gifts* from *God*, and the lawful and Primitive choice of the *Church* aſſembl'd in convenient number, faithfully from that time forward feeds his Parochial *Flock*, has his coequal and compresbyterial Power to ordain *Miniſters* and *Deacons* by publick *Prayer*, and *Vote* of *Chriſts* Congregation in like ſort as he himſelf was ordain'd, and is a true *Apoſtolick Biſhop*. But when he ſteps up into the Chair of *Pontifical* Pride, and changes a moderate and exemplary Houſe for a miſgovern'd and haughty *Palace*, *ſpiritual Dignity* for carnal *Precedence*, and *ſecular high Office* and *Employment* for the *high Negotiations* of his Heavenly *Embaſſage:* Then he *degrades*, then he *un-biſhops* himſelf; he that makes him *Biſhop* makes him no *Biſhop*. No marvel therefore if S. *Martin* complain'd to *Sulpitius Severus*, that ſince he was *Biſhop* he felt inwardly a ſenſible decay of thoſe *Vertues* and *Graces* that *God* had given him in great meaſure before; although the ſame *Sulpitius* write that he was nothing tainted or alter'd in his *Habit*, *Diet*, or perſonal *demeanour* from that ſimple plainneſs to which he firſt betook himſelf. It was not therefore that thing alone which *God* took diſpleaſure at in the *Biſhops* of thoſe times, but rather an univerſal rottennes and gangreen in the whole *Function*.

From hence then I paſs to Queen ELIZABETH the next *Proteſtant* Prince, in whoſe Days why *Religion* attain'd not a perfect reducement in the beginning of her Reign, I ſuppoſe the hindring Cauſes will be found to be common with ſome formerly alledg'd for King EDWARD VI. the greeneſs of the Times, the weak Eſtate which Queen MARY left the Realm in, the great Places and Offices executed by *Papiſts*, the *Judges*, the *Lawyers*, the *Juſtices* of Peace for the moſt part *Popiſh*, the *Biſhops* firm to *Rome*; from whence was to be expected the furious flaſhing of Excommunications, and abſolving the *People* from their Obedience. Next her private *Councellors*, whoever they were, perſwaded her (as *Camden* writes) that the altering of *Eccleſiaſtical Policy* would move Sedition. Then was was the *Liturgy* given to a number of moderate *Divines*, and Sir *Tho. Smith* a Stateſman to be purg'd and phiſick't: And ſurely they were moderate *Divines* indeed, neither hot nor cold; and *Grindal* the beſt of them, afterwards *Arch-Biſhop* of *Canterbury*, loſt favour in the Court, and I think was diſcharg'd the government of his *See*, for favouring the *Miniſters*, though *Camden* ſeem willing to find another Cauſe: therefore about her ſecond Year, in a *Parliament*, of Men and Minds ſome ſcarce well grounded, others belching the ſoure crudities of yeſterdays *Popery*, thoſe Conſtitutions of EDWARD VI. which as you heard before, no way ſatisfi'd the men that made them, are now eſtabliſh't for beſt, and not to be mended. From that time follow'd nothing but impriſonments, troubles, diſgraces on all thoſe that found fault with the *Decrees* of the Convocation, and ſtrait were they branded with the Name of *Puritans*. As for the Queen her ſelf, ſhe was made believe that by putting down *Biſhops* her *Prerogative* would be infring'd, of which ſhall be ſpoken anon as the courſe of Method brings it in: And why the *Prelats* labour'd it ſhould be ſo thought, ask not them, but ask their Bellies. They had found a good Tabernacle, they ſate under a ſpreading Vine, their Lot was fallen in a fair Inheritance. And theſe perhaps were the chief Impeachments of a more ſound rectifying the *Church* in the Queens Time.

From this Period I count to begin our Times, which becauſe they concern us more nearly, and our own Eyes and Ears can give us the ampler ſcope to judg, will require a more exact ſearch; and to effect this the ſpeedier, I ſhall diſtinguiſh ſuch as I eſteem to be the hinderers of *Reformation* into 3 ſorts, *Antiquitarians*, (for ſo I had rather call them then *Antiquaries*, whoſe labours are uſeful and laudable). 2, *Libertines*. 3. *Politicians*.

To the votariſts of Antiquity I ſhall think to have fully anſwer'd, if I ſhall be able to prove out of Antiquity, Firſt, that if they will conform our Biſhops to the purer times, they muſt mew their feathers, and their pounces, and make but curt-tail'd Biſhops of them; and we know they hate to be dockt and clipt, as much as to be put down outright. Secondly, that thoſe purer times were corrupt, and their Books corrupted ſoon after. Thirdly, that the beſt of thoſe that then wrote diſclaim that any man ſhould repoſe on them, and ſend all to the Scriptures.

Firſt therefore, if thoſe that over-affect Antiquity will follow the ſquare thereof, their Biſhops muſt be elected by the hands of the whole *Church*. The ancienteſt of the extant Fathers, *Ignatius*, writing to the Philadelphians, ſaith, *that it belongs to them as to the Church of God to chooſe a Biſhop.* Let no man cavil, but take the Church of *God* as meaning the whole conſiſtence of Orders and Members, as St. *Paul*'s Epiſtles expreſs, and this likewiſe being read over: Beſides this, it is there to be mark'd, that thoſe Philadelphians are exhorted to chooſe a Biſhop of *Antioch*. Whence it ſeems by the way that there was not that wary limitation of Dioceſs in thoſe times, which is confirm'd even by a faſt friend of Epiſcopacy, *Camden*, who cannot but love Biſhops, as well as old coins, and his much lamented Monaſteries, for antiquities ſake. He writes in his deſcription of *Scotland*, *that over all the world Biſhops had no certain Dioces, till Pope* Dionyſius *about the year* 268 *did cut them out*; and *that the Biſhops of* Scotland *executed their function in what place ſoever they came indifferently, and without diſtinction, till King* Malcolm *the third, about the year* 1070. Whence may be gueſt what their function was: Was it to go about circl'd with a band of rooking Officials, with cloke-bags full of Citations, and Proceſſes to be ſerv'd by a corporalty of griffon-like Promooters and Apparitors? Did he go about to pitch down his Court, as an Empirick does his banck, to inveigle in all the Money of the Country? No certainly it would not have bin permitted him to exerciſe any ſuch Function indifferently wherever he came. And verily ſome ſuch matter it was as want of a fat Dioces that kept our Britain Biſhops ſo poor in the Primitive times, that being call'd to the Council of *Ariminum* in the year 359. they had not wherewithal to defray the charges of, their Journey, but were fed and lodg'd upon the Emperor's coſt; which muſt needs be no accidental, but uſual poverty in them: for the Author *Sulpitius Severus* in his 2d Book of Church-Hiſtory praiſes them, and avouches it praiſe-worthy in a Biſhop to be ſo poor as to have nothing of his own. But to return to the ancient election of Biſhops, that it could not lawfully be without the conſent of the People is ſo expreſs in *Cyprian*, and ſo often to be met with, that to cite each place at large, were to tranſlate a good part of the Volume; therefore touching the chief paſſages, I refer the reſt to whom ſo liſt peruſe the Author himſelf: in the 24 Epiſt. *If a Biſhop*, ſaith he, *be once made and allow'd by the Teſtimony and Judgment of his Collegues and the People, no other can be made.* In the 55. *When a Biſhop is made by the ſuffrage of all the People in Peace.* In the 68. mark but what he ſays; *The People chiefly hath power either of chooſing worthy ones, or refuſing unworthy:* This he there proves by Authorities out of the old and new Teſtament, and with ſolid reaſons: theſe were his antiquities.

This voice of the people, to be had ever in Epiſcopal Elections, was ſo well known, before *Cyprian*'s time, even to thoſe that were without the Church, that the Emperor *Alexander Severus* deſir'd to have his Governours of Provinces choſen in the ſame manner, as *Lampridius* can tell; ſo little thought it he offenſive to Monarchy. And if ſingle authorities perſwade not, hearken what the whole general Council of *Nicæa*, the firſt and famouſeſt of all the reſt, determines, writing a Synodal *Epiſtle* to the African Churches, to warn them of Arianiſm; it exhorts them to chooſe orthodox Biſhops in the place of the dead, ſo they be worthy, and the people chooſe them, whereby they ſeem to make the peoples aſſent ſo neceſſary, that merit, without their free choice, were not ſufficient to make a Biſhop. What would ye ſay now, grave Fathers, if you ſhould wake and ſee unworthy Biſhops, or rather

ther no Biſhops, but Egyptian task-maſters of Ceremonies thruſt purpoſely upon the groaning Church to the affliction and vexation of *God's* people? It was not of old that a Conſpiracy of Biſhops could fruſtrate and fob off the right of the people; for we may read how St. *Martin*, ſoon after *Conſtantine*, was made Biſhop of *Turon* in *France* by the peoples conſent, from all places thereabout, maugre all the oppoſition that the Biſhops could make. Thus went matters of the Church almoſt 400 years after *Chriſt*, and very probably far lower: for *Nicephorus Phocas* the Greek Emperor, whoſe reign fell near the 1000 year of our Lord, having done many things tyrannically, is ſaid by *Cedrenus* to have done nothing more grievous and diſpleaſing to the people, then to have inacted that no Biſhop ſhould be choſen without his will; ſo long did this right remain to the people in the midſt of other palpable corruptions. Now for Epiſcopal dignity, what it was, ſee out of *Ignatius*, who in his Epiſtle to thoſe of *Trallis* confeſſeth, *that the Presbyters are his fellow-Counſellors and fellow-Benchers.* And *Cyprian* in many places, as in the 6, 41, 52 Epiſt. ſpeaking of *Presbyters*, calls them his *Compresbyters*, as if he deem'd himſelf no other, whenas by the ſame place it appears he was a Biſhop, he calls them Brethren; but that will be thought his meekneſs: yea, but the *Presbyters* and Deacons writing to him, think they do him honour enough when they phraſe him no higher then Brother *Cyprian*, and dear *Cyprian* in the 26 Epiſt. For their Authority 'tis evident not to have bin ſingle, but depending on the counſel of the *Presbyters*, as from *Ignatius* was erewhile alledg'd; and the ſame *Cyprian* acknowledges as much in the 6 Epiſt. and adds thereto, that he had determin'd, from his entrance into the Office of Biſhop, to do nothing without the conſent of his people, and ſo in the 31 Epiſt. for it were tedious to courſe through all his writings, which are ſo full of the like aſſertions, inſomuch that ev'n in the womb and center of Apoſtacy, *Rome* it ſelf, there yet remains a glimps of this truth; for the Pope himſelf, as a learned Engliſh writer notes well, performeth all Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction as in Conſiſtory amongſt his Cardinals, which were originally but the Pariſh Prieſts of *Rome*. Thus then did the Spirit of unity and meekneſs inſpire and animate every joint and ſinew of the myſtical body; but now the graveſt and worthieſt Miniſter, a true Biſhop of his fold, ſhall be revil'd and ruffl'd by an inſulting and only Canon-wiſe Prelat, as if he were ſome ſlight paltry companion: and the people of *God*, redeem'd and waſh'd with *Chriſt's* blood, and dignify'd with ſo many glorious titles of Saints, and Sons in the Goſpel, are now no better reputed then impure Ethnicks; and lay dogs, ſtones and pillars, and crucifixes have now the honour and the alms due to *Chriſt's* living members; the Table of Communion, now become a Table of Separation, ſtands like an exalted platform upon the brow of the Quire, fortifi'd with bulwark and barricado, to keep off the profane touch of the Laicks, whilſt the obſcene and ſurfeted Prieſt ſcruples not to paw and mammock the Sacramental Bread, as familiarly as his Tavern Bisket. And thus the people, vilifi'd and rejected by them, give over the earneſt ſtudy of vertue and godlineſs, as a thing of greater purity then they need, and the ſearch of divine knowledg as a myſtery too high for their capacities, and only for Church-men to meddle with; which is that the Prelats deſire, that when they have brought us back to Popiſh blindneſs, we might commit to their diſpoſe the whole managing of our Salvation, for they think it was never fair world with them ſince that time. But he that will mould a modern Biſhop into a primitive, muſt yeild him to be elected by the popular voice, undioceſt, unrevenu'd, unlorded, and leave him nothing but brotherly equality, matchleſs temperance, frequent faſting, inceſſant prayer and preaching, continual watchings and labours in his Miniſtry; which what a rich booty it would be, what a plump endowment to the many-benefice-gaping mouth of a Prelat, what a reliſh it would give to his canary-ſucking, and ſwan-eating palat, let old Biſhop *Mountain* judg for me.

How little therefore thoſe ancient times make for modern Biſhops hath bin plainly diſcours'd; but let them make for them as much as they will, yet why we ought not ſtand to their arbitrement, ſhall now appear by a threefold corruption which will be found upon them. 1. The beſt times were ſpreadingly infected. 2. The beſt men of thoſe times fouly tainted. 3. The beſt writings of thoſe men dangerouſly adulterated. Theſe Poſitions are to be made good out of thoſe times witneſſing of themſelves. Firſt, *Ignatius* in his early days teſtifies to the Churches of *Aſia*, that even then Hereſies were ſprung up, and riſe every where, as *Euſebius* relates in his 3 Book, 35 chap. after the Greek number. And *Hegeſippus*, a grave Church-writer of prime Antiquity, affirms in the ſame Book of *Euſebius*, c. 32. *That while the Apoſtles were on earth, the depravers of Doctrine did but lurk; but they once gon, with open forehead they durſt preach down the truth with falſities.* Yea, thoſe that are reckon'd for orthodox began to make ſad and ſhameful rents in the Church about the trivial celebration of Feaſts, not agreeing when to keep Eaſter-day; which controverſie grew ſo hot, that *Victor* the Biſhop of *Rome* excommunicated all the Churches of *Aſia* for no other cauſe, and was worthily therof reprov'd by *Irenæus*. For can any ſound Theologer think that theſe great Fathers underſtood what was Goſpel, or what was Excommunication? Doubtleſs that which led the good men into fraud and error was, that they attended more to the near tradition of what they heard the Apoſtles ſomtimes did, then to what they had left written, not conſidering that many things which they did were by the Apoſtles themſelves profeſt to be done only for the preſent, and of mere indulgence to ſome ſcrupulous converts of the Circumciſion, but what they writ was of firm decree to all future ages. Look but a century lower in the 1 *cap.* of *Euſebius* 8 Book. What a univerſal tetter of impurity had invenom'd every part, order, and degree of the Church, to omit the lay-herd, which will be little regarded, *thoſe that ſeem'd to be our Paſtors*, ſaith he, *overturning the Law of God's worſhip, burnt in contentions one towards another, and increaſing in hatred and bitterneſs, outragiouſly ſought to uphold Lordſhip, and command as it were a Tyranny.* Stay but a little, magnanimous Biſhops, ſuppreſs your aſpiring thoughts, for there is nothing wanting but *Conſtantine* to reign, and then Tyranny her ſelf ſhall give up all her cittadels into your hands, and count ye thence forward her truſtieſt agents. Such were theſe that muſt be call'd the ancienteſt and moſt virgin times between *Chriſt* and *Conſtantine*. Nor was this general contagion in their actions, and not in their writings: who is ignorant of the foul errors, the ridiculous wreſting of Scripture, the Hereſies, the vanities thick ſown through the volums of *Juſtin Martyr*, *Clemens*, *Origen*, *Tertullian*, and others of eldeſt time? Who would think him fit to write an Apology for Chriſtian Faith to the Roman Senat, that would tell them how of the Angels, which he muſt needs mean thoſe in *Geneſis* call'd the *Sons of God*, mixing with Women were begotten the Devils, as good *Juſtin Martyr* in his Apology told them. But more indignation would it move to any Chriſtian that ſhall read *Tertullian*, terming St. *Paul* a novice, and raw in grace, for reproving St. *Peter* at *Antioch*, worthy to be blam'd if we beleeve the Epiſtle to the *Galatians*: perhaps from this hint the blaſphemous Jeſuits preſum'd in *Italy* to give their judgment of St. *Paul*, as of a hot-headed perſon, as *Sandys* in his Relations tells us.

Now beſides all this, who knows not how many ſurreptitious works are ingraff'd into the legitimate writings of the Fathers? and of thoſe Books that paſs for authentick, who knows what hath bin tamper'd withal, what hath bin raz'd out, what hath bin inſerted? Beſides the late legerdemain of the Papiſts, that which *Sulpitius* writes concerning *Origen*'s Books, gives us cauſe vehemently to ſuſpect, there hath bin packing of old. In the third chap. of his 1 Dialogue we may read what wrangling the Biſhops and Monks had about the reading or not reading of *Origen*, ſome objecting that he was corrupted by Hereticks, others anſwering that all ſuch Books had bin ſo dealt with. How then ſhall I truſt theſe times to lead me, that teſtify ſo ill of leading themſelves? Certainly of their defects their own witneſs may be beſt receiv'd, but of the rectitude and ſincerity of their life and doctrine, to judg rightly, we muſt judg by that which was to be their rule.

But it will be objected, that this was an unſetl'd ſtate of the Church, wanting the temporal Magiſtrate to ſuppreſs the licence of falſe Brethren, and the extravagancy of ſtill new opinions; a time not imitable for Church-government, where the temporal and ſpiritual power did not cloſe in one belief, as under *Conſtantine*. I am not of opinion to think the Church a *Vine* in this reſpect, becauſe, as they take it, ſhe cannot ſubſiſt without claſping about the Elm of worldly ſtrength and felicity, as if the heavenly City could not ſupport

port it ſelf without the props and buttreſſes of ſecular Authority. They extol *Conſtantine* becauſe he extoll'd them; as our homebred Monks in their Hiſtories blanch the Kings their Benefactors, and brand thoſe that went about to be their Correctors. If he had curb'd the growing Pride, Avarice and Luxury of the *Clergy*, then every Page of his Story ſhould have ſwell'd with his faults, and that which *Zozimus* the Heathen writes of him ſhould have come in to boot: we ſhould have heard then in every declamation how he ſlew his Nephew *Commodus* a worthy man, his noble and eldeſt Son *Criſpus*, his Wife *Fauſta*, beſides numbers of his Friends; then his cruel exactions, his unſoundneſs in Religion, favoring the *Arians* that had been condemn'd in a Council, of which himſelf ſat as it were Preſident; his hard meaſure and baniſhment of the faithful and invincible *Athanaſius*; his living unbaptiz'd almoſt to his dying day; theſe blurs are too apparent in his Life. But ſince he muſt needs be the Load-ſtar of *Reformation*, as ſome men clatter, it will be good to ſee further his knowledg of *Religion* what it was, and by that we may likewiſe gueſs at the ſincerity of his times in thoſe that were not Heretical, it being likely that he would converſe with the famouſeſt *Prelats* (for ſo he had made them) that were to be found for Learning.

Of his *Arianiſm* we heard, and for the reſt, a pretty ſcantling of his Knowledg may be taken by his deferring to be baptiz'd ſo many years, a thing not uſual, and repugnant to the tenor of *Scripture*, *Philip* knowing nothing that ſhould hinder the *Eunuch* to be *baptiz'd* after *profeſſion* of his *Belief*. Next, by the exceſſive devotion, that I may not ſay Superſtition both of him and his Mother *Helena*, to find out the Croſs on which *Chriſt* ſuffer'd, that had long lien under the rubbiſh of old ruines, (a thing which the Diſciples and Kindred of our Saviour might with more eaſe have done, if they had thought it a pious duty:) ſome of the nails whereof he put into his Helmet, to bear off blows in battel, others he faſten'd among the ſtuds of his bridle, to fulfil (as he thought, or his Court *Biſhops* perſwaded him) the Propheſie of *Zechariah*; *And it ſhall be that that which is in the bridle ſhall be holy to the Lord.* Part of the Croſs in which he thought ſuch Virtue to reſide, as would prove a kind of *Palladium* to ſave the *City* wherever it remain'd, he caus'd to be laid up in a Pillar of Porphyrie by his Statue. How he or his Teachers could trifle thus with half an eye open upon St. *Paul*'s Principles, I know not how to imagine.

How ſhould then the dim Taper of this Emperor's age that had ſuch need of ſnuffing, extend any beam to our times wherewith we might hope to be better lighted, then by thoſe Luminaries that God hath ſet up to ſhine to us far nearer hand. And what *Reformation* he wrought for his own time, it will not be amiſs to conſider; he appointed certain times for Faſts and Feaſts, built ſtately Churches, gave large Immunities to the Clergy, great Riches and Promotions to *Biſhops*, gave and miniſter'd occaſion to bring in a deluge of Ceremonies, thereby either to draw in the Heathen by a reſemblance of their Rites, or to ſet a gloſs upon the ſimplicity and plainneſs of Chriſtianity; which to the gorgeous Solemnities of *Paganiſm*, and the ſenſe of the World's Children, ſeem'd but a homely and yeomanly *Religion*, for the beauty of inward Sanctity was not within their proſpect.

So that in this manner the *Prelats*, both then and ever ſince, coming from a mean and plebeian *Life*, on a ſudden to be Lords of ſtately Palaces, rich furniture, delicious fare, and *princely* attendance, thought the plain and homeſpun verity of *Chriſt's* Goſpel unfit any longer to hold their Lordſhips acquaintance, unleſs the poor thredbare Matron were put into better clothes; her chaſt and modeſt vail, ſurrounded with celeſtial beams, they overlaid with wanton *treſſes*, and in a flaring tire beſpeckl'd her with all the gaudy allurements of a Whore.

Thus flouriſh'd the Church with *Conſtantine*'s wealth, and thereafter were the effects that follow'd; his Son *Conſtantius* prov'd a flat *Arian*, and his Nephew *Julian* an Apoſtate, and there his Race ended: the Church that before by inſenſible degrees welk'd and impair'd, now with large ſteps went down hill decaying; at this time *Antichriſt* began firſt to put forth his horn, and that ſaying was common, that former times had wooden Chalices and golden *Prieſts*; but they golden Chalices and wooden *Prieſts*. Formerly (ſaith *Sulpitius*,

*tius*) *Martyrdom* by glorious death was ſought more greedily then now Biſhopricks by vile Ambition are hunted after, (ſpeaking of theſe times) and in another place, they gape after poſſeſſions, they tend Lands and Livings, they coure over their Gold, they buy and ſell: and if there be any that neither poſſeſs nor traffique, that which is worſe, they ſit ſtill, and expect gifts, and proſtitute every induement of Grace, every holy thing to ſale. And in the end of his Hiſtory thus he concludes, all things went to wrack by the *Faction*, *Wilfulneſs*, and *Avarice* of the *Biſhops*, and by this means *God's people*, and every *good man* was had in ſcorn and deriſion: which St. *Martin* found truly to be ſaid by his friend *Sulpitius*; for being held in admiration of all men, he had only the *Biſhops* his enemies, found God leſs favourable to him after he was *Biſhop* then before, and for his laſt 16 years would come at no *Biſhop's* meeting. Thus you ſee, Sir, what *Conſtantine*'s doings in the Church brought forth, either in his own or in his Son's Reign.

Now leſt it ſhould be thought that ſomething elſe might ail this Author thus to hamper the Biſhops of thoſe days; I will bring you the opinion of three the famouſeſt men for Wit and Learning that *Italy* at this day glories of, whereby it may be concluded for a receiv'd opinion even among men profeſſing the Romiſh Faith, that *Conſtantine* marr'd all in the Church. *Dante* in his 19 *Canto* of *Inferno* hath thus, as I will render it you in Engliſh blank Verſe:

*Ah* Conſtantine, *of how much ill was cauſe*
*Not thy Converſion, but thoſe rich demains*
*That the firſt wealthy* Pope *receiv'd of thee.*

So in his 20 *Canto* of *Paradiſe* he makes the like complaint, and *Petrarch* ſeconds him in the ſame mind in his 108 Sonnet, which is wip't out by the Inquiſitor in ſome Editions; ſpeaking of the Roman *Antichriſt* as merely bred up by *Conſtantine*.

*Founded in chaſt and humble Poverty,*
*'Gainſt them that rais'd thee doſt thou lift thy horn,*
*Impudent whoore, where haſt thou plac'd thy hope?*
*In thy Adulterers, or thy ill got wealth?*
*Another* Conſtantine *comes not in haſt.*

*Arioſto* of *Ferrara*, after both theſe in time, but equal in fame, following the ſcope of his Poem in a difficult knot how to reſtore *Orlando* his chief Hero to his loſt ſenſes, brings *Aſtolfo* the Engliſh Knight up into the Moon, where St. *John*, as he feigns, met him. *Cant.* 34.

*And to be ſhort, at laſt his guid him brings*
*Into a goodly valley, where he ſees*
*A mighty maſs of things ſtrangely confus'd,*
*Things that on earth were loſt, or were abus'd.*

And amongſt theſe ſo abuſed things, liſten what he met withal, under the Conduct of the *Evangeliſt*.

*Then paſt he to a flowry Mountain green,*
*Which once ſmelt ſweet, now ſtinks as odiouſly;*
*This was that gift (if you the truth will have)*
*That* Conſtantine *to good* Sylveſtro *gave.*

And this was a truth well known in *England* before this *Poet* was born, as our *Chaucer*'s Plowman ſhall tell you by and by upon another occaſion. By all theſe circumſtances laid together, I do not ſee how it can be diſputed what good this Emperor *Conſtantine* wrought to the Church, but rather whether ever any, though perhaps not wittingly, ſet open a door to more miſchief in Chriſtendom. There is juſt cauſe therefore that when the *Prelats* cry out, Let the Church be reform'd according to *Conſtantine*, it ſhould ſound to a judicious ear no otherwiſe, then if they ſhould ſay, Make us rich, make us lofty, make us lawleſs; for if any under him were not ſo, thanks to thoſe ancient remains of Integrity, which were not yet quite worn out, and not to his Government.

Thus finally it appears, that thoſe purer Times were not ſuch as they are cry'd up, and not to be follow'd without ſuſpicion, doubt and danger. The laſt Point wherein the *Antiquary* is to be dealt with at his own Weapon, is to make it manifeſt, that the ancienteſt and beſt of the Fathers have diſclaim'd all Sufficiency in themſelves that Men ſhould rely on, and ſent all Comers to the Scriptures, as allſufficient: That this is true, will not be unduly gather'd by ſhewing what eſteem they had of Antiquity themſelves, and what validity they thought in it to prove Doctrine, or Diſcipline. I muſt of neceſſity begin from the ſecond Rank of Fathers, becauſe till then Antiquity could have no Plea. *Cyprian* in his 63 *Epiſtle:* If any, ſaith he, of our Anceſtors, either ignorantly, or out of ſimplicity, hath not obſerv'd that which the Lord taught us by his Example, (ſpeaking of the Lord's Supper) his ſimplicity *God* may pardon of his Mercy; but we cannot be excus'd for following him, being inſtructed by the Lord. And have not we the ſame Inſtructions, and will not this holy Man, with all the whole Conſiſtory of Saints and Martyrs that liv'd of old, riſe up and ſtop our mouths in Judgment, when we ſhall go about to father our Errors and Opinions upon their Authority? In the 73 *Epiſt.* he adds, In vain do they oppoſe Cuſtom to us, if they be overcome by Reaſon; as if Cuſtom were greater then Truth, or that in ſpiritual things that were not to be follow'd, which is reveal'd for the better by the Holy Ghoſt. In the 74, Neither ought Cuſtom to hinder that Truth ſhould not prevail; for Cuſtom without Truth is but agedneſs of Error.

Next *Lactantius*, he that was prefer'd to have the bringing up of *Conſtantine*'s Children, in his ſecond Book of *Inſtitutions*, Chap. 7 & 8. diſputes againſt the vain truſt in Antiquity, as being the chiefeſt Argument of the Heathen againſt the Chriſtians: They do not conſider, ſaith he, what Religion is; but they are confident it is true, becauſe the Ancients deliver'd it; they count it a Treſpaſs to examine it. And in the eighth: Not becauſe they went before us in Time, therefore in Wiſdom; which being given alike to all Ages, cannot be prepoſſeſt by the Ancients: Wherefore ſeeing that to ſeek the Truth is inbred to all, they bereave themſelves of Wiſdom, the Gift of God, who without Judgment follow the Ancients, and are led by others like brute Beaſts. St. *Auſtin* writes to *Fortunatian*, that he counts it lawful in the Books of whomſoever, to reject that which he finds otherwiſe then true, and ſo he would have others deal by him. He neither accounted, as it ſeems, thoſe Fathers that went before, nor himſelf, nor others of his Rank, for Men of more then ordinary Spirit, that might equally deceive, and be deceiv'd: and oftimes ſetting our ſervile humours aſide, yea, *God* ſo ordering, we may find Truth with one Man, as ſoon as in a Council, as *Cyprian* agrees, 71 Epiſt. *Many things*, ſaith he, *are better reveal'd to ſingle Perſons.* At *Nicæa* in the firſt, and beſt reputed Council of all the World, there had gon out a Canon to divorce married Prieſts, had not one old Man *Paphnutius* ſtood up, and reaſon'd againſt it.

Now remains it to ſhew clearly that the Fathers refer all deciſion of Controverſy to the Scriptures, as all-ſufficient to direct, to reſolve, and to determine. *Ignatius* taking his laſt leave of the *Aſian* Churches, as he went to Martyrdom, exhorted them to adhere cloſe to the written Doctrine of the Apoſtles, neceſſarily written for Poſterity: ſo far was he from unwritten Traditions, as may be read in the 36 *cap.* of *Euſebius* 3. *b.* In the 74 Epiſt. of *Cyprian* againſt *Stefan* Biſhop of *Rome* impoſing upon him a Tradition; *Whence,* quoth he, *is this Tradition? Is it fetcht from the Authority of Chriſt in the Goſpel, or of the Apoſtles in their Epiſtles? for God teſtifies that thoſe things are to be done which are written.* And then thus, *What Obſtinacy, what Preſumption is this, to prefer Humane Tradition before Divine Ordinance?* And in the ſame Epiſt. *If we ſhall return to the head, and beginning of Divine Tradition,* (which we all know he means the Bible) *humane Error ceaſes; and the reaſon of heavenly Myſteries unfolded, whatſoever was obſcure, becomes clear.* And in the 14 Diſtinct. of the ſame Epiſt. directly againſt our modern Fantaſies of a ſtill Viſible Church, he teaches, *That ſucceſſion of Truth may fail; to renew which, we* *muſt have recourſe to the Fountains* ; uſing this excellent Similitude, *If a Channel, or Conduit-pipe which brought in Water plentifully before, ſuddenly fail, do we not go to the Fountain to know the Cauſe, whether the Spring affords no more, or whether the Vein be ſtopt, or turn'd aſide in the mid-courſe ? Thus ought we to do, keeping God's Precepts, that if in ought the Truth ſhall be chang'd, we may repair to the Goſpel, and to the Apoſtles, that thence may ariſe the reaſon of our doings, from whence our order and beginning aroſe.* In the 75 he inveighs bitterly againſt Pope *Stefanus*, for that he could boaſt his Succeſſion from *Peter*, and yet foiſt in Traditions that were not Apoſtolical. And in his Book of the Unity of the Church, he compares thoſe that, neglecting *God*'s Word, follow the Doctrines of Men, to *Corah*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram*. The very firſt Page of *Athanaſius* againſt the Gentiles, avers the Scriptures to be ſufficient of themſelves for the declaration of Truth ; and that if his Friend *Macarius* read other Religious Writers, it was but φιλοκάλως *come un virtuoſo*, (as the Italians ſay) as a lover of Elegance : And in his 2*d* Tome, the 39 pag. after he hath reckon'd up the Canonical Books, *In theſe only*, ſaith he, *is the Doctrine of Godlineſs taught ; Let no Man add to theſe, or take from theſe.* And in his *Synopſis*, having again ſet down all the Writers of the Old and New Teſtament, *Theſe*, ſaith he, *be the Anchors and Props of our Faith.* Beſides theſe, millions of other Books have been written by great and wiſe Men according to Rule, and agreement with theſe, of which I will not now ſpeak, as being of infinite number, and meer dependance on the Canonical Books. *Baſil* in his 2*d* Tome, writing of true Faith, tells his Auditors, He is bound to teach them that which he hath learn't out of the Bible : And in the ſame Treatiſe he ſaith, *That ſeeing the Commandments of the Lord are faithful, and ſure for ever ; it is a plain falling from the Faith, and a high pride, either to make void any thing therein, or to introduce any thing not there to be found :* And he gives the reaſon, *for Chriſt ſaith, My Sheep hear my Voice, they will not follow another, but fly from him, becauſe they know not his Voice.* But not to be endleſs in Quotations, it may chance to be objected, that there be many Opinions in the Fathers which have no ground in Scripture ; ſo much the leſs, may I ſay, ſhould we follow them, for their own words ſhall condemn them, and acquit us that lean not on them ; otherwiſe theſe their words will acquit them, and condemn us. But it will be reply'd, the Scriptures are difficult to be underſtood, and therefore require the Explanation of the Fathers. 'Tis true, there be ſome Books, and eſpecially ſome places in thoſe Books, that remain clouded ; yet ever that which is moſt neceſſary to be known, is moſt eaſy ; and that which is moſt difficult, ſo far expounds it ſelf ever, as to tell us how little it imports our *ſaving Knowledg.* Hence to infer a general Obſcurity over all the Text, is a meer Suggeſtion of the Devil to diſſwade Men from reading it, and caſts an Aſperſion of Diſhonour both upon the *Mercy*, *Truth*, and *Wiſdom* of *God.* We count it no gentleneſs, or fair dealing in a Man of Power amongſt us, to require ſtrict and punctual Obedience, and yet give out all his Commands ambiguous and obſcure, we ſhould think he had a Plot upon us ; certainly ſuch Commands were no Commands, but Snares. The very Eſſence of Truth is plainneſs and brightneſs, the darkneſs and crookedneſs is our own. The *Wiſdom* of *God* created *Underſtanding*, fit and proportionable to Truth, the Object, and End of it, as the Eye to the thing viſible. If our *Underſtanding* have a Film of *Ignorance* over it, or be blear with gazing on other falſe Gliſterings ; what is that to Truth ? If we will purge with ſovrain Eyeſalve that intellectual Ray which *God* hath planted in us, then we would believe the Scriptures proteſting their own plainneſs and perſpicuity, calling to them to be inſtructed, not only the *Wiſe* and *Learned*, but the *Simple*, the *Poor*, the *Babes*, foretelling an extraordinary effuſion of *Gods* Spirit upon every Age, and Sex, attributing to all Men, and requiring from them the Ability of ſearching, trying, examining all things, and by the Spirit diſcerning that which is good ; and as the Scriptures themſelves pronounce their own plainneſs, ſo do the Fathers teſtify of them.

I will not run into a Paroxyſm of Citations again in this Point, only inſtance *Athanaſius* in his fore-mention'd firſt page ; *The knowledg of Truth*, ſaith he, *wants no humane Lore, as being evident in it ſelf, and by the preaching of Chriſt now opens brighter then the Sun.* If theſe Doctors, who had ſcarce half the Light that we enjoy, who all, except two or three, were ignorant of the Hebrew Tongue, and many of the Greek, blundering upon the dangerous and ſuſpectful Tranſlations of the Apoſtat *Aquila*, the Heretical *Theodotion*, the Judaiz'd *Symmachus*, the Erroneous *Origen*; if theſe could yet find the Bible ſo eaſy, why ſhould we doubt, that have all the helps of Learning, and faithful Induſtry that Man in this Life can look for, and the Aſſiſtance of *God* as near now to us as ever? But let the Scriptures be hard; are they more hard, more crabbed, more abſtruſe then the Fathers? He that cannot underſtand the ſober, plain, and unaffected ſtile of the Scriptures, will be ten times more puzzl'd with the knotty Africaniſms, the pamper'd Metaphors, the intricat and involv'd Sentences of the Fathers, beſides the fantaſtick and declamatory flaſhes, the croſs-jingling Periods which cannot but diſturb, and come thwart a ſettl'd Devotion, worſe then the din of Bells and Rattles.

Now, Sir, for the love of holy *Reformation*, what can be ſaid more againſt theſe importunate Clients of Antiquity, then ſhe her ſelf their Patroneſs hath ſaid? Whether think ye would ſhe approve ſtill to dote upon immeaſurable, innumerable, and therefore unneceſſary and unmerciful Volumes, chuſing rather to err with the ſpecious Name of the Fathers, or to take a ſound Truth at the hand of a plain upright Man, that all his days hath been diligently reading the holy Scriptures, and thereto imploring *God*'s Grace, while the admirers of Antiquity have bin beating their Brains about their *Ambones*, their *Diptychs*, and *Meniaia*'s? Now, he that cannot tell of Stations and Indictions, nor has waſted his precious hours in the endleſs conferring of Councils and Conclaves that demoliſh one another, although I know many of thoſe that pretend to be great Rabbies in theſe ſtudies, have ſcarce ſaluted them from the Strings, and the Title Page; or to give 'em more, have bin but the Ferrets and Mouſ-hunts of an Index: Yet what Paſtor or Miniſter, how learned, religious, or diſcreet ſoever, does not now bring both his Cheeks full blown with Oecumenical and Synodical, ſhall be counted a lank, ſhallow, unſufficient Man, yea a Dunce, and not worthy to ſpeak about *Reformation* of *Church-Diſcipline*. But I truſt they for whom *God* hath reſerv'd the honour of reforming this Church, will eaſily perceive their Adverſaries drift in thus calling for Antiquity; they fear the plain Field of the Scriptures, the Chaſe is too hot; they ſeek the dark, the buſhy, the tangled Forreſt, they would imboſk: they feel themſelves ſtrook in the tranſparent Streams of Divine Truth, they would plunge, and tumble, and think to lie hid in the foul Weeds and muddy Waters, where no Plummet can reach the bottom. But let them beat themſelves like Whales, and ſpend their Oil till they be drag'd aſhoar: though wherefore ſhould the Miniſters give them ſo much Line for Shifts and Delays? Wherefore ſhould they not urge only the Goſpel, and hold it ever in their Faces like a Mirror of Diamond, till it dazle and pierce their miſty Eye-balls? maintaining it the honour of its abſolute Sufficiency and Supremacy inviolable: For if the Scripture be for *Reformation*, and Antiquity to boot, 'tis but an advantage to the Dozen, 'tis no winning Caſt: And though Antiquity be againſt it, while the Scriptures be for it, the Cauſe is as good as ought to be wiſht, Antiquity it ſelf ſitting Judg.

But to draw to an end; the ſecond ſort of thoſe that may be juſtly number'd among the hinderers of *Reformation*, are Libertines; theſe ſuggeſt that the Diſcipline ſought would be intolerable: For one Biſhop now in a Dioceſs we ſhould then have a Pope in every Pariſh. It will not be requiſite to anſwer theſe Men, but only to diſcover them, for Reaſon they have none, but Luſt and Licentiouſneſs, and therefore Anſwer can have none. It is not any Diſcipline that they could live under, it is the corruption and remiſneſs of Diſcipline that they ſeek. Epiſcopacy duly executed, yea, the Turkiſh and Jewiſh rigor againſt whoring and drinking; the dear and tender Diſcipline of a Father, the ſociable and loving Reproof of a Brother, the boſom Admonition of a Friend, is a *Presbytery*, and a Conſiſtory to them. 'Tis only the merry Frier in *Chaucer* can diſple them.

*Full ſweetly heard he Confeſſion,*
*And pleaſant was his Abſolution,*
*He was an eaſy Man to give Pennance.*

And ſo I leave them; and refer the political Diſcourſe of Epiſcopacy to a Second Book.

# Of REFORMATION, &c.

## *The Second* BOOK.

*SIR*,

IT is a work good and prudent to be able to guide one Man; of larger extended Vertue to order well one Houſe: but to govern a Nation piouſly and juſtly, which only is to ſay happily, is for a Spirit of the greateſt ſize, and divineſt mettle. And certainly of no leſs a mind, nor of leſs excellenee in another way, were they who by Writing laid the ſolid and true foundations of this Science; which being of greateſt importance to the Life of man, yet there is no Art that hath bin more canker'd in her Principles, more ſoil'd, and ſlubber'd with aphoriſming pedantry, then the art of Policy; and that moſt, where a man would think ſhould leaſt be in Chriſtian Commonwealths. They teach not, that to govern well, is to train up a Nation in true Wiſdom and Vertue, and that which ſprings from thence, Magnanimity, (take heed of that) and that which is our beginning, Regeneration, and happieſt end, likenes to *God*, which in one word we call *Godlines*; and that this is the true floriſhing of a Land, other things follow as the ſhadow does the Subſtance; to teach thus were meer pulpitry to them. This is the maſter-piece of a modern Politician, how to qualify and mould the ſufferance and ſubjection of the People to the length of that Foot that is to tread on their Necks; how Rapine may ſerve it ſelf with the fair and honourable pretences of publick Good; how the puny Law may be brought under the wardſhip and controul of Luſt and Will: in which attempt if they fall ſhort, then muſt a ſuperficial colour of Reputation by all means, direct or indirect, be gotten to waſh over the unſightly bruſe of Honour. To make men governable in this manner, their Precepts mainly tend to break a national Spirit and Courage, by countenancing open Riot, Luxury, and Ignorance, till having thus disfigur'd and made men beneath men, as *Juno* in the Fable of *Io*, they deliver up the poor transformed heifer of the Commonwealth to be ſtung and vext with the breeſe and goad of Oppreſſion, under the cuſtody of ſome *Argus* with a hundred eyes of Jealouſy. To be plainer, Sir, how to ſoder, how to ſtop a Leak, how to keep up the floting carcas of a craſy and diſeaſed Monarchy or State, betwixt wind and water, ſwimming ſtill upon her own dead Lees, that now is the deep deſign of a Politician. Alas, Sir! a Commonwealth ought to be but as one huge Chriſtian perſonage, one mighty growth and ſtature of an honeſt man, as big and compact in Vertue as in Body; for look what the grounds and cauſes are of ſingle Happineſs to one man, the ſame ye ſhall find them to a whole State, as *Ariſtotle* both in his Ethicks, and Politicks, from the principles of Reaſon lays down: by conſequence therefore that which is good and agreeable to Monarchy, will appear ſooneſt to be ſo, by being good and agreeable to the true welfare of every Chriſtian; and that which can be juſtly prov'd hurtful and offenſive to every true Chriſtian, will be evinc't to be alike hurtful to Monarchy: for *God* forbid, that we ſhould ſeparate and diſtinguiſh the end and good of a Monarch, from the end and good of the Monarchy, or that from Chriſtianity. How then this third and laſt ſort that hinder Reformation, will juſtify that it ſtands not with reaſon of State, I much muſe: For certain I am, the *Bible* is ſhut againſt them, as certain that neither *Plato* nor *Ariſtotle* is for their turns. What they can bring us now from the Schools of *Loyola* with his Jeſuits, or their *Malvezzi*, that can cut *Tacitus* into ſlivers and ſteaks, we ſhall preſently hear. They alledg, 1. That the Church-Government muſt be conformable to the civil Polity; next, that no form of Church-Government is agreeable to Monarchy, but that of Biſhops. Muſt Church-Government that is appointed in the Goſpel, and has chief reſpect

ſpect to the Soul, be conformable and pliant to Civil, that is Arbitrary, and chiefly converſant about the viſible and external part of man? This is the very Maxim that moulded the Calvs of *Bethel* and of *Dan*; this was the quinteſſence of *Jeroboams* Policy, he made Religion conform to his politick Intereſts; and this was the Sin that watcht over the Iſraelites till their final Captivity. If this State-principle come from the Prelats, as they affect to be counted Statiſts, let them look back to *Elutherius* Biſhop of *Rome*, and ſee what he thought of the Policy of *England*; being requir'd by *Lucius*, the firſt Chriſtian King of this Iland, to gixe his Counſel for the founding of Religious Laws, little thought he of this ſage Caution, but bids him betake himſelf to the Old and New Teſtament, and receive direction from them how to adminiſter both Church and Commonwealth; that he was *Gods* Vicar, and therefore to rule by *Gods* Laws; that the Edicts of *Cæſar* we may at all times diſallow, but the Statutes of *God* for no reaſon we may reject. Now certain if Church-Government be taught in the Goſpel, as the Biſhops dare not deny, we may well conclude of what late ſtanding this Poſition is, newly calculated for the altitude of Biſhop-elevation, and lettice for their Lips. But by what example can they ſhew that the form of Church-Diſcipline muſt be minted, and modell'd out to ſecular pretences? The antient Republick of the Jews is evident to have run through all the changes of civil Eſtate, if we ſurvey the Story from the giving of the Law to the *Herods*; yet did one manner of Prieſtly Government ſerve without inconvenience to all theſe temporal Mutations; it ſerv'd the mild Ariſtocracy of elective Dukes, and heads of Tribes join'd with them; the dictatorſhip of the Judges, the eaſy or hard-handed Monarchy's, the domeſtick or foreign Tyrannies: Laſtly, The Roman Senat from without, the Jewiſh Senat at home, with the Galilean Tetrarch; yet the Levites had ſome right to deal in civil Affairs: but ſeeing the Evangelical Precept forbids Churchmen to intermedle with worldly Imployments, what interweavings, or interworkings can knit the Miniſter and the Magiſtrate in their ſeveral Functions, to the regard of any preciſe Correſpondency? Seeing that the Churchmans Office is only to teach men the Chriſtian Faith, to exhort all, to incourage the Good, to admoniſh the Bad, privately the leſs Offender, publickly the ſcandalous and ſtubborn; to cenſure and ſeparate from the Communion of *Chriſts* Flock, the contagious and incorrigible, to receive with Joy and fatherly Compaſſion the Penitent; all this muſt be done, and more then this, is beyond any Church Autority. What is all this either here or there, to the Temporal regiment of Wealpublick, whether it be Popular, Princely, or Monarchical? Where doth it intrench upon the temporal Governor? where does it come in his walk? Where does it make inrode upon his Juriſdiction? Indeed if the Miniſters part be rightly diſcharg'd, it renders him the People more conſcionable, quiet, and eaſy to be govern'd; if otherwiſe, his Life and Doctrine will declare him. If therefore the Conſtitution of the Church be already ſet down by divine Preſcript, as all ſides confeſs, then can ſhe not be a Handmaid to wait on civil Commodities, and Reſpects: and if the Nature and Limits of Church-Diſcipline be ſuch, as are either helpful to all political Eſtates indifferently, or have no particular relation to any, then is there no neceſſity, nor indeed poſſibility of linking the one with the other in a ſpecial conformation.

Now for their ſecond concluſion, *That no form of Church-Government is agreeable to Monarchy, but that of Biſhops*, although it fall to pieces of it ſelf by that which hath bin ſaid; yet to give them play, front and rear, it ſhall be my task to prove that Epiſcopacy, with that Autority which it challenges in *England*, is not only not agreeable, but tending to the deſtruction of Monarchy. While the Primitive Paſtors of the Church of *God* labour'd faithfully in their Miniſtry, tending only their Sheep, and not ſeeking, but avoiding all worldly matters as clogs, and indeed derogations and debaſements to their high Calling; little needed the Princes and Potentates of the Earth, which way ſoever the Goſpel was ſpread, to ſtudy ways how to make a Coherence between the Churches Polity, and theirs: therefore when *Pilate* heard once our Saviour *Chriſt* profeſſing that *his Kingdom was not of this World*, he thought the man could not ſtand much in *Cæſars* light, nor much indamage the Roman Empire: for if the Life of *Chriſt* be hid to this World, much more is his

Scepter unoperative, but in ſpiritual things. And thus liv'd for 2 or 3 Ages, the Succeſſors of the Apoſtles. But when through *Conſtantines* laviſh Superſtition they forſook their *firſt love*, and ſet themſelves up too in Gods ſtead; *Mammon* and their Belly, then taking advantage of the ſpiritual Power which they had on mens Conſciences, they began to caſt a longing eye to get the Body alſo, and bodily things into their command; upon which their carnal deſires, the Spirit daily quenching and dying in them, knew no way to keep themſelves up from falling to nothing, but by bolſtering and ſupporting their inward rottenes, by a carnal and outward Strength. For a while they rather privily ſought opportunity, then haſtily diſclos'd their Project; but when *Conſtantine* was dead, and 3 or 4 Emperors more, their drift became notorious and offenſive to the whole World; for while *Theodoſius* the younger reign'd, thus writes *Socrates* the Hiſtorian in his *7th* Book Chap. 11. Now began an ill name to ſtick upon the Biſhops of *Rome* and *Alexandria*, who beyond their Prieſtly bounds now long ago had ſtept into Principality, and this was ſcarce 80 years ſince their raiſing from the meaneſt worldly Condition. Of courteſy now let any man tell me, if they draw to themſelves a *temporal Strength* and *Power* out of *Cæſars* Dominion, is not *Cæſars* Empire thereby diminiſht? But this was a ſtoln bit, hitherto he was but a Caterpiller ſecretly gnawing at *Monarchy*; the next time you ſhall ſee him a Wolf, a Lion, lifting his Paw againſt his Raiſer, as *Petrarch* expreſt it, and finally an open enemy and ſubverter of the Greek Empire. *Philippicus* and *Leo*, with divers other Emperors after them, not without the advice of their *Patriarchs*, and at length of a whole Eaſtern Council of three hundred thirty eight *Biſhops*, threw the Images out of *Churches* as being decreed Idolatrous.

Upon this goodly occaſion, the *Biſhop* of *Rome* not only ſeizes the City, and all the Territory about into his own Hands, and makes himſelf Lord thereof; which till then was govern'd by a Greek Magiſtrate, but abſolves all *Italy* of their Tribute and Obedience due to the Emperor, becauſe he obey'd Gods Commandment in aboliſhing Idolatry.

Mark, Sir, here how the Pope came by S. *Peters* Patrimony, as he feigns it; not the Donation of *Conſtantine*, but Idolatry and Rebellion got it him. Ye need but read *Sigonius*, one of his own Sect, to know the Story at large. And now to ſhroud himſelf againſt a Storm from the Greek Continent, and provide a Champion to bear him out in theſe practiſes, he takes upon him by Papal ſentence to unthrone *Chilpericus* the rightful King of *France*, and gives the Kingdom to *Pepin* for no other cauſe, but that he ſeem'd to him the more active man. If he were a Friend herein to *Monarchy* I know not, but to the *Monarch* I need not ask what he was.

Having thus made *Pepin* his faſt Friend, he calls him into *Italy* againſt *Aiſtulphus* the *Lombard*, that war'd upon him for his late Uſurpation of *Rome*, as belonging to *Ravenna* which he had newly won. *Pepin*, not unobedient to the Popes call, paſſing into *Italy*, frees him out of danger, and wins for him the whole Exarchat of *Ravenna*; which though it had been almoſt immediately before the hereditary Poſſeſſion of that *Monarchy* which was his chief Patron and Benefactor, yet he takes and keeps it to himſelf as lawful prize, and given to St. *Peter*. What a dangerous ſallacy is this, when a Spiritual man may ſnatch to himſelf any temporal Dignity or Dominion, under pretence of receiving it for the Churches uſe? thus he claims *Naples*, *Sicily*, *England*, and what not? To be ſhort, under ſhew of his zeal againſt the errors of the Greek Church, he never ceaſt baiting and goring the Succeſſors of his beſt Lord *Conſtantine*, what by his barking Curſes and Excommunications, what by his hindring the Weſtern Princes from aiding them againſt the Sarazens and Turks, unleſs when they humour'd him; ſo that it may be truly affirm'd, he was the ſubverſion and fall of that *Monarchy*, which was the hoiſting of him. This beſides *Petrarch*, whom I have cited, our *Chaucer* alſo hath obſerv'd, and gives from hence a caution to *England*, to beware of her *Biſhops* in time, for that their ends and aims are no more friendly to *Monarchy*, then the Popes.

Thus he brings in the Plow-man ſpeaking, *Part* 2. *Stanz.* 28.

*The Emperor Yaſe the Pope ſometime*
*So high Lordſhip him about,*
*That at laſt the ſilly Kime,*
*The proud Pope put him out ;*
*So of this Realm is no doubt,*
*But Lords beware, and them defend ;*
*For now theſe Folks be wonders ſtout,*
*The King and Lords now this amend.*

And in the next *Stanza*, which begins the third part of the Tale, he argues that they ought not to be Lords.

Moſes *Law forbode it tho*
*That Prieſts ſhould no Lordſhips welde,*
*Chriſts Goſpel biddeth alſo*
*That they ſhould no Lordſhips held:*
*Ne Chriſts Apoſtles were never ſo bold*
*No ſuch Lordſhips to hem embrace,*
*But ſmeren her Sheep, and keep her Fold.*

And ſo forward. Whether the Biſhops of *England* have deſerv'd thus to be fear'd by men ſo wiſe as our *Chaucer* is eſteem'd ; and how agreeable to our *Monarchy*, and *Monarchs*, their demeanour has been, he that is but meanly read in our *Chronicles* needs not be inſtructed. Have they not been as the *Canaanites*, and *Philiſtins*, to this Kingdom ? What Treaſons, what revolts to the Pope ? what Rebellions, and thoſe the baſeſt and moſt pretenceleſs, have they not been chief in ? What could *Monarchy* think, when *Becket* durſt *challenge* the Cuſtody of *Rocheſter-Caſtle*, and the Tower of *London*, as appertaining to his Signory ? To omit his other inſolencies and affronts to regal Majeſty, till the Laſhes inflicted on the anointed Body of the King, waſht off the holy *Unction* with his *Blood* drawn by the polluted hands of *Biſhops*, *Abbots*, and *Monks*.

What good upholders of Royalty were the *Biſhops*, when by their rebellious oppoſition againſt King *John*, *Normandy* was loſt, he himſelf depos'd, and this Kingdom made over to the *Pope ?* When the *Biſhop* of *Wincheſter* durſt tell the Nobles, the Pillars of the Realm, that there were no Peers in *England*, as in *France*, but that the King might do what he pleas'd. What could Tyranny ſay more ? It would be petty now, if I ſhould inſiſt upon the rendring up of *Tournay* by *Woolſeys* Treaſon, the Excommunications, Curſings, and Interdicts upon the whole Land : For haply I ſhall be cut off ſhort by a Reply, that theſe were the faults of the men and their Popiſh errors, not of *Epiſcopacy*, that hath now renounc't the Pope, and is a Proteſtant. Yes ſure ; as wiſe and famous men have ſuſpected and fear'd the Proteſtant *Epiſcopacy* in *England*, as thoſe that have fear'd the Papal.

You know, Sir, what was the judgment of *Padre Paolo*, the great Venetian Antagoniſt of the *Pope*, for it is extant in the hands of many men, whereby he declares his fear, that when the Hierarchy of *England* ſhall light into the hands of buſy and audacious men, or ſhall meet with Princes tractable to the Prelacy, then much miſchief is like to enſue. And can it be nearer hand, then when *Biſhops* ſhall openly affirm that, No *Biſhop*, no *King ?* A trim Paradox, and that ye may know where they have been a begging for it, I will fetch you the Twin-brother to it out of the Jeſuits Cell ; they feeling the Ax of Gods Reformation, hewing at the old and hollow trunk of Papacy, and finding the Spaniard their ſureſt friend, and ſafeſt refuge, to ſooth him up in his Dream of a fift Monarchy, and withal to uphold the decrepit Papalty, have invented this ſuper-politick Aphoriſm, as one terms it, One Pope, and one King.

Surely there is not any Prince in *Chriſtendom*, who hearing this rare Sophiſtry, can chooſe but ſmile ; and if we be not blind at home, we may as well perceive that this worthy Motto, No *Biſhop*, no *King*, is of the ſame batch, and infanted out of the ſame fears, a meer Ague-cake coagulated of a certain

Fever they have, preſaging their time to be but ſhort: and now like thoſe that are ſinking, they catch round at that which is likelieſt to hold them up; and would perſwade Regal Power, that if they dive, he muſt after. But what greater debaſement can there be to Royal Dignity, whoſe towring and ſtedfaſt heigth reſts upon the unmovable foundations of Juſtice, and Heroick Vertue, then to chain it in a dependance of ſubſiſting, or ruining to the painted Battlements and gaudy rottenneſs of Prelatrie, which want but one puff of the Kings to blow them down like a paſt-bord Houſe built of *Court-Cards*. Sir, the little ado which methinks I find in untacking theſe pleaſant Sophiſms, puts me into the mood to tell you a Tale ere I proceed further; and *Menenius Agrippa* ſpeed us.

*A Tale of the Head and a Wen.*

Upon a time the Body ſummon'd all the Members to meet in the Guild for the common good (as *Æſops* Chronicles aver many ſtranger Accidents) the Head by right takes the firſt ſeat, and next to it a huge and monſtrous Wen little leſs then the Head it ſelf, growing to it by a narrower excreſcency. The Members amaz'd began to ask one another what he was that took place next their chief; none could reſolve. Whereat the Wen, though unweildy, with much ado gets up, and beſpeaks the Aſſembly to this purpoſe: That as in place he was ſecond to the Head, ſo by due of merit; that he was to it an ornament, and ſtrength, and of ſpecial near relation; and that if the Head ſhould fail, none were fitter then himſelf to ſtep into his place; therefore he thought it for the honour of the Body, that ſuch Dignities and rich Indowments ſhould be decreed him, as did adorn, and ſet out the nobleſt Members. To this was anſwer'd, that it ſhould be conſulted. Then was a wiſe and learned Philoſopher ſent for, that knew all the Charters, Laws and Tenures of the Body. On him it is impos'd by all, as chief Committee, to examine, and diſcuſs the Claim and Petition of Right put in by the Wen; who ſoon perceiving the matter, and wondring at the boldneſs of ſuch a ſwoln Tumor, Wilt thou (quoth he) that art but a bottle of vitious and harden'd Excrements, contend with the lawful and free-born Members, whoſe certain number is ſet by ancient, and unrepealable Statute? Head thou art none, though thou receive this huge ſubſtance from it: What Office beareſt thou? What good canſt thou ſhew by thee done to the Common-weal? The Wen not eaſily daſh't replies, that his Office was his Glory; for ſo oft as the Soul would retire out of the Head from over the ſteaming vapours of the lower parts to Divine Contemplation, with him ſhe found the pureſt and quieteſt retreat, as being moſt remote from ſoil, and diſturbance. *Lourdan*, quoth the Philoſopher, thy folly is as great as thy filth; know that all the faculties of the Soul are confin'd of old to their ſeveral veſſels and *ventricles*, from which they cannot part without diſſolution of the whole Body; and that thou containſt no good thing in thee, but a heap of hard and loathſome Uncleannes, and art to the head a foul disfigurment and burden; when I have cut thee off, and open'd thee, as by the help of theſe Implements I will do, all men ſhall ſee.

But to return whence was digreſs't: ſeeing that the Throne of a King, as the wiſe King *Solomon* often remembers us, *is eſtabliſht in Juſtice*, which is the univerſal *Juſtice* that *Ariſtotle* ſo much praiſes, containing in it all other *Vertues*, it may aſſure us that the fall of Prelacy, whoſe actions are ſo far diſtant from *Juſtice*, cannot ſhake the leaſt fringe that borders the royal Canopy; but that their ſtanding doth continually oppoſe and lay battery to regal ſafety, ſhall by that which follows eaſily appear. Amongſt many ſecondary and acceſſory Cauſes that ſupport Monarchy, theſe are not of leaſt reckoning, though common to all other States: the love of the Subjects, the multitude, and valour of the People, and ſtore of Treaſure. In all theſe things hath the Kingdom bin of late ſore weak'nd, and chiefly by the Prelates. Firſt, let any man conſider, that if any Prince ſhall ſuffer under him a commiſſion of Autority to be exerciz'd, till all the Land grone and cry out, as againſt a whip of Scorpions, whether this be not likely to leſſen, and keel the affections of the Subject. Next what numbers of faithful, and free-born Engliſhmen, and good Chriſtians have bin conſtrain'd to forſake their deareſt home, their friends, and kindred, whom nothing but the wide Ocean, and the ſavage Deſerts of *America* could hide and ſhelter from the fury of the

Biſhops? O Sir, if we could but ſee the ſhape of our dear Mother *England*, as Poets are wont to give a perſonal form to what they pleaſe, how would ſhe appear, think ye, but in a mourning weed, with aſhes upon her Head, and tears abundantly flowing from her Eyes, to behold ſo many of her Children expos'd at once, and thruſt from things of deareſt neceſſity, becauſe their Conſcience could not aſſent to things which the Biſhops thought *indifferent?* What more binding then Conſcience? What more free then *Indifferency?* Cruel then muſt that *Indifferency* needs be, that ſhall violate the ſtrict neceſſity of Conſcience; merciles and inhuman that free choyſe and liberty that ſhall break aſunder the bonds of Religion. Let the Aſtrologer be diſmay'd at the portentous blaze of Comets, and impreſſions in the Air, as foretelling troubles and changes to States: I ſhall believe there cannot be a more ill-boding Sign to a Nation (*God* turn the Omen from us) then when the Inhabitants, to avoid inſufferable Grievances at home, are inforc'd by heaps to forſake their Native Country. Now whereas the only remedy and amends againſt the depopulation and thinneſs of a Land within, is the borrow'd ſtrength of firm alliance from without, theſe Prieſtly Policies of theirs having thus exhauſted our domeſtick Forces, have gone the way alſo to leave us as naked of our firmeſt and faithfulleſt Neighbours abroad, by diſparaging, and alienating from us all Proteſtant Princes, and Common-wealths, who are not ignorant that our Prelats, and as many as they can infect, account them no better then a ſort of ſacrilegious and puritanical Rebels, preferring the *Spaniard* our deadly Enemy before them, and ſet all Orthodox Writers at nought in compariſon of the Jeſuits, who are indeed the only corrupters of Youth, and good Learning; and I have heard many wiſe and learned men in *Italy* ſay as much. It cannot be that the ſtrongeſt knot of Confederacy ſhould not daily ſlak'n, when Religion, which is the chief ingagement of our League, ſhall be turn'd to their reproach. Hence it is that the proſperous and prudent States of the United Provinces, whom we ought to love, if not for themſelves, yet for our own good work in them, they having bin in a manner planted and erected by us, and having bin ſince to us the faithful watch-men and diſcoverers of many a Popiſh and Auſtrian complotted Treaſon, and with us the partners of many a bloody and victorious Battel; whom the ſimilitude of Manners and Language, the commodity of Traffick, which founded the old Burgundian League betwixt us, but chiefly Religion, ſhould bind to us immortally; even ſuch friends as theſe, out of ſome Principles inſtill'd into us by the Prelats, have bin often diſmiſt with diſtaſtful Anſwers, and ſometimes unfriendly Actions: nor is it to be conſider'd to the breach of confederate Nations, whoſe mutual Intereſt is of ſuch high conſequence, though their Merchants bicker in the *Eaſt Indies*; neither is it ſafe, or warie, or indeed chriſtianly, that the *French* King, of a different Faith, ſhould afford our neereſt Allies as good Protection as we. Sir, I perſwade my ſelf, if our zeal to true Religion, and the brotherly uſage of our trueſt Friends, were as notorious to the world, as our *Prelatical Schiſm*, and Captivity to *Rochet Apopthegmes*, we had ere this ſeen our old Conquerours, and afterwards Liegemen the *Normans*, together with the *Britains* our proper Colony, and all the *Gaſcoins* that are the rightful *Dowry* of our ancient Kings, come with cap and knee, deſiring the ſhadow of the *Engliſh* Scepter to defend them from the hot Perſecutions and Taxes of the *French*. But when they come hither, and ſee a Tympany of *Spanioliz'd Biſhops* ſwaggering in the fore-top of the State, and meddling to turn and dandle the *Royal Ball* with unskilful and *Pedantick Palms*, no marvel though they think it as unſafe to commit Religion and Liberty to their arbitrating as to a Synagogue of Jeſuits.

But what do I ſtand reck'ning upon Advantages and Gains loſt by the miſrule and turbulency of the *Prelats?* what do I pick up ſo thriftily their ſcatterings and diminiſhings of the meaner Subject, whilſt they by their ſeditious Practices have indanger'd to loſe the King one third of his main Stock? What have they not done to baniſh him from his own Native Country? But to ſpeak of this as it ought would ask a Volume by it ſelf.

Thus as they have unpeopl'd the Kingdom by expulſion of ſo many thouſands, as they have endeavour'd to lay the skirts of it bare by diſheartning and diſhonouring our loyalleſt Confederates abroad, ſo have they hamſtrung the Valour of the Subject by ſeeking to effeminate us all at home. Well knows every wiſe Nation that their Liberty conſiſts in manly and honeſt Labours, in ſobriety and rigorous honour to the Marriage-Bed, which in both Sexes ſhould be bred up from chaſt Hopes to loyal Enjoyments; and when the People ſlacken, and fall to Looſeneſs and Riot, then do they as much as if they laid down their Necks for ſome wily Tyrant to get up and ride. Thus learnt *Cyrus* to tame the *Lydians*, whom by Arms he could not whilſt they kept themſelves from Luxury; with one eaſy Proclamation to ſet up *Stews*, dancing, feaſting, and dicing, he made them ſoon his Slaves. I know not what drift the *Prelats* had, whoſe Brokers they were to prepare, and ſupple us either for a Foreign Invaſion or Domeſtick Oppreſſion; but this I am ſure they took the ready way to deſpoil us both of *Manhood* and *Grace* at once, and that in the ſhamefulleſt and ungodlieſt manner, upon that Day which God's Law, and even our own Reaſon hath conſecrated, that we might have one day at leaſt of ſeven ſet apart wherein to examin and encreaſe our knowledg of God, to meditate, and commune of our Faith, our Hope, our eternal City in Heaven, and to quick'n withal the ſtudy and exerciſe of Charity; at ſuch a time that Men ſhould be pluck't from their ſobereſt and ſaddeſt Thoughts, and by *Biſhops*, the pretended *Fathers of the Church*, inſtigated by publick Edict, and with earneſt indeavour puſht forward to gaming, jigging, waſſailing, and mixt dancing, is a horror to think. Thus did the Reprobate hireling Prieſt *Balaam* ſeek to ſubdue the Iſraelites to *Moab*, if not by force, then by this diveliſh *Policy*, to draw them from the Sanctuary of God to the luxurious and ribald Feaſts of *Baal-peor*. Thus have they treſpas't not only againſt the *Monarchy* of *England*, but of Heaven alſo, as others, I doubt not, can proſecute againſt them.

I proceed within my own bounds to ſhew you next what good Agents they are about the Revenues and Riches of the Kingdom, which declares of what moment they are to *Monarchy*, or what avail. Two Leeches they have that ſtill ſuck, and ſuck the Kingdom, their Ceremonies and their Courts. If any man will contend that Ceremonies be lawful under the Goſpel, he may be anſwer'd other where. This doubtleſs, that they ought to be many and over-coſtly, no true *Proteſtant* will affirm. Now I appeal to all wiſe Men, what an exceſſive waſt of Treaſury hath been within theſe few years in this Land, not in the expedient, but in the idolatrous erection of Temples beautified exquiſitely to out-vie the Papiſts, the coſtly and dear-bought Scandals and Snares of Images, Pictures, rich Coaps, gorgeous Altar-clothes: and by the courſes they took, and the opinions they held, it was not likely any ſtay would be, or any end of their madneſs, where a pious Pretext is ſo ready at hand to cover their inſatiate Deſires. What can we ſuppoſe this will come to? What other materials then theſe have built up the *ſpiritual* BABEL to the heigth of her Abominations? Believe it, Sir, right truly it may be ſaid, that *Antichriſt* is *Mammons* Son. The ſour Leven of human Traditions, mixt in one putrifi'd Maſs with the poiſonous dregs of Hypocriſie in the Hearts of *Prelats*, that lie basking in the ſunny warmth of Wealth and Promotion, is the Serpents Egg that will hatch an *Antichriſt* whereſoever, and ingender the ſame Monſter as big, or little, as the Lump is which breeds him. If the Splendor of *Gold* and *Silver* begin to lord it once again in the Church of *England*, we ſhall ſee *Antichriſt* ſhortly wallow here, though his chief Kennel be at *Rome*. If they had one thought upon *God's Glory*, and the advancement of Chriſtian Faith, they would be a means that with theſe Expences, thus profuſely thrown away in traſh, rather *Churches* and *Schools* might be built, where they cry out for want, and more added where too few are; a moderate Maintenance diſtributed to every painful Miniſter, that now ſcarce ſuſtains his Family with Bread, while the *Prelats* revel like *Belſhazzar* with their full carouſes in *Goblets*, and *Veſſels* of *Gold* ſnatcht from *God's Temple*: Which (I hope) the worthy Men of our Land will conſider. Now then for their COURTS. What a Maſs of Money is drawn from the Veins into the Ulcers of the Kingdom this way; their Extortions, their open Corruptions, the multitude of hungry and ravenous Harpies that ſwarm about their Offices declare ſufficiently. And what though all this go not over Sea? 'twere better it did: better a penurious Kingdom, then where exceſſive

Wealth flows into the graceleſs and injurious hands of common ſponges, to the impoveriſhing of good and loyal men, and that by ſuch execrable, ſuch irreligious courſes.

If the ſacred and dreadful works of holy *Diſcipline*, *Cenſure*, *Penance*, *Excommunication*, and *Abſolution*, where no prophane thing ought to have acceſs, nothing to be aſſiſtant but ſage and chriſtianly *Admonition*, brotherly *Love*, flaming *Charity* and *Zeal*; and then according to the effects, paternal *Sorrow* or paternal *Joy*, mild *Severity*, melting *Compaſſion*; if ſuch Divine *Miniſteries* as theſe, wherein the Angel of the *Church* repreſents the Perſon of *Chriſt Jeſus*, muſt lie proſtitute to ſordid Fees, and not paſs to and fro between our Saviour that of free Grace redeem'd us, and the ſubmiſſive Penitent, without the truccage of periſhing Coin, and the butcherly execution of Tormentors, Rooks and Rakeſhames ſold to lucre, then have the Babyloniſh Merchants of *Souls* juſt excuſe. Hitherto, Sir, you have heard how the *Prelats* have weaken'd and withdrawn the external Accompliſhments of Kingly proſperity, the love of the People, their multitude, their valour, their wealth; mining and ſapping the out-works and redoubts of *Monarchy*. Now hear how they ſtrike at the very heart and vitals.

We know that *Monarchy* is made up of two parts, the Liberty of the Subject, and the Supremacy of the King. I begin at the root. See what gentle and benign Fathers they have been to our Liberty. Their trade being, by the ſame Alchymy that the *Pope* uſes, to extract heaps of *Gold* and *Silver* out of the droſſie *Bullion* of the Peoples ſins; and juſtly fearing that the quick-ſighted *Proteſtants* eye, clear'd in great part from the miſt of Superſtition, may at one time or other look with a good judgment into theſe their deceitful Pedleries; to gain as many aſſociats of guiltineſs as they can, and to infect the temporal Magiſtrate with the like lawleſs, though not ſacrilegious extortion, ſee a while what they do; they ingage themſelves to preach, and perſwade an aſſertion for truth the moſt falſe, and to this *Monarchy* the moſt pernicious and deſtructive that could be choſen. What more baneful to *Monarchy* then a popular Commotion, for the diſſolution of *Monarchy* ſlides apteſt into a *Democraty*; and what ſtirs the Engliſhmen, as our wiſeſt Writers have obſerv'd, ſooner to Rebellion, then violent and heavy hands upon their goods and purſes? Yet theſe devout *Prelats*, ſpight of our great Charter, and the Souls of our Progenitors that wreſted their Liberties out of the *Norman* gripe with their deareſt blood and higheſt prowеſs, for theſe many years have not ceas't in their Pulpits wrinching and ſpraining the *Text*, to ſet at nought and trample under foot all the moſt ſacred and life-blood Laws, Statutes, and Acts of *Parliament*, that are the holy Cov'nant of Union and Marriage between the King and his Realm, by proſcribing and confiſcating from us all the right we have to our own Bodies, Goods and Liberties. What is this but to blow a trumpet, and proclaim a fire-croſs to a hereditary and perpetual Civil War? Thus much againſt the Subjects Liberty hath been aſſaulted by them. Now how they have ſpar'd Supremacy, or likely are hereafter to ſubmit to it, remains laſtly to be conſider'd.

The emulation that under the old Law was in the King toward the *Prieſt*, is now ſo come about in the Goſpel, that all the danger is to be fear'd from the *Prieſt* to the *King*. Whilſt the *Prieſts Office* in the Law was ſet out with an exteriour luſtre of Pomp and Glory, Kings were ambitious to be *Prieſts*; now *Prieſts* not perceiving the heavenly brightneſs and inward ſplendor of their more glorious *Evangelick Miniſtery*, with as great ambition affect to be Kings, as in all their courſes is eaſy to be obſerv'd. Their eyes ever imminent upon worldly matters, their deſires ever thirſting after worldly employments; inſtead of diligent and fervent ſtudy in the Bible, they covet to be expert in Canons and Decretals, which may inable them to judg and interpoſe in temporal Cauſes, however pretended *Eccleſiaſtical*. Do they not hord up *Pelf*, ſeek to be potent in *ſecular Strength*, in *State Affairs*, in *Lands*, *Lordſhips*, and *Demeans*, to *ſway* and carry all before them in *High Courts* and *Privy Councils*, to bring into their graſp the *high* and *principal Offices* of the Kingdom? have they not been bold of late to check the *Common Law*, to ſlight and brave the indiminiſhable Majeſty of our higheſt Court, the Law-giving and Sacred *Parliament*? Do they not plainly labour to exempt *Churchmen* from the *Magiſtrate*?

Yea, ſo preſumptuouſly as to queſtion and menace *Officers* that repreſent the *King's Perſon* for uſing their Authority againſt drunken *Prieſts?* The cauſe of protecting *murderous Clergy-men* was the firſt heart-burning that ſwell'd up the audacious *Becket* to the peſtilent and odious vexation of *Henry* the Second. Nay more, have not ſome of their devoted Scholers begun, I need not ſay to nibble, but openly to argue againſt the King's *Supremacy?* Is not the Chief of them accus'd out of his own Book, and his *late Canons*, to affect a certain unqueſtionable *Patriarchat*, independent and unſubordinate to the Crown? From whence having firſt brought us to a ſervile *Eſtate* of *Religion* and *Manhood*, and having prediſpos'd his Conditions with the *Pope*, that lays claim to this *Land*, or ſome *Pepin* of his own creating, it were all as likely for him to aſpire to the *Monarchy* among us, as that the *Pope* could find means ſo on the ſudden both to bereave the Emperor of the *Roman Territory* with the favour of *Italy*, and by an unexpected friend out of *France*, while he was in danger to loſe his *new-got Purchaſe*, beyond hope to leap into the fair *Exarchat* of *Ravenna*.

A good while the Pope ſutt'ly acted the Lamb, writing to the Emperor, my Lord *Tiberius*, my Lord *Mauritius*; but no ſooner did this his Lord pluck at the Images and Idols, but he threw off his Sheeps clothing, and ſtarted up a Wolf, laying his paws upon the Emperor's Right, as forfeited to *Peter*. Why may not we as well, having been forewarn'd at home by our renowned *Chaucer*, and from abroad by the great and learned *Padre Paolo*, from the like beginnings, as we ſee they are, fear the like events? Certainly a wiſe and provident King ought to ſuſpect a *Hierarchy* in his Realm, being ever attended, as it is, with two ſuch greedy Purveyers, Ambition and Uſurpation; I ſay, he ought to ſuſpect a *Hierarchy* to be as dangerous and derogatory from his Crown as a *Tetrarchy* or a *Heptarchy*. Yet now that the *Prelats* had almoſt attain'd to what their inſolent and unbridl'd minds had hurried them; to thruſt the Laitie under the deſpotical rule of the *Monarch*, that they themſelves might confine the *Monarch* to a kind of Pupillage under their *Hierarchy*, obſerve but how their own Principles combat one another, and ſupplant each one his fellow.

Having fitted us only for Peace, and that a ſervile Peace, by leſſening our numbers, dreining our Eſtates, enfeebling our Bodies, cowing our free Spirits by thoſe ways as you have heard, their impotent actions cannot ſuſtain themſelves the leaſt moment, unleſs they rouze us up to a War fit for *Cain* to be the Leader of; an abhorred, a curſed, a fraternal War. ENGLAND and SCOTLAND, deareſt Brothers both in *Nature* and in CHRIST, muſt be ſet to wade in one another's blood; and IRELAND our free Denizon upon the back of us both, as occaſion ſhould ſerve: a piece of Service that the Pope and all his Factors have been compaſſing to do ever ſince the *Reformation*.

But ever-bleſſed be he, and ever glorifi'd, that from his high watch-Tower in the Heav'ns, diſcerning the crooked ways of perverſe and cruel men, hath hitherto maim'd and infatuated all their damnable Inventions, and deluded their great Wizards with a deluſion fit for Fools and Children: had GOD been ſo minded, he could have ſent a Spirit of *Mutiny* amongſt us, as he did between *Abimilech* and the *Sechemites*, to have made our Funerals, and ſlain heaps more in number then the miſerable ſurviving remnant; but he, when we leaſt deſerv'd, ſent out a gentle gale and meſſage of Peace from the wings of thoſe his Cherubins that fan his Mercy-ſeat. Nor ſhall the Wiſdom, the Moderation, the Chriſtian Piety, the Conſtancy of our Nobility and Commons of *England* be ever forgotten, whoſe calm and temperat connivance could ſit ſtill and ſmile out the ſtormy bluſter of men more audacious and precipitant then of ſolid and deep reach, till their own fury had run it ſelf out of breath, aſſailing by raſh and heady Approaches the impregnable ſituation of our Liberty and Safety, that laught ſuch weak enginry to ſcorn, ſuch poor drifts to make a *National War* of a *Surplice Brabble*, a *Tippet-ſcuffle*, and ingage the unattainted Honour of Engliſh Knighthood to unfurl the ſtreaming *Red Croſs*, or to rear the horrid Standard of thoſe fatal guly Dragons for ſo unworthy a purpoſe, as to force upon their Fellow-Subjects that which themſelves are weary of, the *Skeleton* of a *Maſs-Book*. Nor muſt the Patience, the Fortitude, the firm Obedience of the Nobles and People of *Scotland*, ſtriving againſt manifold Provocations; nor muſt their ſincere and moderate proceedings hitherto be unremember'd, to the ſhameful Conviction of all their Detractors.

Go on both hand in hand, O NATIONS, never to be diſ-united; be the Praiſe and the Heroick Song of all POSTERITY; merit this, but ſeek only Vertue, not to extend your Limits; for what needs? to win a fading triumphant Lawrel out of the tears of wretched Men, but to ſettle the pure Worſhip of God in his Church, and Juſtice in the State: then ſhall the hardeſt difficulties ſmooth out themſelves before ye; Envy ſhall ſink to Hell, Craft and Malice be confounded, whether it be homebred miſchief or outlandiſh cunning: yea other Nations will then covet to ſerve ye, for Lordſhip and Victory are but the pages of Juſtice and Vertue. Commit ſecurely to true Wiſdom the vanquiſhing and uncaſing of craft and ſuttlety, which are but her two runnagates: join your invincible might to do worthy and Godlike deeds; and then he that ſeeks to break your Union, a cleaving Curſe be his inheritance to all Generations.

Sir, you have now at length this queſtion for the time, and as my memory would beſt ſerve me in ſuch a copious and vaſt Theme, fully handl'd, and you your ſelf may judg whether Prelacy be the only Church-government agreeable to MONARCHY. Seeing therefore the perillous and confuſed eſtate into which we are faln, and that to the certain knowledg of all men, through the irreligious Pride and hateful Tyranny of Prelats, (as the innumerable and grievous complaints of every Shire cry out) if we will now reſolve to ſettle affairs either according to pure Religion or ſound Policy, we muſt firſt of all begin roundly to caſhier and cut away from the publick body the noyſom and diſeaſed tumor of Prelacy, and come from Schiſm to Unity with our neighbour Reformed Siſter Churches, which with the bleſſing of Peace and pure Doctrine have now long time flouriſh'd; and doubtleſs with all hearty Joy and Gratulation will meet and welcome our Chriſtian Union with them, as they have bin all this while griev'd at our ſtrangeneſs, and little better then Separation from them. And for the Diſcipline propounded, ſeeing that it hath bin inevitably prov'd that the natural and fundamental cauſes of political Happineſs in all Governments are the ſame, and that this Church-diſcipline is taught in the Word of God, and, as we ſee, agrees according to wiſh with all ſuch States as have receiv'd it, we may infallibly aſſure our ſelves that it will as well agree with Monarchy, though all the Tribe of *Aphoriſmers* and *Politicaſters* would perſwade us there be ſecret and myſterious reaſons againſt it. For upon the ſetling hereof mark what nouriſhing and cordial reſtorements to the State will follow, the Miniſters of the Goſpel attending only to the work of Salvation, every one within his limited charge; beſides the diffuſive Bleſſings of God upon all our actions, the King ſhall ſit without an old Diſturber, a daily Incroacher and Intruder; ſhall rid his Kingdom of a ſtrong ſequeſter'd and collateral Power; a confronting Miter, whoſe potent Wealth and wakeful Ambition he had juſt cauſe to hold in jealouſie: not to repeat the other preſent evils which only their removal will remove, and becauſe things ſimply pure are inconſiſtent in the maſs of Nature, nor are the Elements or Humors in Man's Body exactly *homogeneal*; and hence the beſt founded Commonwealths and leaſt barbarous have aim'd at a certain mixture and temperament, partaking the ſeveral vertues of each other State, that each part drawing to it ſelf may keep up a ſteddy and ev'n uprightneſs in common.

There is no Civil Government that hath been known, no not the *Spartan*, not the *Roman*, though both for this reſpect ſo much prais'd by the wiſe *Polybius*, more divinely and harmoniouſly tun'd, more equally ballanc'd as it were by the hand and ſcale of Juſtice, then is the Commonwealth of *England*; where under a free and untutor'd *Monarch*, the nobleſt, worthieſt, and moſt prudent men, with full approbation and ſuffrage of the People, have in their power the ſupream and final determination of higheſt Affairs. Now if Conformity of Church-Diſcipline to the Civil be ſo deſir'd, there can be nothing more parallel, more uniform, then when under the Sovereign Prince, Chriſt's Vicegerent, uſing the Scepter of *David*, according to God's Law, the godlieſt, the wiſeſt, the learnedeſt Miniſters in their ſeveral charges have the inſtructing and diſciplining of God's People, by whoſe full and free Election they are conſecrated to that holy and equal *Ariſtocracy*. And why ſhould not the Piety and Conſcience of Engliſhmen, as Members of the Church, be truſted in the Election of Paſtors to Functions that nothing concern a *Monarch*, as well as their worldly Wiſdoms are privileg'd as Members of the State in ſuffraging their Knights and Burgeſſes to Matters that concern him nearly? And if in weighing theſe ſeveral Offices, their difference in time and quality be caſt in, I know they will not turn the beam of equal Judgment the moity of a Scruple. We therefore having already a kind of Apoſtolical and ancient Church-Election in our State, what a perverſneſs would it be in us of all others to retain forcibly a kind of imperious and ſtately Election in our Church? And what a blindneſs to think that what is already Evangelical, as it were by a happy chance in our Polity, ſhould be repugnant to that which is the ſame by divine Command in the Miniſtry? Thus then we ſee that our Eccleſial and Political choyſes may conſent and ſort as well together without any rupture in the STATE, as Chriſtians and Freeholders. But as for Honour, that ought indeed to be different and diſtinct, as either Office looks a ſeveral way; the Miniſter whoſe Calling and End is ſpiritual, ought to be honour'd as a Father and Phyſician to the Soul, (if he be found to be ſo) with a Son-like and Diſciple-like Reverence, which is indeed the deareſt and moſt affectionate Honour, moſt to be deſir'd by a wiſe man, and ſuch as will eaſily command a free and plentiful proviſion of outward neceſſaries, without his furder care of this World.

The Magiſtrate, whoſe Charge is to ſee to our Perſons and Eſtates, is to be honour'd with a more elaborate and perſonal Courtſhip, with large Salaries and Stipends, that he himſelf may abound in thoſe things whereof his legal Juſtice and watchful Care gives us the quiet Enjoyment. And this diſtinction of Honour will bring forth a ſeemly and graceful Uniformity over all the Kingdom.

Then ſhall the Nobles poſſeſs all the Dignities and Offices of temporal Honour to themſelves, ſole Lords without the improper mixture of ſcholaſtick and puſillanimous upſtarts; the *Parliament* ſhall void her *Upper Houſe* of the ſame annoyances; the Common and Civil Laws ſhall be both ſet free, the former from the controul, the other from the meer vaſſalage and Copy-hold of the Clergy.

And wheras *temporal Laws* rather puniſh men when they have tranſgreſs'd, then form them to be ſuch as ſhould tranſgreſs ſeldomeſt, we may conceive great hopes, through the ſhowers of Divine Benediction watering the unmoleſted and watchful pains of the Miniſtry, that the whole Inheritance of God will grow up ſo ſtraight and blameleſs, that the Civil Magiſtrate may with far leſs toyl and difficulty, and far more eaſe and delight, ſteer the tall and goodly Veſſel of the Commonwealth through all the guſts and tides of the World's mutability.

Here I might have ended, but that ſome Objections, which I have heard commonly flying about, preſs me to the endeavour of an Anſwer. We muſt not run, they ſay, into ſudden extreams. This is a fallacious Rule, unleſs underſtood only of the actions of Vertue about things indifferent: for if it be found that thoſe two extreams be Vice and Vertue, Falſhood and Truth, the greater extremity of Vertue and ſuperlative Truth we run into, the more vertuous and the more wiſe we become; and he that flying from degenerate and traditional Corruption, fears to ſhoot himſelf too far into the meeting Imbraces of a divinely warranted Reformation, had better not have run at all. And for the ſuddenneſs it cannot be fear'd. Who ſhould oppoſe it? The Papiſts? They dare not. The Proteſtants otherwiſe affected? They were mad. There is nothing will be remov'd but what to them is profeſs'dly indifferent. The long affection which the People have born to it, what for it ſelf, what for the odiouſneſs of Prelats, is evident: From the firſt year of Queen *Elizabeth* it hath ſtill been more and more propounded, deſir'd, and beſeech'd, yea ſometimes favourably forwarded by the Parliaments themſelves. Yet if it were ſudden and ſwift, provided ſtill it be from worſe to better, certainly we ought to hie us from evil like a torrent, and rid our ſelves of corrupt Diſcipline, as we would ſhake fire out of our boſoms.

Speedy and vehement were the *Reformations* of all the good Kings of *Juda*, though the People had been nuzzl'd in Idolatry never ſo long before; they fear'd not the bug-bear danger, nor the Lion in the way that the ſluggiſh and timorous Politician thinks he ſees; no more did our Brethren of the *Reformed Churches* abroad, they ventur'd (God being their guide) out of rigid Popery, into that which we in mockery call preciſe *Puritaniſm*, and yet we ſee no inconvenience befel them.

Let us not dally with God when he offers us a full Bleſſing, to take as much of it as we think will ſerve our ends, and turn him back the reſt upon his hands, leſt in his anger he ſnatch all from us again. Next they alledg the Antiquity of *Epiſcopacy* through all Ages. What it was in the Apoſtles time that queſtionleſs it muſt be ſtill, and therein I truſt the Miniſters will be able to ſatisfy the Parliament. But if *Epiſcopacy* be taken for *Prelacy*, all the Ages they can deduce it through will make it no more venerable then *Papacy*.

Moſt certain it is (as all our Stories bear witneſs) that ever ſince their coming to the See of *Canterbury* for near twelve hundred years, to ſpeak of them in general, they have been in *England* to our Souls a ſad and doleful ſucceſſion of illiterate and blind guides; to our purſes and goods a waſtful band of robbers, a perpetual havock and rapine; to our State a continual *Hydra* of miſchief and moleſtation, the forge of diſcord and rebellion: This is the Trophy of their Antiquity, and boaſted Succeſſion through ſo many ages. And for thoſe *Prelat-Martyrs* they glory of, they are to be judg'd what they were by the Goſpel, and not the Goſpel to be tried by them.

And it is to be noted, that if they were for Biſhopricks and Ceremonies, it was in their Proſperity and fulneſs of Bread; but in their Perſecution, which purifi'd them, and near their Death, which was their Garland, they plainly diſlik'd and condemn'd the Ceremonies, and threw away thoſe Epiſcopal Ornaments wherein they were inſtal'd as fooliſh and deteſtable, for ſo the words of *Ridley* at his Degradement, and his Letter to *Hooper*, expreſly ſhew. Neither doth the Author of our Church-Hiſtory ſpare to record ſadly the Fall (for ſo he terms it) and Infirmities of theſe Martyrs, though we would deify them. And why ſhould their Martyrdom more countenance corrupt Doctrine or Diſcipline, then their Subſcriptions juſtify their Treaſon to the Royal Blood of this Realm, by diverting and intaling the Right of the Crown from the true Heirs, to the houſes of *Northumberland* and *Suffolk?* which had it took effect, this preſent King had in all likelihood never ſat on this Throne, and the happy Union of this Iland had bin fruſtrated.

Laſtly, Whereas they add that ſome the learnedeſt of the Reformed abroad admire our Epiſcopacy; it had bin more for the ſtrength of the Argument to tell us, that ſome of the wiſeſt States-men admire it, for thereby we might gueſs them weary of the preſent Diſcipline, as offenſive to their State, which is the bug we fear: but being they are Church-men, we may rather ſuſpect them for ſome *Prelatizing Spirits* that admire our Biſhopricks, not Epiſcopacy. The next Objection vaniſhes of it ſelf, propounding a doubt, whether a greater Inconvenience would not grow from the corruption of any other Diſcipline then from that of Epiſcopacy. This ſeems an unſeaſonable foreſight, and out of order to defer and put off the moſt needful Conſtitution of one right Diſcipline, while we ſtand ballancing the Diſcommodities of two corrupt ones. Firſt conſtitute that which is right, and of it ſelf it will diſcover and rectify that which ſwerves, and eaſily remedy the pretended fear of having a Pope in every Pariſh, unleſs we call the zealous and meek cenſure of the Church a *Popedom*, which who ſo does, let him adviſe how he can reject the Paſtorly Rod and Sheep-hook of Christ, and thoſe Cords of Love, and not fear to fall under the iron Scepter of his Anger, that will daſh him to pieces like a Potſherd.

At another Doubt of theirs I wonder, whether this Diſcipline which we deſire be ſuch as can be put in practiſe within this Kingdom; they ſay it cannot ſtand with the common Law nor with the King's Safety, the Government of Epiſcopacy is now ſo weav'd into the common Law. In God's name let it weave out again; let not humane Quillets keep back divine Authority. 'Tis not the common Law, nor the civil, but Piety and Juſtice that are our foundreſſes; they ſtoop not, neither change colour for *Ariſtocracy*, *Democraty*, or

*Monarchy*, nor yet at all interrupt their juſt Courſes; but far above the taking notice of theſe inferior Niceties with perfect Sympathy, where-ever they meet, kiſs each other. Laſtly, they are fearful that the Diſcipline which will ſucceed cannot ſtand with the King's Safety. Wherefore? it is but Epiſcopacy reduc'd to what it ſhould be: were it not that the Tyranny of *Prelats* under the name of *Biſhops* hath made our ears tender, and ſtartling, we might call every good Miniſter a *Biſhop*, as every *Biſhop*, yea the Apoſtles themſelves are call'd *Miniſters*, and the Angels *miniſtring Spirits*, and the *Miniſters* again *Angels*. But wherein is this propounded Government ſo ſhrewd? Becauſe the Government of Aſſemblies will ſucceed. Did not the *Apoſtles* govern the Church by Aſſemblies? how ſhould it elſe be Catholick, how ſhould it have Communion? We count it Sacrilege to take from the rich *Prelats* their Lands and Revenus, which is Sacrilege in them to keep, uſing them as they do; and can we think it ſafe to defraud the living Church of God of that right which God has given her in Aſſemblies? O but the Conſequence! Aſſemblies draw to them the Supremacy of Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction. No ſurely, they draw no Supremacy, but that Authority which Christ, and Saint *Paul* in his Name confers upon them. The King may ſtill retain the ſame Supremacy in the Aſſemblies, as in the *Parliament*; here he can do nothing alone againſt the Common Law, and there neither alone, nor with conſent againſt the Scriptures. But is this all? No, this Eccleſiaſtical Supremacy draws to it the Power to excommunicate Kings; and then follows the worſt that can be imagin'd. Do they hope to avoid this, by keeping *Prelats* that have ſo often done it? Not to exemplify the malapert Inſolence of our own *Biſhops* in this kind towards our Kings, I ſhall turn back to the *Primitive* and pure Times, which the Objectors would have the Rule of Reformation to us.

Not an Aſſembly, but one *Biſhop* alone, Saint Ambrose of *Millan*, held *Theodoſius* the moſt Chriſtian Emperor, under Excommunication above eight months together, drove him from the Church in the preſence of his Nobles; which the good Emperor bore with heroick *humility*, and never ceas't by Prayers and Tears, till he was abſolv'd; for which coming to the Biſhop with *Supplication* into the *Salutatory*, ſome out Porch of the Church, he was charg'd by him of tyrannical madneſs againſt God, for coming into holy Ground. At laſt upon Conditions abſolv'd, and after great *humiliation* approaching to the Altar to offer, (as thoſe thrice pure times then thought meet) he had ſcarce withdrawn his hand, and ſtood awhile, when a bold Arch-deacon comes in the Biſhop's name, and chaces him from within the Rails, telling him peremptorily that the place wherein he ſtood, was for none but the *Prieſts* to enter, or to touch; and this is another peece of pure *Primitive Divinity*. Think ye then our Biſhops will forgo the Power of Excommunication on whomſoever? No certainly, unleſs to compaſs ſiniſter Ends, and then revoke when they ſee their time. And yet this moſt mild, though withal dreadful and inviolable Prerogative of *Chriſts* Diadem, Excommunication, ſervs for nothing with them, but to prog and pander for Fees, or to diſplay their Pride, and ſharpen their Revenge, debarring Men the protection of the Law; and I remember not whether in ſome Caſes it bereave not Men all right to their worldly Goods and Inheritances, beſides the denial of Chriſtian burial. But in the Evangelical, and reformed uſe of this ſacred Cenſure, no ſuch *Proſtitution*, no ſuch *Iſcariotical* Drifts are to be doubted, as that *ſpiritual* Doom and Sentence ſhould invade worldly poſſeſſion, which is the rightful Lot and Portion even of the wickedeſt Men, as frankly beſtow'd upon them by the al-diſpenſing Bounty, as *Rain* and *Sunſhine*. No, no, it ſeeks not to bereave or deſtroy the Body; it ſeeks to ſave the Soul by humbling the Body, not by impriſonment, or pecuniary Mulct, much leſs by Stripes, or Bonds, or diſinheritance, but by fatherly Admoniſhment and chriſtian Rebuke, to caſt it into godly Sorrow, whoſe End is Joy, and ingenuous baſhfulneſs to Sin: If that cannot be wrought, then as a tender Mother takes her Child and holds it over the Pit with ſcarring words, that it may learn to fear where Danger is; ſo doth Excommunication as dearly and as freely, without Money, uſe her wholſome and ſaving Terrors, ſhe is inſtant, ſhe beſeeches, by all the dear and ſweet Promiſes of Salvation ſhe entices and woes, by all the Threatnings and Thunders of the *Law*, and rejected *Goſpel*, ſhe charges, and adjures; this is all her Armory, her Munition, her Artillery, then ſhe awaits with long-ſufferance, and yet ardent Zeal. In brief, there is no Act in all the Errand of *Gods Miniſters* to Mankind, wherein paſſes more loverlike conteſtation between Christ and the Soul of a regenerate Man lapſing, then before, and in, and after the Sentence of Excommunication. As for the fogging Proctorage of Money, with ſuch an eye as ſtrook *Gehezi* with Leproſy, and *Simon Magus* with a Curſe; ſo does ſhe look, and ſo threaten her firy Whip againſt that banking Den of Thieves that dare thus baffle, and buy and ſell the awful and majeſtick wrincles of her Brow. He that is rightly and apoſtolically ſped with her inviſible Arrow, if he can be at peace in his Soul, and not ſmel within him the Brimſtone of Hell, may have fair leave to tell all his Bags over undiminiſh't of the leaſt Farding, may eat his Dainties, drink his Wine, uſe his Delights, enjoy his Lands and Liberties, not the leaſt Skin rais'd, not the leaſt Hair miſplac't for all that Excommunication has done: Much more may a King enjoy his Rights and Prerogatives undeflour'd, untouch'd, and be as abſolute and compleat a King, as all his Royalties and Revenu's can make him. And therefore little did *Theodoſius* fear a Plot upon his Empire, when he ſtood excommunicat by St. *Ambroſe*, though it were done either with much haughty Pride, or ignorant Zeal. But let us rather look upon the reformed Churches beyond the Seas, the *Grizons*, the *Swiſſes*, the *Hollanders*, the *French*, that have a Supremacy to live under as well as we; where do the Churches in all theſe places ſtrive for Supremacy? where do they claſh and juſtle Supremacies with the Civil *Magiſtrate?* In *France*, a more ſevere Monarchy then ours, the *Proteſtants* under this Church-Government, carry the name of the beſt Subjects the King has; and yet *Presbytery*, if it muſt be ſo call'd, does there all that it deſires to do: How eaſy were it, if there be ſuch great ſuſpicion, to give no more ſcope to it in *England.* But let us not, for fear of a Scare-crow, or elſe through hatred to be reform'd, ſtand hankering and politizing, when God with ſpread hands teſtifies to us, and points us out the way to our Peace.

Let us not be ſo overcredulous, unleſs God hath blinded us, as to truſt our deer Souls into the hands of Men that beg ſo devoutly for the pride and gluttony of their own Backs and Bellies, that ſue and ſollicit ſo eagerly, not for the ſaving of Souls, the conſideration of which can have here no place at all, but for their Biſhopricks, Deaneries, Prebends, and Chanonies: how can theſe Men not be corrupt, whoſe very cauſe is the Bribe of their own pleading, whoſe mouths cannot open without the ſtrong breath and loud ſtench of Avarice, Simony, and Sacrilege, embezling the Treaſury of the Church on painted and guilded Walls of Temples, wherein God hath teſtified to have no delight, warming their Palace Kitchins, and from thence their unctuous and epicurean Paunches, with the Alms of the Blind, the Lame, the Impotent, the Aged, the Orfan, the Widow? for with theſe the Treaſury of Christ ought to be, here muſt be his Jewels beſtow'd, his rich Cabinet muſt be emptied here; as the conſtant Martyr Saint *Laurence* taught the *Roman Prætor.* Sir, would you know what the Remonſtrance of theſe Men would have, what their Petition implies? They intreat us that we would not be weary of thoſe inſupportable Grievances that our Shoulders have hitherto crackt under, they beſeech us that we would think 'em fit to be our Juſtices of Peace, our Lords, our higheſt Officers of State, though they come furniſh't with no more experience then they learnt between the *Cook* and the *Manciple*, or more profoundly at the Colledg *Audit*, or the *Regent Houſe*, or to come to their deepeſt inſight at their *Patrons Table*; they would requeſt us to indure ſtill the ruſling of their ſilken Caſſocks, and that we would burſt our *Midriffs*, rather then laugh to ſee them under Sail in all their Lawn and Sarcenet, their Shrouds and Tackle, with a *Geometrical Rhomboides* upon their Heads: they would bear us in hand that we muſt of duty ſtill appear before them once a Year in *Jeruſalem*, like good circumciz'd *Males* and *Females*, to be taxt by the Poul, to be ſcons't our Head-money, our Tuppences in their Chaunlerly Shop-book of *Eaſter*. They pray us that it would pleaſe us to let them ſtill hale us, and worry us with their Band-dogs and Purſivants; and that it would pleaſe the *Parliament* that they may yet have the whipping, fleecing, and fleaing of us in their diabolical Courts, to tear the Fleſh from our Bones, and into our wide wounds inſtead of Balm, to pour in the Oil of Tartar, Vitriol, and Mercury;

ſurely a right reaſonable, innocent and ſoft-hearted Petition. O the relenting Bowels of the Fathers! Can this be granted them, unleſs GOD have ſmitten us with Frenſie from above, and with a dazling giddineſs at noon day? Should not thoſe Men rather be heard that come to plead againſt their own Preferments, their worldly Advantages, their own Abundance; for Honour and Obedience to *God's Word*, the Converſion of Souls, the *Chriſtian Peace* of the Land, and *Union* of the Reformed *Catholick Church*, the *unappropriating* and *unmonopolizing* the Rewards of *Learning* and *Induſtry*, from the greaſy clutch of Ignorance, and high feeding. We have tri'd already, and miſerably felt what Ambition, *worldly Glory* and *immoderate Wealth* can do, what the boiſtrous and contradictional hand of a temporal, earthly, and corporeal Spirituality can avail to the edifying of Chriſt's holy *Church*; were it ſuch a deſperate hazard to put to the venture the univerſal Votes of *Chriſt*'s Congregation, the fellowly and friendly Yoke of a teaching and laborious Miniſtry, the Paſtor-like and Apoſtolick imitation of meek and unlordly Diſcipline, the gentle and benevolent Mediocrity of Church-maintenance, without the ignoble Hucſterage of pidling *Tithes?* Were it ſuch an incurable miſchief to make a little trial, what all this would do to the flouriſhing and growing up of *Chriſt*'s myſtical Body? As rather to uſe every poor ſhift, and if that ſerve not, to threaten Uproar and Combuſtion, and ſhake the Brand of Civil Diſcord?

O, Sir, I do now feel my ſelf inwrapt on the ſudden into thoſe Mazes and *Labyrinths* of dreadful and hideous thoughts, that which way to get out, or which way to end, I know not, unleſs I turn mine eyes, and with your help lift up my hands to that eternal and propitious *Throne*, where nothing is readier then *Grace* and *Refuge* to the diſtreſſes of mortal Suppliants: And it were a ſhame to leave theſe ſerious thoughts leſs piouſly then the Heathen were wont to conclude their graver Diſcourſes.

Thou therefore that ſitſt in Light and Glory unapproachable, *Parent* of *Angels* and *Men!* next thee I implore Omnipotent King, Redeemer of that loſt Remnant whoſe Nature thou didſt aſſume, ineffable and everlaſting *Love!* And thou the third ſubſiſtence of Divine Infinitude, *illumining Spirit*, the Joy and Solace of created *Things!* one *Tri-perſonal* GODHEAD! look upon this thy poor and almoſt ſpent and expiring *Church*, leave her not thus a Prey to theſe importunate *Wolves*, that wait and think long till they devour thy tender *Flock*; theſe wild *Boars* that have broke into thy *Vineyard*, and left the print of their polluting Hoofs on the Souls of thy Servants. O let them not bring about their damned *Deſigns*, that ſtand now at the entrance of the bottomleſs Pit, expecting the Watch-word to open and let out thoſe dreadful *Locuſts* and *Scorpions*, to *re-involve* us in that pitchy *Cloud* of infernal Darkneſs, where we ſhall never more ſee the *Sun* of thy *Truth* again, never hope for the chearful dawn, never more hear the *Bird* of *Morning* ſing. Be mov'd with pity at the afflicted ſtate of this our ſhaken *Monarchy*, that now lies labouring under her Throws, and ſtruggling againſt the Grudges of more dreaded Calamities.

O thou that after the impetuous rage of five bloody Inundations, and the ſucceeding Sword of inteſtine *War*, ſoaking the Land in her own Gore, didſt pity the ſad and ceaſleſs Revolution of our ſwift and thick-coming Sorrows, when we were quite breathleſs, of thy *free Grace* didſt motion *Peace*, and terms of Cov'nant with us; and having firſt well-nigh freed us from *Antichriſtian* Thraldom, didſt build up this *Britannick Empire* to a glorious and enviable height, with all her Daughter-Ilands about her; ſtay us in this Felicity, let not the Obſtinacy of our half-Obedience and Will-worſhip, bring forth that *Viper* of *Sedition*, that for theſe fourſcore Years hath been breeding to eat through the Entrals of our *Peace*; but let her caſt her Abortive Spawn without the danger of this travelling and throbbing *Kingdom*. That we may ſtill remember in our *ſolemn Thankſgivings*, how for us, the *Northern Ocean* even to the frozen *Thule*, was ſcatter'd with the proud Shipwracks of the *Spaniſh Armado*, and the very Maw of Hell ranſack't, and made to give up her conceal'd Deſtruction, ere ſhe could vent it in that horrible and damned blaſt.

O how much more glorious will thoſe former Deliverances appear, when we ſhall know them not only to have ſav'd us from greateſt Miſeries paſt, but to have reſerv'd us for greateſt happineſs to come? Hitherto thou haſt but freed us, and that not fully, from the unjuſt and tyrannous Claim of thy Foes, now unite us intirely, and appropriate us to thy ſelf, tie us everlaſtingly in willing Homage to the *Prerogative* of thy Eternal *Throne*.

And now we know, O thou our moſt certain Hope and Defence, that thine Enemies have been conſulting all the Sorceries of the *great Whore*, and have joyn'd their Plots with that ſad Intelligencing Tyrant that miſchiefs the World with his Mines of *Ophir*, and lies thirſting to revenge his naval Ruins that have larded our Seas: but let them all take Counſel together, and let it come to nought; let them decree, and do thou cancel it; let them gather themſelves, and be ſcattered; let them imbattle themſelves, and be broken; let them imbattel, and be broken, for thou art with us.

Then amidſt the *Hymns* and *Hallelujahs* of *Saints*, ſome one may perhaps be heard offering at high *Strains* in new and lofty *Meaſures*, to ſing and celebrate thy *divine Mercies*, and *marvelous Judgments* in this Land throughout all AGES; whereby this great and warlike Nation, inſtructed and inur'd to the fervent and continual practice of *Truth* and *Righteouſneſs*, and caſting far from her the *Rags* of her old *Vices*, may preſs on hard to that *high* and *happy* Emulation to be found the *ſobereſt*, *wiſeſt*, and *moſt Chriſtian People* at that day, when thou the Eternal and ſhortly-expected King, ſhalt open the Clouds to judg the ſeveral Kingdoms of the World, and diſtributing *National Honours* and *Rewards* to religious and juſt *Common-wealths*, ſhalt put an end to all earthly *Tyrannies*, proclaiming thy univerſal and mild *Monarchy* through Heaven and Earth. Where they undoubtedly, that by their *Labours*, *Counſels* and *Prayers*, have been earneſt for the *common Good* of *Religion* and their *Country*, ſhall receive above the inferior *Orders* of the *Bleſſed*, the *regal* Addition of *Principalities*, *Legions*, and *Thrones* into their glorious Titles, and in ſupereminence of *beatifick Viſion*, progreſſing the *dateleſs* and *irrevoluble* Circle of *Eternity*, ſhall claſp inſeparable Hands with *Joy* and *Bliſs*, in over meaſure for ever.

But they contrary, that by the impairing and diminution of the true *Faith*, the Diſtreſſes and Servitude of their *Country*, aſpire to high *Dignity*, *Rule* and *Promotion* here, after a ſhameful end in this *Life*, (which *God* grant them) ſhall be thrown down eternally into the *darkeſt* and *deepeſt* *Gulf* of HELL, where under the *deſpiteful Controul*, the Trample and Spurn of all the other *Damned*, that in the anguiſh of their *Torture*, ſhall have no other eaſe then to exerciſe a raving and beſtial *Tyranny* over them as their *Slaves* and *Negroes*, they ſhall remain in that plight for ever, the *baſeſt*, the *lowermoſt*, the moſt *dejected*, moſt *underfoot* and *down-trodden Vaſſals* of *Perdition*.

# FOUR
# TRACTS
# Concerning
# DIVORCE

Publiſhed in the Years 1644, and 1645.

*VIZ.*

I. The Doctrine and Diſcipline of Divorce, reſtor'd to the Good of both Sexes, *&c.*

II. *Tetrachordon*; Expoſitions upon the four chief Places in Scripture which treat of Marriage, or Nullities in Marriage.

III. The Judgment of *Martin Bucer* concerning Divorce, written to *Edward* the Sixt, in his ſecond Book of the Kingdom of Chriſt.

IV. *Colaſterion*; A Reply to a nameleſs Anſwer againſt the Doctrine and Diſcipline of Divorce.

To which is added,

*Areopagitica*: A Speech for the Liberty of Unlicens'd Printing, to the Parliament of *England.*

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AMSTERDAM, MDCXCIV.

# The Doctrine and Diſcipline of DIVORCE; reſtored to the good of both Sexes, from the Bondage of Canon Law, and other Miſtakes, to the true meaning of Scripture in the Law and Goſpel compar'd.

## Wherein alſo are ſet down the bad Conſequences of aboliſhing or condemning of Sin; that which the Law of God allows, and Chriſt aboliſht not.

Now the ſecond time Reviſ'd, and much Augmented, in two Books:
To the Parliament of *England*, with the Aſſembly.

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Matth. 13. 52. *Every Scribe inſtructed io the Kingdom of Heav'n, is like the Maſter of a Houſe which bringeth out of his Treaſury things new and old.*

Prov. 18. 13. *He that anſwereth a matter before he heareth it, it is folly and ſhame unto him.*

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## *To the Parliament of* ENGLAND, *with the Aſſembly.*

IF it were ſeriouſly aſkt, and it would be no untimely Queſtion, Renowned Parliament, Select Aſſembly, Who of all Teachers and Maſters that ever have taught, hath drawn the moſt Diſciples after him, both in Religion and in Manners? it might not be untruly anſwer'd, Cuſtom. Though Vertue be commended for the moſt perſwaſive in her *Theory*, and Conſcience in the plain demonſtration of the Spirit finds moſt evincing, yet whether it be the ſecret of Divine Will, or the original blindneſs we are born in, ſo it happens for the moſt part, that Cuſtom ſtill is ſilently receiv'd for the beſt inſtructor. Except it be, becauſe her method is ſo glib and eaſie, in ſome manner like to that Viſion of *Ezekiel*, rowling up her ſudden book of implicit Knowledge, for him that will, to take and ſwallow down at pleaſure; which proving but of bad nouriſhment in the concoction, as it was heedleſs in the devouring, puffs up unhealthily a certain big face of pretended learning, miſtaken among credulous men for the wholſom habit of ſoundneſs and good conſtitution, but is indeed no other than that ſwoln viſage of counterfeit knowledge and literature, which not only in private mars our Education, but alſo in publick is the common Climer into every chair, where either Religion is preach't, or Law reported, filling each eſtate of Life and Profeſſion with abject and ſervile principles, depreſſing the high and Heaven-born ſpirit of man, far beneath the condition wherein either God created him, or Sin hath ſunk him. To purſue the Allegory, Cuſtom being but a meer face, as Eccho is a meer voice, reſts not in her unaccompliſhment, until by ſecret inclination ſhe accorporate her ſelf with Error, who being a blind and ſerpentine body without a head, willingly accepts what he wants, and ſupplies what her Incompleatneſs went ſeeking. Hence it is, that Error ſupports Cuſtom, Cuſtom countenances Error: and theſe two between them would perſecute and chaſe away all truth and ſolid wiſdom out of humane Life, were it not that God, rather than Man, once in many Ages, calls together the prudent and religious Counſels of men, deputed to repreſs the incroachments, and to work off the inveterate blots and obſcurities wrought upon our minds by the ſubtle inſinuating of Error and Cuſtom; who with the numerous and vulgar train of their Followers, make it their chief deſign to envy and cry down the induſtry of free reaſoning, under the terms of humour and innovation; as if the Womb of teeming Truth were to be cloſ'd up, if ſhe preſume to bring forth ought that ſorts not with their unchew'd notions and ſuppoſitions. Againſt which notorious injury and abuſe of mans free ſoul, to teſtifie and oppoſe the utmoſt that ſtudy and true labour can attain, heretofore the incitement of men reputed grave, hath led me among others; and now the duty and the right of an inſtructed Chriſtian calls me thro the chance of good or evil report, to be the ſole Advocate of a diſcountenanc't truth; a high enterpriſe, Lords and Commons, a high enterpriſe and a hard, and ſuch as every 7th Son of a 7th Son does not venture on. Nor have I amidſt the clamour of ſo much envy and impertinence, whither to appeal, but to the concourſe of ſo much Piety and Wiſdom here aſſembled. Bringing in my hands an ancient and moſt neceſſary, moſt charitable, and yet moſt injur'd Statute of *Moſes*; not repeal'd ever by him who had the Authority, but thrown aſide with much inconſiderat Neglect, under the Rubbiſh of Canonical Ignorance, as once the whole Law was by ſome ſuch like conveyance in *Joſiah*'s time. And he who ſhall indeavor the amendment of any old neglected Grievance in Church or State, or in the daily courſe of Life, if he be gifted with abilities of mind that may raiſe him to ſo high an undertaking, I grant he hath already much whereof not to repent him; yet let me arreed him, not to be the foreman of any miſ-judg'd Opinion, unleſs his Reſolutions be firmly ſeated in a ſquare and conſtant mind, not conſcious to it ſelf of any deſerved blame, and regardleſs of ungrounded ſuſpicions. For this let him be ſure he ſhall be boorded preſently by the ruder ſort, but not by diſcreet and well-nurtur'd men, with a thouſand idle Deſcants and Surmiſes. Who when they cannot confute the leaſt joynt or ſinew of any paſſage in the Book; yet God forbid that truth ſhould be truth, becauſe they have a boiſtrous conceit of ſome pretences in the Writer. But were they not more buſie and inquiſitive than the Apoſtle commends, they would hear him at leaſt, *rejoycing ſo the truth be preacht, whether of envy or other pretence whatſoever:* for Truth is as impoſſible to be ſoil'd by any outward touch, as the Sun beam; though this ill hap wait on her Nativity, that ſhe never comes into the World, but like a Baſtard, to the ignominy of him that brought her forth; till Time, the Midwife rather than the Mother of Truth, have waſht and ſalted the Infant, declar'd her legitimate, and church't the Father of his young *Minerva*, from the needleſs cauſes of his Purgation. Your ſelves can beſt witneſs this, worthy Patriots, and better will, no doubt, hereafter: for who among ye of the foremoſt that have travail'd in her behalf to the good of Church or State, hath not been often traduc't to be the Agent of his own by-ends, under pretext of Reformation? So much the more I ſhall not be unjuſt to hope, that however Infamy or Envy may work in other men to do her fretful Will againſt this Diſcourſe, yet that the experience of your own uprightneſs miſ-interpreted, will put ye in mind to give it free Audience and generous Conſtruction. What though the blood of *Belial*, the draffe of men, to whom no Liberty is pleaſing, but unbridl'd and vagabond Luſt without pale or partition, will laugh abroad perhaps, to ſee ſo great a ſtrength of Scripture muſtering up in favour, as they ſuppoſe, of their Debaucheries; they will know better when they ſhall hence learn, that honeſt Liberty is the greateſt foe to diſhoneſt Licence. And what though others, out of a wateriſh and queaſie Conſcience, becauſe ever crazy and never yet ſound, will rail and fancy to themſelves, that Injury and Licence is the beſt of this Book? Did not the Diſtemper of their own Stomachs affect them with a dizzy Megrim, they would ſoon tie up their Tongues, and diſcern themſelves, like that *Aſſyrian* Blaſphemer, all this while reproaching not Man but the Almighty, the *Holy One of Iſrael*, whom they do not deny to have belawgiv'd his own ſacred People with this very allowance, which they now call Injury and Licence, and dare cry ſhame on, and will do yet a while, till they get a little cordial Sobriety to ſettle their qualming Zeal. But this Queſtion concerns not us perhaps: indeed mans diſpoſition though prone to ſearch after vain Curioſities, yet when points of difficulty are to be diſcuſt, appertaining to the removal of unreaſonable wrong and burden from the perplext life of our Brother, it is incredible how cold, how dull, and far from all fellow-feeling we are, without the ſpur of ſelf-concernment. Yet if the Wiſdom, the Juſtice, the Purity of God be to be clear'd from fouleſt Imputations which are not yet avoided; if Charity be not to be degraded and trodden down under a civil Ordinance; if Matrimony be not to be advanc'd like that exalted Perdition written of to the *Theſſalonians*, *above all that is called God*, or Goodneſs, nay againſt them both; then I dare affirm there will be

found

ſound in the Contents of this Book, that which may concern us all. You it concerns chiefly, Worthies in Parliament, on whom, as on our Deliverers, all our Grievances and Cares, by the merit of your eminence and fortitude, are devolv'd. Me it concerns next, having with much labour and faithful diligence firſt ſound out, or at leaſt with a fearleſs and communicative candor firſt publiſht to the manifeſt good of Chriſtendom, that which calling to witneſs every thing mortal and immortal, I believe unfainedly to be true. Let not other men think their Conſcience bound to ſearch continually after truth, to pray for enlightning from above, to publiſh what they think they have ſo obtain'd, and debar me from conceiving my ſelf ty'd by the ſame duties. Ye have now, doubtleſs by the favour and appointment of God, ye have now in your hands a great and populous Nation to reform; from what corruption, what blindneſs in Religion, ye know well; in what a degenerate and fall'n Spirit from the apprehenſion of native Liberty, and true Manlineſs, I am ſure ye find; with what unbounded licence ruſhing to Whoredoms and Adulteries, needs not long enquiry: inſomuch that the Fears which men have of too ſtrict a Diſcipline, perhaps exceed the Hopes that can be in others, of ever introducing it with any great ſucceſs. What if I ſhould tell ye now of Diſpenſations and Indulgences, to give a little the reins, to let them play and nibble with the bait a while; a People as hard of heart as that Egyptian Colony that went to *Canaan*. This is the common Doctrine that adulterous and injurious Divorces were not conniv'd only, but with eye open allow'd of old for hardneſs of heart. But that Opinion, I truſt, by then this following Argument hath been well read, will be left for one of the Myſteries of an indulgent Antichriſt, to farm out Inceſt by, and thoſe his other tributary pollutions. What middle way can be taken then, may ſome interrupt, if we muſt neither turn to the right, nor to the left, and that the People hate to be reform'd? Mark then, Judges and Law-givers, and ye whoſe Office it is to be our Teachers, for I will utter now a Doctrine, if ever any other, though neglected or not underſtood, yet of great and powerful importance to the governing of Mankind. He who wiſely would reſtrain the reaſonable Soul of Man within due bounds, muſt firſt himſelf know perfectly, how far the Territory and Dominion extends of juſt and honeſt Liberty. As little muſt he offer to bind that which God hath looſn'd, as to looſ'n that which he hath bound. The ignorance and miſtake of this high point, hath heapt up one huge half of all the miſery that hath been ſince *Adam*. In the Goſpel we ſhall read a ſupercilious crew of Maſters, whoſe Holineſs, or rather whoſe evil eye, grieving that God ſhould be ſo facil to Man, was to ſet ſtraiter limits to Obedience than God had ſet, to enſlave the dignity of Man, to put a garriſon upon his neck of empty and over-dignifi'd Precepts: And we ſhall read our Saviour never more griev'd and troubl'd, than to meet with ſuch a pieviſh Madneſs among men againſt their own freedom. How can we expect him to be leſs offended with us, when much of the ſame folly ſhall be found yet remaining where it leaſt ought, to the periſhing of thouſands? The greateſt burden in the world is Superſtition, not only of Ceremonies in the Church, but of imaginary and ſcarecrow Sins at home. What greater weakning, what more ſubtle ſtratagem againſt our Chriſtian Warfare, when beſides the groſs body of real Tranſgreſſions to incounter, we ſhall be terrifi'd by a vain and ſhadowy menacing of faults that are not: When things indifferent ſhall be ſet to over-front us under the Banners of Sin, what wonder if we be routed, and by this art of our Adverſary, fall into the ſubjection of worſt and deadlieſt Offences? The Superſtition of the *Papiſt* is, *touch not*, *taſt not*, when *God* bids both; and ours is, *part not*, *ſeparate not*, when God and Charity both permits and commands. *Let all your things be done with charity*, ſaith S. *Paul*; and his Maſter ſaith, *She is the fulfilling of the Law*. Yet now a civil, an indifferent, a ſometime diſſwaded Law of Marriage, muſt be forc't upon us to fulfil, not only without Charity, but againſt her. No place in Heav'n or Earth, except Hell, where Charity may not enter: yet Marriage, the Ordinance of our Solace and Contentment, the Remedy of our Lonelineſs, will not admit now either of Charity or Mercy, to come in and mediate, or pacifie the fierceneſs of this gentle Ordinance, the unremedied lonelineſs of this Remedy. Adviſe ye well, Supreme Senate, if Charity be thus excluded and expulſt, how ye will defend the untainted Honour of your own Actions and Proceedings. He who marries, intends as little to conſpire his own ruin, as he that ſwears Allegiance: and as a whole People is in proportion to an ill Government, ſo is one Man to an ill Marriage. If they, againſt any Authority, Cov'nant, or Statute, may by the ſoveraign Edict of Charity, ſave not only their Lives but honeſt Liberties from unworthy Bondage, as well may he againſt any private Cov'nant, which he never enter'd to his miſchief, redeem himſelf from unſupportable Diſturbances to honeſt Peace, and juſt Contentment: And much the rather, for that to reſiſt the higheſt Magiſtrate though tyrannizing, God never gave us expreſs allowance, only he gave us Reaſon, Charity, Nature, and good Example to bear us out; but in this Economical misfortune thus to demean our ſelves, beſides the Warrant of thoſe four great Directors, which doth as juſtly belong hither, we have an expreſs Law of *God*, and ſuch a Law, as whereof our Saviour with a ſolemn Threat forbid the abrogating. For no effect of Tyranny can be more heavy on the Common-wealth, than this houſhold unhappineſs on the Family. And farewel all hope of true Reformation in the State, while ſuch an evil as this lies undiſcern'd or unregarded in the houſe. On the redreſs whereof depends not only the ſpiritual and orderly life of our grown men, but the willing and careful education of our children. Let this therefore be now examin'd, this tenure and freehold of mankind, this native and domeſtick Charter giv'n us by a greater Lord than that *Saxon* King the Confeſſor. Let the ſtatutes of God be turn'd over, be ſcann'd anew, and conſidered not altogether by the narrow intellectuals of Quotationiſts and common Places, but (as was the ancient right of Councils) by men of what liberal profeſſion ſoever, of eminent ſpirit and breeding, joyn'd with a diffuſe and various knowledge of divine and human things; able to ballance and define good and evil, right and wrong, throughout every ſtate of life; able to ſhew us the ways of the Lord ſtrait and faithful as they are, not full of cranks and contradictions, and pit-falling diſpences, but with divine inſight and benignity meaſured out to the proportion of each mind and ſpirit, each temper and diſpoſition created ſo different each from other, and yet by the skill of wiſe conducting, all to become uniform in vertue. To expedite theſe knots were worthy a learned and memorable Synod; while our enemies expect to ſee the expectation of the Church tir'd out with dependencies and independencies how they will compound, and in what Calends. Doubt not, worthy Senators, to vindicate the ſacred Honour and Judgment of *Moſes* your predeceſſor, from the ſhallow commenting of Scholaſticks and Canoniſts. Doubt not after him to reach out your ſteady hands to the miſ-inform'd and wearied life of man; to reſtore this his loſt heritage, into the houſhold ſtate; wherewith be ſure that peace and love, the beſt ſubſiſtance of a Chriſtian family, will return home from whence they are now baniſht; places of proſtitution will be leſs haunted, the neighbors bed leſs attempted, the yoke of prudent and manly diſcipline will be generally ſubmitted to; ſober and well ordered living will ſoon ſpring up in the Common-wealth. Ye have an Author great beyond exception, *Moſes*; and one yet greater, he who hedg'd in from aboliſhing every ſmalleſt jot and tittle of precious equity contain'd in that Law, with a more accurate and laſting Maſoreth, than either the Synagogue of *Ezra* or the *Galilæan* School at *Tiberias* hath left us. Whatever elſe ye can exact, will ſcarce concern a third part of the Brittiſh name: but the benefit and good of this your magnanimous example, will eaſily ſpread far beyond the banks of *Tweed* and the *Norman* Iles. It would not be the firſt, or ſecond time, ſince our ancient *Druides*, by whom this Iland was the Cathedral of Philoſophy to *France*, left off their Pagan Rites, that *England* hath had this honour vouchſaft from Heav'n, to give out Reformation to the world. Who was it but our Engliſh *Conſtantine* that baptiz'd the Roman Empire? Who was it but the *Northumbrian Willibrode*, and *Winifride* of *Devon* with their followers, were the firſt Apoſtles of *Germany*? who but *Alcuin* and *Wicklef* our Countreymen open'd the eyes of *Europe*, the one in arts, the other in Religion? Let not *England* forget her precedence of teaching Nations how to live.

Know Worthies, know and excerciſe the priviledge of your honour'd Countrey. A greater title I here bring ye, then is either in the power or in the policy of *Rome* to give her *Monarchs*; this glorious Act will ſtile ye the defenders of Charity. Nor is this yet the higheſt inſcription that will adorn ſo religious and ſo holy a defence as this, behold here the pure and ſacred Law of God, and his yet purer and more ſacred Name offring themſelves to you firſt, of all Chriſtian Reformers to be acquitted from the long ſuffer'd ungodly attribute of patronizing Adultery. Defer not to wipe off inſtantly theſe imputative blurrs and ſtains caſt by rude fancies upon the throne and beauty it ſelf of inviolable Holineſs; leſt ſome other people more devout and wiſe than we bereave us this offer'd immortal glory, or wonted prerogative, of being the firſt aſſertors in every great vindication. For me as far as my part leads me, I have already my greateſt gain, aſſurance, and inward ſatisfaction to have done in this nothing unworthy of an honeſt life, and ſtudies well employ'd. With what event among the wiſe and right underſtanding handful of men, I am ſecure. But how among the drove of Cuſtom and Prejudice this will be reliſht by ſuch whoſe capacity ſince their youth run ahead into the eaſy creek of a Syſtem or a Medulla, ſails there at will under the blown Phyſiognomy of their unlabour'd audiments; for them, what their taſte will be, I have alſo ſurety ſufficient, from the entire league that hath been ever between formal ignorance and grave obſtinacy. Yet when I remember the little that our Saviour could prevail about this doctrine of Charity againſt the crabbed Textuiſts of his time, I make no wonder, but reſt confident that whoſo prefers either Matrimony or other Ordinance before the good of man and the plain exigence of Charity, let him profeſs Papiſt or Proteſtant or what he will, he is no better than a Phariſe, and underſtands not the Goſpel: whom as a miſinterpreter of Chriſt I openly proteſt againſt; and provoke him to the trial of the truth before all the world: and let him bethink him withal how he will ſoder up the ſhifting flaws of his ungirt permiſſions, his venial and unvenial diſpences, wherewith the Law of God pardoning and unpardoning hath bin ſhamefully branded for want of heed in gloſſing, to have eluded and baffl'd out all Faith and Chaſtity from the Marriage-bed of that holy Seed, with politick and judicial Adulteries. I ſeek not to ſeduce the ſimple and illiterate; my errand is to find out the choiceſt and the learnedeſt, who have this high gift of wiſdom to anſwer ſolidly, or to be convinc'd. I crave it from the piety, the learning, and the prudence which is hous'd in this place. It might perhaps more fitly have been written in another tongue: and I had done ſo, but that the eſteem I have of my Countries judgment, and the love I bear to my native language to ſerve it firſt with what I endeavour, made me ſpeak it thus, ere I aſſay the verdict of outlandiſh Readers. And perhaps alſo here I might have ended nameleſs, but that the addreſs of theſe lines chiefly to the Parliament of *England* might have ſeem'd ingrateful not to acknowledge by whoſe religious Care, unwearied Watchfulneſs, courageous and heroick Reſolutions, I enjoy the peace and ſtudious leiſure to remain,

*The Honourer and Attendant of their Noble worth and vertues.*

# The Doctrine and Diſcipline of DIVORCE, reſtor'd to the good of both Sexes.

## BOOK I.

### The PREFACE.

*That Man is the occaſion of his own Miſeries, in moſt of thoſe Evils which he imputes to Gods inflicting. The abſurdity of our Canoniſts in their Decrees about Divorce. The Chriſtian Imperial Laws framed with more Equity. The Opinion of* Hugo Grotius *and* Paulus Fagius: *And the purpoſe in general of this Diſcourſe.*

MAny men, whether it be their fate, or fond opinion, eaſily perſwade themſelves, if God would but be pleas'd a while to withdraw his juſt puniſhments from us, and to reſtrain what power either the Devil or any earthly enemy hath to work us woe, that then mans Nature would find immediate reſt and releaſement from all Evils. But verily they who think ſo, if they be ſuch as have a mind large enough to take into their thoughts a general ſurvey of humane things, would ſoon prove themſelves in that Opinion far deceiv'd. For though it were granted us by divine Indulgence to be exempt from all that can be harmful to us from without, yet the perverſeneſs of our Folly is ſo bent, that we ſhould never lin hammering out of our own hearts, as it were out of a flint, the ſeeds and ſparkles of new Miſery to our ſelves, till all were in a blaze again. And no marvel if out of our own hearts, for they are evil; but even out of thoſe things which God meant us, either for a principal Good, or a pure Contentment, we are ſtill hatching and contriving upon our ſelves matter of continual ſorrow and perplexity. What greater good to man than that revealed Rule, whereby God vouchſafes to ſhew us how he would be worſhipt? And yet that not rightly underſtood, became the cauſe that once a famous man in *Iſrael* could not but oblige his Conſcience to be the Sacrificer; or if not, the Jaylor of his innocent and only Daughter: And was the cauſe oft times that Armies of valiant men have given up their Throats to a heatheniſh enemy on the Sabbath-day; fondly thinking their defenſive reſiſtance to be as then a thing unlawful. What thing more inſtituted to the ſolace and delight of man than Marriage? and yet the miſ-interpreting of ſome Scipture directed mainly againſt the abuſers of the Law for Divorce given by *Moſes*, hath chang'd the bleſſing of Matrimony not ſeldom into a familiar and co-inhabiting miſchief; at leaſt into a drooping and diſconſolate houſhold Captivity, without refuge or redemption. So ungovern'd and ſo wild a race doth Superſtition run us, from one extream of abuſed Liberty into the other of unmerciful Reſtraint. For although God in the firſt ordaining of Marriage, taught us to what end he did it, in the words expreſly implying the apt and chearful Converſation of Man with Woman, to comfort and refreſh him of the evil and ſolitary life, not mentioning the purpoſe of Generation till afterwards, as being but a ſecondary end in dignity, tho not in neceſſity; yet now, if any two be but once handed in the Church, and have taſted in any ſort the nuptial Bed, let them find themſelves never ſo miſtak'n in their diſpoſitions through any Error, Concealment, or Miſadventure, that through their different Tempers, Thoughts, and Conſtitutions, they can neither be to one another a remedy againſt Lonelineſs, nor live in any Union or Contentment all their dayes, yet they ſhall, ſo they be but found ſuitably weapon'd to the leaſt poſſibility of ſenſual Enjoyment, be made, ſpight of *Antipathy*, to fadge together, and combine as they may to their unſpeakable weariſomneſs, and deſpair of all ſociable delight in the Ordinance which God eſtabliſht to that very end. What a calamity is this, and as the wiſe-man, if he were alive, would ſigh out in his own Phraſe, what a *ſore evil is this under the Sun!* All which we can refer juſtly to no other Author than the Canon Law and her Adherents, not conſulting with Charity, the Interpreter and Guide of our Faith, but reſting in the meer element of the Text; doubtleſs by the policy of the Devil to make that gracious Ordinance become unſupportable, that what with men not daring to venture upon Wedlock, and what with men wearied out of it, all inordinate Licence might abound. It was for many Ages that Marriage lay in diſgrace with moſt of the ancient Doctors, as a work of the fleſh, almoſt a defilement, wholly deny'd to Prieſts, and the ſecond time diſſwaded to all, as he that reads *Tertullian* or *Jerom* may ſee at large. Afterwards it was brought ſo Sacramental, that no Adultery or Deſertion could diſſolve it; and this is the ſenſe of our Canon Courts in *England* to this day, but no other reformed Church elſe: yet there remains in them alſo a burden on it as heavy as the other two were diſgraceful or ſuperſtitious, and of as much iniquity, croſſing a Law not onely written by *Moſes*, but character'd in us by nature, of more antiquity and deeper ground than Marriage it ſelf; which Law is to force nothing againſt the faultleſs proprieties of Nature: yet that this may be colourably done, our Saviours words touching Divorce, are as it were congeal'd into a ſtony rigor, inconſiſtent both with his Doctrine and his Office; and that which he preacht onely to the Conſcience, is by Canonical tyranny ſnatcht into the compulſive Cenſure of a Judicial Court, where Laws are impos'd even againſt the venerable and ſecret power of Natures impreſſion, to love, whatever cauſe be found to loath. Which is a hainous barbariſme both againſt the honour of Marriage, the dignity of Man and his Soul, the goodneſs of Chriſtianity, and all the humane reſpects of civility. Notwithſtanding that ſome the wiſeſt and graveſt among the Chriſtian Emperors, who had about them, to conſult with, thoſe of the Fathers then living; who for their Learning and Holineſs of Life, are ſtill with us in great renown, have made their ſtatutes and edicts concerning this Debate far more eaſie and relenting in many neceſſary caſes, wherein the Canon is inflexible. And *Hugo Grotius*, a man of theſe times, one of the beſt learned, ſeems not obſcurely to adhere in his perſwaſion to the equity of thoſe Imperial Decrees, in his notes upon the *Evangeliſts*; much allaying the outward roughneſs of the Text, which hath for the moſt part been too immoderately expounded; and excites the diligence of others to inquire further into this queſtion, as containing many points that have not yet been explain'd. Which ever likely to remain intricate and hopeleſs upon the ſuppoſitions commonly ſtuck to the authority of **Paulus Fagius**, one ſo learned and ſo eminent in **England** once, if it might perſwade, would ſtraite acquaint us with a ſolution of theſe differences, no leſs prudent then compendious. He in his Comment on the **Pentateuch**, doubted not to maintain that Divorces might be as lawfully permitted by the Magiſtrate to Chriſtians, as they were to the Jews. But becauſe he is but brief, and theſe things of great conſequence not to be kept obſcure, I ſhall conceive it nothing above my duty, either for the difficulty or the cenſure that may paſs thereon, to communicate ſuch thoughts as I alſo have had, and do offer them now in this general labour of Reformation, to the candid view of both Church and Magiſtrate, eſpecially becauſe I ſee it the hope of good men, that thoſe irregular and unſpiritual Courts have ſpun their utmoſt date in this Land, and ſome better courſe muſt now be conſtituted. This therefore ſhall be the task and period of this diſcourſe to prove, firſt, that other reaſons of Divorce, beſides Adultery, were by the Law of **Moſes**, and are yet to be allow'd by the Chriſtian Magiſtrate as a piece of Juſtice, and that the words of Chriſt are not hereby contraried. Next, that to prohibit abſolutely any Divorce whatſoever, except thoſe which **Moſes** excepted, is againſt the reaſon of Law, as in due place I ſhall ſhew out of **Fagius** with many additions. He therefore who by adventuring, ſhall be ſo happy as with ſucceſs to light the way of ſuch an expedient liberty and truth as this, ſhall reſtore the much-wrong'd and over-ſorrowed ſtate of Matrimony, not only to thoſe merciful and life-giving remedies of **Moſes**, but as much as may be, to that ſerene and bliſful condition it was in at the beginning, and ſhall deſerve of all apprehenſive men ( conſidering the troubles and diſtempers which for want of this inſight have been ſo oft in Kingdoms, in States and Families ) ſhall deſerve to be reckon'd among the publick Benefactors of civil and humane life, above the Inventors of Wine and Oyl; for this is a far dearer, far nobler, and more deſirable cheriſhing to mans life, unworthily expoſed to Sadneſs and Miſtake, which he ſhall vindicate. Not that licence, and levety, and unconſented breach of Faith ſhould herein be countenanc't, but that ſome conſcionable and tender pitty might be had of thoſe who have unwarily, in a thing they never practis'd before, made themſelves the Bondmen of a luckleſs and helpleſs Matrimony. In which Argument, he whoſe courage can ſerve him to give the firſt onſet muſt look for two ſeveral oppoſitions; the one from them who have ſworn themſelves to long Cuſtom, and the letter of the Text, will not out of the road: the other from thoſe whoſe groſs and vulgar apprehenſions conceit but low of matrimonial purpoſes, and in the work of Male and Female think they have all. Nevertheleſs, it ſhall be here ſought by due ways to be made appear, that thoſe Words of God in the Inſtitution, promiſing a meet help againſt Lonelineſs, and thoſe Words of Chriſt, ***That his yoke is eaſie, and his burden light***, were not ſpoken in vain; for if the knot of Marriage may in no caſe be diſſolv'd but for Adultery, all the burdens and ſervices of the Law are not ſo intolerable. This only is deſir'd of them who are minded to judge hardly of thus maintaining, that they would be ſtill, and hear all out, nor think it equal to anſwer deliberate reaſon with ſudden heat and noiſe; remembring this, that many Truths now of reverend eſteem and credit, had their birth and beginning once from ſingular and private thoughts, while the moſt of men were otherwiſe poſſeſt, and had the fate at firſt to be generally exploded and exclaim'd on by many violent oppoſers: yet I may erre perhaps in ſoothing my ſelf, that this preſent truth reviv'd, will deſerve on all hands to be not ſiniſterly receiv'd, in that it undertakes the cure of an inveterate diſeaſe crept into the beſt part of humane Society; and to do this with no ſmarting corroſive, but with a ſmooth and pleaſing leſſon, which receiv'd, hath the virtue to ſoften and diſpel rooted and knotty ſorrows, and without inchantment if that be fear'd, or ſpell us'd, hath regard at once both to ſerious pitty and upright honeſty; that tends to the redeeming and reſtoring of none but ſuch as are the object of compaſſion, having in an ill hour hamper'd themſelves to the utter diſpatch of all their moſt beloved Comforts and Repoſe for this lifes term. But if we ſhall obſtinately diſlike this new overture of unexpected Eaſe and Recovery, what remains but to deplore the frowardneſs of our hopeleſs condition, which neither can indure the eſtate we are in, nor admit of remedy either ſharp or ſweet. Sharp we our ſelves diſtaſte; and ſweet, under whoſe hands we are, is ſcrupl'd and ſuſpected as too luſhious. In ſuch a poſture Chriſt found the **Jews**, who were neither won with the Auſterity of **John the Baptiſt**, and thought it too much licence to follow freely the charming pipe of him who ſounded and proclaim'd Liberty and Relief to all Diſtreſſes: yet Truth in ſome Age or other will find her witneſs, and ſhall be juſtifi'd at laſt by her own children.

# CHAP. I.

## *The Poſition prov'd by the Law of* Moſes. *That Law expounded and aſſerted to a moral and charitable uſe, firſt by* Paulus Fagius, *next with other Additions.*

TO remove therefore, if it be poſſible, this great and ſad Oppreſſion which thro the ſtrictneſs of a literal interpreting hath invaded and diſturb'd the deareſt and moſt peaceable eſtate of houſhold Society, to the over-burthening, if not the overwhelming of many Chriſtians better worth than to be ſo deſerted of the Churches conſiderate care, this Poſition ſhall be laid down, firſt proving, then anſwering what may be objected either from Scripture or light of Reaſon.

*That indiſpoſition, unfitneſs, or contrariety of mind, ariſing from a cauſe in nature unchangeable, hindring, and ever likely to hinder the main benefits of conjugal Society which are Solace and Peace, is a greater reaſon of Divorce than natural Frigidity, eſpecially if there be no Children, and that there be mutual conſent.*

This I gather from the Law in Deut. 24. 1. *When a man hath tak'n a wife and married her, and it come to paſs that ſhe find no favour in his eyes, becauſe he hath found ſome uncleanneſs in her, let him write her a bill of Divorcement, and give it in her hand, and ſend her out of his houſe,* &c. This Law, if the words of Chriſt may be admitted into our belief, ſhall never while the World ſtands, for him be abrogated. Firſt therefore I here ſet down what learned *Fagius* hath obſerv'd on this Law; *The Law of God,* ſaith he, *permitted Divorce for the help of humane weakneſs. For every one that of neceſſity ſeparates, cannot live ſingle. That Chriſt deny'd Divorce to his own, hinders not; for what is that to the unregenerate, who hath not attain'd ſuch Perfection? Let not the remedy be deſpis'd which was giv'n to weakneſs. And when Chriſt ſaith, who marries the Divorc't commits adultery, it is to be underſtood if he had any plot in the Divorce.* The reſt I reſerve until it be diſputed, how the Magiſtrate is to do herein. From hence we may plainly diſcern a two-fold Conſideration in this Law, firſt the End of the Law-giver, and the proper Act of the Law, to command or to allow ſomething juſt and honeſt, or indifferent. Secondly, his ſufferance from ſome accidental reſult of evil by this allowance, which the Law cannot remedy. For if this Law have no other End or Act but onely the allowance of a Sin, though never to ſo good intention, that Law is no Law, but Sin muffl'd in the robe of Law, or Law diſguis'd in the looſe garment of Sin. Both which are two foul *Hypotheſes* to ſave the *Phænomenon* of our Saviours anſwer to the Phariſees about this matter. And I truſt anon by the help of an infallible guide to perfect ſuch *Prutenick* Tables as ſhall mend the *Aſtronomy* of our wide Expoſitors.

The cauſe of Divorce mention'd in the Law, is tranſlated *ſome uncleanneſs*, but in the Hebrew it ſounds *nakedneſs of ought, or any real nakedneſs:* which by all the learned Interpreters is referr'd to the Mind as well as to the Body. And what greater nakedneſs or unfitneſs of mind than that which hinders ever the ſolace and peaceful ſociety of the married couple, and what hinders that more than the unfitneſs and defectiveneſs of an unconjugal Mind? The cauſe therefore of Divorce expreſt in the Poſition, cannot but agree with that deſcrib'd in the beſt and equalleſt ſence of *Moſes*'s Law. Which being a matter of pure Charity, is plainly moral, and more now in force than ever, therefore ſurely lawful. For if under the Law ſuch was God's gracious Indulgence, as not to ſuffer the Ordinance of his goodneſs and favour through any error to be ſear'd and ſtigmatiz'd upon his Servants to their miſery and thraldom; much leſs will he ſuffer it now under the Covenant of Grace, by abrogating his former grant of remedy and relief. But the firſt inſtitution will be objected to have ordain'd Marriage unſeparable. To that a little patience until this firſt part have amply diſcours'd the grave and pious Reaſons of this divorſive Law; and then I doubt not but with one gentle ſtroaking to wipe away ten thouſand Tears out of the life of Man. Yet thus much I ſhall now inſiſt on, that whatever the Inſtitution were, it could not be ſo enormous, nor ſo rebellious againſt both Nature and Reaſon as to exalt it ſelf above the End and Perſon for whom it was inſtituted.

# CHAP II.

## The firſt Reaſon of this Law grounded on the prime Reaſon of Matrimony. That no Cov'nant whatſoever obliges againſt the main End both of it ſelf, and of the Parties cov'nanting.

FOR all Senſe and Equity reclaims that any Law or Cov'nant how ſolemne or ſtrait ſoever, either between God and Man, or Man and Man, though of Gods joyning, ſhould bind againſt a prime and principal ſcope of its own inſtitution, and of both or either Party cov'nanting: neither can it be of force to ingage a blameleſs Creature to his own perpetual Sorrow, miſtak'n for his expected ſolace, without ſuffering Charity to ſtep in and do a confeſt good work of parting thoſe, whom nothing hold together but this of Gods joyning, falſly ſuppos'd againſt the expreſs end of his own Ordinance. And what this chief end was of creating Woman to be joyn'd with Man, his own inſtituting words declare, and are infallible to inform us what is Marriage, and what is no Marriage; unleſs we can think them ſet there to no purpoſe: *It is not good*, ſaith he, *that man ſhould be alone, I will make him a help meet for him.* From which words ſo plain, leſs cannot be concluded, nor is by any learned Interpreter, than that in Gods intention a meet and happy Converſation is the cheifeſt and the nobleſt end of Marriage: for we find here no Expreſſion ſo neceſſarily implying carnal Knowledg, as this prevention of Lonelineſs to the mind and ſpirit of man. To this, *Fagius*, *Calvin*, *Pareus*, *Rivetus*, as willingly and largely aſſent as can be wiſht. And indeed it is a greater bleſſing from God, more worthy ſo excellent a Creature as Man is, and a higher end to honour and ſanctifie the league of Marriage, when as the ſolace and ſatisfaction of the Mind is regarded and provided for before the ſenſitive pleaſing of the Body. And with all generous perſons married thus it is, that where the Mind and Perſon pleaſes aptly, there ſome unaccompliſhment of the Bodies delight may be better born with, than when the Mind hangs off in an uncloſing diſproportion, though the Body be as it ought; for there all corporal delight will ſoon become unſavoury and contemptible. And the ſolitarineſs of Man, which God had namely and principally order'd to prevent by Marriage, hath no remedy, but lies under a worſe condition than the lonelieſt ſingle life; for in ſingle life the abſence and remoteneſs of a Helper might inure him to expect his own comforts out of himſelf, or to ſeek with hope: but here the continual ſight of his deluded thoughts without cure, muſt needs be to him, if eſpecially his complexion incline him to Melancholy, a daily trouble and pain of loſs, in ſome degree like that which Reprobates feel. Leſt therefore ſo noble a creature as Man ſhould be ſhut up incurably under a worſe evil by an eaſie miſtake in that Ordinance which God gave him to remedy a leſs evil, reaping to himſelf Sorrow while he went to rid away Solitarineſs, it cannot avoid to be concluded, that if the Woman be naturally ſo of diſpoſition, as will not help to remove, but help to increaſe that ſame God-forbidd'n lonelineſs, which will in time draw on with it a general diſcomfort and dejection of mind, not beſeeming either Chriſtian profeſſion, or Moral converſation, unprofitable and dangerous to the Common-wealth, when the houſhold eſtate, out of which muſt flouriſh forth the vigor and ſpirit of all publick enterprizes, is ſo ill contented and procur'd at home, and cannot be ſupported: ſuch a Marriage can be no Marriage, whereto the moſt honeſt End is wanting; and the agrieved perſon ſhall do more manly, to be extraordinary and ſingular in claiming the due right whereof he is fruſtrated, than to piece up his loſt contentment by viſiting the Stews, or ſtepping to his neighbour's Bed; which is the common ſhift in this misfortune: or elſe by ſuffering his uſeful life to waſte away, and be loſt under a ſecret Affliction of an unconſcionable ſize to humane ſtrength. Againſt all which Evils, the Mercy of this Moſaick Law was graciouſly exhibited.

## CHAP. III.

### *The Ignorance and Iniquity of Canon Law, providing for the right of the Body in Marriage, but nothing for the wrongs and grievances of the Mind. An Objection, That the Mind ſhould be better lookt to before Contract, anſwered.*

HOw vain therefore is it, and how prepoſterous in the Canon Law, to have made ſuch careful proviſion againſt the impediment of carnal performance, and to have had no care about the unconverſing inability of Mind, ſo defective to the pureſt and moſt ſacred end of Matrimony; and that the Veſſel of voluptuous enjoyment muſt be made good on him that has taken it upon truſt, without any caution; when as the Mind, from whence muſt flow the acts of Peace and Love, a far more precious mixture than the quinteſſence of an excrement, though it be found never ſo deficient and unable to perform the beſt duty of Marriage in a cheerful and agreeable Converſation, ſhall be thought good enough, however flat and melancholious it be, and muſt ſerve, though to the eternal diſturbance and languiſhing of him that complains him? Yet Wiſdom and Charity weighing Gods own Inſtitution, would think that the pining of a ſad Spirit wedded to Lonelineſs, ſhould deſerve to be freed, as well as the Impatience of a ſenſual Deſire ſo providently reliev'd. 'Tis read to us in the Liturgy, that *we muſt not marry to ſatisfy the fleſhly appetite, like brute beaſts, that have no underſtanding:* but the Canon ſo runs, as if it dreamt of no other matter than ſuch an appetite to be ſatisfi'd; for if it happen that Nature hath ſtopt or extinguiſht the veins of Senſuality, that Marriage was annull'd. But though all the Faculties of the underſtanding and converſing part after trial appear to be ſo ill and ſo averſly met through Natures unalterable working, as that neither Peace, nor any ſociable Contentment can follow, 'tis as nothing, the Contract ſhall ſtand as firm as ever, betide what will. What is this but ſecretly to inſtruct us, that however many grave Reaſons are pretended to the married life, yet that nothing indeed is thought worth regard therein, but the preſcrib'd ſatisfaction of an irrational Heat? which cannot be but ignominious to the ſtate of Marriage, diſhonourable to the undervalu'd Soul of Man, and even to Chriſtian Doctrine it ſelf. While it ſeems more mov'd at the diſappointing of an impetuous Nerve, than at the ingenuous grievance of a Mind unreaſonably yoakt; and to place more of Marriage in the Channel of Concupiſcence, than in the pure influence of Peace and Love, whereof the Souls lawful Contentment is the one onely fountain.

But ſome are ready to object, That the Diſpoſition ought ſeriouſly to be conſidered before. But let them know again that for all the warineſs can be us'd, it may yet befal a diſcreet man to be miſtak'n in his Choice, and we have plenty of Examples. The ſobreſt and beſt govern'd men are leaſt practiz'd in theſe Affairs; and who knows not that the baſhful muteneſs of a Virgin may oft-times hide all the unlivelineſs and natural ſloth which is really unfit for Converſation; nor is there that freedom of acceſs granted or preſum'd, as may ſuffice to a perfect diſcerning till too late: and where any Diſpoſition is ſuſpected, what more uſual than the perſwaſion of Friends, that Acquaintance as it increaſes, will amend all? And laſtly, it is not ſtrange though many who have ſpent their Youth chaſtly, are in ſome things not ſo quick-ſighted, while they haſt ſo eagerly to light the nuptial Torch; nor is it therefore that for a modeſt Error a man ſhould forfeit ſo great a happineſs, and no charitable means to releaſe him: Since they who have liv'd moſt looſely by reaſon of their bold accuſtoming, prove moſt ſucceſsful in their Matches, becauſe their wild Affections unſetling at will, have been as ſo many Divorces to teach them experience. When as the ſober Man honouring the appearance of Modeſty, and hopeing well of every ſocial vertue under the vail, may eaſily chance to meet, if not with a Body impenetrable, yet often with a Mind to all other due Converſation inacceſſible, and to all the more eſtimable and ſuperiour purpoſes of Matrimony uſeleſs and almoſt liveleſs: and what a ſolace, what a fit help ſuch a Conſort would be through the whole Life of a Man, is leſs pain to conjecture than to have experience.

# CHAP. IV.

## *The ſecond Reaſon of this Law, becauſe without it, Marriage as it happ'ns oft is not a remedy of that which it promiſes, as any rational creature would expect. That Marriage, if we pattern from the beginning, as our Saviour bids, was not properly the remedy of Luſt, but the fulfilling of conjugal Love and Helpfulneſs.*

AND that we may further ſee what a violent cruel thing it is to force the continuing of thoſe together, whom God and Nature in the gentleſt end of Marriage never joyn'd, divers evils and extremities that follow upon ſuch a compulſion, ſhall here be ſet in view. Of evils, the firſt and greateſt is, that hereby a moſt abſurd and raſh imputation is fixt upon God and his holy Laws, of conniving and diſpencing with open and common Adultery among his choſen people; a thing which the rankeſt Politician would think it ſhame and diſworſhip that his Laws ſhould countenance: how and in what manner that comes to paſs, I ſhall reſerve till the courſe of method brings on the unfolding of many Scriptures. Next the Law and Goſpel are hereby made liable to more than one contradiction, which I refer alſo thither. Laſtly, the ſupreme dictate of Charity is hereby many ways neglected and violated; which I ſhall forthwith addreſs to prove. Firſt, we know S. *Paul* ſaith, *It is better to marry than to burn.* Marriage therefore was giv'n as a remedy of that trouble; but what might this burning mean? Certainly not the meer motion of carnal luſt, not the meer goad of a ſenſitive deſire, God does not principally take care for ſuch Cattle. What is it then but that deſire which God put into *Adam* in Paradiſe before he knew the ſin of Incontinence; that deſire which God ſaw it was not good that Man ſhould be left alone to burn in, the deſire and longing to put off an unkindly ſolitarineſs by uniting another body, but not without a fit ſoul to his in the chearful ſociety of Wedlock? Which if it were ſo needful before the fall, when Man was much more perfect in himſelf, how much more is it needful now againſt all the ſorrows and caſualties of this life to have an intimate and ſpeaking help, a ready and reviving aſſociate in marriage? whereof who miſſes, by chancing on a mute and ſpiritleſs mate, remains more alone than before, and in a burning leſs to be contain'd then that which is fleſhly; and more to be conſider'd, as being more deeply rooted even in the faultleſs innocence of nature. As for that other burning, which is but as it were the venome of a luſty and over-abounding concoction, ſtrict life and labour, with the abatement of a full diet, may keep that low and obedient enough: but this pure and more inbred deſire of joyning to it ſelf in conjugal fellowſhip a fit converſing ſoul (which deſire is properly called love) *is ſtronger than death*, as the ſpouſe of Chriſt thought; *many waters cannot quench it, neither can the floods drown it.* This is that rational burning that Marriage is to remedy, not to be allay'd with faſting, nor with any penance to be ſubdu'd; which how can he aſſwage who by miſ-hap hath met the moſt unmeet and unſutable mind? Who hath the power to ſtruggle with an intelligible flame, not in Paradiſe to be reſiſted, become now more ardent by being fail'd of what in reaſon it lookt for; and even then moſt unquencht, when the importunity of a provender-burning is well enough appeas'd; and yet the ſoul hath obtained nothing of what it juſtly deſires. Certainly ſuch a one forbidden to divorce, is in effect forbidden to marry, and compell'd to greater difficulties than in a ſingle life: for if there be not a more humane burning which Marriage muſt ſatisfie, or elſe may be diſſolv'd, than that of copulation, Marriage cannot be honourable for the meet reducing and terminating luſt between two: ſeeing many beaſts in voluntary and choſen couples, live together as unadulterouſly, and are as truly married in that reſpect. But all ingenuous Men will ſee that the dignity and bleſſing of Marriage is plac'd rather in the mutual enjoyment of that which the wanting ſoul needfully ſeeks, than of that which the plenteous body would joyfully give away. Hence it is that *Plato* in his Feſtival diſcourſe brings in *Socrates* relating what he fain'd to have learnt from the Propheteſs *Diotima*, how *Love* was the ſon of *Penury*, begot of *Plenty* in the Garden of *Jupiter*. Which divinely ſorts with that which in effect *Moſes* tells us, that *Love* was the ſon of *Lonelineſs*, begot in Paradice by that ſociable and helpful aptitude which God implanted between Man and

Woman toward each other. The ſame alſo is that burning mentioned by S. *Paul*, whereof Marriage ought to be the remedy ; the Fleſh hath other mutual and eaſie curbs which are in the power of any temperate Man. When therefore this original and ſinleſs *Penury* or *Lonelineſs* of the ſoul cannot lay it ſelf down by the ſide of ſuch a meet and acceptable union as God ordain'd in Marriage, at leaſt in ſome proportion, it cannot conceive and bring forth *Love*, but remains utterly unmarried under a formal Wedlock, and ſtill burns in the proper meaning of S. *Paul*. Then enters *Hate*, not that Hate that ſins, but that which onely is natural diſſatisfaction, and the turning aſide from a miſtaken object: if that miſtake have done injury, it fails not to diſmiſs with recompence ; for to retain ſtill and not be able to love, is to heap up more injury. Thence this wiſe and pious Law of Diſmiſſion now defended took beginning : He therefore who lacking of his due in the moſt native and humane end of Marriage, thinks it better to part than to live ſadly and injuriouſly to that cheerful Cov'nant (for not to be belov'd, and yet retain'd, is the greateſt injury to a gentle ſpirit) he I ſay, who therefore ſeeks to part, is one who highly honours the married life, and would not ſtain it : and the reaſons which now move him to divorce, are equal to the beſt of thoſe that could firſt warrant him to marry ; for, as was plainly ſhewn, both the hate which now diverts him, and the lonelineſs which leads him ſtill powerfully to ſeek a fit help, hath not the leaſt grain of a ſin in it, if he be worthy to underſtand himſelf.

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## CHAP. V.

### *The third Reaſon of this Law, becauſe without it, he who has happn'd where he finds nothing but remedileſs offences and diſcontents, is in more and greater temptations than ever before.*

THirdly, Yet it is next to be fear'd, if he muſt be ſtill bound without reaſon by a deaf rigor, that when he perceives the juſt expectance of his mind defeated, he will begin even againſt Law to caſt about where he may find his ſatisfaction more compleat, unleſs he be a thing heroically vertuous, and that are not the common lump of Men for whom chiefly the Laws ought to be made, though not to their ſins, yet to their unſinning weakneſſes, it being above their ſtrength to endure the lonely eſtate, which while they ſhun'd, they are fal'n into. And yet there follows upon this a worſe temptation ; for if he be ſuch as hath ſpent his youth unblamably, and laid up his chiefeſt earthly comforts in the enjoyments of a contented Marriage, nor did neglect that furtherance which was to be obtain'd therein by conſtant prayers, when he ſhall find himſelf bound faſt to an uncomplying diſcord of nature, or, as it oft happens, to an Image of Earth and Fleam, with whom he lookt to be the Copartner of a ſweet and gladſome ſociety, and ſees withal that his bondage is now inevitable ; though he be almoſt the ſtrongeſt Chriſtian, he will be ready to deſpair in vertue, and mutiny againſt Divine Providence ; and this doubtleſs is the reaſon of thoſe lapſes and that melancholly deſpair which we ſee in many wedded perſons, though they underſtand it not, or pretend other cauſes, becauſe they know no remedy, and is of extream danger : therefore when humane frailty ſurcharg'd, is at ſuch a loſs, charity ought to venture much, and uſe bold Phyſick, leſt an over-toſt faith indanger to ſhipwrack.

# CHAP. VI.

## *The fourth Reaſon of this Law, that God regards Love and Peace in the Family, more than a compulſive performance of Marriage, which is more broke by a grievous Continuance, than by a needful Divorce.*

FOurthly, Marriage is a Cov'nant, the very being whereof conſiſts not in a forc'd cohabitation, and counterfeit performance of duties, but in unfeigned love and peace: And of Matrimonial love, no doubt but that was chiefly meant, which by the ancient Sages was thus parabl'd; That Love, if he be not twin-born, yet hath a brother wondrous like him, call'd *Anteros*; whom while he ſeeks all about, his chance is to meet with many falls and feigning deſires that wander ſingly up and down in her likeneſs: By them in their borrow'd garb, Love though not wholly blind, as Poets wrong him, yet having but one eye, as being born an Archer aiming, and that eye not the quickeſt in this dark Region here below, which is not Loves proper Sphere, partly out of the ſimplicity and credulity which is native to him, often deceiv'd, imbraces and conſorts him with theſe obvious and ſuborned Striplings, as if they were his Mothers own Sons; for ſo he thinks them, while they ſubtily keep themſelves moſt on his blind ſide. But after a while, as his manner is, when ſoaring up into the high Tower of his *Apogaum*, above the ſhadow of the Earth, he darts out the direct rays of his then moſt piercing eye-ſight upon the impoſtures, and trim diſguizes that were us'd with him, and diſcerns that this is not his genuine brother, as he imagin'd. He has no longer the power to hold fellowſhip with ſuch a perſonal Mate; for ſtrait his arrows looſe their golden heads, and ſhed their purple feathers, his ſilk'n Breads untwine, and ſlip their knots, and that original and fiery virtue giv'n him by Fate all on a ſudden goes out, and leaves him undeifi'd and deſpoil'd of all his force, till finding *Anteros* at laſt, he kindles and repairs the almoſt faded ammunition of his Deity by the reflection of a coequal and *homogeneal* fire. Thus mine Author ſung it to me; and by the leave of thoſe who would be counted the only grave ones, this is no meer amatorious novel (though to be wiſe and skilful in theſe matters, Men heretofore of greateſt name in vertue, have eſteemed it one of the higheſt Arks that humane Contemplation circling upwards, can make from the globy Sea whereon ſhe ſtands:) but this is a deep and ſerious verity, ſhewing us that Love in Marriage cannot live nor ſubſiſt unleſs it be mutual; and where Love cannot be, there can be left of Wedlock nothing but the empty husk of an outſide Matrimony, as undelightful and unpleaſing to God, as any other kind of hypocriſie. So far is his Command from tying Men to the obſervance of Duties which there is no help for, but they muſt be diſſembl'd. If *Solomon*'s advice be not over-frolick, *Live joyfully*, ſaith he, *with the Wiſe whom thou loveſt, all thy days, for that is thy portion.* How then, where we find it impoſſible to rejoyce or to love, can we obey this Precept? how miſerably do we defraud our ſelves of that comfortable portion which God gives us, by ſtriving vainly to glue an error together, which God and Nature will not joyn, adding but more vexation and violence to that bliſsful ſociety by our importunate ſuperſtition, that will not hearken to S. *Paul*, 1 *Cor.* 7. who ſpeaking of Marriage and Divorce, determines plain enough in general, that God therein *hath call'd us to peace*, and not *to bondage.* Yea, God himſelf commands in his Law more than once, and by his Prophet *Malachy*, as *Calvin* and the beſt Tranſlations read, that *he who hates, let him divorce*, that is, he who cannot love. Hence is it that the *Rabbins*, and *Maimonides* famous among the reſt in a Book of his ſet forth by *Buxtorſius*, tells us, that *Divorce was permitted by* Moſes *to preſerve peace in Marriage, and quiet in the Family.* Surely the Jews had their ſaving Peace about them as well as we, yet care was tak'n that this wholeſome proviſion for houſhold Peace ſhould alſo be allow'd them; and muſt this be deni'd to Chriſtians? O perverſeneſs! that the Law ſhould be made more provident of peace-making than the Goſpel! that the Goſpel ſhould be put to beg a moſt neceſſary help of Mercy from the Law, but muſt not have it; and that to grind in the Mill of an undelighted and ſervile copulation, muſt be the only forc'd work of a Chriſtian Marriage oft-times with ſuch a yoke-fellow, from whom both Love and Peace, both Nature and Religion mourns to be ſeparated. I cannot therefore be ſo diffident, as not ſecurely to conclude, that he who can receive nothing of the moſt important helps in Marriage, being thereby diſinabl'd to return that duty which is his, with a clear and hearty countenance; and thus continues to grieve whom he would not, and is no leſs griev'd, that Man ought even for Love's ſake and Peace to move Divorce upon good and liberal conditions to the divorc'd. And it is a leſs breach of Wedlock to part with wiſe and quiet conſent betimes, than ſtill to ſoil and profane that myſtery of joy and union with a polluting ſadneſs and perpetual diſtemper; for it is not the outward continuing of Marriage that keeps whole that Cov'nant, but whatſoever does moſt according to Peace and Love, whether in Marriage or in Divorce, he it is that breaks Marriage leaſt; it being ſo often written, that *Love onely is the fulfilling of every Commandment.*

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## CHAP. VII.

### *The fifth Reaſon, that nothing more hinders and diſturbs the whole life of a Chriſtian, than a Matrimony found to be uncurably unfit, and doth the ſame in effect that an Idolatrous match.*

Fifthly, As thoſe Prieſts of old were not to be long in ſorrow, or if they were, they could not rightly execute their function; ſo every true Chriſtian in a higher order of Prieſthood is a perſon dedicate to joy and peace, offering himſelf a lively ſacrifice of praiſe and thankſgiving, and there is no Chriſtian duty that is not to be ſeaſon'd and ſet off with cheriſhneſs; which in a thouſand outward and intermitting croſſes may yet be done well, as in this vale of tears: but in ſuch a boſom-affliction as this, cruſhing the very foundation of his inmoſt nature, when he ſhall be forc'd to love againſt a poſſibility, and to uſe a diſſimulation againſt his ſoul in the perpetual and ceaſeleſs duties of a Husband, doubtleſs his whole duty of ſerving God muſt needs be blurr'd and tainted with a ſad unpreparedneſs and dejection of ſpirit, wherein God has no delight. Who ſees not therefore how much more Chriſtianity it would be to break by divorce that which is more broken by undue and forcible keeping, rather than *to cover the Altar of the Lord with continual tears, ſo that he regardeth not the offering any more*; rather than that the whole Worſhip of a Chriſtian man's life ſhould languiſh and fade away beneath the weight of an immeaſurable grief and diſcouragement? And becauſe ſome think the Children of a ſecond Matrimony ſucceeding a Divorce, would not be a holy Seed, it hinder'd not the Jews from being ſo; and why ſhould we not think them more holy than the off-ſpring of a former ill-twiſted Wedlock, begott'n only out of a beaſtial neceſſity, without any true love or contentment, or joy to their Parents? ſo that in ſome ſenſe we may call them the *Children of wrath* and anguiſh, which will as little conduce to their ſanctifying, as if they had been Baſtards: for nothing more than diſturbance of mind ſuſpends us from approaching to God, ſuch a diſturbance eſpecially, as both aſſaults our faith and truſt in God's providence, and ends, if there be not a miracle of vertue on either ſide, not only in bitterneſs and wrath, the Canker of Devotion, but in a deſperate and vicious careleſneſs, when he ſees himſelf without fault of his, train'd by a deceitful bait into a ſnare of miſery, betray'd by an alluring Ordinance, and then made the thrall of heavineſs and diſcomfort by an undivorcing Law of God, as he erroniouſly thinks, but of Man's iniquity, as the truth is: for that God prefers the free and chearful Worſhip of a Chriſtian, before the grievous and exacted obſervance of an unhappy Marriage, beſides that the general maximes of Religion aſſure us, will be more manifeſt by drawing a parallel Argument from the ground of divorcing an Idolatreſs, which was, leſt he ſhould alienate his heart from the true worſhip of God: and what difference is there whether ſhe pervert him to ſuperſtition by her inticing Sorcery, or diſinable him in the whole ſervice of God through the diſturbance of her unhelpful and unfit ſociety, and ſo drive him at laſt, through murmuring and deſpair, to thoughts of Atheiſm? Neither doth it leſſen the cauſe of ſeparating, in that the one willingly allures him from the Faith, the other perhaps unwillingly drives him; for in the account of God it comes all to one, that the Wife looſes him a ſervant; and therefore by all the united force of the *Decalogue* ſhe ought to be diſbanded, unleſs we muſt ſet Marriage above God and Charity, which is the Doctrine of Devils, no leſs than forbidding to marry.

CHAP.

# CHAP VIII.

*That an Idolatrous Heretick ought to be divorc'd after a convenient ſpace giv'n to hope of Converſion. That place of* 1 Corinth. 7. *reſtor'd from a twofold erronious Expoſition; and that the common Expoſitors flatly contradict the Moral Law.*

AND here by the way, to illuſtrate the whole queſtion of Divorce, e're this Treatiſe end, I ſhall not be loth to ſpend a few lines in hope to give a full reſolve of that which is yet ſo much controverted, whether an Idolatrous Heretick ought to be divorc't. To the reſolving whereof we muſt firſt know, that the *Jews* were commanded to divorce an unbelieving *Gentile* for two cauſes: Firſt, becauſe all other Nations, eſpecially the *Canaanites*, were to them unclean. Secondly, to avoid ſeducement. That other Nations were to the *Jews* impure, even to the ſeparating of Marriage, will appear out of *Exod.* 34. 16. *Deut.* 7. 3, 6. compar'd with *Ezra* 9. 2. alſo Chap. 10. 10, 11. *Nehem.* 13. 30. This was the ground of that doubt rais'd among the *Corinthians* by ſome of the Circumciſion; Whether an Unbeliever were not ſtill to be counted an unclean thing, ſo as that they ought to divorce from ſuch a perſon. This doubt of theirs S. *Paul* removes by an Evangelical reaſon, having reſpect to that Viſion of S. *Peter*, wherein the diſtinction of clean and unclean being aboliſht, all living Creatures were ſanctified to a pure and Chriſtian uſe, and mankind eſpecially, now invited by a general call to the Covenant of Grace. Therefore ſaith S. *Paul*, *The unbelieving Wife is ſanctified by the Husband*; that is, made pure and lawful to his uſe, ſo that he need not put her away for fear leſt her unbelief ſhould defile him; but that if he found her love ſtill towards him, he might rather hope to win her. The ſecond reaſon of that Divorce was to avoid ſeducement, as is prov'd by comparing thoſe places of the Law, to that which *Ezra* and *Nehemiah* did by Divine Warrant in compelling the *Jews* to forgo their Wives. And this reaſon is moral and perpetual in the rule of Chriſtian Faith without evaſion; therefore ſaith the Apoſtle, 2 Cor. 6. *Miſ-yoke not together with Infidels*, which is interpreted of Marriage in the firſt place. And although the former legal pollution be now done off, yet there is a ſpiritual contagion in Idolatry as much to be ſhun'd; and though ſeducement were not to be fear'd, yet where there is no hope of converting, there always ought to be a certain religious averſation and abhorring, which can no way ſort with Marriage: Therefore ſaith S. *Paul*, *What fellowſhip hath righteouſneſs with unrighteouſneſs? what communion hath light with darkneſs? what concord hath Chriſt with Belial? what part hath he that believeth with an Infidel?* And in the next verſe but one, he moralizes, and makes us liable to that command of *Iſaiah*; *Wherefore come out from among them, and be ye ſeparate, ſaith the Lord; touch not the unclean thing, and I will receive ye.* And this Command thus Goſpelliz'd to us, hath the ſame force with that whereon *Ezra* grounded the pious neceſſity of divorcing. Neither had he other Commiſſion for what he did, then ſuch a general Command in *Deut.* as this, nay not ſo direct; for he is bid there not to marry, but not bid to divorce, and yet we ſee with what a zeal and confidence he was the Author of a general Divorce between the faithful and unfaithful ſeed. The Goſpel is more plainly on his ſide, according to three of the Evangeliſts, then the words of the Law; for where the caſe of Divorce is handled with ſuch a ſeverity as was fitteſt to aggravate the fault of unbounded licence, yet ſtill in the ſame Chapter, when it comes into queſtion afterwards, whether any civil reſpect, or natural relation which is deareſt, may be our plea to divide, or hinder, or but delay our duty to Religion, we hear it determin'd, that Father, and Mother, and Wife alſo, is not only to be hated, but forſak'n, if we mean to inherit the great Reward there promis'd. Nor will it ſuffice to be put off by ſaying we muſt forſake them only by not conſenting or not complying with them; for that were to be done, and roundly too, though being of the ſame faith, they ſhould but ſeek out of a fleſhly tenderneſs to weak'n our Chriſtian fortitude with worldly perſwaſions, or but to unſettle our conſtancy with timorous and ſoftning ſuggeſtions; as we may read with what a vehemence *Job*, the patienteſt of Men, rejected the deſperate counſels of his wife; and

*Moſes*, the meekeſt, being throughly offended with the prophane ſpeeches of *Zippora*, ſent her back to her father. But if they ſhall perpetually at our elbow ſeduce us from the true Worſhip of God, or defile and daily ſcandalize our Conſcience by their hopeleſs continuance in misbelief, then ev'n in the due progreſs of Reaſon, and that ever-equal proportion which Juſtice proceeds by, it cannot be imagin'd that this cited place commands leſs than a total and final ſeparation from ſuch an Adherent, at leaſt that no force ſhould be us'd to keep them together; while we remember that God commanded *Abraham* to ſend away his irreligious Wife and her Son for the offences which they gave in a pious family. And it may be gueſt that *David* for the like cauſe diſpos'd of *Michal* in ſuch a ſort, as little differ'd from a diſmiſſion. Therefore againſt reiterated ſcandals and ſeducements, which never ceaſe, much more can no other remedy or retirement be found but abſolute departure. For what kind of Matrimony can that remain to be, what one duty between ſuch can be perform'd as it ſhould be from the heart, when their thoughts and ſpirits fly aſunder as far as Heaven from Hell, eſpecially if the time that hope ſhould ſend forth her expected bloſſoms be paſt in vain? It will eaſily be true, that a Father or Brother may be hated zealouſly, and lov'd civily or naturally; for thoſe duties may be performed at diſtance, and do admit of any long abſence: but how the peace and perpetual cohabitation of Marriage can be kept, how that benevolent and intimate communion of body can be held with one that muſt be hated with a moſt operative hatred, muſt be forſak'n and yet continually dwelt with and accompanied, he who can diſtinguiſh, hath the gift of an affection very odly divided and contriv'd; while others both juſt and wiſe, and *Solomon* among the reſt, if they may not hate and forſake as *Moſes* enjoyns, and the Goſpel imports, will find it impoſſible not to love otherwiſe then will ſort with the love of God, whoſe jealouſie brooks no corrival. And whether is more likely, that Chriſt bidding to forſake Wife for Religion, meant it by Divorce as *Moſes* meant it, whoſe Law grounded on moral Reaſon, was both his office and his eſſence to maintain; or that he ſhould bring a new morality into Religion, not only new, but contrary to an unchangeable Command, and dangerouſly derogating from our love and worſhip of God? As if when *Moſes* had bid Divorce abſolutely, and Chriſt had ſaid, hate and forſake, and his Apoſtle had ſaid, no communication with Chriſt and *Belial*; yet that Chriſt after all this could be underſtood to ſay, Divorce not, no not for Religion, ſeduce, or ſeduce not. What mighty and inviſible Remora is this in Matrimony able to demur, and to contemne all the divorſive engines in Heaven or Earth! Both which may now paſs away, if this be true, for more than many jots or tittles a whole moral Law is aboliſht. But if we dare believe it is not, then in the method of Religion, and to ſave the honour and dignity of our Faith, we are to retreat and gather up our ſelves from the obſervance of an inferior and civil Ordinance, to the ſtrict maintaining of a general and religious Command, which is written, *Thou ſhalt make no Cov'nant with them*, Deut. 7. 2, 3. and that Cov'nant which cannot be lawfully made, we have directions and examples lawfully to diſſolve. Alſo 2 *Chron.* 19. 2. *Shouldeſt thou love them that hate the Lord?* No doubtleſs: for there is a certain ſcale of Duties, there is a certain Hierarchy of upper and lower Commands, which for want of ſtudying in right order, all the world is in confuſion.

Upon theſe principles I anſwer, that a right Believer ought to divorce an idolatrous Heretick, unleſs upon better hopes: however that it is in the Believers choice to divorce or not.

The former part will be manifeſt thus; firſt, an apoſtate Idolater, whether Huſband or Wife ſeducing, was to die by the decree of God, *Deut.* 13. 6, 9. that Marriage therefore God himſelf disjoyns: for others born Idolaters, the moral reaſon of their dangerous keeping, and the incommunicable antagony that is between Chriſt and *Belial*, will be ſufficient to inforce the Commandment of thoſe two inſpir'd Reformers, *Ezra* and *Nehemiah*, to put an Idolater away as well under the Goſpel.

The latter part, that although there be no ſeducement fear'd, yet if there be no hope giv'n, the Divorce is lawful, will appear by this, that idolatrous Marriage is ſtill hateful to God, therefore ſtill it may be divorc'd by the pattern of that Warrant that *Ezra* had, and by the ſame everlaſting Reaſon: Neither can any man give an account wherefore, if thoſe whom God joyns no man can ſeparate, it ſhould not follow, that whom he joyns not, but hates to joyn, thoſe men ought to ſeparate. But ſaith the Lawyer, That which ought not have been done, once done, avails. I anſwer, this is but a Crotchet of the Law, but that brought againſt it is plain Scripture. As for what Chriſt ſpake concerning divorce, 'tis confeſt by all knowing men, he meant only between them of the ſame faith. But what ſhall we ſay then to S. *Paul*, who ſeems to bid us not divorce an Infidel willing to ſtay? We may ſafely ſay thus, that wrong Collections have been hitherto made out of thoſe words by modern Divines. His drift, as was heard before, is plain; not to command our ſtay in Marriage with an Infidel, that had been a flat renouncing of the religious and moral Law; but to inform the *Corinthians* that the Body of an unbeliever was not defiling, if his deſire to live in Chriſtian Wedlock ſhew'd any likelihood that his heart was opening to the faith; and therefore adviſes to forbear departure ſo long, till nothing have been neglected to ſet forward a converſion: this I ſay he adviſes, and that with certain cautions, not commands, if we can take up ſo much credit for him as to get him believ'd upon his own word: for what is this elſe but his counſel in a thing indifferent, *to the reſt ſpeak I, not the Lord?* for though it be true that the Lord never ſpake it, yet from S. *Paul*'s mouth we ſhould have took it as a command, had not himſelf forewarn'd us, and diſclaim'd, which notwithſtanding if we ſhall ſtill avouch to be a command, he palpably denying it, this is not to expound S. *Paul*, but to outface him. Neither doth it follow, but that the Apoſtle may interpoſe his judgment in a caſe of Chriſtian liberty, without the guilt of adding to God's word. How do we know Marriage or ſingle life to be of choice, but by ſuch like words as theſe, *I ſpeak this by permiſſion, not of commandment*; *I have no command of the Lord, yet I give my judgment?* Why ſhall not the like words have leave to ſignifie a freedom in this our preſent queſtion, though *Beza* deny? Neither is the Scripture hereby leſs inſpir'd, becauſe S. *Paul* confeſſes to have writt'n therein what he had not of command; for we grant that the Spirit of God led him thus to expreſs himſelf to Chriſtian prudence, in a matter which God thought beſt to leave uncommanded. *Beza* therefore muſt be warily read, when he taxes S. *Auſtin* of *Blaſphemy*, for holding that S. *Paul* ſpake here as of a thing indifferent. But if it muſt be a command, I ſhall yet the more evince it to be a command that we ſhould herein be left free, and that out of the Greek word us'd in the 12. v. which inſtructs us plainly, there muſt be a joynt aſſent and good liking on both ſides; he that will not deprave the Text, muſt thus render it; *If a brother have an unbelieving Wife, and ſhe joyn in conſent to dwell with him* (which cannot utter leſs to us than a mutual agreement) let him not put her away for the meer ſurmize of Judaical uncleanneſs: and the reaſon follows, for the body of an Infidel is not polluted, neither to benevolence, nor to procreation. Moreover, this note of mutual complacency forbids all offer of ſeducement, which to a perſon of zeal cannot be attempted without great offence: if therefore ſeducement be fear'd, this place hinders not Divorce. Another caution was put in this ſuppoſed command, of not bringing the believer into *bondage* hereby, which doubtleſs might prove extreme, if Chriſtian liberty and conſcience were left to the humor of a Pagan ſtaying at pleaſure to play with, and to vex and wound with a thouſand ſcandals and burdens, above ſtrength to bear: If therefore the conceived hope of gaining a ſoul come to nothing, then Charity commands that the believer be not wearied out with endleſs waiting under many grievances ſore to his ſpirit, but that reſpect be had rather to the preſent ſuffering of a true Chriſtian, than the uncertain winning of an obdur'd Heretick. The counſel we have from S. *Paul* to hope, cannot countermand the moral and Evangelick charge we have from God to fear ſeducement, to ſeparate from the miſbeliever, the unclean, the obdurate. The Apoſtle wiſheth us to hope, but does not ſend us a wool-gathering after vain hope; he ſaith, *How knoweſt thou, O Man, whether thou ſhalt ſave thy Wife?* that is, till he try all due means, and ſet ſome reaſonable time to himſelf, after which he may give over waſhing an Ethiope, if he will hear the advice of the Goſpel; *Caſt not Pearls before Swine*, ſaith Chriſt himſelf. *Let him be to thee as a Heathen. Shake the duſt off thy feet.* If this be not enough, *hate and forſake*, what relation ſoever. And this alſo that follows muſt appertain to the Precept, *Let every man wherein he is call'd, therein abide with God*, v. 24. that is, ſo walking in his inferiour calling of Marriage, as not by dangerous ſubjection to that Ordinance, to hinder and diſturb the higher calling of his Chriſtianity. Laſt, and never too oft remembred, whether this be a Command, or an Advice, we muſt look that it be ſo underſtood, as not to contradict the leaſt point of moral Religion that God hath formerly commanded, otherwiſe what do we but ſet the moral Law and the Goſpel at civil War together? and who then ſhall be able to ſerve thoſe two Maſters?

# CHAP. IX.

## *That Adultery is not the greateſt breach of Matrimony; that there may be other Violations as great.*

NOW whether Idolatry or Adultery be the greateſt violation of Marriage, if any demand, let him thus conſider, that among Chriſtian Writers touching Matrimony, there be three chief Ends thereof agreed on; godly ſociety, next civil, and thirdly, that of the Marriage-bed. Of theſe the firſt in name to be the higheſt and moſt excellent, no baptiz'd Man can deny, nor that Idolatry ſmites directly againſt this prime End; nor that ſuch as the violated End is, ſuch is the Violation: but he who affirms Adultery to be the higheſt breach, affirms the Bed to be higheſt of Marriage, which is in truth a groſs and boriſh Opinion, how common ſoever; as far from the countenance of Scripture, as from the light of all clean Philoſophy, or civil Nature. And out of queſtion the chearful help that may be in Marriage toward ſanctity of life, is the pureſt, and ſo the nobleſt end of that contract: but if the particular of each perſon be conſider'd, then of thoſe three ends which God appointed, that to him is greateſt which is moſt neceſſary; and Marriage is then moſt brok'n to him, when he utterly wants the fruition of that which he moſt ſought therein, whether it were religious, civil, or corporal ſociety. Of which wants to do him right by Divorce only for the laſt and meaneſt, is a perverſe injury, and the pretended reaſon of it as frigid as Frigidity it ſelf, which the *Code* and Canon are only ſenſible of. Thus much of this controverſie. I now return to the former argument. And having ſhewn that diſproportion, contrariety, or numneſs of mind may juſtly be divorc'd, by proving already, that the prohibition thereof oppoſes the expreſs end of God's Inſtitutions, ſuffers not Marriage to ſatisfie that intellectual and innocent deſire which God himſelf kindl'd in Man to be the Bond of Wedlock, but only to remedy a ſublunary and beaſtial burning, which frugal Diet, without Marriage, would eaſily chaſt'n. Next, that it drives many to tranſgreſs the Conjugal Bed, while the ſoul wanders after that ſatisfaction which it had hope to find at home, but hath miſt; or elſe it ſits repining, even to Atheiſm, finding it ſelf hardly dealt with, but miſdeeming the cauſe to be in God's Law, which is in man's unrighteous ignorance. I have ſhewn alſo how it untyes the inward knot of Marriage, which is Peace and Love ( if that can be unty'd which was never knit ) while it aims to keep faſt the outward formality; how it lets periſh the Chriſtian Man, to compel impoſſibly the married Man.

# CHAP. X.

## *The ſixth Reaſon of this Law; that to prohibit Divorce ſought for natural caſes, is againſt Nature.*

THE ſixth place declares this Prohibition to be as reſpectleſs of humane Nature, as it is of Religion, and therefore is not of God. He teaches, that an unlawful Marriage may be lawfully divorc'd: And that thoſe who having throughly diſcern'd each others diſpoſition, which oft-times cannot be till after Matrimony, ſhall then find a powerful reluctance and recoil of Nature on either ſide, blaſting all the content of their mutual ſociety, that ſuch perſons are not lawfully married ( to uſe the Apoſtle's words) *Say I theſe things as a Man, or ſaith not the Law alſo the ſame? for it is writt'n,* Deut. 22. *Thou ſhalt not ſow the Vineyard with divers ſeeds, leſt thou defile both. Thou ſhalt not plow with an Oxe and an Aſs together*, and the like. I follow the pattern of S. *Paul's* reaſoning, *Doth God care for Aſſes and Oxen,* how ill they yoke together, *or is it not ſaid altogether for our ſakes? for our ſakes no doubt this is writt'n.* Yea the Apoſtle himſelf in the forecited 2 *Cor.* 6. 14. alludes from that place of *Deut.* to forbid miſyoking Marriage, as by the Greek word is evident; though he inſtance but in one Example of miſmatching with an Infidel, yet next to that, what can be a fouler incongruity, a greater violence to the reverend ſecret of Nature, than to force a mixture of Minds that cannot unite, and to ſow the furrow of Man's Nativity with ſeed of two incoherent and uncombining diſpoſitions: which act being kindly and voluntary, as it ought, the Apoſtle in the Language he wrote call'd *Eunoia*, and the Latines *Benevolence*, intimating the original thereof to be in the underſtanding, and the will; if not, ſurely there is nothing which might more properly be call'd a malevolence rather, and is the moſt injurious and unnatural Tribute that can be extorted from a perſon indu'd with reaſon, to be made pay out the beſt ſubſtance of his body, and of his ſoul too, as ſome think, when either for juſt and powerful cauſes he cannot like, or from unequal cauſes finds not recompence. And that there is a hidden efficacy of love and hatred in Man as well as in other kinds, not moral, but natural, which though not always in the choice, yet in the ſucceſs of Mariage will ever be moſt predominant, beſides daily experience, the Author of *Eccleſiaſticus*, whoſe wiſdom hath ſet him next the Bible, acknowledges, 13. 16. *A man*, ſaith he, *will cleave to his like*. But what might be the cauſe, whether each ones allotted *Genius* or proper Star, or whether the ſupernatural influence of Schemes and angular Aſpects, or this elemental *Craſis* here below, whether all theſe joyntly or ſingly meeting friendly, or unfriendly in either party, I dare not, with the men I am like to claſh, appear ſo much a Philoſopher as to conjecture. The antient Proverb in *Homer* leſs obſtruſe entitles this work of leading each like perſon to his like, peculiarly to God himſelf: which is plain enough alſo by his naming of a meet or like help in the firſt Eſpouſal inſtituted; and that every Woman is meet for every Man, none ſo abſurd as to affirm. Seeing then there is indeed a two-fold Seminary or Stock in nature, from whence are deriv'd the iſſues of love and hatred, diſtinctly flowing through the whole maſs of created things, and that God's doing ever is to bring the due likeneſſes and harmonies of his works together, except when out of two contraries met to their own deſtruction, he moulds a third exiſtence; and that it is error, or ſome evil Angel which either blindly or maliciouſly hath drawn together in two perſons ill imbarkt in Wedlock the ſleeping diſcords and enmities of Nature lull'd on purpoſe with ſome falſe bait, that they may wake to agony and ſtrife, later than prevention could have wiſht, if from the bent of juſt and honeſt intentions beginning what was begun, and ſo continuing, all that is equal, all that is fair and poſſible hath been tri'd, and no accommodation likely to ſucceed; what folly is it ſtill to ſtand combating and battering againſt invincible cauſes and effects, with evil upon evil, till either the beſt of our days be linger'd out, or ended with ſome ſpeeding ſorrow. The wiſe *Eccleſiaſticus* adviſes rather, 37. 27. *My ſon prove thy ſoul in thy life, ſee what is evil for it, and give not that unto it.* Reaſon he had to ſay ſo; for if the noiſomneſs or diſfigurement of body can ſoon deſtroy the ſympathy of mind to Wedlock duties, much more will the annoyance and trouble of mind infuſe it ſelf into all the faculties and acts of the body, to render them invalid, unkindly, and even unholy againſt the Fundamental Law-book of Nature, which *Moſes* never thwarts, but reverences: therefore he commands us to force nothing againſt ſympathy or natural order, no, not upon the moſt abject Creatures; to ſhew that ſuch an indignity cannot be offer'd to Man without an impious crime. And certainly thoſe divine meditating words of finding out a meet and like help to Man, have in them a conſideration of more than the indefinite likeneſs of Womanhood; nor are they to be made waſte-paper on, for the dulneſs of Canon-Divinity, no, nor thoſe other Allegorick Precepts of Beneficence fetcht out of the Cloſet of Nature, to teach us goodneſs and compaſſion in not compelling together unmatchable Societies; or if they meet through miſchance, by all conſequence to disjoyn them, as God and Nature ſignifies, and lectures to us not only by thoſe recited Decrees, but ev'n by the firſt and laſt of all his viſible works; when by his divorcing Command the World firſt roſe out of Chaos, nor can be renewed again out of confuſion, but by the ſeparating of unmeet Conſorts.

## CHAP. XI.

### *The ſeventh Reaſon, That ſometimes continuance in Marriage may be evidently the ſhortning or indangering of life to either party; both Law and Divinity concluding, that Life is to be preferr'd before Marriage, the intended ſolace of Life.*

SEventhly, The Canon-Law and Divines conſent, that if either party be found contriving againſt anothers life, they may be ſever'd by Divorce: for a ſin againſt the life of Marriage, is greater than a ſin againſt the Bed; the one deſtroys, the other but defiles. The ſame may be ſaid touching thoſe perſons who being of a penſive nature and courſe of life, have ſum'd up all their ſolace in that free and lightſome converſation which God and Man intends in Marriage; whereof when they ſee themſelves depriv'd by meeting an unſociable Conſort, they oft-times reſent one anothers miſtake ſo deeply, that long it is not e're grief end one of them. When therefore this danger is foreſeen, that the life is in peril by living together, what matter is it whether helpleſs grief, or wilful practice be the cauſe? This is certain, that the preſervation of life is more worth than the compulſory keeping of Marriage; and it is no leſs than cruelty, to force a Man to remain in that ſtate as the ſolace of his life, which he and his friends know will be either the undoing or the diſheartning of his life. And what is life without the vigour and ſpiritual exerciſe of life? how can it be uſeful either to private or publick imployment? ſhall it therefore be quite dejected, though never ſo valuable, and left to moulder away in heavineſs for the ſuperſtitious and impoſſible performance of an ill-driv'n bargain? Nothing more inviolable than vows made to God; yet we read in *Numbers*, that if a Wife had made ſuch a vow, the meer will and authority of her Husband might break it: how much more may he break the error of his own bonds with an unfit and miſtak'n Wife, to the ſaving of his welfare, his life, yea his faith and vertue, from the hazard of over-ſtrong temptations? for if Man be Lord of the Sabbath, to the curing of a Fever, can he be leſs than Lord of Marriage in ſuch important cauſes as theſe?

## CHAP. XII.

### *The eighth Reaſon, It is probable, or rather certain, that every one who happ'ns to marry, hath not the calling; and therefore upon unfitneſs found and conſider'd, force ought not to be us'd.*

EIghtly, It is moſt ſure that ſome even of thoſe who are not plainly defective in body, yet are deſtitute of all other marriageable gifts, and conſequently have not the calling to marry, unleſs nothing be requiſite thereto but a meer inſtrumental body; which to affirm, is to that unanimous Covenant a reproach: yet it is as ſure that many ſuch, not of their own deſire, but by the perſwaſion of friends, or not knowing themſelves, do often enter into Wedlock; where finding the difference at length between the duties of a married life, and the gifts of a ſingle life, what unfitneſs of mind, what weariſomneſs, what ſcruples and doubts to an incredible offence and diſpleaſure are like to follow between, may be ſoon imagined; whom thus to ſhut up, and immure, and ſhut up together, the one with a miſchoſen Mate, the other in a miſtaken calling, is not a courſe that Chriſtian wiſdom and tenderneſs ought to uſe. As for the cuſtome that ſome Parents and Guardians have of forcing Marriages, it will be better to ſay nothing of ſuch a ſavage inhumanity, but only thus, that the Law which gives not all freedom of Divorce to any Creature indued with reaſon, ſo aſſaſſinated, is next in cruelty.

# CHAP. XIII.

## *The ninth Reaſon; Becauſe Marriage is not a meer carnal Coition, but a humane Society: where that cannot reaſonably be had, there can be no true Matrimony. Marriage compar'd with all other Cov'nants and Vows warrantably broken for the good of Man. Marriage the Papiſts Sacrament, and unfit Marriage the Proteſtants Idol.*

NInthly, I ſuppoſe it will be allow'd us that Marriage is a humane Society, and that all humane ſociety muſt proceed from the mind rather than the body, elſe it would be but a kind of animal or beaſtiſh meeting; if the mind therefore cannot have that due company by Marriage that it may reaſonably and humanly deſire, that Marriage can be no humane ſociety, but a certain formality; or guilding over of little better then a brutiſh congreſs, and ſo in very wiſdom and pureneſs to be diſſolv'd.

But Marriage is more than humane, *the Covenant of God*, Prov. 2. 17. therefore Man cannot diſſolve it. I anſwer, if it be more than humane, ſo much the more it argues the chief ſociety thereof to be in the ſoul rather then in the body, and the greateſt breach thereof to be unfitneſs of mind rather then defect of body: for the body can have leaſt affinity in a Cov'nant more than humane, ſo that the reaſon of diſſolving holds good the rather. Again, I anſwer, that the Sabbath is a higher Inſtitution, a Command of the firſt Table, for the breach whereof God hath far more and oftner teſtify'd his anger, than for Divorces, which from *Moſes* to *Malachy* he never took diſpleaſure at, nor then neither, if we mark the Text; and yet as oft as the good of Man is concern'd, he not only permits, but commands to break the Sabbath. What Cov'nant more contracted with God, and leſs in mans power, than the Vow which hath once paſt his lips? yet if it be found raſh, if offenſive, if unfruitful either to God's glory or the good of Man, our Doctrine forces not error and unwillingneſs irkſomly to keep it, but counſels Wiſdom and better thoughts boldly to break it; therefore to enjoyn the indiſſoluble keeping of a Marriage found unfit againſt the good of Man both ſoul and body, as hath been evidence'd, is to make an Idol of Marriage, to advance it above the Worſhip of God and the good of Man, to make it a tranſcendent Command, above both the ſecond and firſt Table, which is a moſt prodigious Doctrine.

Next, whereas they cite out of the *Proverbs*, that it is the *Cov'nant of God*, and therefore more than humane, that Conſequence is manifeſtly falſe: for ſo the Cov'nant which *Zedekiah* made with the Infidel King of *Babel*, is call'd the *Covenant of God*, Ezek. 17. 19. which would be ſtrange to hear counted more than a humane Cov'nant. So every Cov'nant between Man and Man, bound by Oath, may be call'd the Cov'nant of God, becauſe God therein is atteſted. So of Marriage he is the author and the witneſs; yet hence will not follow any divine aſtriction more than what is ſubordinate to the glory of God, and the main good of either party: for as the glory of God, and their eſteemed fitneſs one for the other, was the motive which led them both at firſt to think without other revelation that God had joyned them together; ſo when it ſhall be found by their apparent unfitneſs, that their continuing to be Man and Wife is againſt the glory of God and their mutual happineſs, it may aſſure them that God never joyn'd them, who hath reveal'd his gracious Will not to ſet the Ordinance above the Man for whom it was ordain'd; not to canonize Marriage either as a Tyranneſs or a Goddeſs over the enfranchis'd life and ſoul of Man: For wherein can God delight, wherein be worſhip'd, wherein be glorifi'd by the forcible continuing of an improper and ill-yoking couple? He that loved not to ſee the diſparity of ſeveral cattel at the Plow, cannot be pleaſed with any vaſt unmeetneſs in Marriage. Where can be the peace and love which muſt invite God to ſuch a houſe? may it not be feared that the not divorcing of ſuch a helpleſs diſagreement, will be the divorcing of God finally from ſuch a place? But it is a trial of our patience they ſay: I grant it; but which of *Job*'s afflictions were ſent him with that Law, that he might not uſe means to remove any of them if he could? And what if it ſubvert our patience and our faith too? Who ſhall anſwer for the periſhing of all thoſe ſouls periſhing by ſtubborn expoſitions of particular and inferior precepts againſt the general and ſupreme rule of Charity? They dare not affirm that Marriage is either a Sacrament or a Myſtery, though all thoſe ſacred things give place to Man; and yet they inveſt it with ſuch an awful ſanctity, and give it ſuch adamantine chains to bind with, as if it were to be worſhipt like ſome Indian Deity, when it can confer no bleſſing upon us, but works more and more to our miſery. To ſuch teachers the ſaying of S. *Peter* at the Council of *Jeruſalem* will do well to be applied: *Why tempt ye God to put a yoke upon the necks* of Chriſtian men, which neither the *Jews*, God's antient people, *nor we are able to bear*, and nothing but unwary expounding hath brought upon us?

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## CHAP. XIV.

*Conſiderations concerning Familiſm, Antinomianiſm; and why it may be thought that ſuch Opinions may proceed from the undue reſtraint of ſome juſt liberty, than which no greater cauſe to contemn Diſcipline.*

TO theſe Conſiderations this alſo may be added as no improbable conjecture, ſeeing that ſort of Men who follow *Anabaptiſm*, *Familiſm*, *Antinomianiſm*, and other fanatick dreams (if we underſtand them not amiſs) be ſuch moſt commonly as are by nature addicted to Religion, of life alſo not debaucht, and that their Opinions having full ſwinge, do end in ſatiſfaction of the fleſh, it may be come with reaſon into the thoughts of a wiſe Man, whether all this proceed not partly, if not chiefly, from the reſtraint of ſome lawful liberty which ought to be giv'n Men, and is deny'd them. As by Phyſick we learn in menſtruous bodies, where Natures current hath been ſtopt, that the ſuffocation and upward forcing of ſome lower part, affects the head and inward ſenſe with dotage and idle fancies. And on the other hand, whether the reſt of vulgar men not ſo religiouſly profeſſing, do not give themſelves much the more to Whoredom and Adulteries, loving the corrupt and venial Diſcipline of Clergy-Courts, but hating to hear of perfect Reformation; when as they foreſee that then Fornication ſhall be auſterely cenſur'd, Adultery puniſht, and Marriage the appointed refuge of nature, though it hap to be never ſo incongruous and diſpleaſing, muſt yet of force be worn out, when it can be to no other purpoſe but of ſtrife and hatred, a thing odious to God. This may be worth the ſtudy of skilful Men in Theology, and the reaſon of things. And laſtly, to examine whether ſome undue and ill-grounded ſtrictneſs upon the blameleſs Nature of Man, be not the cauſe in thoſe places where already Reformation is, that the Diſcipline of the Church, ſo often and ſo unavoidably brok'n, is brought into contempt and deriſion. And if it be thus, let thoſe who are ſtill bent to hold this obſtinate *literality*, ſo prepare themſelves, as to ſhare in the account for all theſe tranſgreſſions, when it ſhall be demanded at the laſt day, by one who will ſcan and ſift things with more than a literal wiſdom of equity: for if theſe reaſons be duly ponder'd, and that the Goſpel is more jealous of laying on exceſſive burdens than ever the Law was, leſt the ſoul of a Chriſtian which is ineſtimable, ſhould be over-tempted and caſt away; conſidering alſo that many properties of Nature, which the power of Regeneration it ſelf never alters, may cauſe diſlike of converſing, even between the moſt ſanctifi'd; which continually grating in harſh tune together, may breed ſome jar and diſcord, and that end in rancor and ſtrife, a thing ſo oppoſite both to Marriage, and to Chriſtianity, it would perhaps be leſs ſcandal to divorce a natural diſparity, than to link violently together an unchriſtian diſſention, committing two inſnared ſouls inevitably to kindle one another, not with the fire of love, but with a hatred *irreconcileable*; who were they diſſevered, would be ſtraight friends in any other relation. But if an alphabetical ſervility muſt be ſtill urged, it may ſo fall out, that the true Church may unwittingly uſe as much cruelty in forbidding to divorce, as the Church of Antichriſt doth wilfully in forbidding to marry.

# BOOK II.

## CHAP. I.

### *The Ordinance of Sabbath and Marriage compar'd. Hyperbole no unfrequent figure in the Goſpel. Exceſs cur'd by contrary exceſs. Chriſt neither did, nor could abrogate the Law of Divorce, but only reprieve the abuſe thereof.*

Hitherto the Poſition undertaken hath been declar'd, and proved by a Law of God, that Law proved to be moral, and unaboliſhable, for many reaſons equal, honeſt, charitable, juſt, annext thereto. It follows now, that thoſe places of Scripture which have a ſeeming to revoke the prudence of *Moſes*, or rather that merciful Decree of God, be forthwith explain'd and reconcil'd. For what are all theſe reaſonings worth, will ſome reply, when as the words of Chriſt are plainly againſt all Divorce, except *in caſe of Fornication?* To whom he whoſe mind were to anſwer no more but this, *except alſo in caſe of Charity*, might ſafely appeal to the more plain words of Chriſt in defence of ſo excepting. *Thou ſhalt do no manner of work*, ſaith the Commandment of the Sabbath. Yes, ſaith Chriſt, works of Charity. And ſhall we be more ſevere in paraphraſing the conſiderate and tender Goſpel, than he was in expounding the rigid and peremptory Law? What was ever in all appearance leſs made for Man, and more for God alone, than the Sabbath? yet when the good of Man comes into the Scales, we hear that voice of infinite goodneſs and benignity, that *Sabbath was made for Man, not Man for Sabbath.* What thing ever was more made for Man alone and leſs for God than Marriage? And ſhall we load it with a cruel and ſenceleſs bondage utterly againſt both the good of Man, and the glory of God? Let whoſo will now liſten, I want neither Pall nor Mitre, I ſtay neither for Ordination or Induction; but in the firm faith of a knowing Chriſtian, which is the beſt and trueſt endowment of the Keys, I pronounce, the Man who ſhall bind ſo cruelly a good and gracious Ordinance of God, hath not in that the Spirit of Chriſt. Yet that every text of Scripture ſeeming oppoſite may be attended with a due expoſition, this other part enſues, and makes account to find no ſlender arguments for this aſſertion out of thoſe very Scriptures, which are commonly urg'd againſt it.

Firſt therefore let us remember, as a thing not to be deny'd, that all places of Scripture wherein juſt reaſon of doubts ariſes from the letter, are to be expounded by conſidering upon what occaſion every thing is ſet down, and by comparing other Texts. The occaſion which induc'd our Saviour to ſpeak of Divorce, was either to convince the extravagance of the Phariſes in that point, or to give a ſharp and vehement anſwer to a tempting queſtion. And in ſuch caſes that we are not to repoſe all upon the literal terms of ſo many words, many inſtances will teach us: Wherein we may plainly diſcover how Chriſt meant not to be tak'n word for word, but like a wiſe Phyſician, adminiſtring one exceſs againſt another, to reduce us to a permiſs; where they were too remiſs, he ſaw it needful to ſeem moſt ſevere: in one place he cenſures an unchaſt look to be adultery already committed; another time he paſſes over actual adultery with leſs reproof then for an unchaſt look; not ſo heavily condemning ſecret weakneſs, as open malice: So here he may be juſtly thought to have giv'n this rigid ſentence againſt Divorce, not to cut off all remedy from a good man who finds himſelf conſuming away in a diſconſolate and uninjoyn'd Matrimony, but to lay a bridle upon the bold abuſes of thoſe over-weening *Rabbies*; which he could not more effectually do, then by a counterſway of reſtraint curbing their wild exorbitance almoſt into the other extream; as when we bow things the contrary way, to make them come to their natural ſtraitneſs. And that this was the only intention of Chriſt is moſt evident, if we attend but to his own words and proteſtation made in the ſame Sermon, not many verſes before he treats of Divorcing, that he came not to abrogate from the Law *one jot or tittle*, and denounce againſt them that ſhall ſo teach.

But S. *Luke* the verſe immediately before-going that of Divorce, inſerts the ſame caveat, as if the latter could not be underſtood without the former; and as a witneſs to produce againſt this our wilful miſtake of abrogating, which muſt needs confirm us that whatever elſe in the political Law of more ſpecial relation to the Jews might ceaſe to us; yet that of thoſe Precepts concerning Divorce, not one of them was repeal'd by the Doctrine of Chriſt, unleſs we have vow'd not to believe his own cautious and immediate profeſſion: for if theſe our Saviour's words inveigh againſt all Divorce, and condemn it as Adultery, except it be for Adultery, and be not rather underſtood againſt the abuſe of thoſe Divorces permitted in the Law, then is that Law of *Moſes*, Deut. 24. 1. not onely repeal'd and wholly annull'd againſt the promiſe of Chriſt, and his known profeſſion not to meddle in matters Judicial; but that which is more ſtrange, the very ſubſtance and purpoſe of that Law is contradicted and convinc'd both of injuſtice and impurity, as having authoriz'd and maintain'd legal Adultery by ſtatute. *Moſes* alſo cannot ſcape to be guilty of unequal and unwiſe decrees, puniſhing one act of ſecret Adultery by death, and permitting a whole life of open Adultery by Law. And albeit Lawyers write that ſome political Edicts, though not approv'd, are yet allow'd to the ſcum of the people, and the neceſſity of the times; theſe excuſes have but a weak pulſe: For firſt, we read, not that the ſcoundrel people, but the choiceſt, the wiſeſt, the holieſt of that Nation have frequently us'd theſe Laws, or ſuch as theſe in the beſt and holieſt times. Secondly, be it yielded, that in matters not very bad or impure, a human Lawgiver may ſlacken ſomething of that which is exactly good, to the diſpoſition of the people and the times: but if the perfect, the pure, the righteous Law of God, for ſo are all his ſtatutes and his judgments, be found to have allow'd ſmoothly, without any certain reprehenſion, that which Chriſt afterward declares to be Adultery, how can we free this Law from the horrible inditement of being both impure, unjuſt, and fallacious?

## CHAP. II.

### *How Divorce was permitted for hardneſs of heart, cannot be underſtood by the common Expoſition. That the Law cannot permit, much leſs enact a permiſſion of ſin.*

NEither will it ſerve to ſay this was permitted for the hardneſs of their hearts, in that ſenſe as is uſually explain'd; for the Law were then but a corrupt and erroneous School-maſter, teaching us to daſh againſt a vital Maxim of Religion, by doing foul evil in hope of ſome uncertain good.

This only Text is not to be matcht again throughout the whole Scripture, whereby God in his perfect Law ſhould ſeem to have granted to the hard hearts of his holy people, under his own hand, a civil immunity and free charter to live and die in a long ſucceſſive Adultery, under a covenant of works, till the *Meſſiah*, and then that indulgent permiſſion to be ſtrictly deny'd by a covenant of grace; beſides the incoherence of ſuch a doctrine, cannot, muſt not be thus interpreted, to the raiſing of a Paradox never known till then, onely hanging by the twin'd thread of one doubtful Scripture, againſt ſo many other rules and leading principles of religion, of juſtice, and purity of life. For what could be granted more either to the fear, or to the luſt of any Tyrant or Expliticiat, than this authority of *Moſes* thus expounded; which opens him a way at will to damm up juſtice, and not onely to admit of any *Romiſh* or *Auſtrian* diſpences, but to enact a ſtatute of that which he dares not ſeem to approve, ev'n to the legitimate vices, to make ſin it ſelf, the ever alien and vaſſal ſin, a free Citizen of the Commonwealth, pretending onely theſe or theſe plauſible reaſons? And well he might, all the while that *Moſes* ſhall be alledged to have done as much without ſhewing any reaſon at all. Yet this could not enter into the heart of *David*, Pſal. 94. 20. how any ſuch authority as endeavours to *faſhion wickedneſs by a Law*, ſhould derive it ſelf from God. And *Iſaiah* layes *wo upon them that decree unrighteous decrees*, ch. 10. 1. Now which of theſe two is the better Law-giver, and which deſerves moſt a wo, he that gives out an edict ſingly unjuſt, or he that confirms to generations a fixt and unmoleſted impunity of that which is not only held to be unjuſt, but alſo unclean, and both in a high degree, not only as they themſelves affirm, an injurious expulſion of one Wife, but alſo an unclean freedom by more than a patent to wed another adulterouſly? How can we therefore with ſafety thus dangerouſly confine the free ſimplicity of our Saviours meaning to that which meerly amounts from ſo many Letters, when as it can conſiſt neither with his former and cautionary Word, nor with other more pure and holy Principles, nor finally with the ſcope of Charity, commanding by his expreſs Commiſſion in a higher grain. But all rather of neceſſity muſt be underſtood as only againſt the abuſe of that wiſe and ingenuous liberty which *Moſes* gave, and to terrifie a roaving Conſcience from ſinning under that pretext.

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## CHAP. III.

*That to allow Sin by Law, is againſt the nature of Law, the end of the Law-giver, and the good of the People. Impoſſible therefore in the Law of God. That it makes God the Author of Sin more than any thing objected by the* Jeſuits *or* Arminians *againſt Predeſtination.*

BUT let us yet further examine upon what Conſideration a Law of Licence could be thus giv'n to a holy People for the hardneſs of Heart. I ſuppoſe all will anſwer, that for ſome good end or other. But here the contrary ſhall be prov'd. Firſt, that many ill effects, but no good end of ſuch a Sufferance can be ſhewn; next, that a thing unlawful can for no good end what-ever be either done or allow'd by a poſitive Law. If there were any good end aim'd at, that end was then good either to the Law or to the Lawgiver licencing; or as to the perſon licenc'd. That it could not be the end of the Law, whether Moral or Judicial, to licenſe a Sin, I prove eaſily out of *Rom.* 5. 20. *The Law enter'd, that the offence might abound,* that is, that Sin might be made abundantly manifeſt to be hainous and diſpleaſing to God, that ſo his offer'd Grace might be the more eſteem'd. Now if the Law inſtead of aggravating and terrifying Sin, ſhall give out Licence, it foils it ſelf, and turns recreant from its own end: it foreſtalls the pure Grace of Chriſt which is through Righteouſneſs, with impure indulgences which are through Sin. And inſtead of diſcovering Sin, for *by the Law is the knowledge thereof,* ſaith S. *Paul*, and that by certain and true light for Men to walk in ſafely, it holds out falſe and dazling fires to ſtumble Men; or like thoſe miſerable flies to run into with delight and be burnt: for how many Souls might eaſily think that to be lawful which the Law and Magiſtrate allow'd them? Again, we read 1 Tim. 1. 5. *The end of the Commandment is charity out of a pure heart, and of a good conſcience, and of faith unfained.* But never could that be Charity to allow a People what they could not uſe with a pure Heart, but with Conſcience and Faith both deceiv'd, or elſe deſpis'd. The more particular end of the Judicial Law is ſet forth to us clearly *Rom.* 13. That God hath giv'n to that Law *a Sword not in vain, but to be a terror to evil works, a revenge to execute wrath upon him that doth evil.* If this terrible Commiſſion ſhould but forbear to puniſh wickedneſs, were it other to be accounted than partial and unjuſt? but if it begin to write indulgence to vulger Uncleanneſs, can it do more to corrupt and ſhame the end of its own being? Laſtly, if the Law allow Sin, it enters into a kind of covenant with Sin; and if it do, there is not a greater Sinner in the World than the Law it ſelf. The Law, to uſe an Allegory ſomething different from that in *Philo Judæus* concerning *Amaleck*, though haply more ſignificant, the Law is the *Iſraelite*, and hath this abſolute charge given it, Deut. 25. *To blot out the memory of* Sin *the Amalekite from under heav'n, not to forget it.* Again, the Law is the *Iſraelite*, and hath this expreſs repeated Command *to make no Cov'nant with* Sin *the Canaanite*, but to expel him, leſt he prove a ſnare. And to ſay truth, it were too rigid and reaſonleſs to proclaim ſuch an enmity between Man and Man, were it not the the type of a greater enmity between Law and Sin. I ſpeak ev'n now, as if Sin were condemn'd in a perpetual *villenage* never to be free by Law, never to be *manumited*: but ſure Sin can have no tenure by Law at all, but is rather an eternal Outlaw, and in hoſtility with Law paſt all atonement: both *diagonial* Contraries, as much allowing one another, as Day and Night together both in one Hemiſphere. Or if it be poſſible, that Sin with his darkneſs may come to compoſition, it cannot be without a ſoul eclipſe and twilight to the Law, whoſe brightneſs ought to ſurpaſs the Noon. Thus we ſee how this unclean permittance defeats the ſacred and glorious end both of the Moral and Judicial Law.

As little good can the Lawgiver propoſe to equity by ſuch a laviſh remiſneſs as this; if to remedy hardneſs of heart *Paræus* and other Divines confeſs, it more increaſes by this Liberty, than is leſſn'd: and how is it probable that their hearts were more hard in this, that it ſhould be yielded to, than in any other Crime? Their hearts were ſet upon Uſury, and are to this day, no Nation more; yet that which was the endamaging only of their Eſtates was narrowly forbid; this which is thought the extream injury and diſhonour of their Wives and Daughters, with the defilement alſo of themſelves, is bounteouſly allow'd. Their hearts were as hard under their beſt Kings to offer in high places, tho to the true God; yet that but a ſmall thing, is ſtrictly forewarn'd; this accounted a high offence againſt one of the greateſt moral Duties, is calmly permitted and eſtabliſht. How can it be evaded but that the heavy cenſure of Chriſt ſhould fall worſe upon this Lawgiver of theirs, than upon all the Scribes and Phariſees? For they did but omit Judgment and Mercy to trifle in Mint and Cummin, yet all according to Law; but this their Law-giver, altogether as punctual in ſuch niceties, goes marching on to Adulteries, through the violence of Divorce by Law againſt Law. If it were ſuch a curſed act of *Pilat* a ſubordinate Judge to *Cæſar*, over-ſwayed by thoſe hard hearts with much ado to ſuffer one tranſgreſſion of Law but once, what is it then with leſs ado to publiſh a Law of tranſgreſſion for many Ages? Did God for this come down and cover the Mount of *Sinai* whith his Glory, uttering in Thunder thoſe his ſacred Ordinances out of the bottomleſs Treaſures of his Wiſdom and infinite Pureneſs, to patch up an ulcerous and rott'n Common-wealth with ſtrict and ſtern Injunctions, to waſh the skin and garments for every unclean touch, and ſuch eaſie permiſſion giv'n to pollute the Soul with Adulteries by publick authority, without diſgrace or queſtion? No, it had been better that man had never known Law or Matrimony, then that ſuch foul iniquity ſhould be faſtn'd upon the Holy One of *Iſrael*, the Judge of all the earth, and ſuch a piece of folly as *Belzebub* would not commit, to divide againſt himſelf, and pervert his own ends; or if he to compaſs more certain miſchief, might yield perhaps to fain ſome good deed, yet that God ſhould enact a Licence of certain evil for uncertain good againſt his own glory and pureneſs, is abominable to conceive. And as it is deſtructive to the end of Law, and blaſphemous to the honour of the Lawgiver licenſing, ſo is it as pernicious to the perſon licenc't. If a private Friend admoniſh not, the Scripture ſaith, *he hates his brother, and lets him periſh*; but if he ſooth him and allow him in his faults, the Proverbs teach us *he ſpreads a net for his neighbours feet, and worketh ruin.* If the Magiſtrate or Prince forget to adminiſter due juſtice, and reſtrain not Sin; *Eli* himſelf could ſay, *it made the Lords people to tranſgreſs.* But if he countenance them againſt Law by his own example, what havock it makes both in Religion and Vertue among the People, may be gueſt by the anger it brought upon *Hophni* and *Phineas*, not to be appeas'd *with ſacrifice nor offring for ever.* If the Law be ſilent to declare Sin, the People muſts needs generally go aſtray, for the Apoſtle himſelf ſaith, *he had not known luſt but by the law:* and ſurely ſuch a Nation ſeems not to be under the illuminating guidance of Gods Law, but under the horrible doom rather of ſuch as deſpiſe the Goſpel, *he that is filthy let him be filthy ſtill.* But where the Law it ſelf gives a warrant for Sin, I know not what condition of miſery to imagine miſerable enough for ſuch a people, unleſs that portion of the wicked, or rather of the damned, on whom God threatens in 21 *Pſalm, to rain ſnares:* but that queſtionleſs cannot be by any Law, which the Apoſtles ſaith is *a miniſtery ordain'd of God for our Good,* and not ſo many wayes and in ſo high a degree to our Deſtruction, as we have now bin graduating. And this is all the good can come to the Perſon licenc'd in his hardneſs of heart.

I am next to mention that, which becauſe it is a ground in Divinity, *Rom.* 3. will ſave the labour of demonſtrating, unleſs her giv'n Axioms be more doubted than in other Arts (although it be no leſs firm in the precepts of Philoſophy) that a thing unlawful can for no good whatſoever be done, much leſs allow'd by a poſitive Law. And this is the matter why Interpreters upon that paſſage in *Hoſea* will not conſent it to be a true ſtory, that the Prophet took a Harlot to wife, becauſe God being a pure Spirit, could not command a thing repugnant to his own nature, no not for ſo good an end as to exhibit more to the life a wholſome and perhaps a converting parable to many an Iſraelite. Yet that he commanded the allowance of adulterous and injurious Divorces for hardneſs of heart, a reaſon obſcure and in a wrong ſenſe, they can very ſavourily perſwade

ſwade themſelves; ſo tenacious is the leven of an old conceit. But they ſhift it, he permitted only. Yet ſilence in the Law is conſent, and conſent is acceſſory; why then is not the Law being ſilent, or not active againſt a crime, acceſſory to its own conviction, it ſelf judging? For though we ſhould grant, that it approves not, yet it wills; and the Lawyers Maxim is, that *the will compell'd is yet the will.* And though *Ariſtotle* in his Ethicks call this *a mixt Action*, yet he concludes it to be voluntary and inexcuſable, if it be evil. How juſtly then might human Law and Philoſophy riſe up againſt the righteouſneſs of *Moſes*, if this be true which our vulgar Divinity fathers upon him, yea upon God himſelf, not ſilently and only negatively to permit, but in his Law to divulge a written and general priviledge to commit and perſiſt in unlawful Divorces with a high hand, with ſecurity and no ill fame: for this is more than permitting and contriving, this is maintaining: this is warranting, this is protecting, yea this is doing evil, and ſuch an evil as that reprobate Law-giver did, whoſe laſting infamy is ingrav'n upon him like a ſurname, *he who made Iſrael to ſin.* This is the loweſt pitch contrary to God that publick fraud and injuſtice can deſcend.

If it be affirm'd, that God, as being Lord, may do what he will: yet we muſt know that God hath not two Wills, but one Will, much leſs two contrary. If he once will'd Adultery ſhould be ſinful, and to be puniſht by Death, all his Omnipotence will not allow him to will the allowance that his holieſt People might as it were by his own *Antimonie*, or counter-ſtatute, live unreprov'd in the ſame fact as he himſelf eſteem'd it, according to our common Explainers. The hidden ways of his Providence we adore and ſearch not, but the Law is his revealed Will, his compleat, his evident and certain Will; herein he appears to us as it were in humane ſhape, enters into Cov'nant with us, ſwears to keep it, binds himſelf like a juſt Law-giver to his own Preſcriptions, gives himſelf to be underſtood by men, judges and is judg'd, meaſures and is commenſurate to the right reaſon; cannot require leſs of us in one cantle of his Law than in another, his legal Juſtice cannot be ſo fickle and ſo variable, ſometimes like a devouring fire, and by and by connivent in the embers, or, if I may ſo ſay, oſcitant and ſupine. The vigor of his Law could no more remit, than the hallowed fire upon his Altar could be let go out. The Lamps that burnt before him might need ſnuffing, but the light of his Law never. Of this alſo more beneath, in diſcuſſing a Solution of *Rivetus.*

The Jeſuits, and that Sect among us which is nam'd of *Arminius*, are wont to charge us of making God the Author of Sin, in two degrees eſpecially, not to ſpeak of his Permiſſion: 1. Becauſe we hold that he hath decreed ſome to Damnation, and conſequently to Sin, ſay they; next, becauſe thoſe means which are of ſaving knowledge to others, he makes to them an occaſion of greater Sin. Yet conſidering the perfection wherein Man was created, and might have ſtood, no Decree neceſſitating his Free-will, but ſubſequent, though not in time, yet in order to Cauſes, which were in his own power, they might methinks be perſwaded to abſolve both God and us. Whenas the Doctrine of *Plato* and *Chryſippus*, with their Followers the *Academics* and the *Stoics*, who knew not what a conſummat and moſt adorned *Pandora* was beſtow'd upon *Adam* to be the Nurſe and Guide of his arbitrary happineſs and perſeverance, I mean his native innocence and perfection, which might have kept him from being our true *Epimetheus*; and though they taught of Vertue and Vice to be both the gift of *divine Deſtiny*, they could yet give reaſons not invalid, to juſtifie the Councils of God and Fate from the inſulſity of mortal tongues: That Mans own will ſelf-corrupted, is the adequat and ſufficient cauſe of his Diſobedience *beſides Fate*; as *Homer* alſo wanted not to expreſs, both in his *Iliad* and *Odiſſei.* And *Manilius* the Poet, although in his fourth Book he tells of ſome *created both to Sin and Puniſhment*; yet without murmuring, and with an induſtrious cheerfulneſs acquits the *Deity.* They were not ignorant in their Heathen lore, that it is moſt God-like to puniſh thoſe who of his Creatures became his enemies with the greateſt puniſhment; and they could attain alſo to think that the greateſt, when God himſelf throws a man fartheſt from him; which then he held they did, when he blinded, hardn'd, and ſtirr'd up his Offenders to finiſh and pile up their deſperate work ſince they had undertak'n it. To baniſh for ever unto a local Hell, whether in the Air or in the Center, or in that uttermoſt and bottomleſs gulph of *Chaos*, deeper from holy Bliſs than the World's Diameter multipli'd; they thought not a puniſhing ſo proper and proportionate for God to inflict, as to puniſh Sin with Sin. Thus were the common ſort of Gentiles wont to think, without any wry thoughts caſt upon divine Governance. And therefore *Cicero*, not in his *Tuſculan* or *Companian* retirements among the learned Wits of that Age, but ev'n in the *Senat* to a mixt Auditory ( though he were ſparing otherwiſe to broach his Philoſophy among Statiſts and Lawyers ) yet as to this point both in his Oration againſt *Piſo*, and in that which is about the Anſwers of the Sooth-ſayers againſt *Clodius*, he declares it publickly as no paradox to common Ears, That God cannot puniſh man more, nor make him more miſerable, than ſtill by making him more ſinful. Thus we ſee how in this Controverſy the Juſtice of God ſtood upright ev'n among Heathen Diſputers. But if any one be truly, and not pretendedly zealous for Gods honour, here I call him forth before Men and Angels, to uſe his beſt and moſt adviſed ſkill, leſt God more unavoidably than ever yet, and in the guiltieſt manner, be made the Author of Sin: if he ſhall not only deliver over and incite his enemies by rebuke to ſin as a puniſhment, but ſhall by patent under his own broad-ſeal allow his friend whom he would ſanctifie and ſave, whom he would unite to himſelf and not disjoin, whom he would correct by wholſome chaſtning, and not puniſh as he doth the damned by lewd ſinning, if he ſhall allow theſe in his Law the perfect rule of his own pureſt Will, and our moſt edify'd Conſcience, the perpetrating of an odious and manifold Sin without the leaſt conteſting. 'Tis wonder'd how there can be in God a ſecret and reveal'd Will; and yet what wonder, if there be in man two anſwerable Cauſes. But here there muſt be two revealed Wills grappling in a fraternal war with one another without any reaſonable cauſe apprehended. This cannot be leſs than to ingraft Sin into the ſubſtance of the Law, which Law is to provoke Sin by croſſing and forbidding, not by complying with it. Nay this is, which I tremble in uttering, to incarnate Sin into the unpuniſhing and well-pleas'd Will of God. To avoid theſe dreadful conſequences that tread upon the heels of thoſe allowances to Sin, will be a task of far more difficulty than to appeaſe thoſe minds which perhaps out of a vigilant and wary Conſcience except againſt Predeſtination. Thus finally we may conclude, that a Law wholly giving licence cannot upon any good conſideration be given to a holy people for hardneſs of heart in the vulgar ſenſe.

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## CHAP. IV.

*That if Divorce be no Command, no more is Marriage. That Divorce could be no Diſpenſation if it were lawful. The Solution of* Rivetus, *That God diſpenc'd by ſome unknown way, ought not to ſatisfie a Chriſtian mind.*

OThers think to evade the matter by not granting any Law of Divorce, but only a Diſpenſation, which is contrary to the words of Chriſt, who himſelf calls it a *Law*, Mark. 10. 5. or if we ſpeak of a command in the ſtricteſt Definition, then Marriage it ſelf is no more a Command then Divorce, but only a free Permiſſion to him who cannot contain. But as to diſpenſation I affirm, the ſame as before of the Law, that it can never be given to the allowance of Sin, God cannot give it neither in reſpect of himſelf, nor in reſpect of man: not in reſpect of himſelf, being a moſt pure Eſſence, the juſt avenger of ſin; neither can he make that ceaſe to be a Sin, which is in it ſelf unjuſt and impure, as all Divorces they ſay were which were not for Adultery. Not in reſpect of Man, for then it muſt be either to his good or to his evil. Not to his good; for how can that be imagined any good to a Sinner whom nothing but rebuke and due correction can ſave, to hear the determinate Oracle of Divine Law louder then any reproof diſpenſing and providing for the impunity and convenience of Sin; to make that doubtful, or rather lawful, which the end of the Law was to make moſt evidently hateful? Nor to the evil of man can a Diſpence be given; for if *the Law were ordain'd unto life*, Rom. 7. 10. how can the ſame God publiſh Diſpences againſt that Law, which muſt needs be unto death? Abſurd and monſtrous would that Diſpence be, if any Judge or Law ſhould give it a man to cut his own throat, or to damn himſelf. Diſpence therefore preſuppoſes full Pardon, or elſe it is not a Diſpence but a moſt baneful and bloudy ſnare. And why ſhould God enter Covenant with a People to be holy, as *the Command is holy, and juſt, and good*, Rom. 7. 12. and yet ſuffer an impure and treacherous Diſpence to miſlead and betray them under the vizard of Law to a legitimate practiſe of uncleanneſs? God is no Covenant-breaker; he cannot do this.

*Rivetus*, a diligent and learned Writer, having well weighed what hath been written by thoſe Founders of Diſpence, and finding the ſmall Agreement among them, would fain work himſelf aloof theſe Rocks and Quickſands, and thinks it beſt to conclude that God certainly did diſpence, but by ſome way to us unknown, and ſo to leave it. But to this I oppoſe, that a Chriſtian by no means ought reſt himſelf in ſuch an ignorance; whereby ſo many Abſurdities will ſtrait reflect both againſt the Purity, Juſtice, and Wiſdom of God, the end alſo both of Law and Goſpel, and the compariſon of them both together. God indeed in ſome ways of his Providence is high and ſecret, paſt finding out: but in the delivery and execution of his Law, eſpecially in the managing of a duty ſo daily and ſo familiar as this is whereof we reaſon, hath plainly enough revealed himſelf, and requires the obſervance thereof not otherwiſe, then to the Law of nature and of equity imprinted in us ſeems correſpondent. And he hath taught us to love and to extol his Laws, not only as they are his, but as they are juſt and good to every wiſe and ſober underſtanding. Therefore *Abraham*, even to the face of God himſelf, ſeemed to doubt of divine Juſtice, if it ſhould ſwerve from that irradiation wherewith it had enlightned the mind of man, and bound it ſelf to obſerve its own rule. *Wilt thou deſtroy the righteous with the wicked? that be far from thee; ſhall not the Judge of the earth do right?* thereby declaring that God hath created a righteouſneſs in right it ſelf, againſt which he cannot do. So *David*, *Pſ.* 119. *The teſtimonies which thou haſt commanded are righteous and very faithful; thy word is very pure, therefore thy ſervant loveth it.* Not only then for the Authors ſake, but for its own purity. *He is faithful*, ſaith S. *Paul*, *he cannot deny himſelf*; that is, cannot deny his own Promiſes, cannot but be true to his own Rules. He often pleads with men the uprightneſs of his ways by their own Principles. How ſhould we imitate him elſe, to *be perfect as he is perfect?* If at pleaſure he can diſpence with golden Poetick Ages of ſuch pleaſing licence, as in the fabled Reign of old *Saturn*, and this perhaps before the Law might have ſome covert, but under ſuch an undiſpencing Covenant as *Moſes* made with them, and not to tell us why and wherefore, indulgence cannot give quiet to the breaſt of any intelligent man. We muſt be reſolved how the Law can be pure and perſpicuous, and yet throw a polluted ſkirt over theſe *Eleuſinian* Myſteries, that no man can utter what they mean: worſe in this then the worſt Obſcenities of Heathen Superſtition; for their filthineſs was hid, but the myſtick reaſon thereof known to their Sages. But this Jewiſh imputed filthineſs was daily and open, but the reaſon of it is not known to our Divines. We know of no deſign the Goſpel can have to impoſe new Righteouſneſs upon works, but to remit the old by faith without works, if we mean juſtifying works: We know no myſtery our Saviour could have to lay new Bonds upon Marriage in the Covenant of Grace which himſelf had looſned to the ſeverity of Law. So that *Rivetus* may pardon us if we cannot be contented with his non-ſolution, to remain in ſuch a peck of uncertainties and doubts, ſo dangerous and gaſtly to the fundamentals of our faith.

## CHAP. V.

### *VVhat a Diſpenſation is.*

THerefore to get ſome better ſatisfaction, we muſt proceed to inquire as diligently as we can what a Diſpenſation is, which I find to be either properly ſo call'd, or improperly. Improperly ſo call'd, is rather a particular and exceptive Law, abſolving and diſobliging from a more general Command for ſome juſt and reaſonable cauſe. As *Numb.* 9. they who were unclean, or in a journey, had leave to keep the Paſſeover in the ſecond Month, but otherwiſe ever in the firſt. As for that in *Leviticus* of marrying the brothers wife, it was a penal ſtatute rather than a diſpence; and commands nothing injurious or in it ſelf unclean, only prefers a ſpecial reaſon of Charity before an inſtitutive Decency, and perhaps is meant for life-time onely, as is expreſt beneath in the prohibition of taking two ſiſters. What other Edict of *Moſes*, carrying but the ſemblance of a Law in any other kind, may bear the name of a Diſpence, I have not readily to inſtance. But a Diſpenſation moſt properly is ſome particular accident rarely hapning, and therefore not ſpecified in the Law, but left to the deciſion of Charity, even under the bondage of Jewiſh Rites, much more under the liberty of the Goſpel.

Thus did *David enter into the houſe of God, and did eat the Shewbread, he and his followers, which was* ceremonially *unlawful.* Of ſuch diſpences as theſe it was that *Verdune* the *French* Divine ſo gravely diſputed in the Council of *Trent* againſt Friar *Adrian*, who held that the Pope might diſpenſe with any thing. *It is a fond perſuaſion,* ſaith *Verdune, that diſpenſing is a favour; nay it is as good diſtributive juſtice as what is moſt, and the Prieſt ſins if he gives it not, for it is nothing elſe but a right interpretation of Law.* Thus far that I can learn touching this matter wholſomly decreed. But that God, who is the giver of every good and perfect gift, *Jam.* 1. ſhould give out a rule and directory to ſin by, ſhould enact a Diſpenſation as long liv'd as a Law, whereby to live in privileg'd Adultery for hardneſs of heart; and this obdurate diſeaſe cannot be conceived how it was the more amended by this unclean remedy, is the moſt deadly and Scorpion-like gift that the enemy of mankind could have given to any miſerable ſinner, and is rather ſuch a Diſpence as that was which the Serpent gave to our firſt parents. God gave Quails in his wrath, and Kings in his wrath, yet neither of theſe things evil in themſelves; but that he whoſe eyes cannot behold impurity, ſhould in the book of his holy Covenant, his moſt unpaſſionate Law, give licence and ſtatute for uncontrolled Adultery, although it go for the receiv'd Opinion, I ſhall ever diſſuade my ſoul from ſuch a Creed, ſuch an Indulgence as the ſhop of Antichriſt never forg'd a baſer.

## CHAP. VI.

### *That the Jew had no more right to this ſuppoſed Diſpence than the Chriſtian hath, and rather not ſo much.*

BUT if we muſt needs diſpence, let us for awhile ſo far diſpence with Truth, as to grant that ſin may be diſpenc'd; yet there will be copious reaſon found to prove that the Jew had no more right to ſuch a ſuppos'd Indulgence than the Chriſtian, whether we look at the clear knowledge wherein he liv'd, or the ſtrict performance of works whereto he was bound. Beſides Viſions and Propheſies, they had the Law of God, which in the *Pſalms* and *Proverbs* is chiefly prais'd for ſureneſs and certainty, both eaſie and perfect to the enlightning of the ſimple. How could it be ſo obſcure then, or they ſo ſottiſhly blind in this plain, moral, and houſhold duty? They had the ſame Precepts about Marriage; Chriſt added nothing to their clearneſs, for that had argued them imperfect; he opens not the Law, but removes the Phariſaick miſts rais'd between the Law and the peoples eyes: the only ſentence which he adds, *What God hath joyn'd let no man put aſunder*, is as obſcure as any clauſe fetch'd out of *Geneſis*, and hath encreas'd a yet undecided Controverſie of *clandeſtine* Marriages. If we examine over all his Sayings, we ſhall find him not ſo much interpreting the Law with his words, as referring his own words to be interpreted by the Law, and oftner obſcures his mind in ſhort, and vehement, and compact ſentences, to blind and puzzle them the more who would not underſtand the Law. The Jews therefore were as little to be diſpenc'd with for lack of moral knowledge as we.

Next, none I think will deny, but that they were as much bound to perform the Law as any Chriſtian. That ſevere and rigorous knife not ſparing the tender foreskin of any male infant, to carve into his fleſh the mark of that ſtrict and pure Covenant whereinto he entered, might give us to underſtand enough againſt the fancy of diſpenſing. S. *Paul* teſtifies, that every *circumcis'd Man is a debtor to the whole Law*, *Gal.* 5. or elſe *circumciſion is in vain*, *Ro.* 2. 25. How vain then, and how prepoſterous muſt it needs be to exact a circumciſion of the fleſh from an infant unto an outward ſign of purity, and to diſpence an uncircumciſion in the ſoul of a grown man to an inward and real impurity? How vain again was that Law to impoſe tedious expiations for every ſlight ſin of ignorance and error, and to privilege without penance or diſturbance an odious crime whether of ignorance or obſtinacy? How unjuſt alſo inflicting death and extirpation for the mark of circumſtantial pureneſs omitted, and proclaiming all honeſt and liberal indemnity to the act of a ſubſtantial impureneſs committed, making void the Covenant that was made againſt it? Thus if we conſider the tenor of the Law, to be circumcis'd and to perform all, not pardoning ſo much as the ſcapes of error and ignorance, and compare this with the condition of the Goſpel,

pel, ***Believe and be baptized***, I ſuppoſe it cannot be long ere we grant that the Jew was bound as ſtrictly to the performance of every duty as was poſſible, and therefore could not be diſpenc'd with more than the Chriſtian, perhaps not ſo much.

## CHAP. VII.

### *That the Goſpel is apter to diſpence than the Law:* **Paræus** *anſwered.*

IF then the Law will afford no reaſon why the Jew ſhould be more gently dealt with than the Chriſtian, then ſurely the Goſpel can afford as little why the Chriſtian ſhould be leſs gently dealt with than the Jew. The Goſpel indeed exhorts to higheſt perfection, but bears with weakeſt infirmity more than the Law. Hence thoſe indulgences, ***All cannot receive this ſaying***, ***Every man hath his proper gift***, with expreſs charges not to ***lay on yokes which our forefathers could not bear***. The nature of Man ſtill is as weak, and yet as hard, and that weakneſs and hardneſs as unfit and as unteachable to be harſhly uſed as ever. I but, ſaith ***Paraus***, there is a greater portion of ſpirit poured upon the Goſpel, which requires from us perfecter obedience. I anſwer, This does not prove that the Law therefore might give allowance to ſin more then the Goſpel; and if it were no ſin, we know it the work of the Spirit to ***mortifie our corupt deſires and evil concupiſcence***; but not to root up our natural affections and diſaffections, moving to and fro even in wiſeſt men upon juſt and neceſſary reaſon, which were the true ground of that ***Moſaick*** Diſpence, and is the utmoſt extent of our pleading. What is more or leſs perfect we diſpute not, but what is ſin or no ſin. And in that I ſtill affirm the Law required as perfect obedience as the Goſpel. Beſides, that the prime end of the Goſpel is not ſo much to exact our obedience as to reveal Grace, and the ſatisfaction of our diſobedience. What is now exacted from us, it is the accuſing Law that does it, even yet under the Goſpel, but cannot be more extreme to us now than to the ***Jews*** of old; for the Law ever was of Works, and the Goſpel ever was of Grace.

Either then the Law by harmleſs and needful Diſpences, which the Goſpel is now made to deny, muſt have anticipated and exceeded the Grace of the Goſpel, or elſe muſt be found to have given politick and ſuperficial Graces without real pardon, ſaying in general, Do this and live, and yet deceiving and damning under-hand with unſound and hollow permiſſions, which is utterly abhorring from the end of all Law, as hath been ſhewed. But if thoſe Indulgences were ſafe and ſinleſs, out of tenderneſs and compaſſion, as indeed they were, and yet ſhall be abrogated by the Goſpel, then the Law, whoſe end is by rigor to magnifie Grace, ſhall it ſelf give Grace, and pluck a fair plume from the Goſpel, inſtead of haſtning us thither, alluring us from it. And whereas the terror of the Law was as a ſervant to amplifie and illuſtrate the mildneſs of Grace: now the unmildneſs of Evangelick Grace ſhall turn ſervant to declare the Grace and Mildneſs of the rigorous Law. The Law was harſh to extol the Grace of the Goſpel, and now the Goſpel by a new affected ſtrictneſs of her own ſhall extenuate the Grace which her ſelf offers. For by exacting a duty which the Law diſpens'd, if we perform it, then is Grace diminiſh'd, by how much performance advances, unleſs the Apoſtle argue wrong: if we perform it not, and periſh for not performing, then are the conditions of Grace harder than thoſe of Rigor. If through Faith and Repentance we periſh not, yet Grace ſtill remains the leſs, by requiring that which Rigor did not require, or at leaſt not ſo ſtrictly. Thus much therefore to ***Paraus***, that if the Goſpel require perfecter Obedience than the Law as a Duty, it exalts the Law and debaſes it ſelf, which is diſhonourable to the work of our Redemption. Seeing therefore that all the cauſes of any allowance that the ***Jews*** might have, remain as well to the ***Chriſtians***; this is a certain rule, that ſo long as the cauſes remain, the allowance ought. And having thus at length inquired the truth concerning Law and Diſpence, their ends, their uſes, their limits, and in what manner both ***Jew*** and ***Chriſtian*** ſtand liable to the one, or capable of the other, we may ſafely conclude, that to affirm the giving of any Law or Lawlike Diſpence to ſin for hardneſs of heart, is a doctrine of that extravagance from the ſage principles of Piety, that whoſo conſiders throughly, cannot but admire how this hath been digeſted all this while.

# CHAP. VIII.

## *The true ſenſe how* Moſes *ſuffered Divorce for hardneſs of heart.*

WHat may we do then to ſalve this ſeeming inconſiſtence? I muſt not diſſemble that I am confident it can be done no other way than this:

*Moſes*, *Deut.* 24. 1. eſtabliſht a grave and prudent Law, full of moral equity, full of due conſideration towards Nature, that cannot be reſiſted, a Law conſenting with the Laws of wiſeſt Men and civileſt Nations; That when a Man hath married a Wiſe, if it come to paſs he cannot love her by reaſon of ſome diſpleaſing natural quality or unfitneſs in her, let him write her a Bill of Divorce. The intent of which Law undoubtedly was this, that if any good and peaceable Man ſhould diſcover ſome helpleſs diſagreement or diſlike either of mind or body, whereby he could not cheerfully perform the duty of a Husband without the perpetual diſſembling of offence and diſturbance to his ſpirit; rather than to live uncomfortably and unhappily both to himſelf and to his Wife, rather than to continue undertaking a duty which he could not poſſibly diſcharge, he might diſmiſs her whom he could not tolerably and ſo not conſcionably retain. And this Law the Spirit of God by the mouth of *Solomon*, *Prov.* 30. 21, 23. teſtifies to be a good and a neceſſary Law, by granting it that *A hated Woman* (for ſo the *Hebrew* word ſignifies, rather than *odious*, though it come all to one) that *A hated Woman, when ſhe is married, is a thing that the Earth cannot bear.* What follows then but that the charitable Law muſt remedy what Nature cannot undergo? Now that many licentious and hard-hearted Men took hold of this Law to cloke their bad purpoſes, is nothing ſtrange to believe. And theſe were they, not for whom *Moſes* made the Law, God forbid, but whoſe hardneſs of heart taking ill advantage by this Law, he held it better to ſuffer as by accident, where it could not be detected, rather then good men ſhould loſe their juſt and lawful privilege of remedy: Chriſt therefore having to anſwer theſe tempting Phariſes, according as his cuſtom was, not meaning to inform their proud ignorance what *Moſes* did in the true intent of the Law, which they had ill cited, ſuppreſſing the true cauſe for which *Moſes* gave it, and extending it to every ſlight matter, tells them their own, what *Moſes* was forc'd to ſuffer by their abuſe of his Law. Which is yet more plain if we mark that our Saviour in *Matth.* 5. cites not the Law of *Moſes*, but the Phariſaical tradition falſly grounded upon that Law. And in thoſe other places, Chap. 19. and *Mark* 10. the Phariſes cite the Law, but conceal the wiſe and humane reaſon there expreſt; which our Saviour corrects not in them, whoſe pride deſerv'd not his inſtruction, only returns them what is proper to them; *Moſes for the hardneſs of your heart ſuffer'd you*, that is ſuch as you, *to put away your wives*; and *to you he wrote this precept* for that cauſe, which (*to you*) muſt be read with an impreſſion, and underſtood limitedly of ſuch as cover'd ill purpoſes under that Law: and it was ſeaſonable that they ſhould hear their own unbounded licence rebuk'd, but not ſeaſonable for them to hear a good man's requiſite liberty explain'd. But us he hath taught better, if we have ears to hear. He himſelf acknowledg'd it to be a Law, *Mark* 10. and being a Law of God, it muſt have an undoubted *end of charity, which may be us'd with a pure heart, a good conſcience, and faith unfeigned*, as was heard: it cannot allow ſin, but is purpoſely to reſiſt ſin, as by the ſame chap. to *Timothy* appears. There we learn alſo *that the Law is good, if a man uſe it lawfully.* Out of doubt then there muſt be a certain good in this Law which *Moſes* willingly allow'd, and there might be an unlawful uſe made thereof by hypocrites; and that was it which *Moſes* unwillingly ſuffer'd, foreſeeing it in general, but not able to diſcern it in particulars. Chriſt therefore mentions not here what *Moſes* and the Law intended, for good Men might know that by many other rules: and the ſcornful Phariſes were not fit to be told, until they could imploy that knowledge they had leſs abuſively. Only he acquaints them with what *Moſes* by them was put to ſuffer.

# CHAP. IX.

## *The words of the Inſtitution how to be underſtood; and of our Saviour's Anſwer to his Diſciples.*

AND to entertain a little their overweening arrogance as beſt befitted, and to amaze them yet further, becauſe they thought it no hard matter to fulfil the Law, he draws them up to that unſeparable inſtitution which God ordain'd in the beginning before the fall, when Man and Woman were both perfect, and could have no cauſe to ſeparate: juſt as in the ſame Chap. he ſtands not to contend with the arrogant young Man who boaſted his obſervance of the whole Law, whether indeed he had kept it or not, but ſkrues him up higher to a task of that perfection, which no man is bound to imitate. And in like manner that patern of the firſt inſtitution he ſet before the opinionative Phariſees, to dazle them, and not to bind us. For this is a ſolid rule, that every command given with reaſon, binds our obedience no otherwiſe then that reaſon holds. Of this ſort was that command in *Eden*; *Therefore ſhall a Man cleave to his Wife, and they ſhall be one fleſh:* which we ſee is no abſolute command, but with an inference, *Therefore*: the reaſon then muſt be firſt conſider'd, that our obedience be not miſobedience. The firſt is, for it is not ſingle, becauſe the Wife is to the Husband *fleſh of his fleſh*, as in the verſe going before. But this reaſon cannot be ſufficient of it ſelf; for why then ſhould he for his Wife leave his Father and Mother, with whom he is far *more fleſh of fleſh, and bone of bone*, as being made of their ſubſtance? And beſides, it can be but a ſorry and ignoble ſociety of life, whoſe inſeparable injunction depends meerly upon fleſh and bones. Therefore we muſt look higher, ſince Chriſt himſelf recalls us to the beginning, and we ſhall find that the primitive reaſon of never divorcing, was that ſacred and not vain promiſe of God to remedy man's Lonelineſs by *making him a meet help for him*, though not now in perfection, as at firſt; yet ſtill in proportion as things now are. And this is repeated verſ. 20. when all other creatures were fitly aſſociated and brought to *Adam*, as if the divine power had bin in ſome care and deep thought, becauſe *there was not yet found a help meet for Man.* And can we ſo ſlightly depreſs the all-wiſe purpoſe of a deliberating God, as if his conſultation had produc'd no other good for Man but to joyn him with an accidental companion of propagation, which his ſudden word had already made for every beaſt? nay a far leſs good to Man it will be found, if ſhe muſt at all adventures be faſtned upon him individually. And therefore even plain ſenſe and equity, and, which is above them both, the all interpreting voice of Charity her ſelf cries loud that this primitive reaſon, this conſulted promiſe of God *to make meet help*, is the only cauſe that gives authority to this command of not divorcing, to be a command. And it might be further added, that if the true definition of a Wife were ask'd in good earneſt, this clauſe being *a meet help* would ſhew it ſelf ſo neceſſary, and ſo eſſential in that demonſtrative argument, that it might be logically concluded: therefore ſhe who naturally and perpetually is no meet help, can be no Wife; which clearly takes away the difficulty of diſmiſſing ſuch a one. If this be not thought enough, I anſwer yet further, that Marriage, unleſs it mean a fit and tolerable Marriage, is not inſeparable neither by nature nor inſtitution. Not by nature, for then thoſe *Moſaick* Divorces had been againſt nature, if ſeparable and inſeparable be contraries, as who doubts they be? and what is againſt nature is againſt Law, if ſoundeſt Philoſophy abuſe us not: by this reckoning *Moſes* ſhould be moſt *unmoſaick*, that is moſt illegal, not to ſay moſt unnatural. Nor is it inſeparable by the firſt inſtitution: for then no ſecond inſtitution in the ſame Law for ſo many cauſes could diſſolve it; it being moſt unworthy a humane (as *Plato*'s judgment is in the fourth book of his Laws) much more a divine Lawgiver, to write two ſeveral Decrees upon the ſame thing. But what would *Plato* have deemed if the one of theſe were good, the other evil to be done? Laſtly, ſuppoſe it be inſeparable by inſtitution, yet in competition with higher things, as Religion and Charity in maineſt manners, and when the chief end is fruſtrate for which it was ordained, as hath been ſhewn, if ſtill it muſt remain inſeparable, it holds a ſtrange and lawleſs propriety from all other works of God under Heaven. From theſe many conſiderations we may ſafely gather, that ſo much of the firſt inſtitution as our Saviour mentions, for he mentions not all, was but to quell and put to *nonplus* the tempting Phariſees, and to lay open their ignorance and ſhallow underſtanding of the Scriptures. For, ſaith he, *Have ye not read that he which made them at the beginning, made them male and female, and ſaid, for this cauſe ſhall a man cleave to his Wife?* which theſe blind uſurpers of *Moſes* Chair could not gainſay: as if this ſingle reſpect of male and female were ſufficient againſt a thouſand inconveniences and miſchiefs, to clog a rational creature to his endleſs ſorrow unrelinquiſhably, under the guileful ſuperſcription of his intended ſolace and comfort. What if they had thus anſwer'd? Maſter, if thou mean to make Wedlock as inſeparable as it was from the beginning, let it be made alſo a fit ſociety, as God meant it, which we ſhall ſoon underſtand it ought to be, if thou recite the whole reaſon of the Law. Doubtleſs our Saviour had applauded their juſt anſwer. For then they had expounded his command of Paradiſe, even as *Moſes* himſelf expounds it by his Laws of Divorce, that is, with due and wiſe regard had to the Premiſes and Reaſons of the firſt command; according to which, without unclean and temporizing permiſſions, he inſtructs us in this imperfect ſtate what we may lawfully do about Divorce.

But if it be thought that the Diſciples, offended at the rigor of Chriſt's anſwer, could yet obtain no mitigation of the former ſentence pronounc'd to the Phariſees, it may be fully anſwered, that our Saviour continues the ſame reply to his Diſciples, as men leavened with the ſame cuſtomary licence which the Phariſees maintained, and diſpleaſed at the removing of a traditional abuſe, whereto they had ſo long not unwillingly been uſed: it was no time then to contend with their ſlow and prejudicial belief, in a thing wherein an ordinary meaſure of light in Scripture, with ſome attention, might afterwards inform them well enough. And yet ere Chriſt had finiſhed this argument, they might have pick'd out of his own concluding words an anſwer more to their minds, and in effect the ſame with that which hath been all this while intreating audience: *All men,* ſaid he, *cannot receive this ſaying, ſave they to whom it is given; he that is able to receive it, let him receive it.* What ſaying is this which is left to a man's choice to receive, or not receive? what but the married life? Was our Saviour ſo mild and ſo favourable to the weakneſs of a ſingle Man, and is he turn'd on the ſudden ſo rigorous and inexorable to the diſtreſſes and extremities of an ill-wedded Man? Did he ſo graciouſly give leave to change the better ſingle life for the worſe married life? Did he open ſo to us this hazardous and accidental door of Marriage to ſhut upon us like the gate of death, without retracting or returning, without permitting to change the worſt, moſt inſupportable, moſt unchriſtian miſchance of Marriage, for all the miſchiefs and ſorrows that can enſue, being an Ordinance which was eſpecially given as a Cordial and exhilarating Cup of ſolace, the better to bear our other croſſes and afflictions? Queſtionleſs this were a hard-heartedneſs of undivorcing, worſe than that in the Jews, which they ſay extorted the allowance from *Moſes*, and is utterly diſſonant from all the Doctrine of our Saviour. After theſe conſiderations therefore, to take a Law out of Paradiſe given in time of original perfection, and to take it barely without thoſe juſt and equal inferences and reaſons which mainly eſtabliſh it, nor ſo much as admitting thoſe needful and ſafe allowances wherewith *Moſes* himſelf interprets it to the faln condition of Man, argues nothing in us but raſhneſs and contempt of thoſe means that God left us in his pure and chaſt Law, without which it will not be poſſible for us to perform the ſtrict impoſition of this command: or if we ſtrive beyond our ſtrength, we ſhall ſtrive to obey it otherwiſe than God commands it. And lamented Experience daily teaches the bitter and vain fruits of this our preſumption, forcing Men in a thing wherein we are not able to judg either of their ſtrength or of their ſufferance. Whom neither one vice or other by natural addiction, but only Marriage ruins, which doubtleſs is not the fault of that Ordinance, for God gave it as a bleſſing, not always of man's miſchuſing; it being an error above wiſdom to prevent, as examples of wiſeſt men ſo miſtaken manifeſt: it is the fault therefore of a perverſe Opinion that will have it continued in deſpight of Nature and Reaſon, when indeed it was never ſo truly joyn'd. All thoſe Expoſitors upon the fifth of *Matthew* confeſs the Law of *Moſes* to be the Law of the Lord, wherein no addition or diminution hath place; yet coming to the point of Divorce, as if they fear'd not to be call'd leaſt in the Kingdom of Heaven, any ſlight evaſion will content them to reconcile thoſe contradictions which they make between Chriſt and *Moſes*, between Chriſt and Chriſt.

CHAP.

# CHAP X.

## *The vain ſhift of thoſe who make the Law of Divorce to be only the Premiſes of a ſucceeding Law.*

SOme will have it no Law, but the granted premiſes of another Law following, contrary to the words of Chriſt, *Mark* 10. 5. and all other Tranſlations of graveſt Authority, who render it in form of a Law; agreeable to *Mal.* 2. 16. as it is moſt ancient and modernly expounded. Beſides, the bill of Divorce, and the particular occaſion therein mention'd, declares it to be orderly and legal. And what avails this to make the matter more righteous, if ſuch an adulterous condition ſhall be mention'd to build a Law upon, without either Puniſhment or ſo much as forbidding? they pretend it is implicitly reprov'd in theſe words, *Deut.* 24. 4. *after ſhe is defiled*; but who ſees not that this defilement is only in reſpect of returning to her former Huſband after an intermixt Marriage? elſe why was not the defiling condition firſt forbidden, which would have ſaved the labour of this after Law? nor is it ſeemly or piouſly attributed to the Juſtice of God and his known hatred of Sin, that ſuch a heinous fault as this through all the Law ſhould be only whipp'd with an implicite and oblique touch, (which yet is falſly ſuppos'd) and that his peculiar People ſhould be let wallow in adulterous Marriages almoſt two thouſand years, for want of a direct Law to prohibit them: 'tis rather to be confidently aſſumed that this was granted to apparent neceſſities, as being of unqueſtionable right and reaſon in the Law of Nature, in that it ſtill paſſes without inhibition, even when greateſt cauſe is given to us to expect it ſhould be directly forbidden.

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# CHAP. XI.

## *The other ſhift of ſaying Divorce was permitted by Law, but not approv'd. More of the Inſtitution.*

BUT it was not approv'd. So much the worſe that it was allow'd; as if Sin had overmaſter'd the Word of God, to conform her ſteddy and ſtrait rule to Sins crookedneſs, which is impoſſible. Beſides, what needed a poſitive grant of that which was not approv'd? it reſtrain'd no liberty to him that could but uſe a little fraud, it had been better ſilenc'd unleſs it were approved in ſome caſe or other. But ſtill it was not approv'd. Miſerable Excuſers! He who doth evil that good may come thereby, approves not what he doth; and yet the grand Rule forbids him, and counts *his damnation* juſt if he do it. The Sorcereſs *Medea* did not approve her own evil doings, yet look'd not to be excus'd for that: and it is the conſtant Opinion of *Plato's Protagoras*, and other of his Dialogues agreeing with that Proverbial Sentence among the *Greeks*, that *No man is wicked willingly*. Which alſo the *Peripateticks* do rather diſtinguiſh then deny. What great thank then if any man, reputed wiſe and conſtant, will neither do, nor permit others under his charge to do that which he approves not, eſpecially in matter of Sin? But for a Judge, but for a Magiſtrate and Shepherd of his People, to ſurrender up his approbation againſt Law and his own Judgment, to the obſtinacy of his heart, what more un-Judge-like, more un-Magiſtrate-like, and in War more un-Commander-like? Twice in a ſhort time it was the undoing of the *Roman* State, firſt when *Pompey*, next when *Marcus Brutus*, had not magnanimity enough but to make ſo poor a reſignation of what they approv'd, to what the boiſterous Tribunes and Souldiers bawl'd for. Twice it was the ſaving of two the greateſt Common-wealths in the World, of *Athens* by *Themiſtocles* at the Sea fight of *Salamis*; of *Rome* by *Fabius Maximus* in the *Punick* War, for that theſe two matchleſs Generals had the fortitude at home againſt the raſhneſs and the clamours of their own Captains and Confederates, to withſtand the doing, or permitting of what they could not approve in their duty of their great command. Thus far of civil prudence. But when we ſpeak of Sin, let us look again upon the old reverend *Eli*; who in his heavy Puniſhment found no difference between the doing and permitting of what he did not approve. If hardneſs of heart in the people may be an excuſe, why then is *Pilat* branded through all memory? He approv'd not what he did, he openly proteſted, he waſh'd his hands, and laboured not a little ere he would yield to the hard hearts of a whole People, both Princes and Plebeans, importuning and tumulting even to the fear of a revolt. Yet is there any will undertake his cauſe? If therefore *Pilat* for ſuffering but one act of cruelty againſt Law, though with much unwillingneſs teſtify'd, at the violent demand of a whole Nation, ſhall ſtand ſo black upon record to all poſterity? Alas for *Moſes!* what ſhall we ſay for him while we are taught to believe he ſuffer'd not one act onely both of cruelty and uncleanneſs in one Divorce, but made it a plain and laſting Law againſt Law, whereby ten thouſand acts, accounted both cruel and unclean, might be daily committed, and this without the leaſt ſuit or petition of the People that we can read of.

And can we conceive without vile thoughts, that the Majeſty and Holineſs of God could endure ſo many Ages to gratifie a ſtubborn people in the practice of a foul polluting Sin? and could he expect they ſhould abſtain, he not ſignifying his mind in a plain command, at ſuch time eſpecially when he was framing their Laws and them to all poſſible perfection? But they were to look back to the firſt inſtitution; nay rather why was not that individual inſtitution brought out of Paradiſe, as was that of the Sabbath, and repeated in the Body of the Law, that men might have underſtood it to be a command? for that any ſentence that bears the reſemblance of a precept, ſet there ſo out of place in another World, at ſuch a diſtance from the whole Law, and not once mention'd there, ſhould be an obliging command to us, is very diſputable, and perhaps it might be deny'd to be a command without further diſpute: however, it commands not abſolutely, as hath bin clear'd, but only with reference to that precedent promiſe of God, which is the very ground of his inſtitution; if that appear not in ſome tolerable ſort, how can we affirm ſuch a matrimony to be the ſame which God inſtituted? In ſuch an accident it will beſt behoove our ſoberneſs to follow rather what moral *Sinai* preſcribes equal to our ſtrength, then fondly to think within our ſtrength all that loſt Paradiſe relates.

## CHAP. XII.

### *The third ſhift of them who eſteem it a meer Judicial Law. Prov'd again to be a Law of moral equity.*

ANother while it ſhall ſuffice them, that it was not a moral but a judicial Law, and ſo was abrogated: nay rather not abrogated becauſe judicial; which Law the Miniſtry of Chriſt came not to deal with. And who put it in mans power to exempt, where Chriſt ſpeaks in general of not abrogating *the leaſt jot or tittle*, and in ſpecial not that of Divorce, becauſe it follows among thoſe Laws which he premis'd expreſly not to abrogate, but to vindicate from abuſive Traditions? which is moſt evidently to be ſeen in the *16th* of *Luke*, where this caution of not abrogating is inſerted immediately, and not otherwiſe then purpoſely, when no other point of Law is touch'd but that of Divorce. And if we mark the *31ſt* verſe of *Mat.* 5. he there cites not the Law of *Moſes*, but the licentious Gloſs which traduc'd the Law; that therefore which he cited, that he abrogated, and not only abrogated but diſallowed and flatly condemned, which could not be the Law of *Moſes*, for that had been foully to the rebuke of his great Servant. To abrogate a Law made with Gods allowance, had been to tell us only that ſuch a Law was now to ceaſe: but to refute it with an ignominious note of civilizing Adultery, caſts the reproof, which was meant only to the Phariſees, even upon him that made the Law. But yet if that be judicial which belongs to a Civil Court, this Law is leſs judicial than nine of the ten Commandments: for Antiquaries affirm, that Divorces proceeded among the Jews without knowledge of the Magiſtrate, onely with Hands and Seals under the teſtimony of ſome Rabbi's to be then preſent. *Perkins* in *a Treatiſe of Conſcience* grants, that what in the Judicial Law is of common equity, binds alſo the Chriſtian: and how to judge of this preſcrib[illegible] two ways; If wiſe Nations have enacted the like Decree: Or if it maintain the go[illegible]f Family, Church, or Common-wealth. This therefore is a pure moral *œconomical* Law, too haſtily imputed of tolerating Sin; being rather ſo clear in nature and reaſon, that it was left to a mans own arbitrement to be determined between God and his own conſcience; not only among the Jews, but in every wiſe Nation: the reſtraint whereof, who is not too thick-ſighted, may ſee how hurtful and diſtractive it is to the Houſe, the Church, and Common-wealth. And that power which Chriſt never took from the Maſter of a Family, but rectified onely to a right and wary uſe at home; that power the undiſcerning Canoniſt hath improperly uſurpt into his Court-leet, and beſcribbl'd with a thouſand trifling impertinencies, which yet have fill'd the life of man with ſerious trouble and calamity. Yet grant it were of old a judicial Law, it need not be the leſs moral for that, being converſant as it is about Vertue or Vice. And our Saviour diſputes not here the Judicature, for that was not his Office, but the Morality of Divorce, whether it be Adultery or no; if therefore he touch the Law of *Moſes* at all, he touches the moral part thereof, which is abſurd to imagine, that the Covenant of Grace ſhould reform the exact and perfect Law of Works, eternal and immutable; or if he touch not the Law at all, then is not the Allowance thereof diſallow'd to us.

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## CHAP. XIII.

*The ridiculous Opinion that Divorce was permitted from the Cuſtom in* Ægypt. *That* Moſes *gave not this Law unwillingly.* Perkins *confeſſes this Law was not abrogated.*

OThers are ſo ridiculous as to allege that this Licenſe of divorcing was given them becauſe they were ſo accuſtom'd in *Ægypt*. As if an ill Cuſtom were to be kept to all poſterity; for the Diſpenſation is both univerſal and of time unlimited, and ſo indeed no Diſpenſation at all: for the over-dated Diſpenſation of a thing unlawful, ſerves for nothing but to increaſe hardneſs of heart, and makes men but wax more incorrigible, which were a great reproach to be ſaid of any Law or Allowance that God ſhould give us. In theſe Opinions it would be more Religion to adviſe well, leſt we make our ſelves juſter then God, by cenſuring raſhly that for Sin which his unſpotted Law without rebukes allows, and his People without being conſcious of diſpleaſing him have us'd. And if we can think ſo of *Moſes*, as that the Jewiſh obſtinacy could compel him to write ſuch impure Permiſſions againſt the Word of God and his own Judgment, doubtleſs it was his part to have proteſted publickly what ſtraits he was driven to, and to have declar'd his Conſcience when he gave any Law againſt his mind: for the Law is the Touchſtone of Sin and of Conſcience, and muſt not be intermix'd with corrupt Indulgences; for then it loſes the greateſt praiſe it has of being certain and infallible, not leading into error, as the Jews were led by this Connivence of *Moſes*, if it were a Connivence. But ſtill they fly back to the primitive Inſtitution, and would have us re-enter Paradiſe againſt the Sword that guards it. Whom I again thus reply to, that the place in *Geneſis* contains the deſcription of a fit and perfect Marriage, with an interdict of ever divorcing ſuch a Union; but where Nature is diſcover'd to have never join'd indeed, but vehemently ſeeks to part, it cannot be there conceived that God forbids it, nay he commands it both in the Law and in the Prophet *Malachy*, which is to be our rule. And *Perkins* upon this Chapter of *Matthew* deals plainly, that our Saviour here confutes not *Moſes* Law, but the falſe Gloſſes that deprav'd the Law; which being true, *Perkins* muſt needs grant, that ſomething then is left to that Law which Chriſt found no fault with; and what can that be but the conſcionable uſe of ſuch liberty, as the plain words import? So that by his own Inference, Chriſt did not abſolutely intend to reſtrain all Divorces to the only cauſe of Adultery. This therefore is the true ſcope of our Saviour's will, that he who looks upon the Law concerning Divorce, ſhould alſo look back upon the Inſtitution, that he may endeavour what is perfecteſt: and he that looks upon the Inſtitution ſhall not refuſe as ſinful and unlawful thoſe Allowances which God affords him in his following Law, leſt he make himſelf purer than his Maker, and preſuming above ſtrength, ſlip into temptations irrecoverably. For this is wonderful, that in all thoſe Decrees concerning Marriage God ſhould never once mention the prime Inſtitution to diſſuade them from divorcing, and that he ſhould forbid ſmaller Sins as oppoſite to the hardneſs of their hearts, and let this adulterous matter of Divorce paſs ever unreproved.

This is alſo to be marvelled, that ſeeing Chriſt did not condemn whatever it was that *Moſes* ſuffered, and that thereupon the Chriſtian Magiſtrate permits Uſury and open Stews, and here with us Adultery to be ſo ſlightly puniſhed, which was puniſhed by death to theſe hard-hearted *Jews*, why we ſhould ſtrain thus at the matter of Divorce, which may ſtand ſo much with Charity to permit, and make no ſcruple to allow Uſury eſteem'd to be ſo much againſt Charity. But this it is to embroyl our ſelves againſt the righteous and all-wiſe Judgments and Statutes of God; which are not variable and contrarious, as we would make them, one while permitting, and another while forbidding, but are moſt conſtant and moſt harmonious each to other. For how can the uncorrupt and majeſtick Law of God, bearing in her hand the wages of life and death, harbour ſuch a repugnance within her ſelf, as to require an unexemted and impartial Obedience to all her Decrees, either from us or from our Mediator, and yet debaſe her ſelf to faulter ſo many Ages with circumcis'd Adulteries by unclean and ſlubbering Permiſſions?

## CHAP. XIV.

### *That* Beza's *Opinion of regulating Sin by Apoſtolick Law cannot be ſound.*

YET *Beza*'s Opinion is, that a politick Law (but what politick Law I know not, unleſs one of *Matchiavel*'s) may regulate Sin; may bear indeed, I grant with imperfection for a time, as thoſe Canons of the Apoſtles did in Ceremonial things: but as for Sin, the eſſence of it cannot conſiſt with rule; and if the Law fail to regulate Sin, and not to take it utterly away, it neceſſarily confirms and eſtabliſhes Sin. To make a regularity of Sin by Law, either the Law muſt ſtreighten Sin into no Sin, or Sin muſt crook the Law into no Law. The Judicial Law can ſerve to no other end than to be the Protector and Champion of Religion and honeſt Civility, as is ſet down plainly *Rom.* 13. and is but the arm of Moral Law, which can no more be ſeparate from Juſtice then Juſtice from Vertue. Their office alſo in a different manner ſteers the ſame courſe; the one teaches what is good by precept, the other unteaches what is bad by puniſhment. But if we give way to politick Diſpenſations of lewd Uncleanneſs, the firſt good conſequence of ſuch a relax will be the juſtifying of Papal Stews, join'd with a toleration of epidemick Whoredom. Juſtice muſt revolt from the end of her Authority, and become the Patron of that whereof ſhe was created the Puniſher. The example of Uſury, which is commonly alleged, makes againſt the Allegation which it brings, as I touch'd before. Beſides that Uſury, ſo much as is permitted by the Magiſtrate, and demanded with common equity, is neither againſt the word of God, nor the rule of Charity, as hath been often diſcuſs'd by men of eminent Learning and Judgment. There muſt be therefore ſome other example found out to ſhew us wherein civil Policy may with warrant from God ſettle Wickedneſs by Law, and make that lawful which is lawleſs. Although I doubt not but upon deeper conſideration, that which is true in Phyſick will be found as true in Policy, that as of bad Pulſes thoſe that beat moſt in order are much worſe than thoſe that keep the moſt inordinate circuit, ſo of popular Vices thoſe that may be committed legally, will be more pernicious than thoſe that are left to their own courſe at peril, not under a ſtinted privilege to ſin orderly and regularly, which is an implicite contradiction, but under due and fearleſs execution of puniſhment.

The political Law, ſince it cannot regulate Vice, is to reſtrain it by uſing all means to root it out. But if it ſuffer the weed to grow up to any pleaſurable or contented height upon what pretext ſoever, it faſtens the root, it prunes and dreſſes Vice, as if it were a good Plant. Let no man doubt therefore to affirm, that it is not ſo hurtful or diſhonourable to a Commonwealth, nor ſo much to the hardening of hearts, when thoſe worſe faults pretended to be feared are committed, by who ſo dares under ſtrict and executed Penalty, as when thoſe leſs faults tolerated for fear of greater harden their faces, not their hearts only, under the protection of publick Authority. For what leſs Indignity were this, then as if Juſtice her ſelf, the Queen of Vertues (deſcending from her Sceptred Royalty) inſtead of conquering ſhould compound and treat with Sin, her eternal Adverſary and Rebel, upon ignoble terms? or as if the

Judicial Law were like that untruſty Steward in the Goſpel, and inſtead of calling in the debts of his moral Maſter, ſhould give out ſubtle and ſly Acquittances to keep himſelf from begging? Or let us perſon him like ſome wretched Itinerary Judge, who to gratifie his Delinquents before him, would let them baſely break his head, leſt they ſhould pull him from the Bench, and throw him over the Bar. Unleſs we had rather think both Moral and Judicial, full of malice and deadly purpoſe, conſpir'd to let the Debtor *Iſraelite*, the Seed of *Abraham*, run on upon a bankrupt ſcore, flattered with inſufficient and enſnaring Diſcharges, that ſo he might be haled to a more cruel forſeit for all the indulgent arrears which thoſe Judicial Acquitments had engaged him in. No no, this cannot be, that the Law, whoſe integrity and faithfulneſs is next to God, ſhould be either the ſhameleſs broker of our impunities, or the intended inſtrument of our deſtruction. The method of holy correction, ſuch as became the Commonwealth of *Iſrael*, is not to bribe ſin with ſin, to capitulate and hire out one crime with another; but, with more noble and graceful ſeverity then *Popilius* the *Roman* Legat uſed with *Antiochus*, to limit and level out the direct way from vice to vertue, with ſtreighteſt and exacteſt lines on either ſide, not winding or indenting ſo much as to the right hand of fair pretences. Violence indeed and Inſurrection may force the Law to ſuffer what it cannot mend; but to write a Decree in allowance of ſin, as ſoon can the hand of Juſtice rot off. Let this be ever concluded as a truth that will outlive the faith of thoſe that ſeek to bear it down.

## CHAP. XV.

### *That Divorce was not given for VVives only, as* Beza *and* Paræus *write. More of the Inſtitution.*

LAſtly, If Divorce were granted, as *Beza* and others ſay, not for Men, but to releaſe afflicted Wives; certainly it is not onely a Diſpenſation, but a moſt merciful Law; and why it ſhould not yet be in force, being wholly needful, I know not what can be in cauſe but ſenſleſs cruelty. But yet to ſay, Divorce was granted for relief of Wives rather than of Husbands, is but weakly conjectur'd, and is manifeſtly the extreme ſhift of a huddled Expoſition. Whenas it could not be found how hardneſs of heart ſhould be leſſen'd by liberty of Divorce, a fancy was deviſ'd to hide the flaw, by commenting that Divorce was permitted onely for the help of Wives. Palpably uxorious! who can be ignorant that Woman was created for Man, and not Man for Woman; and that a Husband may be injur'd as inſufferably in Marriage as a Wife? What an injury is it after Wedlock not to be belov'd, what to be ſlighted, what to be contented with in point of houſe-rule who ſhall be the head; not for any parity of wiſdom, for that were ſomething reaſonable, but out of a female pride? *I ſuffer not* ſaith S. *Paul, the Woman to uſurp autority over the Man.* If the Apoſtle could not ſuffer it, into what mould is he mortified that can? *Solomon* ſaith, *That a bad Wife is to her Husband as rotteneſs to his bones, a continual dropping. Better dwell in the corner of the houſe top, or in the wilderneſs,* than with ſuch a one. *Whoſo hideth her, hideth the wind, and one of the four miſchiefs that the earth cannot bear.* If the Spirit of God wrote ſuch aggravations as theſe, and ( as may be gueſt by theſe ſimilitudes ) counſels the Man rather to divorce than to live with ſuch a collegue; and yet on the other ſide expreſſes nothing of the Wifes ſuffering with a bad Husband: Is it not moſt likely that God in his Law had more pity towards Man thus wedlock'd, than towards the Woman that was created for another? The ſame Spirit relates to us the courſe which the *Medes* and *Perſians* took by occaſion of *Vaſhti*, whoſe meer denial to come at her Husbands ſending, loſt her the being Queen any longer, and ſet up a wholeſom Law, *that every man ſhould bear rule in his own houſe.* And the Divine Relater ſhews us not the leaſt ſign of diſliking what was done; how ſhould he, if *Moſes* long before was nothing leſs mindful of the honour and pre-eminence due to Man? So that to ſay Divorce was granted for Woman rather than Man, was but fondly invented. Eſteeming therefore to have aſſerted thus an injur'd Law of *Moſes* from the unwarranted and guilty name of a Diſpenſation, to be again a moſt equal and requiſite Law, we have the Word of Chriſt himſelf, that he came not to alter the leaſt tittle of it; and ſignifies no ſmall diſpleaſure againſt him that ſhall teach to do ſo. On which relying, I ſhall not much waver to affirm, that thoſe words which are made to intimate as if they forbad all Divorce but for Adultery, ( though *Moſes* have conſtituted otherwiſe) thoſe words taken circumſcriptly, without regard to any precedent Law of *Moſes*, or atteſtation of Chriſt himſelf, or without care to preſerve thoſe his fundamental and ſuperiour Laws of Nature and Charity, to which all other Ordinances give up their Seal, are as much againſt plain Equity and the Mercy of Religion, as thoſe words of *Take, eat, this is my body*, elementally underſtood, are againſt Nature and Senſe.

And ſurely the reſtoring of this degraded Law hath well recompenc'd the diligence was us'd by enlightning us further to find out wherefore Chriſt took off the Phariſees from alledging the Law, and referr'd them to the firſt Inſtitution; not condemning, altering, or aboliſhing this Precept of Divorce, which is plainly moral, for that were againſt his Truth, his Promiſe, and his prophetick Office; but knowing how fallaciouſly they had cited and conceal'd the particular and natural reaſon of the Law, that they might juſtifie any froward reaſon of their own, he lets go that Sophiſtry unconvinc'd, for that had been to teach them elſe, which his purpoſe was not. And ſince they had taken a liberty which the Law gave not, he amuſes and repels their tempting pride with a perfection of Paradiſe, which the Law requir'd not; not thereby to oblige our performance to that whereto the Law never enjoyn'd the fallen eſtate of Man: for if the firſt Inſtitution muſt make Wedlock, whatever happen, inſeparable to us, it muſt make it alſo as perfect as meetly helpful, and as comfortable as God promis'd it ſhould be, at leaſt in ſome degree; otherwiſe it is not equal or proportionable to the ſtrength of Man, that he ſhould be reduc'd into ſuch indiſſoluble bonds to his aſſured miſery, if all the other conditions of that Covenant be manifeſtly alter'd.

## CHAP. XVI.

### *How to be underſtood that they muſt be one fleſh; and how that thoſe whom God hath joyn'd, Man ſhould not ſunder.*

NExt he ſaith, *they muſt be one fleſh*; which, when all conjecturing is done, will be found to import no more but to make legitimate and good the carnal act, which elſe might ſeem to have ſomething of pollution in it; and infers thus much over, that the fit union of their ſouls be ſuch as may even incorporate them to love and amity: but that can never be where no Correſpondent is of the mind; nay, inſtead of being one fleſh, they will be rather two carcaſes chain'd unnaturally together; or, as it may happen, a living ſoul bound to a dead corps, a puniſhment too like that inflicted by the Tyrant *Mezentius*, ſo little worthy to be received as that remedy of lonelineſs which God meant us. Since we know it is not the joyning of another body will remove lonelineſs, but the uniting of another compliable mind; and that it is no bleſſing but a torment, nay a baſe and brutiſh condition to be one fleſh, unleſs where a nature can in ſome nature fix a unity of diſpoſition. The meaning therefore of theſe words, *For this cauſe ſhall a man leave his father and his mother, and ſhall cleave to his wife*, was firſt to ſhew us the dear affection which naturally grows in every not unnatural Marriage, even to the leaving of Parents, or other familiarity whatſoever. Next, it juſtifies a man in ſo doing, that nothing is done undutifully to Father or Mother. But he that ſhould be here ſternly commanded to cleave to his error, a diſpoſition which to his he finds will never cement, a quotidian of ſorrow and diſcontent in his houſe; let us be excus'd to pauſe a little, and bethink us every way round ere we lay ſuch a flat Soleciſm upon the gracious, and certainly not inexorable, not ruſhleſs and flinty Ordinance of Marriage. For if the meaning of theſe words muſt be thus block'd up within their own letters from all equity and fair deduction, they will ſerve then well indeed their turn, who affirm Divorce to have been granted onely for Wives; whenas we ſee no word of this Text binds Women, but Men only, what it binds. No marvel then if *Salomith* (Siſter to *Herod*) ſent a Writ of Eaſe to *Caſtobarus* her Husband, which (as *Joſephus* there atteſts) was lawful only to Men. No marvel though *Placidia*, the Siſter of *Honorius*, threatned the like to Earl *Conſtantius* for a trivial cauſe, as *Photius* relates from *Olympiodorus*. No marvel any thing, if Letters muſt be turn'd into Paliſadoes, to ſtake out all requiſite ſence from entring to their due enlargement.

Laſtly, Chriſt himſelf tells who ſhould not be put aſunder, namely, thoſe whom God hath joyn'd. A plain ſolution of this great controverſie, if men would but uſe their eyes; for when is it that God may be ſaid to joyn? when the parties and their friends conſent? No ſurely, for that may concur to lewdeſt ends. Or is it when Churches Rites are finiſh'd? Neither; for the efficacy of thoſe depends upon the preſuppoſed fitneſs of either party. Perhaps after carnal knowledge: Leaſt of all; for that may joyn perſons whom neither Law nor Nature dares joyn: 'tis left, that only then when the minds are fitly diſpoſed and enabled to maintain a chearful converſation, to the ſolace and love of each other, according as God intended and promiſed in the very firſt foundation of Matrimony, *I will make him a help-meet for him*; for ſurely what God intended and promiſed, that only can be thought to be his joyning, and not the contrary. So likewiſe the Apoſtle witneſſeth 1 *Cor.* 7. 15. that in Marriage *God hath called us to peace*. And doubtleſs in what reſpect he hath call'd us to Marriage, in that alſo he hath joyn'd us. The reſt, whom either diſproportion or deadneſs of ſpirit, or ſomething diſtaſteful and averſe in the immutable bent of Nature renders conjugal, Error may have joyn'd, but God never joyn'd againſt the meaning of his own Ordinance. And if he joyn'd them not, then is there no power above their own conſent to hinder them from unjoyning, when they cannot reap the ſobreſt ends of being together in any tolerable ſort. Neither can it be ſaid properly that ſuch twain were ever divorc'd, but only parted from each other, as two perſons unconjunctive and unmarriable together. But if, whom God hath made a fit help, frowardneſs or private injuries hath made unfit, that being the ſecret of Marriage, God can better judge than Man, neither is Man indeed fit or able to decide this matter: however it be, undoubtedly a peaceful Divorce is a leſs evil, and leſs in ſcandal than a hateful, hard-hearted, and deſtructive continuance of Marriage in the judgment of *Moſes* and of Chriſt, that juſtifies him in chuſing the leſs evil; which if it were an honeſt and civil prudence in the Law, what is there in the Goſpel forbidding ſuch a kind of legal wiſdom, though we ſhould admit the common Expoſitors?

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## CHAP. XVII.

### *The Sentence of Chriſt concerning Divorce how to be expounded. VVhat* Grotius *hath obſerved. Other Additions.*

Having thus unfolded thoſe ambiguous Reaſons, wherewith Chriſt (as his wont was) gave to the Phariſees that came to ſound him ſuch an anſwer as they deſerv'd, it will not be uneaſie to explain the Sentence it ſelf now that follows; *Whoſoever ſhall put away his Wife, except it be for fornication, and ſhall marry another, committeth adultery*. Firſt therefore I will ſet down what is obſerv'd by *Grotius* upon this point, a Man of general learning. Next I produce what mine own thoughts gave me before I had ſeen his Annotations. *Origen*, ſaith he, notes that Chriſt nam'd Adultery rather as one example of other like caſes, then as one only exception; and that it is frequent not only in humane but in divine Laws, to expreſs one kind of fact, whereby other cauſes of like nature may have the like plea, as *Exod.* 21. 18, 19, 20, 26. *Deut.* 19. 5. And from the Maxims of Civil Law he ſhews, that even in ſharpeſt penal Laws the ſame reaſon hath the ſame right; and in gentler Laws, that from like cauſes to like the Law interprets rightly. But it may be objected, ſaith he, that nothing deſtroys the end of Wedlock ſo much as Adultery. To which he anſwers, that Marriage was not ordain'd only for copulation, but for mutual help and comfort of life: and if we mark diligently the nature of our Saviours commands, we ſhall find that both their beginning and their end conſiſts in charity; whoſe will is that we ſhould be ſo good to others, as that we be not cruel to our ſelves. And hence it appears why *Mark* and *Luke*, and S. *Paul* to the *Corinthians*, mentioning this precept of Chriſt, add no exception, becauſe exceptions that ariſe from natural equity are included ſilently under general terms: it would be conſider'd therefore whether the ſame equity may not have place in other caſes leſs frequent. Thus far he. From hence is what I add: firſt, that this ſaying of Chriſt, as it is uſually expounded, can be no Law at all, that a Man for no cauſe ſhould ſeparate but for adultery, except it be a ſupernatural Law, not binding us as we are; had it been the Law of nature, either the *Jews*, or ſome other wiſe and civil nation would have preſs'd it: or let it be ſo, yet that Law, *Deut.* 24. 1. whereby a Man hath leave to part, when as for juſt and natural cauſe diſcover'd he cannot love, is a Law ancienter and deeper ingraven in blameleſs nature then the other: therefore the inſpired Lawgiver *Moſes* took care that this ſhould be ſpecified and allowed; the other he let vaniſh in ſilence, not once repeated in the volum of his Law, even as the reaſon of it vaniſh'd with Paradiſe. Secondly, this can be no new command, for the Goſpel enjoyns no new morality, ſave only the infinite enlargment of charity, which in this reſpect is called the *new commandment* by S. *John*, as being the accompliſhment of every command. Thirdly, it is no command of perfection further then it partakes of Charity, which is *the bond of perfection*. Thoſe commands therefore which compell us to ſelf-cruelty above our ſtrength, ſo hardly will help forward to perfection, that they hinder and ſet backward in all the common rudiments of Chriſtianity, as was prov'd. It being thus clear, that the words of Chriſt can be no kind of command as they are vulgarly taken, we ſhall now ſee in what ſenſe they may be a command, and that an excellent one, the ſame with that of *Moſes*, and no other. *Moſes* had granted, that only for a natural annoyance, defect, or diſlike, whether in body or mind, (for ſo the *Hebrew* words plainly note) which a Man could not force himſelf to live with, he might give a bill of Divorce, thereby forbidding any other cauſe wherein amendment or reconciliation might have place. This Law the Phariſees depraving, extended to any ſlight contentious cauſe whatſoever. Chriſt therefore ſeeing where they halted, urges the negative part of that Law, which is neceſſarily underſtood (for the determinate permiſſion of *Moſes* binds them from further licence) and checking their ſupercilious drift, declares that no accidental, temporary, or reconcilable offence (except fornication) can juſtifie a Divorce. He touches not here thoſe natural and perpetual hindrances of ſociety, whether in body or mind, which are not to be remov'd; for ſuch as they are apteſt to cauſe an unchangeable offence, ſo are they not capable of reconcilement, becauſe not of amendment: they do not break indeed, but they annihilate the bands of Marriage more then Adultery. For that fault committed argues not always a hatred either natural or incidental againſt whom it is committed; neither does it infer a diſability of future helpfulneſs, or loyalty, or loving agreement, being once paſt and pardon'd, where it can be pardon'd: but that which naturally diſtaſtes, and *finds no favour in the eyes* of Matrimony, can never be conceal'd, never appeas'd, never intermitted, but proves a perpetual nullity of love and contentment, a ſolitude and dead vacation of all acceptable converſing. *Moſes* therefore permits Divorce, but in caſes only that have no hands to joyn, and more need ſeparating then Adultery. Chriſt forbids it, but in matters only that may accord, and thoſe leſs then Fornication. Thus is *Moſes* Law here plainly confirm'd, and thoſe cauſes which he permitted not a jot gainſaid. And that this is the true meaning of this place I prove by no other Author than S. *Paul* himſelf, 1 *Cor.* 7. 10, 11. upon which Text Interpreters agree that the Apoſtle only repeats the precept of Chriſt: where while he ſpeaks of *the Wifes reconcilement to her Husband*, he puts it out of controverſie, that our Saviour meant chiefly matters of ſtrife and reconcilement; of which ſort he would not that any difference ſhould be the occaſion of Divorce, except Fornication. And that we may learn better how to value a grave and prudent Law of *Moſes*, and how unadviſely we ſmatter with our lips, when we talk of Chriſts aboliſhing any Judicial Law of his great Father, except in ſome circumſtances which are Judaical rather then Judicial, and need no aboliſhing, but ceaſe of themſelves: I ſay again, that this recited Law of *Moſes* contains a cauſe of Divorce greater beyond compare then that for Adultery; and whoſo cannot ſo conceive it, errs and wrongs exceedingly a Law of deep wiſdom for want of well fadoming. For let him mark, no man urges the juſt divorcing of Adultery as it is a ſin, but as it is an injury to Marriage; and though it be but once committed, and that without malice, whether through importunity or opportunity, the Goſpel does not therefore diſſuade him who would therefore divorce; but that natural hatred, whenever it ariſes, is a greater evil in Marriage then the accident of Adultery, a greater defrauding, a greater injuſtice, and yet not blameable, he who underſtands not after all this repreſenting, I doubt his Will like a hard Spleen draws faſter then his Underſtanding can well ſanguifie. Nor did that man ever know or feel what it is to love truly, nor ever yet comprehend in his thoughts what the true intent of Marriage is. And this alſo will be ſomewhat above his reach, but yet no leſs a truth for lack of his perſpective, that as no man apprehends what vice is ſo well as he who is truly vertuous, no man knows Hell like him who converſes moſt in Heaven; ſo there is none that can eſtimate the evil and the affliction of a natural hatred in Matrimony, unleſs he have a ſoul gentle enough and ſpacious enough to contemplate what is true love.

And the reaſon why men ſo diſeſteem this wiſe judging Law of God, and count hate, or *the not finding of favour*, as it is there term'd, a humorous, a diſhoneſt, and ſlight cauſe of Divorce, is becauſe themſelves apprehend ſo little of what true concord means: for if they did, they would be juſter in their balancing between natural hatred and caſual adultery; this being but a tranſient injury, and ſoon amended, I mean as to the party againſt whom the treſpaſs is: but that other being an unſpeakable and unremitting ſorrow and offence, whereof no amends can be made, no cure, no ceaſing but by Divorce, which like a divine touch in one moment heals all, and (like the Word of God) in one inſtant huſhes outrageous tempeſts into a ſudden ſtilneſs and peaceful calm. Yet all this ſo great a good of God's own enlarging to us, is by the hard rains of them that ſit us, wholly diverted and imbezelled from us. Maligners of mankind! But who hath taught you to mangle thus, and make more gaſhes in the miſeries of a blameleſs creature, with the leaden daggers of your literal Decrees, to whoſe eaſe you cannot add the tithe of one ſmall atom, but by letting alone your unhelpful Surgery. As for ſuch as think wandring concupiſcence to be here newly and more preciſely forbidden then it was before, if the Apoſtle can convince them, we know that we are to *know luſt by the Law*, and not by any new diſcovery of the Law. The Law of *Moſes* knew what it permitted, and the Goſpel knew what it forbid; he that under a peeviſh conceit of debarring concupiſcence ſhall go about to make a Novice of *Moſes*, (not to ſay a worſe thing for reverence ſake) and ſuch a one of God himſelf as is a horror to think, to bind our Saviour in the default of a downright promiſe breaking, and to bind the diſunions of complaining nature in chains together, and curb them with a Canon bit, 'tis he that commits all the whoredom and adultery which himſelf adjudges, beſides the former guilt ſo manifold that lies upon him. And if none of theſe Conſiderations, with all their weight and gravity, can avail to the diſpoſſeſſing him of his precious Literaliſm, let ſome one or other intreat him but to read on in the ſame *19th* of *Math.* till he come to that place that ſays, *Some make themſelves Eunuchs for the Kingdom of Heavens ſake.* And if then he pleaſe to make uſe of *Origens* Knife, he may do well to be his own Carver.

## CHAP. XVIII.

*VVhether the word of our Saviour be rightly expounded only of actual Fornication to be the cauſe of Divorce. The Opinion of* Grotius, *with other Reaſons.*

BUT becauſe we know that Chriſt never gave a Judicial Law, and that the word *Fornication* is variouſly ſignificant in Scripture, it will be much right done to our Saviours words, to conſider diligently whether it be meant here that nothing but actual Fornication prov'd by witneſs can warrant a Divorce, for ſo our Canon Law judges. Nevertheleſs, as I find that *Grotius* on this place hath obſerv'd the Chriſtian Emperours, *Theodoſius* the ſecond and *Juſtinian*, men of high Wiſdom and reputed Piety, decreed it to be a divorcive Fornication, if the Wife attempted either againſt the knowledge, or obſtinately againſt the will of her Husband, ſuch things as gave open ſuſpitions of adulterizing, as the wilful haunting of Feaſts, and Invitations with men not of her near Kindred, the lying forth of her Houſe without probable cauſe, the frequenting of Theatres againſt her Husbands mind, her endeavour to prevent or deſtroy Conception. Hence that of *Jerom*, *Where Fornication is ſuſpected the Wife may lawfully be divorc'd*: not that every motion of a jealous mind ſhould be regarded, but that it ſhould not be exacted to prove all things by a viſibility of Law witneſſing, or elſe to hoodwink the mind: for the Law is not able to judge of theſe things but by the rule of Equity, and by permitting a wiſe man to walk the middle way of prudent circumſpection, neither wretchedly jealous, nor ſtupidly and tamely patient. To this purpoſe hath *Grotius* in his Notes. He ſhews alſo that Fornication is taken in Scripture for ſuch a continual headſtrong Behaviour, as tends to plain contempt of the Husband, and proves out of *Judges* 19. 2. where the Levites Wife is ſaid to have plaid the whore againſt him; which *Joſephus* and the *Septuagint*, with the *Chaldean*, interpret only of Stubbornneſs and Rebellion againſt her Husband: and to this I add, that *Kimchi*, and the two other Rabbies who gloſs the Text, are in the ſame Opinion. *Ben Gerſom* reaſons, that had it been Whoredom, a Jew and a Levite would have diſdain'd to fetch her again. And this I ſhall contribute, that had it been Whoredom, ſhe would have choſen any other place to run to then to her Fathers houſe, it being ſo infamous for an *Hebrew* Woman to play the Harlot, and ſo opprobrious to the Parents. Fornication then in this place of the *Judges* is underſtood for ſtubborn Diſobedience againſt the Husband, and not for Adultery. A Sin of that ſudden activity, as to be already committed, when no more is done, but only lookt unchaſtely: which yet I would be loth to judge worthy a Divorce, though in our Saviours Language it be called Adultery. Nevertheleſs when palpable and frequent ſigns are given, the Law of God, *Num.* 5. ſo far gave way to the Jealouſie of a man, as that the Woman, ſet before the Sanctuary with her head uncovered, was adjur'd by the Prieſt to ſwear whether ſhe were falſe or no, and conſtrain'd to drink that *bitter water* with an undoubted *curſe of rottenneſs and tympany* to follow, unleſs ſhe were innocent. And the jealous man had not been guiltleſs before God, as ſeems by the laſt Verſe, if having ſuch a ſuſpicion in his head, he ſhould neglect his trial; which if to this day it be not to be us'd, or be thought as uncertain of effect as our antiquated Law of *Ordalium*, yet all equity will judge that many adulterous demeanours, which are of lewd ſuſpicion and example, may be held ſufficient to incur a Divorce, though the act it ſelf hath not been prov'd. And ſeeing the Generoſity of our Nation is ſo, as to account no reproach more abominable then to be nick-nam'd the Husband of an Adultereſs, that our Law ſhould not be as ample as the Law of God, to vindicate a man from that ignoble ſufferance, is our barbarous unskilfulneſs, not conſidering that the Law ſhould be exaſperated according to our eſtimation of the injury. And if it muſt be ſuffer'd till the act be viſibly prov'd, *Solomon* himſelf, whoſe judgment will be granted to ſurpaſs the acuteneſs of any Canoniſt, confeſſes, *Prov.* 30. 19, 20. that for the act of Adultery it is as difficult to be found as the *track of an eagle in the air, or the way of a ſhip in the ſea*; ſo that a man may be put to unmanly indignities ere it be found out. This therefore may be enough to inform us, that divorcive Adultery is not limited by our Saviour to the utmoſt act, and that to be atteſted always by eye-witneſs, but may be extended alſo to divers obvious actions, which either plainly lead to Adultery, or give ſuch preſumption whereby ſenſible men may ſuſpect the deed to be already done. And this the rather may be thought, in that our Saviour choſe to uſe the word *Fornication*, which word is found to ſignifie other matrimonial Tranſgreſſions of main breach to that Covenant beſides actual Adultery. For that ſin needed not the riddance of Divorce, but of Death by the Law, which was active even till then by the example of the Woman taken in Adultery; or if the Law had been dormant, our Saviour was more likely to have told them of their neglect, then to have let a capital crime ſilently ſcape into a Divorce: or if it be ſaid, his buſineſs was not to tell them what was criminal in the civil Courts, but what was ſinful at the Bar of Conſcience, how dare they then, having no other ground than theſe our Saviours words, draw that into trial of Law, which both *Moſes* and our Saviour have left to the juriſdiction of Conſcience? But we take from our Saviour, ſay they, only that it was Adultery, and our Law of it ſelf applies the Puniſhment. But by their leave that ſo argue, the great Lawgiver of all the world, who knew beſt what was Adultery both to the Jew and to the Gentile, appointed no ſuch applying, and never likes when mortal men will be vainly preſuming to outſtrip his Juſtice.

CHAP.

# CHAP. XIX.

*Chriſts manner of teaching.* S. Paul *adds to this matter of Divorce without command, to ſhew the matter to be of equity, not of rigour. That the bondage of a Chriſtian may be as much, and in Peace as little, in ſome other Marriages beſides Idolatrous. If thoſe Arguments therefore be good in that one caſe, why not in thoſe other? Therefore the Apoſtle himſelf adds* ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις.

THus at length we ſee both by this and by other places, that there is ſcarce any one Saying in the Goſpel but muſt be read with limitations and diſtinctions to be rightly underſtood; for Chriſt gives no full Comments or continued Diſcourſes, but (as *Demetrius* the Rhetorician phraſes it) ſpeaks oft in Monoſyllables, like a Maſter ſcattering the heavenly grain of his Doctrine like Pearls here and there, which requires a skilful and laborious Gatherer, who muſt compare the words he finds with other precepts, with the end of every Ordinance, and with the general Analogy of Evangelick Doctrine: otherwiſe many particular Sayings would be but one repugnant Riddle, and the Church would offend in granting Divorce for Frigidity, which is not here accepted with Adultery, but by them added. And this was it undoubtedly which gave reaſon to S. *Paul* of his own Authority, as he profeſſes, and without command from the Lord, to enlarge the ſeeming conſtruction of thoſe places in the Goſpel, by adding a caſe wherein a perſon deſerted, which is ſomething leſs then divorc'd, may lawfully marry again. And having declar'd his Opinion in one caſe, he leaves a further liberty for Chriſtian prudence to determine in caſes of like importance, uſing words ſo plain as are not to be ſhifted off, ***that a brother or a ſiſter is not under bondage in ſuch caſes***; adding alſo, that ***God hath called us to peace*** in Marriage.

Now if it be plain that a Chriſtian may be brought into unworthy ***bondage***, and his religious ***peace*** not onely interrupted now and then, but perpetually and finally hinder'd in Wedlock, by miſ-yoking with a diverſity of Nature as well as of Religion, the reaſons of S. *Paul* cannot be made ſpecial to that one caſe of Infidelity, but are of equal moment to a Divorce, where-ever Chriſtian Liberty and Peace are without fault equally obſtructed: That the Ordinance which God gave to our comfort, may not be pinn'd upon us to our undeſerved thraldom, to be coop'd up as it were in mockery of Wedlock, to a perpetual betrothed Lonelineſs and Diſcontent, if nothing worſe enſue. There being nought elſe of Marriage left between ſuch but a diſpleaſing and forc'd remedy againſt the ſting of a brute deſire: which fleſhly accuſtoming without the Souls union and commixture of intellectual delight, as it is rather a ſoiling then a fulfilling of Marriage Rites, ſo is it enough to abaſe the mettle of a generous ſpirit, and ſinks him to a low and vulgar pitch of endeavour in all his actions, or (which is worſe) leaves him in a deſpairing plight of abject and hardned thoughts: which condition rather then a good man ſhould fall into, a man uſeful in the ſervice of God and Mankind, Chriſt himſelf hath taught us to diſpence with the moſt ſacred Ordinance of his Worſhip, even for a bodily healing to diſpence with that holy and ſpeculative reſt of Sabbath, much more then with the erroneous obſervance of an ill knotted Marriage, for the ſuſtaining of an overcharged faith and perſeverance.

# CHAP. XX.

## *The meaning of* S. Paul, *that* Charity believeth all things. *VVhat is to be ſaid to the Licence which is vainly fear'd will grow hereby. VVhat to thoſe who never have done preſcribing patience in that caſe. The Papiſt moſt ſevere againſt Divorce, yet moſt eaſie to all Licence. Of all the miſeries in Marriage God is to be clear'd, and the faults to be laid on mans unjuſt Laws.*

AND though bad cauſes would take licence by this pretext, if that cannot be remedied, upon their Conſcience be it who ſhall ſo do. This was that hardneſs of heart, and abuſe of a good Law, which *Moſes* was content to ſuffer, rather then good men ſhould not have it at all to uſe needfully. And he who to run after one loſt ſheep left ninety nine of his own flock at random in the wilderneſs, would little perplex his thoughts for the obduring of nine hundred and ninety ſuch as will daily take worſe liberties, whether they have permiſſion or not. To conclude, as without charity God hath given no commandment to men, ſo without it neither can men rightly believe any commandment given. For every act of true Faith, as well that whereby we believe the Law, as that whereby we endeavour the Law, is wrought in us by Charity, according to that in the Divine Hymn of S. *Paul*, 1 *Cor.* 13. *Charity believeth all things*; not as if ſhe were ſo credulous, which is the Expoſition hitherto current, for that were a trivial Praiſe, but to teach us that Charity is the high Governeſs of our Belief, and that we cannot ſafely aſſent to any precept written in the Bible, but as Charity commends it to us. Which agrees with that of the ſame Apoſtle to the *Epheſ.* 4. 14, 15. where he tells us that the way to get a ſure undoubted knowledge of things, is to hold that for Truth which accords moſt with Charity. Whoſe unerring guidance and conduct having follow'd as a Loadſtar, with all diligence and fidelity in this queſtion, I truſt (through the help of that illuminating Spirit which hath favour'd me) to have done no every days work, in aſſerting after many Ages the words of Chriſt, with other Scriptures of great concernment, from burdenſom and remorſleſs obſcurity, tangled with manifold repugnancies to their native luſtre and conſent between each other; hereby alſo diſſolving tedious and *Gordian* difficulties, which have hitherto moleſted the Church of God, and are now decided not with the Sword of *Alexander* but with the immaculate hands of Charity, to the unſpeakable good of Chriſtendom. And let the extreme Literaliſt ſit down now, and revolve whether this in all neceſſity be not the due reſult of our Saviours words; or if he perſiſt to be otherwiſe opinion'd, let him well adviſe, leſt thinking to gripe faſt the Goſpel, he be found inſtead with the Canon Law in his fiſt: whoſe boiſterous Edicts tyrannizing the bleſſed Ordinance of Marriage into the quality of a moſt unnatural and unchriſtianly yoke, have given the fleſh this advantage to hate it, and turn aſide, oft-times unwillingly, to all diſſolute uncleanneſs, even till puniſhment it ſelf is weary and overcome by the incredible frequency of trading Luſt and uncontrolled Adulteries. Yet men whoſe Creed is Cuſtom, I doubt not but will be ſtill endeavouring to hide the ſloth of their own timorous Capacities with this pretext, that for all this 'tis better to endure with patience and ſilence this affliction which God hath ſent. And I agree 'tis true, if this be exhorted and not enjoined; but withal it will be wiſely done to be as ſure as may be, that what mans iniquity hath laid on be not imputed to Gods ſending, leſt under the colour of an affected patience we detain our ſelves at the gulphs mouth of many hideous Temptations, not to be withſtood without proper gifts, which (as *Perkins* well notes) God gives not ordinarily, no not to moſt earneſt Prayers. Therefore we pray, *Lead us not into Temptation*; a vain Prayer, if having led our ſelves thither, we love to ſtay in that perilous condition. God ſends remedies as well as evils, under which he who lies and groans, that may lawfully acquit himſelf, is acceſſory to his own ruine; nor will it excuſe him though he ſuffer through a ſluggiſh fearfulneſs to ſearch throughly what is lawful, for fear of diſquieting a ſecure falſity of an old Opinion. Who doubts not but that it may be piouſly ſaid, to him who would diſmiſs his frigidity, Bear your trial, take it as if God would have you live this life of continence? if he exhort this, I hear him as an

Angel, though he ſpeak without warrant; but if he would compel me, I know him for Satan. To him who divorces an Adultreſs, Piety might ſay, Pardon her; you may ſhew much mercy, you may win a Soul: yet the Law both of God and Man leaves it freely to him; for God loves not to plow out the heart of our endeavours with over-hard and ſad tasks. God delights not to make a drudge of Vertue, whoſe Actions muſt be all elective and unconſtrained. Forc'd Vertue is as a Bolt over-ſhot, it goes neither forward nor backward, and does no good as it ſtands. Seeing therefore that neither Scripture nor Reaſon hath laid this unjuſt auſterity upon Divorce, we may reſolve that nothing elſe hath wrought it but that letter-bound Servility of the Canon Doctors, ſuppoſing Marriage to be a Sacrament, and out of the art they have to lay unneceſſary burdens upon all men, to make a fair ſhew in the fleſhly obſervance of Matrimony, though Peace and Love with all other conjugal reſpects fare never ſo ill. And indeed the Papiſts, who are the ſtricteſt forbidders of Divorce, are the eaſieſt Libertines to admit of groſſeſt Uncleanneſs; as if they had a deſign, by making Wedlock a ſupportleſs yoke, to violate it moſt, under colour of preſerving it moſt inviolable; and withal delighting (as their myſtery is) to make men the day-labourers of their own afflictions, as if there were ſuch a ſcarcity of miſeries from abroad, that we ſhould be made to melt our choiceſt home Bleſſings, and coin them into Croſſes, for want whereby to hold commerce with patience. If any therefore who ſhall hap to read this Diſcourſe, hath been through miſadventure ill engaged in this contracted evil here complain'd of, and finds the fits and workings of a high impatience frequently upon him, of all thoſe wild words which men in miſery think to eaſe themſelves by uttering, let him not open his lips againſt the Providence of Heaven, or tax the ways of God and his divine Truth; for they are equal, eaſie, and not burdenſome; nor do they ever croſs the juſt and reaſonable deſires of men, nor involve this our portion of mortal life into a neceſſity of ſadneſs and malecontent, by Laws commanding over the unreducible Antipathies of Nature ſooner or later found, but allow us to remedy and ſhake off thoſe evils into which human error hath led us through the midſt of our beſt intentions, and to ſupport our incident extremities by that authentick precept of ſoveraign Charity, whoſe grand commiſſion is to do and to diſpoſe over all the Ordinances of God to Man, that love and truth may advance each other to everlaſting. While we, literally ſuperſtitious through cuſtomary faintneſs of heart, not venturing to pierce with our free thoughts into the full latitude of Nature and Religion, abandon our ſelves to ſerve under the tyranny of uſurp'd Opinions, ſuffering thoſe Ordinances which were allotted to our ſolace and reviving, to trample over us, and hale us into a multitude of ſorrows, which God never meant us. And where he ſets us in a fair allowance of way, with honeſt liberty and prudence to our guard, we never leave ſubtilizing and caſuiſting till we have ſtraitned and pared that liberal path into a Razors edge to walk on, between a precipice of unneceſſary miſchief on either ſide; and ſtarting at every falſe Alarm, we do not know which way to ſet a foot forward with manly confidence and Chriſtian reſolution, through the confuſed ringing in our ears of panick ſcruples and amazements.

## CHAP. XXI.

### *That the matter of Divorce is not to be tried by Law, but by Conſcience, as many other Sins are. The Magiſtrate can only ſee that the condition of Divorce be juſt and equal. The Opinion of* Fagius, *and the Reaſons of this Aſſertion.*

ANother act of Papal encroachment it was, to pluck the power and arbitrement of Divorce from the Maſter of the Family, into whoſe hands God and the Law of all Nations had put it, and Chriſt ſo left it, preaching only to the Conſcience, and not authorizing a Judicial Court to toſs about and divulge the unaccountable and ſecret reaſon of diſaffections between Man and Wife, as a thing moſt improperly anſwerable to any ſuch kind of trial. But the Popes of *Rome*, perceiving the great Revenue and high Authority it would give them even over Princes, to have the judging and deciding of ſuch a main conſequence in the life of Man as was Divorce, wrought ſo upon the Superſtition of thoſe Ages, as to diveſt them of that right which God from the beginning had entruſted to the Husband: by which means they ſubjected that ancient and naturally domeſtick Prerogative to an external and unbefitting Judicature. For although differences in Divorce about Dowries, Joyntures, and the like, beſides the puniſhing of Adultery, ought not to paſs without referring if, need be, to the Magiſtrate, yet that the abſolute and final hindring of Divorce cannot belong to any civil or earthly power, againſt the will and conſent of both parties, or of the Husband alone, ſome reaſons will be here urg'd as ſhall not need to decline the touch. But firſt I ſhall recite what hath been already yielded by others in favour of this Opinion. *Grotius* and many more agree, that notwithſtanding what Chriſt ſpake therein to the Conſcience, the Magiſtrate is not thereby enjoyn'd ought againſt the preſervation of civil peace, of equity, and of convenience. Among theſe *Fagius* is moſt remarkable, and gives the ſame liberty of pronouncing Divorce to the Chriſtian Magiſtrate as the Moſaick had. *For whatever* (ſaith he) *Chriſt ſpake to the regenerate, the Judge hath to deal with the vulgar: if therefore any through hardneſs of heart will not be a tolerable Wife to her Husband, it will be lawful as well now as of old to paſs the bill of Divorce, not by private, but by publick authority. Nor doth Man ſeparate them then, but God by his Law of Divorce given by* Moſes. *What can hinder the Magiſtrate from ſo doing, to whoſe government all outward things are ſubject, to ſeparate and remove from perpetual vexation, and no ſmall danger, thoſe bodies whoſe minds are already ſeparate; it being his office to procure peaceable and convenient living in the Commonwealth; and being as certain alſo, that they ſo neceſſarily ſeparated cannot all receive a ſingle life?* And this I obſerve, that our Divines do generally condemn ſeparation of bed and board, without the liberty of ſecond choice: if that therefore in ſome caſes be moſt purely neceſſary, as who ſo blockiſh to deny? then is this alſo as needful. Thus far by others is already well ſtept, to inform us that Divorce is not a matter of Law but of Charity: if there remain a furlong yet to end the queſtion, theſe following reaſons may ſerve to gain it with any apprehenſion not too unlearned or too wayward. Firſt becauſe oft times the cauſes of ſeeking Divorce reſide ſo deeply in the radical and innocent affections of Nature, as is not within the dioceſe of Law to tamper with. Other relations may aptly enough be held together by a civil and vertuous love: but the duties of Man and Wife are ſuch as are chiefly converſant in that love, which is moſt ancient and meerly natural, whoſe two prime ſtatutes are to joyn it ſelf to that which is good, and acceptable, and friendly; and to turn aſide and depart from what is diſagreeable, diſpleaſing, and unlike: of the two this later is the ſtrongeſt, and moſt equal to be regarded; for although a Man may often be unjuſt in ſeeking that which he loves, yet he can never be unjuſt or blameable in retiring from his endleſs trouble and diſtaſte, whenas his tarrying can redound to no true content on either ſide. Hate is of all things the mightieſt divider, nay it is diviſion it ſelf. To couple hatred therefore, though wedlock try all her golden links, and borrow to her aid all the iron manacles and fetters of Law, it does but ſeek to twiſt a rope of ſand, which was a task they ſay that pos'd the Devil: and that ſluggiſh fiend in hell, *Ocnus*, whom the Poems tell us of, brought his idle cordage to as good effect, which never ſerv'd to bind with, but to feed the Aſs that ſtood at his elbow. And that the reſtrictive Law againſt Divorce attains as little to bind any thing truly in a disjoynted Marriage, or to keep it bound, but ſerves only to feed the ignorance and definitive impertinence of a doltiſh Canon, were no abſurd alluſion. To hinder therefore thoſe deep and ſerious regreſſes of Nature in a reaſonable ſoul, parting from that miſtaken help which he juſtly ſeeks in a perſon created for him, recollecting himſelf from an unmeet help which was never meant, and to detain him by compulſion in ſuch an unpredeſtin'd miſery as this, is in a diameter againſt both Nature and Inſtitution: but to interpoſe a Juriſdictive Power over the inward and irremediable diſpoſition of Man, to command love and ſympathy, to forbid diſlike againſt the guiltleſs inſtinct of Nature, is not within the Province of any Law to reach, and were indeed an uncommodious rudeneſs, not a juſt power: for that Law may bandy with Nature, and traverſe her ſage motions, was an error in *Callicles* the Rhetorician, whom *Socrates* from high principles confutes in *Plato*'s *Gorgias*. If therefore Divorce may be ſo natural, and that Law and Nature are not to go contrary; then to forbid Divorce compulſively, is not only againſt Nature, but againſt Law.

Next, it muſt be remembred that all Law is for ſome good that may be frequently attain'd, without the admixture of a worſe inconvenience; and therefore many groſs faults, as ingratitude and the like, which are too far within the ſoul to be cur'd by conſtraint of Law, are left only to be wrought on by conſcience and perſuaſion. Which made *Ariſtotle* in the 10th of his *Ethicks* to *Nicomachus*, aim at a kind of diviſion of Law into private or perſuaſive, and publick or compulſive. Hence it is that the Law forbidding Divorce, never attains to any good end of ſuch Prohibition, but rather multiplies evil. For if Nature's reſiſtleſs ſway in love or hate be once compell'd, it grows careleſs of it ſelf, vitious, uſeleſs to friends, unſerviceable and ſpiritleſs to the Commonwealth. Which *Moſes* rightly foreſaw, and all wiſe Lawgivers that ever knew Man, what kind of creature he was. The Parliament alſo and Clergy of *England* were not ignorant of this, when they conſented that *Harry* the 8th might put away his Queen *Anne of Cleve*, whom he could not like after he had been wedded half a year; unleſs it were that contrary to the Proverb, they made a neceſſity of that which might have been a vertue in them to do: for even the freedom and eminence of Man's creation gives him to be a Law in this matter to himſelf, being the head of the other ſex which was made for him; whom therefore though he ought not to injure, yet neither ſhould he be forc'd to retain in ſociety to his own overthrow, nor to hear any Judge therein above himſelf. It being alſo an unſeemly affront to the ſequeſtr'd and vail'd modeſty of that Sex, to have her unpleaſingneſs and other concealments bandied up and down, and aggravated in open Court by thoſe hir'd maſters of Tongue-fence. Such uncomely exigencies it befell no leſs a Majeſty than *Henry* the VIII. to be reduc'd to, who finding juſt reaſon in his conſcience to forgo his brothers Wife, after many indignities of being deluded, and made a boy of by thoſe two Cardinal Judges, was conſtrain'd at laſt, for want of other proof that ſhe had been carnally known by Prince *Arthur*, even to uncover the nakedneſs of that vertuous Lady, and to recite openly the obſcene evidence of his Brother's Chamberlain. Yet it pleas'd God to make him ſee all the Tyranny of *Rome*, by diſcovering this which they exercis'd over Divorce, and to make him the beginner of a Reformation to this whole Kingdom, by firſt aſſerting into his *familiary* Power the right of juſt Divorce. 'Tis true, an Adultreſs cannot be ſham'd enough by any publick proceeding; but the Woman whoſe honour is not impeach'd, is leſs injur'd by a ſilent diſmiſſion, being otherwiſe not liberally dealt with, then to endure a clamouring debate of utterleſs things, in a buſineſs of that civil ſecrecy and difficult diſcerning, as not to be over-much queſtion'd by neareſt friends. Which drew that anſwer from the greateſt and worthieſt *Roman* of his time, *Paulus Emilius*, being demanded why he would put away his Wife for no viſible reaſon? *This Shoo* (ſaid he, and held it out on his foot) *is a neat ſhoo, a new ſhoo, and yet none of you know where it wrings me*: much leſs by the unfamiliar cognizance of a fee'd Gameſter can ſuch a private difference be examin'd, neither ought it.

Again, if Law aim at the firm eſtabliſhment and preſervation of matrimonial faith, we know that cannot thrive under violent means, but is the more violated. Is it not when two unfortunately met are by the Canon forc'd to draw in that yoke an unmerciful days work of ſorrow till death unharneſs 'em, that then the Law keeps Marriage moſt unviolated and unbroken? but when the Law takes order that Marriage be accountant and reſponſible to perform that ſociety, whether it be religious, civil, or corporal, which may be conſcionably requir'd and claim'd therein, or elſe to be diſſolv'd if it cannot be undergone. This is to make Marriage moſt indiſſoluble, by making it a juſt and equal dealer, a performer of thoſe due helps which inſtituted the Covenant, being otherwiſe a moſt unjuſt contract, and no more to be maintain'd under tuition of Law then the vileſt fraud, or cheat, or theft that may be committed. But becauſe this is ſuch a ſecret kind of fraud or theft, as cannot be diſcern'd by Law, but only by the Plaintiff himſelf; therefore to divorce was never counted a political or civil offence neither to Jew nor Gentile, nor by any Judicial intendment of Chriſt, further then could be diſcern'd to tranſgreſs the allowance of *Moſes*, which was of neceſſity ſo large, that it doth all one as if it ſent back the matter undeterminable at Law, and intractable by rough dealing, to have inſtructions and admonitions beſtow'd about it by them whoſe ſpiritual office is to adjure and to denounce, and ſo left to the Conſcience. The Law can only appoint the juſt and equal conditions of Divorce, and is to look how it is an injury to the divorc'd, which in truth it can be none, as a meer ſeparation; for if ſhe conſent, wherein has the Law to right her? or conſent not, then is it either juſt, and ſo deſerved; or if unjuſt, ſuch in all likelihood was the Divorcer: and to part from an unjuſt Man is a happineſs, and no injury to be lamented. But ſuppoſe it to be an injury, the Law is not able to amend it, unleſs ſhe think it other then a miſerable redreſs to return back from whence ſhe was expell'd, or but intreated to be gone, or elſe to live apart ſtill married without Marriage, a married Widow. Laſt, if it be to chaſten the Divorcer, what Law puniſhes a deed which is not moral but natural, a deed which cannot certainly be found to be an injury? or how can it be puniſh'd by prohibiting the Divorce, but that the Innocent muſt equally partake both in the ſhame and in the ſmart? So that which way ſoever we look, the Law can to no rational purpoſe forbid Divorce, it can only take care that the conditions of Divorce be not injurious. Thus then we ſee the trial of Law how impertinent it is to this queſtion of Divorce, how helpleſs next, and then how hurtful.

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## CHAP. XXII.

*The laſt Reaſon why Divorce is not to be reſtrained in Law, it being againſt the Law of Nature and of Nations. The larger proof whereof referred to Mr.* Selden's *Book* De Jure Naturali & Gentium. *An Objection of* Paræus *anſwered. How it ought to be ordered by the Church. That this will not breed any worſe inconvenience, nor ſo bad as is now ſuffered.*

THerefore the laſt Reaſon why it ſhould not be, is the example we have, not only from the nobleſt and wiſeſt Commonwealths, guided by the cleareſt light of humane knowledge, but alſo from the Divine Teſtimonies of God himſelf, lawgiving in perſon to a ſanctified people. That all this is true, whoſo deſires to know at large with leaſt pains, and expects not over-long rehearſals of that which is by others already ſo judiciouſly gather'd, let him haſten to be acquainted with that noble Volum written by our Learned *Selden, Of the Law of Nature and Nations*, a Work more uſeful and more worthy to be perus'd by whoſoever ſtudies to be a great Man in wiſdom, equity, and juſtice, than all thoſe *Decretals and ſumleſs Sums*, which the *Pontifical Clerks* have doted on, ever ſince that unfortunate Mother famouſly ſinn'd thrice, and died impenitent of her bringing into the World thoſe two misbegotten Infants, and for ever Infants, *Lombard* and *Gratian*, him the Compiler of Canon iniquity, t'other the *Tubalcain* of Scholaſtick Sophiſtry, whoſe overſpreading Barbariſm hath not only infus'd their own baſtardy upon the fruitfulleſt part of humane Learning, not only diſſipated and dejected the clear light of Nature in us, and of Nations, but hath tainted alſo the fountains of Divine Doctrine, and render'd the pure and ſolid Law of God unbeneficial to us by their calumnious Dunceries. Yet this Law which their unskilfulneſs hath made liable to all ignominy, the purity and wiſdom of this Law ſhall be the buckler of our diſpute. Liberty of Divorce we claim not, we think not but from this Law; the dignity, the faith, the authority thereof is now grown among Chriſtians, O aſtoniſhment! a labour of no mean difficulty and envy to defend. That it ſhould not be counted a faltring diſpence, a flattering permiſſion of ſin, the bill of Adultery, a ſnare, is the expence of all this Apology. And all that we ſolicit is, that it may be ſuffered to ſtand in the place where God ſet it, amidſt the Firmament of his holy Laws, to ſhine, as it was wont, upon the weakneſſes and errors of Men, periſhing elſe in the ſincerity of their honeſt purpoſes: for certain there is no memory of Whoredoms and Adulteries left among us now, when this warranted freedom of Gods own giving is made dangerous and diſcarded for a ſcrole of licence. It muſt be your ſuffrages and votes, O Engliſhmen, that this exploded Decree of God and *Moſes* may ſcape and come off fair, without the cenſure of a ſhameful abrogating: which, if yonder Sun ride ſure, and means not to break word with us to morrow, was never yet abrogated by our Saviour. Give ſentence, if you pleaſe, that the frivolus Canon may reverſe the infallible judgment of *Moſes* and his great Director. Or if it be the Reformed Writers whoſe Doctrine perſuades this rather, their Reaſons I dare affirm are all ſilenc'd, unleſs it be only this. *Paraeus* on the *Corinthians* would prove that hardneſs of heart in Divorce is no more now to be permitted, but to be amerc'd with Fine and Impriſonment. I am not willing to diſcover the forgettings of Reverend men, yet here I muſt: What article or clauſe of the whole new Covenant can *Paraeus* bring to exaſperate the Judicial Law, upon any infirmity under the Goſpel? (I ſay infirmity, for if it were the high hand of ſin, the Law as little would have endur'd it as the Goſpel) it would not ſtretch to the dividing of an Inheritance; it refus'd to condemn Adultery, not that theſe things ſhould not be done at Law, but to ſhew that the Goſpel hath not the leaſt influence upon Judicial Courts, much leſs to make them ſharper and more heavy, leaſt of all to arraign before a Temporal Judge that which the Law without Summons acquitted. But (ſaith he) the Law was the time of youth, under violent affections; the Goſpel in us is mature age, and ought to ſubdue affections. True, and ſo ought the Law too, if they be found inordinate, and not meerly natural and blameleſs. Next I diſtinguiſh, that the time of the Law is compar'd to Youth and Pupillage in reſpect of the Ceremonial part, which led the Jews as children through corporal and gariſh rudiments, until the fulneſs of time ſhould reveal to them the higher leſſons of Faith and Redemption. This is not meant of the moral part, therein it ſoberly concern'd them not to be Babies, but to be Men in good earneſt: the ſad and awful Majeſty of that Law was not to be jeſted with: to bring a bearded Nonage with laſcivious Diſpenſations before that Throne, had been a lewd affront, as it is now a groſs miſtake. But what Diſcipline is this, *Paræus*, to nouriſh violent affections in Youth, by cockering and wanton Indulgences, and to chaſtiſe them in mature age with a boyiſh rod of correction? How much more coherent is it to Scripture, that the Law as a ſtrict Schoolmaſter ſhould have puniſh'd every treſpaſs without indulgence ſo baneful to Youth, and that the Goſpel ſhould now correct that by admonition and reproof only, in free and mature Age, which was puniſh'd with ſtripes in the childhood and bondage of the Law. What therefore it allow'd then ſo fairly, much leſs is to be whipp'd now, eſpecially in Penal Courts: and if it ought now to trouble the Conſcience, why did that angry accuſer and condemner Law reprieve it? So then, neither from *Moſes* nor from Chriſt hath the Magiſtrate any authority to proceed againſt it. But what, ſhall then the diſpoſal of that power return again to the Maſter of a Family? Wherefore not, ſince God there put it, and the preſumptuous Canon thence bereft it? This only muſt be provided, that the ancient manner be obſerv'd in the preſence of the Miniſter and other grave ſelected Elders, who after they ſhall have admoniſh'd and preſs'd upon him the words of our Saviour, and he ſhall have proteſted in the Faith of the eternal Goſpel, and the hope he has of happy Reſurrection, that otherwiſe than thus he cannot do, and thinks himſelf and this his caſe not contain'd in that Prohibition of Divorce which Chriſt pronounc'd, the matter not being of malice, but of nature, and ſo not capable of reconciling; to conſtrain him further were to unchriſten him, to unman him, to throw the Mountain of *Sinai* upon him, with the weight of the whole Law to boot, flat againſt the liberty and eſſence of the Goſpel, and yet nothing available either to the ſanctity of Marriage, the good of Husband, Wife, or Children, nothing profitable either to Church or Commonwealth, but hurtful and pernicious to all theſe reſpects. But this will bring in confuſion: yet theſe cautious miſtruſters might conſider, that what they thus object lights not upon this Book, but upon that which I engage againſt them, the Book of God and *Moſes*, with all the wiſdom and providence which had forecaſt the worſt of confuſion that could ſucceed, and yet thought fit of ſuch a permiſſion. But let them be of good cheer, it wrought ſo little diſorder among the *Jews*, that from *Moſes* till after the Captivity, not one of the Prophets thought it worth the rebuking; for that of *Malachy* well look'd into will appear to be not againſt divorcing, but rather againſt keeping ſtrange Concubines, to the vexation of their *Hebrew* Wives. If therefore we Chriſtians may be thought as good and tractable as the *Jews* were, and certainly the Prohibiters of Divorce preſume us to be better, then leſs confuſion is to be fear'd for this among us than was among them. If we be worſe, or but as bad, which lamentable examples confirm we are, then have we more, or at leaſt as much, need of this permitted Law, as they to whom God therefore gave it (as they ſay) under a harſher Covenant. Let not therefore the frailty of man go on thus inventing needleſs troubles to it ſelf, to groan under the falſe imagination of a ſtrictneſs never impos'd from above; enjoining that for duty which is an impoſſible and vain ſupererogating. *Be not righteous overmuch*, is the counſel of *Eccleſiaſtes*; *why ſhouldſt thou deſtroy thy ſelf?* Let us not be thus over-curious to ſtrain at atoms, and yet to ſtop every vent and cranny of permiſſive liberty, leſt Nature wanting thoſe needful pores and breathing places which God hath not debarr'd our weakneſs, either ſuddenly break out into ſome wide rupture of open Vice and frantick Hereſie, or elſe inwardly feſter with repining and blaſphemous thoughts, under an unreaſonable and fruitleſs rigor of unwarranted Law. Againſt which evils nothing can more beſeem the Religion of the Church, or the Wiſdom of the State, then to conſider timely and provide. And in ſo doing let them not doubt but they ſhall vindicate the miſreputed Honour of God and his great Lawgiver, by ſuffering him to give his own Laws according to the condition of mans nature beſt known to him, without the unſufferable imputation of diſpenſing legally with many ages of ratified Adultery. They ſhall recover the miſattended words of Chriſt to the ſincerity of their true ſenſe from manifold Contradictions, and ſhall open them with the key of Charity. Many helpleſs Chriſtians they ſhall raiſe from the depth of ſadneſs and diſtreſs, utterly unfitted as they are to ſerve God or Man: many they ſhall reclaim from obſcure and giddy Sects, many regain from diſſolute and brutiſh Licence, many from deſperate hardneſs, if ever that were juſtly pleaded. They ſhall ſet free many Daughters of *Iſrael*, not wanting much of her ſad plight whom *Satan had bound eighteen years*. Man they ſhall reſtore to his juſt Dignity and Prerogative in Nature, preferring the Souls free peace before the promiſcuous draining of a carnal rage. Marriage from a perillous hazard and ſnare, they ſhall reduce to be a more certain haven and retirement of happy Society; when they ſhall judge according to God and *Moſes*, and how not then according to Chriſt? when they ſhall judge it more wiſdom and goodneſs to break that Covenant ſeemingly, and keep it really, then compulſion of Law to keep it ſeemingly, and by compulſion of blameleſs Nature to break it really, at leaſt if it were ever truly join'd. The vigor of Diſcipline they may then turn with better ſucceſs upon the proſtitute looſneſs of the times, when men finding in themſelves the infirmities of former Ages, ſhall not be conſtrain'd above the gift of God in them, to unprofitable and impoſſible Obſervances, never required from the civileſt, the wiſeſt, the holieſt Nations, whoſe other Excellencies in moral vertue they never yet could equal. Laſt of all, to thoſe whoſe mind is ſtill to maintain textual reſtriction, whereof the bare ſound cannot conſiſt ſometimes with Humanity, much leſs with Charity, I would ever anſwer by putting them in remembrance of a command above all commands, which they ſeem to have forgot, and who ſpake it; in compariſon whereof, this which they ſo exalt is but a petty and ſubordinate Precept. *Let them go* therefore with whom I am loth to couple them, yet they will needs run into the ſame blindneſs with the Phariſees; *let them go therefore* and conſider well what this leſſon means, *I will have mercy and not ſacrifice*; for on that *ſaying all the Law and Prophets depend*, much more the Goſpel, whoſe end and excellence is mercy and peace: or if they cannot learn that, how will they hear this? which yet I ſhall not doubt to leave with them as a Concluſion, That God the Son hath put all other things under his own feet, but his Commandments he hath left all under the feet of Charity.

Tetrachordon:

# Tetrachordon:

# EXPOSITIONS

UPON

## The four chief Places in Scripture which treat of Marriage, or Nullities in Marriage.

On { Gen. I. 27,28. compar'd and explain'd by *Gen.* ii. 18, 23, 24.
Deut. XXIV. 1, 2.
Matth. V. 31, 32. with *Matth.* xix. from v. 3 to 11.
1 Cor. VII. from v. 10 to 16.

Wherein the Doctrine and Diſcipline of Divorce, as was lately publiſh'd, is confirm'd by Explanation of Scripture, by Teſtimony of ancient Fathers, of civil Laws in the Primitive Church, of famouſeſt Reformed Divines; and laſtly, by an intended Act of the Parlament and Church of *England* in the laſt year of Edward the Sixt.

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—— Σκαιοῖσι καινὰ προσφέρων σοφὰ
Δόξεις ἀχρεῖος, κ᾽οὐ σοφὸς πεφυκέναι·
Τῶν δ᾽ αὖ δοκούντων εἰδέναι τι ποικίλον,
Κρείσσων νομισθεὶς ἐν πόλει, λυπρὸς φανῇ. *Euripid. Medea.*

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## To the Parlament.

THAT which I knew to be the part of a good Magiſtrate, aiming at true liberty through the right information of religious and civil life, and that which I ſaw, and was partaker of, your Vows and ſolemn Cov'nants, Parlament of *England*, your actions alſo manifeſtly tending to exalt the Truth, and to depreſs the tyranny of Error, and ill Cuſtom, with more conſtancy and proweſſe then ever yet any, ſince that Parlament which put the firſt Scepter of this Kingdom into his hand whom God and extraordinary Vertue made their Monarch, were the cauſes that mov'd me, one elſe not placing much in the eminence of a Dedication, to preſent your high notice with a Diſcourſe, conſcious to it ſelf of nothing more then of diligence, and firm affection to the publick good. And that ye took it ſo as wiſe and impartial men, obtaining ſo great power and dignitie, are wont to accept, in matters both doubtful and important, what they think offer'd them well meant, and from a rational ability, I had no leſs then to perſwade me. And on that perſwaſion am returned, as to a famous and free port, my ſelf alſo bound by more then a *maritime* Law, to expoſe as freely what fraughtage I conceave to bring of no trifles. For although it be generally known, how and by whom ye have been inſtigated to a hard cenſure of that former book entitl'd, The Doctrine and Diſcipline of Divorce, an opinion held by ſome of the beſt among reformed Writers without ſcandal or confutement, tho now thought new and dangerous by ſome of our ſevere *Gnoſtics*, whoſe little reading, and leſs meditating holds ever with hardeſt obſtinacy that which it took up with eaſieſt credulity; I do not find yet that ought, for the furious incitements which have been us'd, hath iſſu'd by your appointment, that might give the leaſt interruption or diſrepute either to the Author, or to the Book. Which he who will be better adviſ'd then to call your neglect, or connivence at a thing imagin'd ſo perilous, can attribute it to nothing more juſtly, then to the deep and quiet ſtream of your direct and calm deliberations, that gave not way either to the fervent raſhneſs, or the immaterial gravity of thoſe who ceas'd not to exaſperate without cauſe. For which uprightneſs and incorrupt refuſal of what ye were incens'd to, Lords and Commons, ( though it were don to juſtice, not to me, and was a peculiar demonſtration how far your ways are different from the raſh vulgar ) beſides thoſe allegiances of Oath and Duty, which are my public debt to your public Labours, I have yet a ſtore of gratitude laid up, which cannot be exhauſted ; and ſuch thanks perhaps they may live to be, as ſhall more then whiſper to the next ages. Yet that the Author may be known to ground himſelf upon his own innocence, and the merit of his cauſe, not upon the favour of a diverſion, or a delay to any juſt cenſure, but wiſhes rather he might ſee thoſe his detracters at any fair meeting, as learned debatements are privileg'd with a due freedom under equal Moderators, I ſhall here briefly ſingle one of them ( becauſe he hath oblig'd me to it ) who I perſwade me having ſcarſe read the book, nor knowing him who writ it, or at leaſt faining the latter, hath not forborn to ſcandalize him, unconferr'd with, unadmoniſht, undealt with by any Paſtorly or brotherly convincement, in the moſt open and invective manner, and at the moſt bitter opportunity that drift or ſet deſign could have invented. And this, when as the Canon Law, though commonly moſt favouring the boldneſs of their Prieſts, puniſhes the naming or traducing of any perſon in the Pulpit, was by him made no ſcruple. If I ſhall therefore take licence by the right of nature, and that liberty wherein I was born, to defend my ſelf publicly againſt a printed Calumny, and do willingly appeal to thoſe Judges to whom I am accus'd, it can be no immoderate, or unallowable courſe of ſeeking ſo juſt and needful reparations. Which I had don long ſince, had not theſe employments, which are now viſible, deferr'd me. It was preacht before ye, Lords and Commons, in *Auguſt* laſt upon a ſpecial day of Humiliation, that *there was a wicked Book abroad*, and ye were taxt of ſin that it was yet *uncenſur'd, the Book deſerving to be burnt* ; and *Impudence* alſo was charg'd upon the Author, who durſt *ſet his name to it, and dedicate it to your ſelves.* Firſt, Lords and Commons, I pray to that God, before whom ye then were proſtrate, ſo to forgive ye thoſe omiſſions and treſpaſſes, which ye deſire moſt ſhould find forgivneſs, as I ſhall ſoon ſhew to the World how eaſily ye abſolve your ſelves of that which this man calls your Sin, and is indeed your Wiſdom, and your Nobleneſs, whereof to this day ye have don well not to repent. He terms it *a wicked Book*, and why but *for allowing other Cauſes of Divorce, then Chriſt and his Apoſtles mention* ? and with the ſame cenſure condemns of wickedneſs not only *Martin Bucer*, that elect Inſtrument of Reformation, highly honour'd and had in reverence by *Edward* the ſixth, and his whole Parlament, whom alſo I had publiſht in Engliſh by a good providence, about a week before this calumnious digreſſion was preach'd ; ſo that if he knew not *Bucer* then, as he ought to have known, he might at leaſt have known him ſome months after, ere the Sermon came in print, wherein notwithſtanding he perſiſts in his former ſentence, and condemns again of wickedneſs, either ignorantly or wilfully, not only *Martin Bucer*, and all the choiſeſt and holieſt of our Reformers, but the whole Parlament and Church of *England* in thoſe beſt and pureſt times of *Edward* the ſixth. All which I ſhall prove with good evidence, at the end of theſe Explanations. And then let it be judg'd and ſeriouſly conſider'd with what hope the affairs of our Religion are committed to one among others, who hath now only left him which of the twain he will chooſe, whether this ſhall be his palpable ignorance, or the ſame wickedneſs of his own Book, which he ſo laviſhly imputes to the writings of other men : and whether this of his, that thus peremptorily defames and attaints of wickedneſs unſpotted Churches, unblemiſht Parlaments, and the moſt eminent Reſtorers of Chriſtian Doctrine, deſerve not to be burnt firſt. And if his heat had burſt out only againſt the Opinion, his wonted paſſion had no doubt bin ſilently born with wonted patience. But ſince, againſt the charity of that ſolemn place and meeting, it ſerv'd him furder to inveigh opprobriouſly againſt the perſon, branding him with no leſs then impudence, only for ſetting his name to what he had writt'n, I muſt be excus'd not to be ſo wanting to the defence of an honeſt Name, or to the reputation of thoſe good Men who afford me their ſociety, but to be ſenſible of ſuch a foul endeavour'd diſgrace : not knowing ought either in mine own deſerts, or the Laws of this Land, why I ſhould be ſubject, in ſuch a notorious and illegal manner, to the intemperances of this mans preaching choler. And indeed to be ſo prompt and ready in the midſt of his humbleneſs, to toſs reproaches of this bulk and ſize, argues as if they were the weapons of his exerciſe, I am ſure not of his Miniſtery, or of that days work. Certainly to ſubſcribe my name at what I was to own, was what the State had order'd and requires. And he who liſts not to be malicious, would call it ingenuity, clear conſcience, willingneſs to avouch what might be queſtion'd, or to be better inſtructed. And if God were ſo diſpleas'd with thoſe, *Iſa.* 58. who *on the ſolemn faſt were wont to ſmite with the fiſt of wickedneſs*, it could be no ſign of his own humiliation accepted, which diſpos'd him to ſmite ſo keenly with a reviling tongue. But if only to have writ my name muſt be counted *impudence*, how doth this but juſtifie another, who might affirm with as good warrant, that the late Diſcourſe of *Scripture and Reaſon*, which is certain to be chiefly his own draught, was publiſht without a name, out of baſe fear, and the ſly avoidance of what might follow to his detriment, if the party at Court ſhould hap to reach him? And I, to have ſet my name, where he accuſes me to have ſet it, am ſo far from recanting, that I offer my hand alſo if need be, to make good the ſame opinion which I there maintain, by inevitable conſequences drawn parallel from his own principal arguments in that of *Scripture and Reaſon*: which I ſhall pardon him, if he can deny, without ſhaking his own compoſition to pieces. The *impudence* therefore, ſince he waigh'd ſo little what a groſs revile that was to give his equal, I ſend him back again for a *phylactery* to ſtitch upon his arrogance, that cenſures not only before conviction ſo bitterly without ſo much as one reaſon giv'n, but cenſures the Congregation of his Governors to their faces, for not being ſo haſty as himſelf to cenſure.

And whereas my other crime is, that I addreſs'd the Dedication of what I had ſtudied, to the Parlament, how could I better declare the loyalty which I owe to that ſupreme and majeſtick Tribunal, and the opinion which I have of the high-entruſted judgment, and perſonal worth aſſembl'd in that place? With the ſame affections therefore, and the ſame addicted fidelity, Parlament of *England*, I here again have brought to your peruſal on the ſame argument theſe following Expoſitions of Scripture. The former book, as pleas'd ſome to think, who were thought judicious, had of reaſon in it to a ſufficiency; what they requir'd, was that the Scriptures there alleg'd might be diſcuſs'd more fully. To their deſires, thus much furder hath been labour'd in the Scriptures. Another ſort alſo who wanted more autorities, and citations, have not been here unthought of. If all this attain not to ſatisfie them, as I am confident that none of thoſe our great controverſies at this day hath had a more demonſtrative explaining, I muſt confeſs to admire what it is, for doubtleſs it is not reaſon now adays that ſatisfies, or ſuborns the common credence of men, to yield ſo eaſily, and grow ſo vehement in matters much more diſputable, and far leſs conducing to the daily good and peace of life. Some whoſe neceſſary ſhifts have long enur'd them to cloak the defects of their unſtudied years, and hatred now to learn, under the appearance of a grave ſolidity, which eſtimation they have gain'd among weak perceivers, find the eaſe of ſlighting what they cannot refute, and are determin'd, as I hear, to hold it not worth the anſwering. In which number I muſt be forc'd to reck'n that Doctor, who in a late equivocating Treatiſe plauſibly ſet afloat againſt the *Dippers*, diving the while himſelf with a more deep prelatical malignance againſt the preſent State and Church-government, mentions with ignominy *the Tractate of Divorce*; yet anſwers nothing, but inſtead thereof (for which I do not commend his marſhalling) ſets *Moſes* alſo among the crew of his Anabaptiſts, as one who to a holy Nation, the Common-wealth of *Iſrael*, gave Laws *breaking the bonds of Marriage to inordinate luſt*. Theſe are no mean ſurges of blaſphemy, not only *dipping Moſes* the divine Lawgiver, but daſhing with a high hand againſt the juſtice and purity of God himſelf; as theſe enſuing Scriptures plainly and freely handl'd ſhall verifie to the launcing of that old *apoſtemated* error. Him therefore I leave now to his repentance.

Others, which is their courteſie, confeſs that wit and parts may do much to make that ſeem true which is not (as was objected to *Socrates* by them who could not reſiſt his efficacy, that he ever made the worſe cauſe ſeem the better) and thus thinking themſelves diſcharg'd of the difficulty, love not to wade furder into the fear of a convincement. Theſe will be their excuſes to decline the full examining of this ſerious point. So much the more I preſs it and repeat it, Lords and Commons, that ye beware while time is, ere this grand ſecret, and only art of ignorance affecting tyranny, grow powerful, and rule among us. For if ſound argument and reaſon ſhall be thus put off, either by an undervaluing ſilence, or the maſterly cenſure of a rayling word or two in the Pulpit, or by rejecting the force of truth, as the meer cunning of Eloquence and Sophiſtry, what can be the end of this, but that all good learning and knowledge will ſuddenly decay? Ignorance, and illiterate preſumption, which is yet but our diſeaſe, will turn at length into our very conſtitution, and prove the *hectic* evil of this age: worſe to be fear'd, if it get once to reign over us, than any fiſt Monarchy. If this ſhall be the courſe, that what was wont to be a chief commendation, and the ground of other mens confidence in an Author, his diligence, his learning, his elocution whether by right, or by ill meaning granted him, ſhall be turn'd now to a diſadvantage and ſuſpicion againſt him, that what he writes, though unconfuted, muſt therefore be miſtruſted, therefore not receiv'd for the induſtry, the exactneſs, the labour in it, confeſs'd to be more then ordinary; as if wiſdom had now forſak'n the thirſty and laborious inquirer to dwell againſt her nature with the arrogant and ſhallow babler, to what purpoſe all thoſe pains and that continual ſearching requir'd of us by *Solomon* to the attainment of underſtanding; why are men bred up with ſuch care and expence to a life of perpetual ſtudies, why do your ſelves with ſuch endeavour ſeek to wipe off the imputation of intending to diſcourage the progreſs and advance of learning? He therefore whoſe heart can bear him to the high pitch of your noble enterpriſes, may eaſily aſſure himſelf that the prudence and far-judging circumſpectneſs of ſo grave a Magiſtracy ſitting in Parlament, who have before them the prepar'd and purpos'd Act of their moſt religious predeceſſors to imitate in this queſtion, cannot reject the clearneſs of theſe reaſons, and theſe allegations both here and formerly offer'd them; nor can over-look the neceſſity of ordaining more wholſomly and more humanly in the caſualties of Divorce, then our Laws have yet eſtabliſht: if the moſt urgent and exceſſive grievances hapning in domeſtick life, be worth the laying to heart, which, unleſs Charity be far from us, cannot be neglected. And that theſe things both in the right conſtitution, and in the right reformation of a Common-wealth call for ſpeedieſt redreſs, and ought to be the firſt conſider'd, anough was urg'd in what was prefac'd to that monument of *Bucer* which I brought to your remembrance, and the other time before. Henceforth, except new cauſe be giv'n, I ſhall ſay leſs and leſs. For if the Law make not timely proviſion, let the Law, as reaſon is, bear the cenſure of thoſe conſequences, which her own default now more evidently produces. And if men want manlineſs to expoſtulate the right of their due ranſom, and to ſecond their own occaſions, they may ſit hereafter and bemoan themſelves to have neglected through faintneſs the only remedy of their ſufferings, which a ſeaſonable and well-grounded ſpeaking might have purchas'd them. And perhaps in time to come, others will know how to eſteem what is not every day put into their hands, when they have markt events, and better weigh'd how hurtful and unwiſe it is, to hide a ſecret and pernicious rupture under the ill counſel of a baſhful ſilence. But who would diſtruſt ought, or not be ample in his hopes of your wiſe and Chriſtian determinations? who have the prudence to conſider, and ſhould have the goodneſs like Gods, as ye are call'd, to find out readily, and by juſt Law to adminiſter thoſe redreſſes which have of old, not without God ordaining, bin granted to the adverſities of mankind, ere they who needed, were put to ask. Certainly, if any other have enlarg'd his thoughts to expect from this Government ſo juſtly undertak'n, and by frequent aſſiſtances from Heaven ſo apparently upheld, glorious changes and renovations both in Church and State, he among the formoſt might be nam'd, who prays that the fate of *England* may tarry for no other Deliverers.

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## Expoſitions upon the four chief Places in Scripture which treat of Marriage, or Nullities in Marriage.

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Gen. I. 27.

*So God created Man in his own image, in the image of God created he him; male and female created he them.*

28. *And God bleſſed them, and God ſaid unto them, Be fruitful,* &c.

Gen. II. 18.

*And the Lord God ſaid, It is not good that Man ſhould be alone, I will make him a help meet for him.*

23. *And Adam ſaid, This is now bone of my bones, and fleſh of my fleſh; ſhe ſhall be called Woman, becauſe ſhe was taken out of Man.*

24. *Therefore ſhall a Man leave his Father and his Mother, and ſhall cleave unto his Wife, and they ſhall be one fleſh.*

Gen. I. 27.

SO *God created Man in his own image.*] To be inform'd aright in the whole Hiſtory of Marriage, that we may know for certain, not by a forc'd yoke, but by an impartial definition, what Marriage is, and what is not Marriage; it will undoubtedly be ſafeſt, faireſt, and moſt with our obedience, to enquire, as our Saviours direction is, how it was in the beginning. And that we begin ſo high as Man created after Gods own Image, there want not earneſt cauſes. For nothing now adays is more degenerately forgott'n, then the true dignity of Man, almoſt in every reſpect, but eſpecially in this prime inſtitution of Matrimony, wherein his native pre-eminence ought moſt to ſhine. Although if we conſider that juſt and natural privileges men neither can rightly ſeek, nor dare fully claim, unleſs they be ally'd to inward goodneſs, and ſtedfaſt knowledge, and that the want of this quells them to a ſervile ſenſe of their own conſcious unworthineſs, it may ſave the wondring why in this age many are ſo oppoſite both to humane and to Chriſtian liberty, either while they underſtand not, or envy others that do; contenting, or rather priding themſelves in a ſpecious humility and ſtrictneſs bred out of low ignorance, that never yet conceiv'd the freedom of the Goſpel; and is therefore by the Apoſtle to the *Coloſſians* rankt with no better company, then Will-worſhip and the meer ſhew of wiſdom. And how injurious herein they are, if not to themſelves, yet to their neighbours, and not to them only, but to the all-wiſe and bounteous Grace offer'd us in our redemption, will orderly appear.

*In the Image of God created he him.*] It is enough determin'd, that this Image of God wherein Man was created, is meant Wiſdom, Purity, Juſtice, and Rule over all creatures. All which being loſt in *Adam*, was recover'd with gain by the merits of Chriſt. For albeit our firſt parent had Lordſhip over Sea, and Land, and Air, yet there was a Law without him, as a guard ſet over him. But Chriſt having cancell'd the hand-writing of Ordinances which was againſt us, *Coloſſ.* 2. 14. and interpreted the fulfilling of all through charity, hath in that reſpect ſet us over Law, in the free cuſtody of his love, and left us victorious under the guidance of his living Spirit, not under the dead letter; to follow that which moſt edifies, moſt aids and furders a religious life, makes us holieſt and likeſt to his immortal Image, not that which makes us moſt conformable and captive to civil and ſubordinat precepts; whereof the ſtricteſt obſervance may oft-times prove the deſtruction not only of many innocent perſons and families, but of whole Nations. Although indeed no Ordinance humane or from heav'n can bind againſt the good of Man; ſo that to keep them ſtrictly againſt that end, is all one with to break them. Men of moſt renowned vertue have ſometimes by tranſgreſſing, moſt truly kept the Law; and wiſeſt Magiſtrates have permitted and diſpenc'd it; while they lookt not peeviſhly at the letter, but with a greater ſpirit at the good of mankind, if always not writt'n in the characters of Law, yet engrav'n in the heart of Man by a divine impreſſion. This Heathens could ſee, as the well-read in ſtory can recount of *Solon* and *Epaminondas*, whom *Cicero* in his firſt Book of *Invention* nobly defends. *All law*, ſaith he, *we ought refer to the common good, and interpret by that, not by the ſcrowl of letters. No man obſerves Law for Laws ſake, but for the good of them for whom it was made.* The reſt might ſerve well to lecture theſe times, deluded through belly-doctrines into a devout ſlavery. The Scripture alſo affords us *David* in the ſhew-bread, *Hezechiah* in the paſſover, ſound and ſafe tranſgreſſors of the litteral command, which alſo diſpenc'd not ſeldom with it ſelf; and taught us on what juſt occaſions to do ſo: until our Saviour, for whom that great and God-like work was reſerv'd, redeem'd us to a ſtate above preſcriptions, by diſſolving the whole Law into Charity. And have we not the ſoul to underſtand this, and muſt we againſt this glory of God's tranſcendent Love towards us be ſtill the ſervants of a literal indightment?

*Created he him.*] It might be doubted why he ſaith, *In the Image of God created he him*, not them, as well as *male and female* them; eſpecially ſince that Image might be common to them both, but *male and female* could not, however the Jews fable, and pleaſe themſelves with the accidental concurrence of *Plato*'s wit, as if Man at firſt had bin created *Hermaphrodite*: but then it muſt have bin male and female created he him. So had the Image of God bin equally common to them both, it had no doubt bin ſaid, In the Image of God created he them. But St. *Paul* ends the controverſie, by explaining that the Woman is not primarily and immediately the Image of God, but in reference to the Man. *The head of the Woman*, ſaith he, 1 *Cor.* 11. *is the Man: he the image and glory of God, ſhe the glory of the Man*; he not for her, but ſhe for him. Therefore his precept is, *Wives be ſubject to your Husbands as is fit in the Lord*, Coloſſ. 3. 18. *In every thing*, Eph. 5. 24. Nevertheleſs man is not to hold her as a ſervant, but receives her into a part of that empire which God proclaims him to, though not equally, yet largely, as his own image and glory: for it is no ſmall glory to him, that a creature ſo like him, ſhould be made ſubject to him. Not but that particular exceptions may have place, if ſhe exceed her Husband in prudence and dexterity, and he contentedly yield; for then a ſuperior and more natural Law comes in, that the wiſer ſhould govern the leſs wiſe, whether male or female. But that which far more eaſily and obediently follows from this verſe, is that, ſeeing Woman was purpoſely made for Man, and he her head, it cannot ſtand before the breath of this divine utterance, that Man the portraiture of God, joyning to himſelf for his intended good and ſolace an inferior ſex, ſhould ſo become her thrall, whoſe wilfulneſs or inability to be a wife fruſtrates the occaſional end of her creation, but that he may acquit himſelf to freedom by his natural birth-right, and that indelible character of priority which God crown'd him with. If it be urg'd that ſin hath loſt him this, the anſwer is not far to ſeek, that from her the ſin firſt proceeded, which keeps her juſtly in the ſame proportion ſtill beneath. She is not to gain by being firſt in the tranſgreſſion, that Man ſhould further looſe to her, becauſe already he hath loſt by her means. Oft it happens that in this matter he is without fault; ſo that his puniſhment herein is cauſeleſs: and God hath the praiſe in our ſpeeches of him, to ſort his puniſhment in the ſame kind with the offence. Suppoſe he err'd; it is not the intent of God or Man, to hunt an error ſo to the death with a revenge beyond all meaſure and proportion. But if we argue thus, this affliction is befaln him for his ſin, therefore he muſt bear it, without ſeeking the only remedy; firſt it will be falſe that all affliction comes for ſin, as in the caſe of *Job*, and of the Man born blind, *Joh.* 9. 3. was evident: next by that reaſon, all miſeries coming for ſin, we muſt let them all lie upon us like the vermin of an Indian *Cathariſt*, which his fond Religion forbids him to moleſt. Were it a particular puniſhment inflicted through the anger of God upon a perſon, or upon a land, no Law hinders us in that regard, no Law but bids us remove it if we can; much more if it be a dangerous temptation withall; much more yet, if it be certainly a temptation, and not certainly a puniſhment, though a pain. As for what they ſay we muſt bear with patience; to bear with patience, and to ſeek effectual remedies, implies no contradiction. It may no leſs be for our diſobedience, our unfaithfulneſs, and other ſins againſt God, that wives become adulterous to the bed; and queſtionleſs we ought to take the affliction as patiently as Chriſtian prudence would wiſh ; yet hereby is not loſt the right of divorcing for adultery. No you ſay, becauſe our Saviour excepted that only. But why, if he were ſo bent to puniſh our ſins, and try our patience in binding on us a diſaſtrous Marriage, why did he except Adultery ? Certainly to have bin bound from Divorce in that caſe alſo had bin as plentiful a puniſhment to our Sins, and not too little work for the patienteſt. Nay perhaps they will ſay it was too great a ſufferance, and with as ſlight a reaſon, for no wiſe man but would ſooner pardon the act of Adultery once and again committed by a perſon worth pity and forgivnes, then to lead a weariſom life of unloving and unquiet converſation with one who neither affects nor is affected, much leſs with one who exerciſes all bitternes, and would commit Adultery too, but for envy leſt the perſecuted condition ſhould thereby get the benefit of his freedom. 'Tis plain therefore, that God enjoyns not this ſuppoſed ſtrictnes of not divorcing either to puniſh us, or to try our patience.

Moreover, if Man be the image of God, which conſiſts in holineſs, and Woman ought in the ſame reſpect to be the image and companion of Man, in ſuch wiſe to be lov'd as the Church is belov'd of Chriſt ; and if, as God is the head of Chriſt, and Chriſt the head of Man, ſo Man is the head of Woman ; I cannot ſee by this golden dependance of headſhip and ſubjection, but that Piety and Religion is the main tye of Chriſtian Matrimony : ſo as if there be found between the pair a notorious diſparity either of wickednes or hereſie, the Husband by all manner of right is diſingag'd from a creature, not made and inflicted on him to the vexation of his righteouſneſs ; the Wife alſo, as her ſubjection is terminated in the Lord, being her ſelf the redeem'd of Chriſt, is not ſtill bound to be the vaſſal of him, who is the bondſlave of Satan : ſhe being now neither the image nor the glory of ſuch a perſon, nor made for him, nor left in bondage to him ; but hath recours to the wing of Charity, and protection of the Church, unles there be a hope on either ſide ; yet ſuch a hope muſt be meant, as may be a rational hope, and not an endleſs ſervitude. Of which hereafter.

But uſually it is objected, that if it be thus, then there can be no true Marriage between misbelievers and irreligious perſons. I might anſwer, let them ſee to that who are ſuch ; the Church hath no commiſſion to judge thoſe without, 1 *Cor.* 5. But this they will ſay perhaps, is but penuriouſly to reſolv a doubt. I anſwer therefore, that where they are both irreligious, the Marriage may be yet true enough to them in a civil relation. For there are left ſom remains of Gods image in man, as he is meerly man ; which reaſon God gives againſt the ſhedding of mans bloud, *Gen.* 9. as being made in Gods image, without expreſſion whether he were a good man or a bad, to exempt the ſlayer from puniſhment. So that in thoſe Marriages where the parties are alike void of Religion, the Wife owes a civil homage and ſubjection, the Husband owes a civil loyalty. But where the yoke is miſ-yok't, heretick with faithful, godly with ungodly, to the grievance and manifeſt endangering of a brother or ſiſter, reaſons of a higher ſtrain then matrimonial bear ſway ; unleſs the Goſpel inſtead of freeing us, debaſe it ſelf to make us bondmen, and ſuffer evil to controul good.

*Male and Female created he them.*] This contains another end of matching Man and Woman, being the right and lawfulneſs of the Marriage-bed ; though much inferior to the former end of her being his image and help in religious ſociety. And who of weakeſt inſight may not ſee that this creating of them Male and Female, cannot in any order of Reaſon, or Chriſtianity, be of ſuch moment againſt the better and higher purpoſes of their creation, as to enthral Husband or Wife to duties or to ſufferings, unworthy and unbeſeeming the image of God in them ? Now whenas not only men, but good men, do ſtand upon their right, their eſtimation, their dignity, in all other actions and deportments, with warrant anough and good Conſcience, as having the image of God in them, it will not be difficult to determin what is unworthy and unſeemly for a man to do or ſuffer in Wedlock ; and the like proportionally may be found for woman, if we love not to ſtand diſputing below the principles of humanity. He that ſaid, *Male and female created he them*, immediatly before that ſaid alſo in the ſame verſe, *In the image of God created he him*, and redoubl'd it, that our thoughts might not be ſo full of dregs as to urge this poor conſideration of *male and female*, without remembring the noblenes of that former Repetition ; leſt when God ſends a wiſe eye to examin our trivial gloſſes, they be found extremely to creep upon the ground : eſpecially ſince they confeſs that what here concerns Marriage is but a brief touch, only preparative to the Inſtitution which follows more expreſly in the next Chapter ; and that Chriſt ſo took it, as deſiring to be briefeſt with them who came to tempt him, account ſhall be given in due place.

V. 28. *And God bleſſed them, and God ſaid unto them, Be fruitful and multiply, and repleniſh the earth,* &c.

This declares another end of Matrimony, the propagation of Mankind; and is again repeated to *Noah* and his ſons. Many things might be noted on this place not ordinary, nor unworth the noting; but I undertook not a general Comment. Hence therefore we ſee the deſire of children is honeſt and pious; if we be not leſs zealous in our Chriſtianity, then *Plato* was in his heatheniſm; who in the ſixt *of his Laws*, counts off-ſpring therefore deſirable, that we may leav in our ſtead ſons of our ſons, continual ſervants of God: a religious and prudent deſire, if people knew as well what were requir'd to breeding as to begetting; which deſire perhaps was a cauſe why the Jews hardly could endure a barren wedlock: and *Philo* in his book of ſpecial Laws, eſteems him only worth pardon that ſends not barrennes away. *Carvilius*, the firſt recorded in *Rome* to have ſought Divorce, had it granted him for the barrennes of his wife, upon his oath that he married to the end he might have children; as *Dionyſius* and *Gellius* are authors. But to diſmiſs a wife only for barrennes, is hard: and yet in ſom the deſire of children is ſo great, and ſo juſt, yea ſometime ſo neceſſary, that to condemn ſuch a one to a childles age, the fault apparently not being in him, might ſeem perhaps more ſtrict then needed. Sometimes inheritances, crowns, and dignities are ſo intereſted and annext in their common peace and good to ſuch or ſuch lineal deſcent, that it may prove of great moment both in the affairs of men and of Religion, to conſider throughly what might be don herein, notwithſtanding the waywardnes of our School Doctors.

### Gen. II. 18.

*And the Lord ſaid, It is not good that man ſhould be alone; I will make him a help meet for him.*

V. 23. *And Adam ſaid,* &c. V. 24. *Therefore ſhall a man leave,* &c.

THis 2*d* Chapter is granted to be a Commentary on the 1*ſt*; and theſe verſes granted to be an expoſition of that former verſe, *Male and female created he them:* and yet when this male and female is by the explicite words of God himſelf here declar'd to be not meant other than a fit help, and meet ſociety, ſome who would ingroſs to themſelves the whole trade of interpreting, will not ſuffer the cleer text of God to do the office of explaining it ſelf.

*And the Lord God ſaid, It is not good.*] A man would think that the conſideration of who ſpake, ſhould raiſe up the intention of our minds to enquire better, and obey the purpos of ſo great a Speaker: for as we order the buſines of Marriage, that which he here ſpeaks is all made vain; and in the deciſion of matrimony, or not matrimony, nothing at all regarded. Our preſumption hath utterly chang'd the ſtate and condition of this ordinance: God ordain'd it in love and helpfulneſs to be indiſſoluble, and we in outward act and formality to be a forc't bondage; ſo that being ſubject to a thouſand errors in the beſt men, if it prove a bleſſing to any, it is of meer accident, as mans Law hath handl'd it, and not of inſtitution.

*It is not good for man to be alone.*] Hitherto all things that have bin nam'd, were approv'd of God to be very good: lonelineſs is the firſt thing which Gods eye nam'd not good: whether it be a thing, or the want of ſomthing, I labour not; let it be their tendance, who have the art to be induſtriouſly idle. And here *alone* is meant alone without woman; otherwiſe *Adam* had the company of God himſelf, and Angels to convers with; all creatures to delight him ſeriouſly, or to make him ſport. God could have created him out of the ſame mould a thouſand friends and brother *Adams* to have bin his conſorts; yet for all this till *Eve* was giv'n him, God reckon'd him to be alone.

*It is not good.*] God here preſents himſelf like to a man deliberating; both to ſhew us that the matter is of high conſequence, and that he intended to found it according to natural reaſon, not impulſive command, but that the duty ſhould ariſe from the reaſon of it, not the reaſon be ſwallow'd up in a reaſonleſs duty. *Not good*, was as much to *Adam* before his fall, as not pleaſing, not expedient; but ſince the coming of Sin into the world, to him who hath not receiv'd the continence, it is not only not expedient to be alone, but plainly ſinful. And therefore he who wilfully abſtains from Marriage, not being ſupernaturally gifted, and he who by making the yoke of Marriage unjuſt and intolerable, cauſes men to abhor it, are both in a diabolical ſin, equal to that of Antichriſt who forbids to marry. For what difference at all whether he abſtain men from marrying, or reſtrain them in a Marriage hapning totally diſcommodious, diſtaſtful, diſhoneſt and pernicious to him without the appearance of his fault? For God does not heer preciſely ſay, I make a female unto this male, as he did briefly before; but expounding himſelf heer on purpos, he ſaith, becauſe it is not good for man to be alone, I make him therefore a meet help. God ſupplies the privation of not good, with the perfect gift of a real and poſitive good; it is mans pervers cooking who hath turn'd this bounty of God into a Scorpion, either by weak and ſhallow conſtructions, or by proud arrogance and cruelty to them who neither in their purpoſes nor in their actions have offended againſt the due honour of wedlock.

Now whereas the Apoſtle ſpeaking in the Spirit, 1 *Cor.* 7. pronounces quite contrary to this word of God, *It is good for a man not to touch a woman*, and God cannot contradict himſelf, it inſtructs us that his commands and words, eſpecially ſuch as bear the manifeſt title of ſom good to man, are not to be ſo ſtrictly wrung, as to command without regard to the moſt natural and miſerable neceſſities of mankind. Therefore the Apoſtle adds a limitation in the 26 v. of that chap. for the preſent neceſſity it is good; which he gives us doubtleſs as a pattern how to reconcile other places by the general rule of Charity.

*For man to be alone.*] Som would have the ſenſe heerof to be in reſpect of procreation only: and *Auſtin* conteſts that manly friendſhip in all other regards had bin a more becoming ſolace for *Adam*, then to ſpend ſo many ſecret years in an empty world with one woman. But our Writers deſervedly reject this crabbed opinion; and defend that there is a peculiar comfort in the married ſtate beſides the genial bed, which no other ſociety affords. No mortal nature can endure either in the actions of Religion, or ſtudy of Wiſdom, without ſometime ſlackning the cords of intenſe thought and labour: which leſt we ſhould think faulty, God himſelf conceals us not his own recreations before the World was built; *I was*, ſaith the eternal Wiſdom, *daily his delight*, *playing always before him.* And to him indeed Wiſdom is as a high towr of pleaſure, but to us a ſteep hill, and we toyling ever about the bottom: he executes with eaſe the exploits of his Omnipotence, as eaſie as with us it is to will: but no worthy enterpriſe can be done by us without continual plodding and weariſomneſs to our faint and ſenſitive abilities. We cannot therefore always be contemplative, or pragmatical abroad, but have need of ſom delightful intermiſſions, wherin the enlarg'd ſoul may leav off a while her ſevere ſchooling; and like a glad youth in wandring vacancy, may keep her hollidaies to joy and harmleſs paſtime: which as ſhe cannot well do without company, ſo in no company ſo well as where the different ſex in moſt reſembling unlikenes, and moſt unlike reſemblance, cannot but pleaſe beſt, and be pleas'd in the aptitude of that variety. Wherof leſt we ſhould be too timorous, in the aw that our flat Sages would form us and dreſs us, wiſeſt *Solomon* among his graveſt Proverbs countenances a kind of raviſhment and erring fondnes in the entertainment of wedded leiſures; and in the Song of Songs, which is generally beleev'd, even in the jollieſt expreſſions to figure the Spouſals of the Church with Chriſt, ſings of a thouſand raptures between thoſe two lovely ones far on the hither ſide of carnal enjoyment. By theſe inſtances, and more which might be brought, we may imagine how indulgently God provided againſt mans Lonelines; that he approv'd it not, as by himſelf declar'd not good; that he approv'd the remedy thereof, as of his own ordaining, conſequently good: and as he ordain'd it, ſo doubtles proportionably to our fal'n eſtate he gives it; elſe were his ordinance at leaſt in vain, and we for all his gift ſtill empty handed. Nay ſuch an unbounteous giver we ſhould make him, as in the Fables *Jupiter* was to *Ixion*, giving him *a cloud* inſtead of *Juno*, giving him a monſtrous iſſue by her, the breed of *Centaurs*, a neglected and unlov'd race, the fruits of a deluſive Marriage; and laſtly giving him her with a damnation to that wheel in Hell, from a life thrown into the midſt of temptations and diſorders. But God is no deceitful giver, to beſtow that on us for a remedy of Lonelines, which if it bring not a ſociable mind as well as a conjunctive body, leaves us no leſs alone then before; and if it bring a mind perpetually avers and diſagreeable, betrays us to a wors condition then the moſt deſerted Lonelineſs. God cannot in the juſtice of his own promiſe and inſtitution ſo unexpectedly mock us by forcing that upon us as the remedy of Solitude, which wraps us in a miſery worſe than any Wilderneſs, as the Spirit of God himſelf judges, *Prov.* 19. eſpecially knowing that the beſt and wiſeſt men amidſt the ſincere and moſt cordial deſigns of their heart, do daily err in chooſing.

We may conclude therefore, ſeeing orthodoxal Expoſitors confeſs to our hands, that by Lonelineſs is not only meant the want of Copulation, and that Man is not leſs alone by turning in a body to him, unleſs there be within it a mind anſwerable, that it is a work more worthy the care and conſultation of God to provide for the worthieſt part of man which is his Mind, and not unnaturally to ſet it beneath the formalities and reſpects of the body, to make it a ſervant of its own vaſſal; I ſay, we may conclude that ſuch a Marriage, wherein the mind is ſo diſgrac't and vilify'd below the bodies intereſt, and can have no juſt or tolerable contentment, is not of Gods inſtitution, and therefore no Marriage. Nay in concluding this, I ſay we conclude no more then what the common Expoſiters themſelves give us, both in that which I have recited, and much more hereafter. But the truth is, they give us, in ſuch a manner, as they who leav their own mature poſitions like the eggs of an Oſtrich in the duſt; I do but lay them in the ſun; their own pregnancies hatch the truth; and I am taxt of novelties and ſtrange producements, while they, like that inconſiderate bird, know not that theſe are their own natural breed.

*I will make him a help meet for him.*] Heer the heav'nly Inſtituter, as if he labour'd not to be miſtak'n by the ſupercilious hypocriſie of thoſe that love to maiſter their brethren, and to make us ſure that he gave us not now a ſervil yoke, but an amiable knot, contents not himſelf to ſay, I will make him a wife, but reſolving to give us firſt the meaning before the name of a wife, ſaith graciouſly, *I will make him a help meet for him.* And heer again, as before, I do not require more full and fair deductions then the whole conſent of our Divines uſually raiſe from this text, that in Matrimony there muſt be firſt a mutual help to Piety, next to civil fellowſhip of Love and Amity, then to Generation, ſo to houſhold Affairs, laſtly the remedy of Incontinence. And commonly they reck'n them in ſuch order, as leaves generation and incontinence to be laſt conſidered. This I amaze me at, that though all the ſuperior and nobler ends both of Marriage and of the married perſons be abſolutely fruſtrat, the matrimony ſtirs not, loſes no hold, remains as rooted as the center: but if the body bring but in a complaint of frigidity, by that cold application only, this adamantine *Alp* of Wedlock has leav to diſſolve; which els all the machinations of religious or civil Reaſon at the ſuit of a diſtreſſed mind, either for divine worſhip or humane converſation violated, cannot unfaſten. What courts of Concupiſcence are theſe, wherin fleſhly appetite is heard before right reaſon, luſt before love or devotion? They may be pious Chriſtians together, they may be loving and friendly, they may be helpful to each other in the family, but they cannot couple, that ſhall divorce them tho either party would not. They can neither ſerv God together, nor one be at peace with the other, nor be good in the Family one to other, but live as they were dead, or live as they were deadly enemies in a cage together; 'tis all one, they can couple, they ſhall not divorce till death, no though this ſentence be their death. What is this, beſides tyranny, but to turn nature upſide down, to make both religion, and the mind of man wait upon the ſlaviſh errands of the body, and not the body to follow either the ſanctity, or the ſovranty of the mind, unſpeakably wrong'd, and with all equity complaining? What is this but to abuſe the ſacred and myſterious bed of Marriage to be the compulſive ſtie of an ingrateful and malignant luſt, ſtirr'd up only from a carnal acrimony, without either love or peace, or regard to any other thing holy or human. This I admire how poſſibly it ſhould inhabit thus long in the ſenſe of ſo many diſputing *Theologians*, unleſs it be the loweſt lees of a canonical infection livergrown to their ſides; which perhaps will never uncling, without the ſtrong abſterſive of ſom heroick Magiſtrat, whoſe Mind, equal to his high Office, dares lead him both to know and do without their frivolous caſe-putting. For certain he ſhall have God and this Inſtitution plainly on his ſide. And if it be true both in Divinity and Law, that conſent alone, though copulation never follow, makes a Marriage, how can they diſſolv it for the want of that which made it not, and not diſſolv it for that not continuing which made it, and ſhould preſerve it in love and reaſon, and difference it from a brute conjugality?

*Meet for him.*] The original here is more expreſſive then other languages word for word can render it; but all agree effectual conformity of diſpoſition and affection to be hereby ſignify'd; which God as it were, not ſatisfy'd with the naming of a help, goes on deſcribing *another ſelf*, *a ſecond ſelf*, *a very ſelf it ſelf*. Yet now there is nothing in the life of man, through our miſconſtruction, made more uncertain, more hazardous and full of chance then this divine bleſſing with ſuch favorable ſignificance heer conferr'd upon us; which if we do but err in our choice, the moſt unblamable error that can be, err but one minute, one moment after thoſe mighty Syllables pronounc'd, which take upon them to joyn Heav'n and Hell together unpard'nably till Death pardon: this divine Bleſſing that lookt but now with ſuch a human ſmile upon us, and ſpoke ſuch gentle reaſon, ſtrait vaniſhes like a fair Sky, and brings on ſuch a ſcene of Cloud and Tempeſt, as turns all to ſhipwrack without hav'n or ſhoar, but to a ranſomleſs Captivity. And then they tell us it is our ſin: but let them be told again, that ſin through the mercy of God hath not made ſuch waſt upon us, as to make utterly void to our uſe any temporal benefit, much leſs any ſo much availing to a peaceful and ſanctify'd life, meerly for a moſt incident error which no warineſs can certainly ſhun. And wherefore ſerves our happy redemption, and the liberty we have in Chriſt, but to deliver us from calamitous yokes, not to be liv'd under without the endangerment of our ſouls, and to reſtore us in ſome competent meaſure to a right in every good thing both of this life, and the other? Thus we ſee how treatably and diſtinctly God hath here taught us what the prime ends of Marriage are, mutual ſolace and help. That we are now, upon the moſt irreprehenſible miſtake in chooſing, defeated and defrauded of all this original benignity, was begun firſt through the ſnare of Antichriſtian Canons long ſince obtruded upon the Church of *Rome*, and not yet ſcour'd off by reformation, out of a lingring vain-glory that abides among us to make fair ſhews in formal Ordinances, and to enjoyn Continence and bearing of Croſſes in ſuch a garb as no Scripture binds us, under the thickeſt Arrows of temptation, where we need not ſtand. Now we ſhall ſee with what acknowledgment and aſſent *Adam* receiv'd this new aſſociate which God brought him.

V. 23. *And Adam ſaid, This is now bone of my bones, and fleſh of my fleſh; ſhe ſhall be called Woman, becauſe ſhe was tak'n out of Man.*

That there was a nearer Alliance between *Adam* and *Eve*, than could be ever after between Man and Wife, is viſible to any. For no other Woman was ever moulded out of her Husband's Rib, but of meer Strangers for the moſt part they come to have that conſanguinity which they have by Wedlock. And if we look nearly upon the matter, though Marriage be moſt agreeable to holineſs, to purity and juſtice, yet is it not a natural, but a civil and ordain'd relation. For if it were in nature, no law or crime could diſanul it, to make a Wife, or Husband, otherwiſe than ſtill a Wife or Husband, but only Death; as nothing but that can make a Father no Father, or a Son no Son. But Divorce for Adultery or Deſertion, as all our Churches agree but *England*, not only ſeparates, but nullifies, and extinguiſhes the relation it ſelf of Matrimony, ſo that they are no more Man and Wife; otherwiſe the innocent party could not marry elſewhere, without the guilt of Adultery; next were it meerly natural, why was it here ordain'd more than the reſt of moral Law to Man in his original rectitude, in whoſe breaſt all that was natural or moral was engrav'n without external Conſtitutions and Edicts? *Adam* therefore in theſe words does not eſtabliſh an indiſſoluble bond of Marriage in the carnal ligaments of fleſh and bones; for if he did, it would belong only to himſelf in the literal ſenſe, every one of us being nearer in fleſh of fleſh, and bone of bones to our Parents than to a Wife; they therefore were not to be left for her in that reſpect. But *Adam*, who had the wiſdom giv'n him to know all creatures, and to name them according to their properties, no doubt but had the gift to diſcern perfectly that which concern'd him much more; and to apprehend at firſt ſight the true fitneſs of that Conſort which God provided him. And therefore ſpake in reference to thoſe words which God pronounc'd before; as if he had ſaid, This is ſhe by whoſe meet help and ſociety I ſhall no more be alone; this is ſhe who was made my image, ev'n as I the Image of God; not ſo much in body, as in unity of mind and heart. And he might as eaſily know what were the words of God, as he knew ſo readily what had bin done with his Rib, while he ſlept ſo ſoundly. He might well know, if God took a Rib out of his inſide, to form of it a double good to him, he would far ſooner disjoyn it from his outſide, to prevent a treble miſchief to him; and far ſooner cut it quite off from all relation for his undoubted eaſe, than nail it into his body again, to ſtick for ever there a thorn in his heart. When as Nature teaches us to divide any limb from the body to the ſaving of its fellows, though it be the maiming and deformity of the whole; how much more is it her doctrine to ſever by inciſion, not a true limb ſo much, though that be lawful, but an adherent, a ſore, the gangrene of a limb, to the recovery of a whole Man? But if in theſe words we ſhall make *Adam* to erect a new eſtabliſhment of Marriage in the meer fleſh, which God ſo lately had inſtituted, and founded in the ſweet and mild familiarity of love and ſolace, and mutual fitneſs; what do we but uſe the mouth of our general parent, the firſt time it opens to an arrogant oppoſition, and correcting of God's wiſer Ordinance? Theſe words therefore cannot import any thing new in Marriage, but either that which belongs to *Adam* only, or to us in reference only to the inſtituting words of God, which made a meet help againſt lonelineſs. *Adam* ſpake like *Adam* the words of fleſh and bones, the ſhell and rind of Matrimony; but God ſpake like God, of love and ſolace and meet help, the ſoul both of *Adam*'s words and of Matrimony.

V. 24. *Therefore ſhall a man leave his father and his mother, and ſhall cleave unto his wife; and they ſhall be one fleſh.*

This verſe, as our common herd expounds it, is the great knot-tier, which hath undon by tying, and by tangling, millions of guiltleſs conſciences: this is that griſly Porter, who having drawn men and wiſeſt men by ſuttle allurement within the train of an unhappy matrimony, claps the dungeon-gate upon them, as irrecoverable as the grave. But if we view him well, and hear him with not too haſty and prejudicant ears, we ſhall find no ſuch terror in him. For firſt, it is not here ſaid abſolutely without all reaſon he ſhall cleave to his wife, be it to his weal or to his deſtruction as it happens, but he ſhall do this upon the premiſes and conſiderations of that meet help and ſociety before mention'd, *Therefore he ſhall cleave to his wife*, no otherwiſe a wife then a fit help. He is not bid to leave the dear cohabitation of his father, mother, brothers and ſiſters, to link himſelf inſeparably with the meer carcaſs of a Marriage, perhaps an enemy. This joyning particle *Therefore* is in all equity, nay in all neceſſity of conſtruction to comprehend firſt and moſt principally what God ſpake concerning the inward eſſence of Marriage in his inſtitution, that we may learn how far to attend what *Adam* ſpake of the outward materials thereof in his approbation. For if we ſhall bind theſe words of *Adam* only to a corporal meaning, and that the force of this injunction upon all us his ſons to live individually with any woman which hath befaln us in the moſt miſtak'n wedlock, ſhall conſiſt not in theſe moral and relative cauſes of *Eves* creation, but in the meer anatomy of a rib, and that *Adams* inſight concerning wedlock reacht no furder, we ſhall make him as very an idiot as the Socinians make him; which would not be reverently done of us. Let us be content to allow our great forefather ſo much wiſdom, as to take the inſtituting words of God along with him into this ſentence, which if they be well minded, will aſſure us that fleſh and ribs are but of a weak and dead efficacy to keep Marriage united where there is no other fitneſs. The rib of Marriage, to all ſince *Adam*, is a relation much rather then a bone; the nerves and the ſinews thereof are love and meet help, they knit not every couple that marries, and where they knit they ſeldom break; but where they break, which for the moſt part is where they never truly joyn'd, to ſuch at the ſame inſtant both fleſh and rib ceaſe to be in common: ſo that here they argue nothing to the continuance of a falſe or violated Marriage, but muſt be led back again to receive their meaning from thoſe inſtitutive words of God which gave them all the life and vigour they have.

*Therefore ſhall a man leave his father, &c.*] What to a man's thinking more plain by this appoinment, that the fatherly power ſhould give place to conjugal prerogative? yet it is generally held by reformed writers againſt the Papiſt, that though in perſons at diſcretion the Marriage in it ſelf be never ſo fit, though it be fully accompliſht with benediction, board and bed, yet the father not conſenting, his main will without diſpute ſhall diſſolve all. And this they affirm only from collective reaſon, not any direct law; for that in *Exod.* 22. 17. which is moſt particular, ſpeaks that a father may refuſe to marry his daughter to one who hath deflour'd her, not that he may take her away from one who hath ſoberly married her. Yet becauſe the general honour due to parents is great, they hold he may, and perhaps hold not amiſs. But again when the queſtion is of harſh and rugged parents who defer to beſtow their children ſeaſonably, they agree joyntly that the Church or Magiſtrate may beſtow them, though without the Father's conſent: and for this they have no expreſs autority in Scripture. So that they may ſee by their own handling of this very place, that it is not the ſtubborn letter muſt govern us, but the divine and ſoftning breath of charity which turns and winds the dictate of every poſitive command, and ſhapes it to the good of mankind. Shall the outward acceſſory of a Father's will wanting, rend the fitteſt and moſt affectionat Marriage in twain, after all nuptial conſummations; and ſhall not the want of love and the privation of all civil and religious concord, which is the inward eſſence of Wedlock, do as much to part thoſe who were never truly wedded? Shall a Father have this power to vindicate his own wilful honour and autority to the utter breach of a moſt dearly-united Marriage, and ſhall not a man in his own power have the permiſſion to free his Soul, his Life, and all his comfort of life from the diſaſter of a no-marriage? Shall fatherhood, which is but man, for his own pleaſure diſſolve matrimony; and ſhall not matrimony, which is God's Ordinance, for its own honour and better conſervation, diſſolve it ſelf, when it is wrong, and not fitted to any of the chief ends which it owes us?

*And they ſhall be one fleſh.*] Theſe words alſo infer that there ought to be an individualty in Marriage; but without all queſtion preſuppoſe the joyning cauſes. Not a rule yet that we have met with, ſo univerſal in this whole inſtitution, but hath admitted limitations and conditions according to humane neceſſity. The very foundation of Matrimony, though God laid it ſo deliberately, *that it is not good for man to be alone*, holds not always, if the Apoſtle can ſecure us. Soon after we are bid leave Father and Mother, and cleave to a Wife, but muſt underſtand the Fathers conſent withall, elſe not. *Cleave to a Wife*, but let her be a wife, let her be a meet help, a ſolace, not a nothing, not an adverſary, not a deſertrice; can any law or command be ſo unreaſonable as to make men cleave to calamity, to ruin, to perdition? In like manner here, *They ſhall be one fleſh*; but let the cauſes hold, and be made really good, which only have the poſſibility to make them one fleſh. We know that fleſh can neither joyn, nor keep together two bodies of it ſelf; what is it then muſt make them one fleſh, but likeneſs, but fitneſs of mind and diſpoſition, which may breed the Spirit of concord, and union between them? If that be not in the nature of either, and that there has bin a remedileſs miſtake, as vain we go about to compel them into one fleſh, as if we undertook to weav a garment of dry ſand. It were more eaſy to compel the vegetable and nutritive power of nature to aſſimilations and mixtures which are not alterable each by other; or force the concoctive ſtomac to turn that into fleſh which is ſo totally unlike that ſubſtance, as not to be wrought on. For as the unity of mind is nearer and greater then the union of bodies, ſo doubtleſs is the diſſimilitude greater, and more dividual, as that which makes between bodies all difference and diſtinction. Eſpecially when as beſides the ſingular and ſubſtantial differences of every Soul, there is an intimate quality of good or evil, through the whole Progeny of *Adam*, which like a radical heat, or mortal chilneſs, joyns them, or disjoyns them irreſiſtibly. In whom therefore either the will, or the faculty is found to have never joyn'd, or now not to continue ſo, 'tis not to ſay, they ſhall be one fleſh, for they cannot be one fleſh. God commands not impoſſibilities; and all the Eccleſiaſtical glue, that Liturgy or Laymen can compound, is not able to ſoder up two ſuch incongruous Natures into the one fleſh of a true beſeeming Marriage. Why did *Moſes* then ſet down their uniting into one fleſh? And I again aſk, why the Goſpel ſo oft repeats the eating of our Saviour's fleſh, the drinking of his blood? *That we are one body with him, the members of his body, fleſh of his fleſh, and bone of his bone*, Epheſ. 5. Yet leſt we ſhould be Capernaitans, as we are told there, that the fleſh profiteth nothing; ſo we are told here, if we be not as deaf as Adders, that this union of the fleſh proceeds from the union of a fit help and ſolace. We know that there was never a more ſpiritual myſtery then this Goſpel taught us under the terms of body and fleſh; yet nothing leſs intended then that we ſhould ſtick there. What a ſtupidneſs then is it, that in Marriage, which is the neareſt reſemblance of our union with Chriſt, we ſhould deject our ſelves to ſuch a ſluggiſh and underfoot Philoſophy, as to eſteem the validity of Marriage meerly by the fleſh, though never ſo brok'n and disjoynted from love and peace, which only can give a humane qualification to that act of the fleſh, and diſtinguiſh it from beſtial. The Text therefore uſes this phraſe, that *they ſhall be one fleſh*, to juſtify and make legitimate the rites of Marriage-bed; which was not unneedful, if for all this warrant they were ſuſpected of pollution by ſome ſects of Philoſophy, and Religions of old, and latelier among the Papiſts, and other Heretics elder than they. Some think there is a high myſtery in thoſe words, from that which *Paul* ſaith of them, Epheſ. 5. *This is a great myſtery, but I ſpeak of Chriſt and the Church:* and thence they would conclude Marriage to be inſeparable. For me I diſpute not now whether Matrimony be a myſtery or no; if it be of Chriſt and his Church, certainly it is not meant of every ungodly and miſwedded Marriage, but then only myſterious, when it is a holy, happy, and peaceful match. But when a Saint is joyn'd with a Reprobate, or both alike, wicked with wicked, fool with fool, a he drunkard with a ſhe; when the bed hath bin nothing elſe for twenty years or more, but an old haunt of luſt and malice mixt together, no love, no goodneſs, no loyalty, but counterplotting, and ſecret wiſhing one anothers diſſolution; this is to me the greateſt myſtery in the world, if ſuch a Marriage as this can be the myſtery of ought, unleſs it be the myſtery of iniquity: According to that which *Paræus* cites out of *Chryſoſtom*, that a bad Wife is a help for the Devil, and the like may be ſaid of a bad Husband. Since therefore none but a fit and pious Matrimony can ſignify the union of Chriſt and his Church, there cannot hence be any hindrance of divorce to that Wedlock wherein there can be no good myſtery. Rather it might to a Chriſtian Conſcience be matter of finding it ſelf ſo much leſs ſatisfy'd then before, in the continuance of an unhappy yoke, wherein there can be no repreſentation either of Chriſt, or of his Church.

Thus having enquir'd the Inſtitution how it was in the beginning, both from the 1 Chap. of *Gen.* where it was only mention'd in part, and from the ſecond, where it was plainly and evidently inſtituted; and having attended each clauſe and word neceſſary with a diligence not drouſy, we ſhall now fix with ſome advantage, and by a ſhort view backward gather up the ground we have gone, and ſum up the ſtrength we have, into one argumentative Head, with that *organic* force that *Logic* proffers us. All Arts acknowledg that then only we know certainly, when we can define; for Definition is that which refines the pure eſſence of things from the circumſtance. If therefore we can attain in this our Controverſy to define exactly what Marriage is, we ſhall ſoon learn when there is a nullity thereof, and when a divorce.

The part therefore of this Chapter which hath bin here treated, doth orderly and readily reſolve it ſelf into a definition of Marriage, and a conſectary from thence. To the definition theſe words chiefly contribute; *It is not good*, &c. *I will make*, &c. Where the conſectary begins this connexion, *Therefore* informs us, *Therefore ſhall a Man*, &c. Definition is decreed by Logicians to conſiſt only of cauſes conſtituting the eſſence of a thing. What is not therefore among the cauſes conſtituting Marriage, muſt not ſtay in the definition. Thoſe cauſes are concluded to be *matter*, and, as the Artiſt calls it, *Form*. But inaſmuch as the ſame thing may be a cauſe more ways then one, and that in relations and inſtitutions which have no corporal ſubſiſtence, but only a reſpective being, the *Form* by which the thing is what it is, is oft ſo ſlender and undiſtinguiſhable, that it would ſoon confuſe, were it not ſuſtain'd by the efficient and final cauſes, which concur to make up the form invalid otherwiſe of it ſelf, it will be needful to take in all the four Cauſes into the definition. Firſt therefore the material cauſe of Matrimony is Man and Woman; the Author and efficient, God and their conſent; the internal *Form* and ſoul of this relation, is conjugal love ariſing from a mutual fitneſs to the final cauſes of Wedlock, help and ſociety in religious, civil and domeſtick converſation, which includes as an inferior end the fulfilling of natural deſire, and ſpecifical increaſe; theſe are the final cauſes both moving the *efficient*, and perfeting the *form*. And although copulation be conſider'd among the ends of Marriage, yet the act thereof in a right eſteem can no longer be matrimonial, then it is an effect of conjugal love. When love finds it ſelf utterly unmatcht, and juſtly vaniſhes, nay rather cannot but vaniſh, the fleſhly act indeed may continue, but not holy, not pure, not beſeeming the ſacred bond of Marriage; being at beſt but an animal excretion, but more truly worſe and more ignoble than that mute kindlineſs among the herds and flocks: in that proceeding as it ought from intellective principles, it participates of nothing rational, but that which the field and the fold equals. For in human actions the ſoul is the agent, the body in a manner paſſive. If then the body do out of ſenſitive force, what the ſoul complies not with, how can Man, and not rather ſomething beneath Man, be thought the doer?

But to proceed in the purſuit of an accurate definition, it will avail us ſomething, and whet our thoughts, to examine what fabrick hereof others have already rear'd. *Paræus* on *Gen.* defines Marriage to be *an indiſſoluble conjunction of one Man and one Woman to an individual and intimate converſation, and mutual benevolence*, &c. Wherein is to be markt his placing of intimate converſation before bodily benevolence; for bodily is meant, though indeed *benevolence* rather ſounds will then body. Why then ſhall divorce be granted for want of bodily performance, and not for want of fitneſs to intimate converſation, when as corporal benevolence cannot in any humane faſhion be without this? Thus his definition places the ends of Marriage in one order, and eſteems them in another. His *Tautology* alſo of indiſſoluble and individual is not to be imitated; eſpecially ſince neither indiſſoluble nor individual hath ought to do in the exact definition, being but a conſectary flowing from thence, as appears by plain Scripture, *Therefore ſhall a Man leave*, &c. For Marriage is not true Marriage by being individual, but therefore individual, if it be true Marriage. No argument but cauſes enter the definition; a Conſectary is but the effect of thoſe cauſes. Beſides, that Marriage is indiſſoluble, is not *Catholickly* true; we know it diſſoluble for Adultery, and for Deſertion by the verdit of all Reformed Churches. Dr. *Ames* defines it *an individual conjunction of one man and one woman, to communion of body and mutual ſociety of life:* But this perverts the Order of God, who in the inſtitution places meet help and ſociety of life before communion of body. And vulgar eſtimation undervalues beyond compariſon all ſociety of life and communion of mind beneath the communion of body; granting no divorce, but to the want, or miſcommunicating of that. *Hemingius*, an approved Author, *Melanchton*'s Scholar, and who, next to *Bucer* and *Eraſmus*, writes of Divorce moſt like a Divine, thus compriſes, *Marriage is a conjunction of one man and one woman lawfully conſenting, into one fleſh, for mutual helps ſake, ordain'd of God.* And in his explanation ſtands punctually upon the conditions of conſent, that it be not in any main matter deluded, as being the life of Wedlock, and no true Marriage without a true conſent. *Into one fleſh* he expounds into one mind, as well as one body, and makes it the formal cauſe: Herein only miſſing, while he puts the effect into his definition inſtead of the cauſe which the Text affords him. For *one fleſh* is not the formal eſſence of Wedlock, but one end, or one effect of *a meet help:* The end oft-times being the effect and fruit of the form, as Logick teaches: Elſe many aged and holy Matrimonies, and more eminently that of *Joſeph* and *Mary*, would be no true Marriage. And that *maxim* generally receiv'd, would be falſe, that *conſent alone, though copulation never follow, makes the Marriage.* Therefore to conſent lawfully into one fleſh, is not the formal cauſe of Matrimony, but only one of the effects. The Civil Lawyers, and firſt *Juſtinian* or *Tribonian* defines Matrimony a *conjunction of man and woman containing individual accuſtom of life.* Wherein firſt, individual is not ſo bad as indiſſoluble put in by others: And although much cavil might be made in the diſtinguiſhing between indiviſible, and individual, yet the one tak'n for poſſible, the other for actual, neither the one nor the other can belong to the eſſence of Marriage; eſpecially when a Civilian defines, by which Law Marriage is actually divorc'd for many cauſes, and with good leave, by mutual conſent. Therefore where *conjunction* is ſaid, they who comment the *Inſtitutes*, agree that conjunction of mind is by the Law meant, not neceſſarily conjunction of body. That Law then had good reaſon attending to its own definition, that divorce ſhould be granted for the breaking of that conjunction which it holds neceſſary, ſooner then for the want of that conjunction which it holds not neceſſary. And whereas *Tuningus* a famous Lawyer excuſes individual as the purpoſe of Marriage, not always the ſucceſs, it ſuffices not. Purpoſe is not able to conſtitute the eſſence of a thing. Nature her ſelf, the univerſal Mother, intends nothing but her own perfection and preſervation; yet is not the more indiſſoluble for that. The *Pandects* out of *Modeſtinus*, though not define, yet well deſcribe Marriage, *the conjunction of male and female, the ſociety of all life, the communion of divine and human right:* which *Bucer* alſo imitates on the fifth to the *Epheſians*. But it ſeems rather to comprehend the ſeveral ends of Marriage than to contain the more conſtituting cauſe that makes it what it is.

That I therefore among others (for who ſings not *Hylas*) may give as well as take matter to be judg'd on, it will be lookt I ſhould produce another definition than theſe which have not ſtood the trial. Thus then I ſuppoſe that Marriage by the natural and plain order of Gods inſtitution in the Text may be more demonſtratively and eſſentially defin'd. *Marriage is a divine inſtitution, joyning man and woman in a love fitly diſpos'd to the helps and comforts of domeſtick life. A divine inſtitution.* This contains the prime efficient cauſe of Marriage: as for conſent of Parents and Guardians, it ſeems rather a concurrence then a cauſe; for as many that marry are in their own power as not; and where they are not their own, yet are they not ſubjected beyond reaſon. Now though efficient cauſes are not requiſite in a definition, yet divine inſtitution hath ſuch influence upon the *Form*, and is ſo a conſerving cauſe of it, that without it the *Form* is not ſufficient to diſtinguiſh matrimony from other conjunctions of male and female, which are not to be counted Marriage. *Joyning man and woman in a love*, &c. This brings in the parties conſent; until which be, the Marriage hath no true being. When I ſay *conſent*, I mean not error, for error is not properly conſent: And why ſhould not conſent be here underſtood with equity and good to either part, as in all other friendly Covenants, and not be ſtrain'd and cruelly urg'd to the miſchief and deſtruction of both? Neither do I mean that ſingular act of conſent which made the contract, for that may remain, and yet the Marriage not true nor lawful; and that may ceaſe, and yet the Marriage both true and lawful, to their ſin that break it. So that either as no efficient at all, or but a tranſitory, it comes not into the definition. That conſent I mean which is a love fitly diſpos'd to mutual help and comfort of life: this is that happy *Form* of Marriage naturally ariſing from the very heart of divine inſtitution in the Text, in all the former definitions either obſcurely, and under miſtak'n terms expreſt, or not at all. This gives Marriage all her due, all her benefits, all her being, all her diſtinct and proper being. This makes a Marriage not a bondage, a bleſſing not a curſe, a gift of God not a ſnare. Unleſs there be a love, and that love born of fitnes, how can it laſt? unleſs it laſt, how can the beſt and ſweeteſt purpoſes of Marriage be attain'd, and they not attain'd, which are the chief ends, and with a lawful love conſtitute the formal cauſe it ſelf of Marriage? How can the eſſence thereof ſubſiſt? How can it be indeed what it goes for? Conclude therefore by all the power of Reaſon, that where this eſſence of Marriage is not, there can be no true Marriage; and the Parties, either one of them or both, are free, and without fault, rather by a Nullity then by a Divorce, may betake them to a ſecond choys, if their preſent condition be not tolerable to them. If any ſhall ask, why *domeſtic* in the definition? I anſwer, that becauſe both in the Scriptures, and in the graveſt Poets and Philoſophers, I find the properties and excellencies of a Wife ſet out only from domeſtic vertues; if they extend furder, it diffuſes them into the notion of ſom more common duty then matrimonial.

Thus far of the definition; the *Conſectary* which flows from thence, and altogether depends theron, is manifeſtly brought in by this connexive particle *Therefore*; and branches it ſelf into a double conſequence; Firſt individual Society, *therefore ſhall a man leav father and mother:* Secondly, conjugal benevolence, *and they ſhall be one fleſh.* Which, as was ſhewn, is not without cauſe here mention'd, to prevent and to aboliſh the ſuſpect of pollution in that natural and undefiled act. Theſe conſequences therefore cannot either in Religion, Law, or Reaſon be bound, and poſted upon Mankind to his ſorrow and miſery, but receiv what force they have from the meetnes of help and ſolace, which is the *formal* cauſe and end of that definition that ſuſtains them. And although it be not for the Majeſty of Scripture to humble her ſelf in artificial *Theorems*, and Definitions, and *Corollaries*, like a profeſſor in the Schools, but looks to be *analys'd*, and interpreted by the logical induſtry of her Diſciples and followers, and to be reduc't by them as oft as need is, into thoſe *Sciential* rules, which are the implements of inſtruction; yet *Moſes*, as if foreſeeing the miſerable work that mans ignorance and puſillanimity would make in this matrimonious buſines, and endeavouring his utmoſt to prevent it, condeſcends in this place to ſuch a methodical and School-like way of defining, and conſequencing, as in no place of the whole Law more.

Thus we have ſeen, and if we be not contentious, may know what was Marriage in the beginning, to which in the Goſpel we are referr'd; and what from hence to judg of Nullity, or Divorce. Here I eſteem the work don; in this field the controverſie decided; but becauſe other places of Scripture ſeem to look averſly upon this our deciſion, although indeed they keep all harmony with it, and becauſe it is a better work to reconcile the ſeeming diverſities of Scripture, then the real diſſentions of neareſt friends, I ſhall aſſay in three following Diſcourſes to perform that Office.

## Deut. XXIV. 1, 2.

1 *When a man hath taken a Wife, and married her, and it come to paſs that ſhe find no favour in his eyes, becauſe he hath found ſom uncleannes in her, then let him write her a bill of divorcement, and give it in her hand, and ſend her out of his houſe.*

2 *And when ſhe is departed out of his houſe, ſhe may go and be another mans wife.*

THat which is the only diſcommodity of ſpeaking in a clear matter, the abundance of argument that preſſes to be utter'd, and the ſuſpence of judgment what to chooſe, and how in the multitude of reaſon to be not tedious, is the greateſt difficulty which I expect heer to meet with. Yet much hath bin ſaid formerly concerning this Law *in the Doctrine of Divorce.* Wherof I ſhall repeat no more then what is neceſſary. Two things are heer doubted: Firſt, and that but of late, whether this be a Law or no; next what this reaſon of *uncleannes* might mean for which the Law is granted. That it is a plain Law no man ever queſtion'd, till *Vatablus* within theſe hundred years profeſs'd Hebrew at *Paris*, a man of no Religion, as *Beza* deciphers him. Yet ſom there be who follow him, not only againſt the current of all Antiquity both Jewiſh and Chriſtian, but the evidence of Scripture alſo, Malach. 2. 16. *Let him who hateth put away, ſaith the Lord God of Iſrael.* Although this place alſo hath bin tamper'd with, as if it were to be thus render'd, *The Lord God ſaith, that he hateth putting away.* But this new interpretation reſts only in the autority of *Junius*; for neither *Calvin*, nor *Vatablus* himſelf, nor any other known Divine ſo interpreted before. And they of beſt note who have tranſlated the Scripture ſince, and *Diodati* for one, follow not his reading. And perhaps they might reject it, if for nothing els, for theſe two reaſons: Firſt, it introduces in a new manner the perſon of God ſpeaking leſs Majeſtic then he is ever wont; When God ſpeaks by his Profet, he ever ſpeaks in the firſt perſon, thereby ſignifying his Majeſty and Omnipreſence. He would have ſaid, I hate putting away, ſaith the Lord; and not ſent word by *Malachi* in a ſudden faln ſtile, The *Lord God ſaith that he hateth putting away*: that were a phraſe to ſhrink the glorious Omnipreſence of God ſpeaking, into a kind of circumſcriptive abſence. And were as if a Herald in the *Atcheivment* of a King, ſhould commit the *indecorum* to ſet his helmet ſideways and cloſe, not full fac't and open in the poſture of direction and command. We cannot think therefore that this laſt Profet would thus in a new faſhion abſent the perſon of God from his own words as if he came not along with them. For it would alſo be wide from the proper ſcope of this place: he that reads attentively will ſoon perceav, that God blames not heer the Jews for putting away their wives, but for keeping ſtrange Concubines, to the *profaning of Juda's holines*, and the vexation of their Hebrew wives, v. 11, and 14. *Judah hath married the daughter of a ſtrange God:* And exhorts them rather to put their wives away whom they hate, as the Law permitted, then to keep them under ſuch affronts. And it is receiv'd that this Profet liv'd in thoſe times of *Ezra* and *Nehemiah* (nay by ſom is thought to be *Ezra* himſelf) when the people were forc't by theſe two Worthies to put their ſtrange wives away. So that what the ſtory of thoſe times, and the plain context of the 11 verſe, from whence this rebuke begins, can give us to conjecture of the obſcure and curt *Ebraiſms* that follow, this Profet does not forbid putting away, but forbids keeping, and commands putting away according to God's Law, which is the plaineſt Interpreter both of what God will, and what he can beſt ſuffer. Thus much evinces that God there commanded Divorce by *Malachi*, and this confirms that he commands it alſo here by *Moſes*.

I may the leſs doubt to mention by the way an Author, tho counted Apocriphal, yet of no ſmall account for Piety and Wiſdom, the Author of *Eccleſiaſticus.* Which Book, begun by the Grand-father of that *Jeſus* who is call'd the Son of *Sirach*, might have bin writt'n in part, not much after the time when *Malachi* liv'd; if we compute by the Raign of *Ptolemæus Euergetes*. It profeſſes to explain the Law and the Profets; and yet exhorts us to Divorce for incurable cauſes, and to cut off from the fleſh thoſe whom it there deſcribes, *Eccleſiaſtic.* 25. 26. Which doubtleſs that wiſe and ancient Writer would never have adviſ'd, had either *Malachi* ſo lately forbidd'n it, or the Law by a full precept not left it lawful. But I urge not this for want of better proof; our Saviour himſelf allows Divorce to be a command, *Mark* 10. 3, 5. Neither do they weak'n this aſſertion, who ſay it was only a ſufferance, as ſhall be prov'd at large in that place of *Mark*. But ſuppoſe it were not a writt'n Law, they never can deny it was a cuſtom, and ſo effect nothing. For the ſame reaſons that induce them why it ſhould not be a Law, will ſtrait'n them as hard why it ſhould be allow'd a cuſtom. All cuſtom is either evil or not evil; if it be evil, this is the very end of Lawgiving, to aboliſh evil cuſtoms by wholſom Laws; unleſs we imagin *Moſes* weaker then every negligent and ſtartling Politician. If it be, as they make this of Divorce to be, a cuſtom againſt nature, againſt juſtice, againſt chaſtity, how, upon this moſt impure cuſtom tolerated, could the God of purenes erect a nice and preciſe Law, that the Wife married after Divorce could not return to her former Husband, as being defiled? What was all this following nicenes worth, built upon the lewd foundation of a wicked thing allow'd? In few words then, this cuſtom of Divorce either was allowable, or not allowable; if not allowable, how could it be allow'd? if it were allowable, all who underſtand Law will conſent, that a tolerated cuſtom hath the force of a Law, and is indeed no other but an unwritt'n Law, as *Juſtinian* calls it, and is as prevalent as any writt'n ſtatute. So that their ſhift of turning this Law into a cuſtom wheels about, and gives the onſet upon their own flanks; not diſproving, but concluding it to be the more firm Law,becauſe it was without controverſy a granted cuſtom; as clear in the reaſon of common life, as thoſe giv'n rules wheron *Euclides* builds his propoſitions.

Thus being every way a Law of God, who can without blaſphemy doubt it to be a juſt and pure Law? *Moſes* continually diſavows the giving them any ſtatute, or judgment, but what he learnt of God; of whom alſo in his Song he ſaith, Deut. 32. *He is the rock, his work is perfet, all his ways are judgment, a God of truth and without iniquity, juſt and right is he.* And *David* teſtifies, the judgments of the Lord *are true and righteous altogether.* Not partly right and partly wrong, much leſs wrong altogether, as Divines of now adays dare cenſure them. *Moſes* again, of that people to whom he gave this Law, ſaith, Deut. 14. *Ye are the children of the Lord your God, the Lord hath choſen thee to be a peculiar people to himſelf above all the nations upon the earth, that thou ſhouldeſt keep all his Commandments, and be high in praiſe, in name, and in honour, holy to the Lord,* Chap. 26. And in the fourth, *Behold I have taught you ſtatutes and judgments, even as the Lord my God commanded me; keep therefore and do them. For this is your wiſdom and your underſtanding in the ſight of Nations that ſhall hear all theſe Statutes, and ſay, ſurely this great Nation is a wiſe and underſtanding people. For what Nation is there ſo great, who hath God ſo nigh to them? and what Nation that hath Statutes and Judgments ſo righteous as all this Law which I ſet before you this day?* Thus whether we look at the purity and juſtice of God himſelf, the jealouſy of his honour among other Nations, the holines and moral prefection which he intended by his Law to teach this people, we cannot poſſibly think how he could indure to let them ſlug and grow inveteratly wicked, under baſe allowances, and whole adulterous lives by diſpenſation. They might not eat, they might not touch an unclean thing; to what hypocriſy then were they train'd up, if by preſcription of the ſame Law, they might be unjuſt, they might be adulterous for term of life? forbid to ſoil their garments with a coy imaginary pollution, but not forbid, but countenanced and animated by Law to ſoil their Souls with deepeſt defilements. What more unlike to God, what more like that God ſhould hate, then that his Law ſhould be ſo curious to waſh veſſels, and veſtures, and ſo careles to leav unwaſh't, unregarded, ſo foul a ſcab of *Egypt* in their Souls? what would we more? the Statutes of the Lord are all pure and juſt: and if all, then this of Divorce.

*Becauſe he hath found ſom uncleannes in her.*] That we may not eſteem this Law to be a meer authorizing of licence, as the Phariſees took it, *Moſes* adds the reaſon, for *ſom uncleannes found.* Som heertofore have bin ſo ignorant, as to have thought, that this *uncleanneſs* means Adultery. But *Eraſmus*, who for having writ an excellent Treatiſe of Divorce, was wrote againſt by ſom burly ſtandard Divine perhaps of *Cullen*, or of *Lovain*, who calls himſelf *Phimoſtomus*, ſhews learnedly out of the Fathers, with other Teſtimonies and Reaſons, that *uncleannes* is not heer ſo underſtood; defends his former work, though new to that age, and perhaps counted licentious, and fears not to ingage all his fame on the Argument. Afterward, when Expoſiters began to underſtand the Hebrew Text, which they had not done of many ages before, they tranſlated word for word not *uncleannes*, but *the nakedneſs of any thing*; and conſidering that nakedneſs is uſually referr'd in Scripture to the mind as well as to the body, they conſtantly expound it any defect, annoyance, or ill quality in nature, which to be joyn'd with, makes life tedious, and ſuch company wors then ſolitude. So that heer will be no cauſe to vary from the general conſent of expoſition, which gives us freely that God permitted divorce, for whatever was unalterably diſtaſtful, whether in body or mind. But with this admoniſhment, that if the *Roman* Law, eſpecially in contracts and dowries, left many things to equity with theſe cautions, *ex fide bonâ, quod aquius melius erit, ut inter bonos bene agitur*, we will not grudg to think that God intended not licence heer to every humor, but to ſuch remediles greevances as might move a good and honeſt and faithful man then to divorce, when it can no more be peace or comfort to either of them continuing thus joyn'd. And although it could not be avoided, but that Men of hard hearts would abuſe this liberty, yet doubtleſs it was intended, as all other privileges in Law are, to good men principally, to bad only by accident. So that the Sin was not in the permiſſion, nor ſimply in the action of Divorce (for then the permitting alſo had bin ſin) but only in the abuſe. But that this Law ſhould, as it were, be wrung from God and *Moſes*, only to ſerve the hardheartednes, and the luſt of injurious men, how remote it is from all ſenſe, and law, and honeſty, and therefore ſurely from the meaning of Chriſt, ſhall abundantly be manifeſt in due order.

Now although *Moſes* needed not to add other reaſon of this Law then that one there expreſt, yet to theſe ages wherin Canons, and *Scotiſms*, and *Lumbard* Laws, have dull'd, and almoſt obliterated the lively Sculpture of ancient reaſon, and humanity, it will be requiſit to heap reaſon upon reaſon, and all little enough to vindicate the whitenes and the innocence of this divine Law, from the calumny it finds at this day, of being a dore to licence and confuſion. When as indeed there is not a judicial point in all *Moſes*, conſiſting of more true equity, high wiſdom, and God-like pity then this Law; not derogating, but preſerving the honour and peace of Marriage, and exactly agreeing with the ſenſe and mind of that inſtitution in *Geneſis*.

For firſt, if Marriage be but an ordain'd relation, as it ſeems not more, it cannot take place above the prime dictats of nature; and if it be of natural right, yet it muſt yeeld to that which is more natural, and before it by elderſhip and precedence in nature. Now it is not natural that *Hugh* marries *Beatrice*, or *Thomas Rebecca*, being only a civil contract, and full of many chances, but that theſe men ſeek them meet helps, that only is natural; and that they eſpouſe them ſuch, that only is Marriage. But if they find them neither fit helps nor tolerable ſociety, what thing more natural, more original and firſt in nature then to depart from that which is irkſom, greevous, actively hateful, and injurious even to hoſtility, eſpecially in a conjugal reſpect, wherin antipathies are invincible, and wher the forc't abiding of the one can be no true good, no real comfort to the other? For if he find no contentment from the other, how can he return it from himſelf; or no acceptance, how can he mutually accept? What more equal, more pious then to untie a civil knot for a natural enmity held by violence from parting, to diſſolv an accidental conjunction of this or that Man and Woman, for the moſt natural and moſt neceſſary diſagreement of meet from unmeet, guilty from guiltles, contrary from contrary? It being certain that the myſtical and bleſſed unity of Marriage can be no way more unhallow'd and profan'd, then by the forcible uniting of ſuch diſunions and ſeparations. Which if we ſee oft times they cannot join or peece up to a common friendſhip, or to a willing converſation in the ſame houſe, how ſhould they poſſibly agree to the moſt familiar and united amity of Wedlock? *Abraham* and *Lot*, though dear friends, and brethren in a ſtrange Country, choſe rather to part aſunder, then to infect thir friendſhip with the ſtrife of their ſervants: *Paul* and *Barnabas*, join'd together by the Holy Ghoſt to a ſpiritual work, thought it better to ſeparate when once they grew at variance. If theſe great Saints, join'd by Nature, Friendſhip, Religion, high Providence, and Revelation, could not ſo govern a caſual difference, a ſudden paſſion, but muſt in wiſdom divide from the outward duties of a Friendſhip, or a Collegueſhip in the ſame family, or in the ſame journey, leſt it ſhould grow to a worſe diviſion; can any thing be more abſurd and barbarous, than that they whom only Error, Caſualty, Art, or Plot hath join'd, ſhould be compell'd, not againſt a ſudden paſſion, but againſt the permanent and radical diſcords of Nature, to the moſt intimate and incorporating duties of Love and Imbracement, therin only rational and human, as they are free and voluntary; being els an abject and ſervile yoke, ſcarce not brutiſh? And that there is in man ſuch a peculiar ſway of liking or diſliking in the affairs of Matrimony, is evidently ſeen before Marriage among thoſe who can be friendly, can reſpect each other, yet to marry each other would not for any perſwaſion. If then this unfitneſs and diſparity be not till after Marriage diſcover'd, through many Cauſes, and Colours, and Concealments, that may overſhadow; undoubtedly it will produce the ſame effects, and perhaps with more vehemence, that ſuch a miſtak'n pair would give the world to be unmarried again. And thir condition *Solomon* to the plain juſtification of Divorce expreſſes, *Prov.* 30. 21, 23. where he tells us of his own accord, that a *hated*, or a *hateful* Woman, *when ſhe is married, is a thing for which the earth is diſquieted, and cannot bear it:* thus giving divine teſtimony to this divine Law, which bids us nothing more then is the firſt and moſt innocent leſſon of Nature, to turn away peaceably from what afflicts, and hazards our deſtruction; eſpecially when our ſtaying can do no good, and is expos'd to all evil.

Secondly, It is unjuſt that any Ordinance, ordain'd to the good and comfort of Man, where that end is miſſing, without his fault, ſhould be forc'd upon him to an unſufferable miſery and diſcomfort, if not commonly ruin. All Ordinances are eſtabliſht in their end; the end of Law is the vertu, is the righteouſneſs of Law: and therefore him we count an ill Expounder who urges Law againſt the intention thereof. The general end of every Ordinance, of every ſevereſt, every divineſt, even of Sabbath, is the good of Man; yea his temporal good not excluded. But Marriage is one of the benigneſt ordinances of God to man, wherof both the general and particular end is the peace and contentment of mans mind, as the inſtitution declares. Contentment of body they grant, which if it be defrauded, the plea of frigidity ſhall divorce: But here lies the ſadomles abſurdity, that granting this for bodily defect, they will not grant it for any defect of the mind, any violation of religious or civil ſociety. When as, if the argument of Chriſt be firm againſt the ruler of the Synagogue, Luk. 13. *Thou hypocrite, doth not each of you on the Sabbath day looſ'n his Oxe or his Aſſe from the ſtall, and lead him to watering, and ſhould not I unbind a daughter of Abraham from this bond of Satan?* it ſtands as good here; ye have regard in Marriage to the grievance of body, ſhould you not regard more the grievances of the mind, ſeeing the Soul as much excels the body, as the outward man excels the Aſs, and more? for that *animal* is yet a living creature, perfect in it ſelf; but the body without the Soul is a meer ſenſeleſs trunk. No ordinance therefore giv'n particularly to the good both ſpiritual and temporal of man, can be urg'd upon him to his miſchief: and if they yield this to the unworthier part, the body, whereabout are they in their principles, that they yield it not to the more worthy, the mind of a good man?

Thirdly, As no Ordinance, ſo no Cov'nant, no not between God and Man, much leſs between Man and Man, being, as all are, intended to the good of both Parties, can hold to the deluding or making miſerable of them both. For Equity is underſtood in every Cov'nant, ev'n between enemies, though the terms be not expreſt. If Equity therefore made it, Extremity may diſſolve it. But Marriage, they uſe to ſay, is the Cov'nant of God. Undoubted: and ſo is any Cov'nant frequently call'd in Scripture, wherein God is call'd to witneſs: the Cov'nant of Friendſhip between *David* and *Jonathan*, is call'd *the Cov'nant of the Lord*, 1 Sam. 20. The Cov'nant of *Zedekiah* with the King of *Babel*, a Cov'nant to be doubted whether lawful or no, yet in reſpect of God invok'd thereto, is call'd *the Oath, and the Cov'nant of God*, Ezek. 17. Marriage alſo is call'd *the Cov'nant of God*, Prov. 2. 17. Why, but as before, becauſe God is the witneſs thereof, *Malach.* 2. 14. So that this denomination adds nothing to the Cov'nant of Marriage, above any other civil and ſolemn contract: nor is it more indiſſoluble for this reaſon than any other againſt the end of its own Ordination; nor is any Vow or Oath to God exacted with ſuch a rigor, where ſuperſtition reigns not. For look how much divine the Cov'nant is, ſo much the more equal; ſo much the more to be expected that every Article thereof ſhould be fairly made good; no falſe dealing, or unperforming ſhould be thruſt upon men without redreſs, if the Cov'nant be ſo divine. But Faith, they ſay, muſt be kept in Cov'nant, though to our damage. I anſwer, that only holds true, where the other ſide performs; which failing, he is no longer bound. Again, this is true, when the keeping of Faith can be of any uſe or benefit to the other. But in Marriage, a league of Love and Willingneſs, if Faith be not willingly kept, it ſcarce is worth the keeping; nor can be any delight to a generous mind, with whom it is forcibly kept: and the queſtion ſtill ſuppoſes the one brought to an impoſſibility of keeping it as he ought, by the others default; and to keep it formally, not only with a thouſand ſhifts and diſſimulations, but with open anguiſh, perpetual ſadneſs and diſturbance, no willingneſs, no cheerfulneſs, no contentment, cannot be any good to a mind not baſely poor and ſhallow, with whom the contract of Love is ſo kept. A Cov'nant therefore brought to that paſs, is on the unfaulty ſide without injury diſſolv'd.

Fourthly, The Law is not to neglect men under greateſt ſufferances, but to ſee Cov'nants of greateſt moment faithfulleſt perform'd. And what injury comparable to that ſuſtain'd in a fruſtrate and falſe-dealing Marriage, to loſe, for anothers fault againſt him, the beſt portion of his temporal comforts, and of his ſpiritual too, as it may fall out? It was the Law, that for man's good and quiet, reduc'd things to propriety, which were at firſt in common; how much more Law-like were it to aſſiſt Nature in diſappropriating that evil which by continuing proper becomes deſtructive? But he might have bewar'd. So he might in any other Cov'nant, wherein the Law does not conſtrain Error to ſo dear a forfeit. And yet in theſe matters wherein the wiſeſt are apt to err, all the warineſs that can be, oft-times nothing avails. But the Law can compel the offending party to be more duteous. Yes, if all theſe kind of offences were fit in publick to be complain'd on, or being compell'd were any ſatisfaction to a mate not ſottiſh, or malicious. And theſe injuries work ſo vehemently, that if the Law remedy them not, by ſeparating the cauſe when no way elſe will pacify, the perſon not reliev'd betakes him either to ſuch diſorderly courſes, or to ſuch a dull dejection, as renders him either infamous, or uſeleſs to the ſervice of God and his Country. Which the Law ought to prevent as a thing pernicious to the Commonwealth; and what better prevention than this which *Moſes* us'd?

Fifthly, The Law is to tender the liberty and the human dignity of them that live under the Law, whether it be the man's right above the woman, or the woman's juſt appeal againſt wrong and ſervitude. But the duties of Marriage contain in them a duty of Benevolence, which to do by compulſion againſt the Soul, where there can be neither peace, nor joy, nor love, but an enthralment to one who either cannot, or will not be mutual in the godlieſt and the civileſt ends of that ſociety, is the ignobleſt, and the loweſt ſlavery that a human ſhape can be put to. This Law therefore juſtly and piouſly provides againſt ſuch an unmanly task of bondage as this. The Civil Law, though it favour'd the ſetting free of a ſlave, yet if he prov'd ungrateful to his Patron, reduc'd him to a ſervile condition. If that Law did well to reduce from liberty to bondage for an ingratitude not the greateſt, much more became it the Law of God to enact the reſtorement of a free-born man from an unpurpos'd, and unworthy bondage, to a rightful liberty, for the moſt unnatural fraud and ingratitude that can be committed againſt him. And if that Civilian Emperour in his title of *Donations*, permit the giver to recall his gift from him who proves unthankful towards him; yea, though he had ſubſcrib'd and ſign'd in the deed of his gift, not to recall it, though for this very cauſe of ingratitude; with much more equity doth *Moſes* permit here the giver to recall no petty gift, but the gift of himſelf from one who moſt injuriouſly and deceitfully uſes him againſt the main ends and conditions of his giving himſelf, expreſt in God's inſtitution.

Sixthly, Although there be nothing in the plain words of this Law, that ſeems to regard the afflictions of a Wife, how great ſoever; yet Expoſitors determin, and doubtleſs determin rightly, that God was not uncompaſſionate of them alſo in the framing of this Law. For ſhould the reſcript of *Antoninus* in the Civil Law give releaſe to ſervants flying for refuge to the Emperour's ſtatue, by giving leave to change their cruel Maſters; and ſhould God, who in his Law alſo is good to injur'd ſervants, by granting them their freedom in divers caſes, not conſider the wrongs and miſeries of a wife which is no ſervant? Though herein the counter-ſenſe of our Divines, to me, I muſt confeſs ſeems admirable; who teach that God gave this as a merciful Law, not for Man whom he here names, and to whom by name he gives this power, but for the wife whom he names not, and to whom by name he gives no power at all. For certainly if Man be liable to injuries in Marriage, as well as Woman, and Man be the worthier perſon, it were a prepoſterous Law to reſpect only the leſs worthy; her whom God made for Marriage, and not him at all for whom Marriage was made.

Seventhly, The Law of Marriage gives place to the power of Parents: for we hold, that conſent of Parents not had, may break the Wedlock, though elſe accompliſht. It gives place to maſterly Power, for the Maſter might take away from an Hebrew ſervant the wife which he gave him, *Exod.* 21. If it be anſwer'd that the Marriage of Servants is no Matrimony: 'tis reply'd, That this in the ancient *Roman* Law is true, not in the *Moſaic*. If it be added, ſhe was a Stranger, not an Hebrew, therefore eaſily divorc'd: it will be anſwer'd, That Strangers not being *Canaanites*, and they alſo being Converts, might be lawfully marry'd, as *Rahab* was. And her converſion is here ſuppos'd; for an Hebrew maſter could not lawfully give an Heathen wife to an Hebrew ſervant. However, the divorcing of an Iſraelitiſh woman was as eaſy by the Law, as the divorcing of a ſtranger, and almoſt in the ſame words permitted, *Deut.* 24, and *Deut.* 21. Laſtly, it gives place to the right of War, for a captive Woman lawfully marry'd, and afterward not belov'd, might be diſmiſt, only without ranſom, *Deut.* 21. If Marriage may be diſſolv'd by ſo many exterior powers, not ſuperior, as we think, why may not the power of Marriage it ſelf, for its own peace and honour, diſſolve it ſelf? where the perſons wedded be free perſons, why may not a greater and more natural power complaining diſſolve Marriage? For the ends why Matrimony was ordain'd, are certainly and by all Logic above the Ordinance it ſelf; why may not that diſſolve Marriage, without which that inſtitution hath no force at all? for the prime ends of Marriage, are the whole ſtrength and validity thereof, without which Matrimony is like an Idol, nothing in the world. But thoſe former allowances were all for hardneſs of heart. Be that granted, until we come where to underſtand it better: if the Law ſuffer thus far the obſtinacy of a bad man, is it not more righteous here, to do willingly what is but equal, to remove in ſeaſon the extremities of a good man?

Eightly, If a man had deflowr'd a Virgin, or brought an ill name on his Wife that ſhe came not a Virgin to him, he was amerc'd in certain ſhekles of Silver, and bound never to divorce her all his days, *Deut.* 22. which ſhews that the Law gave no liberty to divorce, where the injury was palpable; and that the abſolute forbidding to divorce, was in part the puniſhment of a deflowrer, and a defamer. Yet not ſo but that the wife queſtionleſs might depart when ſhe pleas'd. Otherwiſe this courſe had not ſo much righted her, as delivered her up to more ſpight and cruel uſage. This Law therefore doth juſtly diſtinguiſh the privilege of an honeſt and blameleſs man in the matter of divorce from the puniſhment of a notorious offender.

Ninthly, Suppoſe it might be imputed to a man, that he was too raſh in his choice, and why took he not better heed, let him now ſmart, and bear his folly as he may; although the Law of God, that terrible Law, do not thus upbraid the infirmities and unwilling miſtakes of man in his integrity: But ſuppoſe theſe and the like proud aggravations of ſome ſtern hypocrite, more mercileſs in his mercies, than any literal Law in the vigour of ſeverity, muſt be patiently heard; yet all Law, and Gods Law eſpecially, grants every-where to error eaſy remitments, even where the utmoſt penalty exacted were no undoing. With great reaſon therefore and mercy doth it here not torment an error, if it be ſo, with the indurance of a whole life loſt to all houſhold comfort and ſociety, a puniſhment of too vaſt and huge dimenſion for an error, and the more unreaſonable for that the like objection may be oppos'd againſt the plea of divorcing for adultery; he might have lookt better before to her breeding under religious Parents: why did he not then more diligently inquire into her manners, into what company ſhe kept? every glance of her eye, every ſtep of her gate would have prophecy'd adultery, if the quick ſcent of theſe diſcerners had bin took along; they had the divination to have foretold you all this, as they have now the divinity to puniſh an error inhumanly. As good reaſon to be content, and forc'd to be content with your Adultreſs, if theſe objecters might be the judges of human frailty. But God, more mild and good to man, then man to his brother, in all this liberty given to divorcement, mentions not a word of our paſt errors and miſtakes, if any were, which theſe men objecting from their own inventions, proſecute with all violence and iniquity. For if the one be to look ſo narrowly what he takes, at the peril of ever keeping, why ſhould not the other be made as wary what is promis'd, by the peril of loſing? for without thoſe promiſes the treaty of Marriage had not proceeded. Why ſhould his own error bind him, rather then the others fraud acquit him? Let the buyer beware, ſaith the old Law-beaten termer. Belike then there is no more honeſty, nor ingenuity in the bargain of a Wedlock, then in the buying of a Colt: We muſt it ſeems drive it on as craftily with thoſe whoſe affinity we ſeek, as if they were a pack of ſale-men and complotters. But the deceiver deceives himſelf in the unproſperous Marriage, and therein is ſufficiently puniſht. I anſwer, that the moſt of thoſe who deceive, are ſuch as either underſtand not, or value not the true purpoſes of Marriage; they have the prey they ſeek, not the puniſhment: yet ſay it prove to them ſome croſs, it is not equal that error and fraud ſhould be linkt in the ſame degree of forfeiture, but rather that error ſhould be acquitted, and fraud bereav'd his morſel, if the miſtake were not on both ſides; for then on both ſides the acquitment will be reaſonable, if the bondage be intolerable; which this Law graciouſly determins, not unmindful of the wife, as was granted willingly to the common Expoſiters, though beyond the letter of this Law, yet not beyond the ſpirit of charity.

Tenthly, Marriage is a ſolemn thing, ſome ſay a holy, the reſemblance of Chriſt and his Church; and ſo indeed it is where the perſons are truly religious; and we know all Sacred things not perform'd ſincerely as they ought, are no way acceptable to God in their outward formality. And that wherein it differs from perſonal duties, if they be not truly done, the fault is in our ſelves; but Marriage to be a true and pious Marriage is not in the ſingly power of any perſon; the eſſence whereof, as of all other Covenants, is in relation to another, the making and maintaining cauſes thereof are all mutual, and muſt be a communion of ſpiritual and temporal comforts. If then either of them cannot, or obſtinately will not be anſwerable in theſe duties, ſo as that the other can have no peaceful living, or enduring the want of what he juſtly ſeeks, and ſees no hope, then ſtrait from that dwelling love, which is the ſoul of wedlock, takes his flight, leaving only ſome cold performances of civil and common reſpects; but the true bond of Marriage, if there were ever any there, is already burſt like a rott'n thred. Then follows diſſimulation, ſuſpicion, falſe colours, falſe pretences, and wors then theſe, diſturbance, annoyance, vexation, ſorrow, temptation ev'n in the faultles perſon, weary of himſelf, and of all action publick or domeſtick; then comes diſorder, neglect, hatred, and perpetual ſtrife, all theſe the enemies of Holineſs and Chriſtianity, and every one of theſe perſiſted in, a remediles violation to Matrimony. Therefore God who hates all faining and formality, where there ſhould be all faith and ſincereneſs, and abhors to ſee inevitable diſcord, where there ſhould be greateſt concord, when through anothers default, faith and concord cannot be, counts it neither juſt to puniſh the innocent with the tranſgreſſor, nor holy, nor honourable for the ſanctity of Marriage, that ſhould be the union of peace and love, to be made the commitment, and cloſe fight of enmity and hate. And therefore doth in this Law, what beſt agrees with his goodneſs, looſning a ſacred thing to peace and charity, rather then binding it to hatred and contention; looſning only the outward and formal tie of that which is already inwardly and really brok'n, or elſe was really never joyn'd.

Eleventhly, One of the chief matrimonial ends is ſaid to ſeek a holy ſeed; but where an unfit Marriage adminiſters continual cauſe of hatred and diſtemper, there, as was heard before, cannot chooſe but much unholineſs abide. Nothing more unhallows a man, more unprepares him to the ſervice of God in any duty, then a habit of wrath and perturbation, ariſing from the importunity of troublous cauſes never abſent. And where the houſhold ſtands in this plight, what love can there be to the unfortunate iſſue, what care of their breeding, which is of main conducement to their being holy? God therefore knowing how unhappy it would be for children to be born in ſuch a family, gives this Law either as a prevention, that being an unhappy pair, they ſhould not add to be unhappy parents, or elſe as a remedy that if there be children, while they are feweſt, they may follow either parent, as ſhall be agreed, or judg'd, from the houſe of hatred and diſcord, to a place of more holy and peaceable education.

Twelfthly, All Law is available to ſome good end, but the final prohibition of Divorce avails to no good end, cauſing only the endles aggravation of evil, and therefore this permiſſion of divorce was giv'n to the Jews by the wiſdom and fatherly providence of God; who knew that Law cannot command love, without which Matrimony hath no true being, no good, no ſolace, nothing of God's inſtituting, nothing but ſo ſordid and ſo low, as to be diſdain'd of any generous perſon. Law cannot inable natural inability either of body, or mind, which gives the grievance; it cannot make equal thoſe inequalities, it cannot make fit thoſe unfitneſſes; and where there is malice more then defect of nature, it cannot hinder ten thouſand injuries, and bitter actions of deſpight, too ſuttle and too unapparent for Law to deal with. And while it ſeeks to remedy more outward wrongs, it expoſes the injur'd perſon to other more inward and more cutting. All theſe evils unavoidably will redound upon the children, if any be, and the whole family. It degenerates and diſorders the beſt ſpirits, leaves them to unſettl'd imaginations, and degraded hopes, careleſs of themſelves, their houſhold and their friends, unactive to all publick ſervice, dead to the Commonwealth; wherein they are by one miſhap, and no willing treſpaſs of theirs, outlaw'd from all the benefits and comforts of married life and poſterity. It confers as little to the honour and inviolable keeping of Matrimony, but ſooner ſtirs up temptations, and occaſions to ſecret adulteries, and unchaſt roaving. But it maintains publick honeſty. Publick folly rather; who ſhall judg of publick honeſty? the Law of God and of ancienteſt Chriſtians, and all Civil Nations, or the illegitimate Law of Monks and Canoniſts, the moſt malevolent, moſt unexperienc't, and incompetent Judges of Matrimony?

Theſe reaſons, and many more that might be alleg'd, afford us plainly to perceave, both what good cauſe this Law had to do for good men in miſchances, and what neceſſity it had to ſuffer accidentally the hard-heartedneſs of bad men, which it could not certainly diſcover, or diſcovering, could not ſubdue, no nor indeavour to reſtrain without multiplying ſorrow to them, for whom all was indeavour'd. The guiltleſs therefore were not depriv'd their needful redreſſes, and the hard hearts of others unchaſtiſable in thoſe judicial Courts, were ſo remitted there, as bound over to the higher Seſſion of Conſcience.

Notwithſtanding all this, there is a loud exception againſt this Law of God, nor can the holy Author ſave his Law from this exception, that it opens a dore to all licence and confuſion. But this is the rudeſt, I was almoſt ſaying the moſt graceleſs objection, and with the leaſt reverence to God and *Moſes*, that could be deviſ'd: This is to cite God before mans Tribunal, to arrogate a wiſdom and holineſs above him. Did not God then foreſee what event of licence or confuſion could follow? did not he know how to ponder theſe abuſes with more prevailing reſpects, in the moſt even ballance of his juſtice and pureneſs, till theſe correctors came up to ſhew him better? The Law is, if it ſtir up ſin any way, to ſtir it up by forbidding, as one contrary excites another, *Rom.* 7. but if it once come to provoke ſin, by granting licence to ſin, according to Laws that have no other honeſt end, but only to permit the fulfilling of obſtinate luſt, how is God not made the contradicter of himſelf? No man denies that beſt things may be abus'd: but it is a Rule reſulting from many pregnant experiences, that what doth moſt harm in the abuſing, us'd rightly doth moſt good. And ſuch a good to take away from honeſt men, for being abus'd by ſuch as abuſe all things, is the greateſt abuſe of all. That the whole Law is no furder uſeful, then as a man uſes it lawfully, St. *Paul* teaches 1 *Tim.* 1. And that Chriſtian liberty may be us'd for an occaſion to the fleſh, the ſame Apoſtle confeſſes, *Galat.* 5. yet thinks not of removing it for that, but bids us rather ***Stand faſt in the liberty wherwith Chriſt hath feed us, and not be held again in the yoke of bondage.*** The very permiſſion which Chriſt gave to Divorce for Adultery, may be fouly abus'd, by any whoſe hardnes of heart can either fain adultery, or dares commit, that he may divorce. And for this cauſe the Pope, and hitherto the Church of *England*, forbid all Divorce from the bond of Marriage, though for openeſt adultery. If then it be righteous to hinder for the fear of abuſe, that which Gods Law, notwithſtanding that caution, hath warranted to be done, doth not our righteouſneſs come ſhort of Antichriſt? or do we not rather herein conform our ſelvs to his unrighteouſneſs in this undue and unwiſe fear? For God regards more to relieve by this Law the juſt complaints of good men, then to curb the licence of wicked men, to the cruſhing withal, and the overwhelming of his afflicted ſervants. He loves more that his Law ſhould look with pity upon the difficulties of his own, than with rigor upon the boundleſs riots of them who ſerve another Maſter, and hinder'd here by ſtrictnes, will break another way to wors enormities. If this Law therfore have many good reaſons for which God gave it, and no intention of giving ſcope to lewdnes, but as abuſe by accident comes in with every good Law, and every good thing, it cannot be wiſdom in us, while we can content us with Gods wiſdom, nor can be purity, if his purity will ſuffice us, to except againſt this Law, as if it foſter'd licence. But if they affirm this Law had no other end, but to permit obdurat luſt, becauſe it would be obdurat, making the Law of God intentionally to proclame and enact Sin lawful, as if the will of God were become ſinful, or Sin ſtronger then his direct and Law-giving will, the men would be admoniſht to look well to it, that while they are ſo eager to ſhut the door againſt licence. they do not open a wors door to blaſphemy. And yet they ſhall be here furder ſhewn their iniquity; what more foul and common ſin among us then drunkennes? and who can be ignorant, that if the importation of Wine, and the uſe of all ſtrong drink were forbid, it would both clean rid the poſſibility of commiting that odious vice, and men might afterwards live happily and healthfully, without the uſe of thoſe intoxicating liquors. Yet who is there the ſevereſt of them all, that ever propounded to loſe his Sack, his Ale, toward the certain aboliſhing of ſo great a ſin? who is there of them, the holieſt, that leſs loves his rich Canary at meals, though it be fetcht from places that hazard the Religion of them who fetch it, and though it make his neighbour drunk out of the ſame Tun? While they forbid not therefore the uſe of that liquid Marchandiſe, which forbidden would utterly remove a moſt loathſom ſin, and not impair either the health, or the refreſhment of mankind, ſuppli'd many other ways: why do they forbid a Law of God, the forbidding whereof brings into an exceſſive bondage oft-times the beſt of men, and betters not the wors? He to remove a National vice, will not pardon his cups, nor think it concerns him to forbear the quaffing of that outlandiſh Grape, in his unneceſſary fulnes, though other men abuſe it never ſo much; nor is he ſo abſtemious as to intercede with the Magiſtrate that all matter of drunkennes be baniſht the Common-wealth; and yet for the fear of a leſs inconvenience unpardnably requires of his brethren, in their extream neceſſity, to debar themſelves the uſe of Gods permiſſive Law, though it might be their ſaving, and no mans indangering the more. Thus this peremptory ſtrictnes we may diſcern of what ſort it is, how unequal and how unjuſt.

But it will breed confuſion. What confuſion it would breed, God himſelf took the care to prevent in the fourth verſe of this Chapter, that the divorc't being married to another, might not return to her former Husband. And *Juſtinians* Law counſels the ſame in his Title of ***Nuptials***. And what confuſion els can ther be in ſeparation, to ſeparat, upon extrem urgency, the religious from the irreligious, the fit from the unfit, the willing from the wilful, the abus'd from the abuſer? ſuch a ſeparation is quite contrary to confuſion. But to bind and mix together holy with Atheiſt, heav'nly with helliſh, fitnes with unfitnes, light with darknes, antipathy with antipathy, the injur'd with the injurer, and force them into the moſt inward neernes of a deteſted union, this doubtles is the moſt horrid, the moſt unnatural mixture, the greateſt confuſion that can be confus'd.

Thus by this plain and Chriſtian ***Talmud***, vindicating the Law of God from irreverent and unwary expoſitions, I truſt, wher it ſhall meet with intelligible peruſers, ſom ſtay at leaſt of mens thoughts will be obtain'd, to conſider theſe many prudent and righteous ends of this divorcing permiſſion: That it may have, for the great Authors ſake, heerafter ſome competent allowance to be counted a little purer then the prerogative of a legal and public ribaldry, granted to that holy ſeed. So that from hence we ſhall hope to find the way ſtill more open to the reconciling of thoſe places which treat this matter in the Goſpel. And thither now without interruption the cours of method brings us.

# Tetrachordon.

## MATTH. V. 31, 32.

31 *It hath been ſaid, whoſoever ſhall put away his Wife, let him give her a writing of Divorcement.*

32 *But I ſay unto you, that whoſoever ſhall put away his Wife,* &c.

## MATTH. XIX. 3, 4, &c.

3 *And the Phariſees alſo came unto him, tempting him,* &c.

I*T hath been ſaid.*] What hitherto hath been ſpoke upon the Law of God touching Matrimony or Divorce, he who will deny to have bin argu'd according to reaſon, and all equity of Scripture, I cannot edifie how, or by what rule of proportion that mans vertue calculates, what his ***elements*** are, nor what his ***analytics***. Confidently to thoſe who have read good books, and to thoſe whoſe reaſon is not an illiterate book to themſelves, I appeal, whether they would not confeſs all this to be the commentary of truth and juſtice, were it not for theſe recited words of our Saviour. And if they take not back that which they thus grant, nothing ſooner might perſwade them that Chriſt heer teaches no new precept, and nothing ſooner might direct them to find his meaning, then to compare and meaſure it by the rules of nature and eternal righteouſnes, which no writt'n Law extinguiſhes, and the Goſpel leaſt of all. For what can be more oppoſite and diſparaging to the cov'nant of love, of freedom, and of our manhood in grace, then to be made the yoking pedagogue of new ſeverities, the ſcribe of ſyllables and rigid letters, not only grievous to the beſt of men, but different and ſtrange from the light of reaſon in them, ſave only as they are fain to ſtretch and diſtort their apprehenſions, for fear of diſpleaſing the verbal ſtraitneſs of a text, which our own ſervil fear gives us not the leiſure to underſtand aright? If the Law of Chriſt ſhall be writt'n in our hearts, as was promis'd to the Goſpel, *Jer.* 31. how can this in the vulgar and ſuperficial ſenſe be a Law of Chriſt, ſo far from being writt'n in our hearts, that it injures and diſallows not only the free dictates of Nature and moral Law, but of Charity alſo and Religion in our heart? Our Saviours doctrine is, that the end, and the fulfilling of every command is charity; no faith without it, no truth without it, no worſhip, no works pleaſing to God but as they partake of charity. He himſelf ſets us an example, breaking the ſolemneſt and the ſtricteſt ordinance of religious reſt, and juſtify'd the breaking, not to cure a dying man, but ſuch whoſe cure might without danger have been deferr'd. And wherefore needs muſt the ſick mans bed be carried home on that day by his appointment? and why were the Diſciples, who could not forbear on that day to pluck the corn, ſo induſtriouſly defended, but to ſhew us that if he preferr'd the ſlighteſt occaſions of Mans good before the obſerving of higheſt and ſevereſt ordinances, he gave us much more eaſie leave to break the intolerable yoak of a never well joyn'd Wedlock for the removing of our heavieſt afflictions? Therefore it is that the moſt evangelick precepts are given us in proverbial forms, to drive us from the letter, though we love ever to be ſticking there. For no other cauſe did Chriſt aſſure us that whatſoever things we bind, or ſlacken on earth, are ſo in heaven, but to ſignifie that the chriſtian arbitrement of charity is ſupreme decider of all controverſie, and ſupreme reſolver of all Scripture; not as the Pope determines for his own tyranny, but as the Church ought to determine for its own true liberty. Hence *Euſebius*, not far from beginning his Hiſtory, compares the ſtate of Chriſtians to that of *Noah* and the Patriarchs before the Law. And this indeed was the reaſon why *Apoſtolick* tradition in the antient Church was counted nigh equal to the writt'n word, though it carried them at length awry, for want of conſidering that tradition was not left to be impos'd as Law, but to be a pattern of that Chriſtian prudence, and liberty which holy men by right aſſum'd of old; which truth was ſo evident, that it found entrance even into the Council of *Trent*, when the point of Tradition came to be diſcuſt. And *Marinaro*, a learned *Carmelite*, for approaching too near the true cauſe that gave eſteem to Tradition, that is to ſay, the difference between the Old and New Teſtament, the one punctually preſcribing writt'n Law, the other guiding by the inward Spirit, was reprehended by Cardinal *Pool* as one that had ſpoken more worthy a *German Colloquie*, then a General Council. I omit many inſtances, many proofs and arguments of this kind, which alone would compile a juſt volume, and ſhall content me here to have ſhew'n breifly, that the great and almoſt only commandment of the Goſpel, is to command nothing againſt the good of man, and much more no civil command, againſt his civil good. If we underſtand not this, we are but crackt cimbals, we do but tinkle, we know nothing, we do nothing, all the ſweat of our toilſomeſt obedience will but mock us. And what we ſuffer ſuperſtitiouſly, returns us no thanks. Thus med'cining our eyes, we need not doubt to ſee more into the meaning of theſe our Saviours words, then many who have gone before us.

*It hath been ſaid, whoſoever ſhall put away his wife.*] Our Saviour was by the Doctors of his time ſuſpected of intending to diſſolve the Law. In this Chapter he wipes off this aſperſion upon his Accuſers, and ſhews how they were the Law-breakers. In every Common-wealth, when it decays, Corruption makes two main ſteps; firſt, when men ceaſe to do according to the inward and uncompell'd actions of Vertue, caring only to live by the outward conſtraint of Law, and turn the ſimplicity of real good into the craft of ſeeming ſo by Law. To this hypocritical honeſty was *Rome* declin'd in that Age wherein *Horace* liv'd, and diſcover'd it to *Quintius*.

*Whom do we count a good man, whom but he*
*Who keeps the laws and ſtatutes of the Senate,*
*Who judges in great ſuits and controverſies,*
*Whoſe witneſs and opinion wins the cauſe?*
*But his own houſe, and the whole neighbourhood*
*Sees his foul inſide through his whited skin.*

The next declining is, when Law becomes now too ſtrait for the ſecular Manners, and thoſe too looſe for the cincture of Law. This brings in falſe and crooked Interpretations to eke out Law, and invents the ſuttle encroachment of obſcure Traditions hard to be diſprov'd. To both theſe deſcents the Phariſees themſelves were fall'n. Our Saviour therefore ſhews them both where they broke the Law, in not marking the divine Intent thereof, but only the Letter; and where they deprav'd the Letter alſo with ſophiſtical Expoſitions. This Law of Divorce they had deprav'd both ways: firſt, by teaching that to give a bill of Divorce was all the duty which that Law requir'd, whatever the cauſe were; next by running to Divorce for any trivial, accidental cauſe; whenas the Law evidently ſtays in the grave cauſes of natural and immutable diſlike. *It hath been ſaid*, ſaith he. Chriſt doth not put any contempt or diſeſteem upon the Law of *Moſes*, by citing it ſo briefly; for in the ſame manner God himſelf cites a Law of greateſt caution, Jer. 3. *They ſay if a man put away his wife, ſhall he return to her again?* &c. Nor doth he more aboliſh it then the Law of ſwearing, cited next with the ſame brevity, and more appearance of contradicting: for Divorce hath an exception left it; but we are charg'd there, as abſolutely as words can charge us, *not* *to ſwear at all:* yet who denies the lawfulnes of an Oath, though here it be in no caſe permitted? And what ſhall become of his ſolemn Proteſtation not to aboliſh one Law, or one tittle of any Law, eſpecially of thoſe which he mentions in this Chapter? And that he meant more particularly the not aboliſhing of *Moſaic* Divorce, is beyond all cavil manifeſt in *Luke* 16. 17, 18. where this Clauſe againſt abrogating is inſerted immediately before the ſentence againſt Divorce, as if it were call'd thither on purpoſe to defend the equity of this particular Law againſt the foreſeen raſhneſs of common Textuaries, who aboliſh Laws, as the Rabble demoliſh Images, in the zeal of their hammers oft violating the Sepulchers of good men; like *Pentheus* in the Tragedies, they ſee that for *Thebes* which is not, and take that for Superſtition, as theſe men in the heat of their annulling perceive not how they aboliſh Right, and Equal, and Juſtice under the appearance of *judicial.* And yet are confeſſing all the while, that theſe ſayings of Chriſt ſtand not in contradiction to the Law of *Moſes*, but to the falſe Doctrine of the Phariſees rais'd from thence; that the Law of God is perfect, not liable to additions or diminutions: and *Pareus* accuſes the Jeſuit *Maldonatus* of greateſt falſity for limiting the perfection of that Law only to the rudenes of the Jews. He adds, *That the Law promiſeth life to the performers thereof, therefore needs not perfitter precepts then ſuch as bring to life*; that *if the corrections of Chriſt ſtand oppoſite, not to the corruptions of the Phariſees, but to the Law it ſelf of God, the hereſie of* Manes *would follow, one God of the Old Teſtament, and another of the New. That Chriſt ſaith not here, Except your righteouſneſs exceed the righteouſneſs of* Moſes *Law, but of the Scribes and Phariſees.* That all this may be true: whether is common ſenſe flown aſquint, if we can maintain that Chriſt forbid the *Moſaic* Divorce utterly, and yet aboliſht not the Law that permits it? For if the Conſcience only were checkt, and the Law not repeal'd, what means the *Fanatic* boldneſs of this Age that dares tutor Chriſt to be more ſtrict then he thought fit? Ye ſhall have the evaſion, it was a judicial Law. What could infancy and ſlumber have invented more childiſh? judicial or not judicial, it was one of thoſe laws expreſly which he forewarn'd us with proteſtation, that his mind was not to abrogate: and if we mark the ſteerage of his words, what courſe they hold, we may perceive that what he proteſted not to diſſolve (that he might faithfully and not deceitfully remove a ſuſpition from himſelf) was principally concerning the judicial Law; for of that ſort are all theſe here which he vindicates, except the laſt. Of the Ceremonial Law he told them true, that nothing of it ſhould paſs *until all were fulfill'd.* Of the moral Law he knew the Phariſees did not ſuſpect he meant to nullifie that: for ſo doing would ſoon have undone his authority, and advanced theirs. Of the judicial Law therefore chiefly this Apologie was meant: For how is that fulfill'd longer then the common equity thereof remains in force? And how is this our Saviours defence of himſelf not made fallacious, if the Phariſees chief fear be leſt he ſhould aboliſh the judicial Law, and he to ſatisfy them, proteſts his good intention to the Moral Law? It is the general grant of Divines, that what in the Judicial Law is not meerly *judaical*, but reaches to human equity in common, was never in the thought of being abrogated. If our Saviour took away ought of Law, it was the burthenſome of it, not the eaſe of burden; it was the bondage, not the liberty of any divine Law, that he remov'd: this he often profeſt to be the end of his coming. But what if the Law of Divorce be a moral Law, as moſt certainly it is fundamentally, and hath been ſo prov'd in the reaſons thereof? For though the giving of a Bill may be judicial, yet the act of Divorce is altogether converſant in good or evil, and ſo abſolutely moral. So far as it is good, it never can be aboliſht, being moral; and ſo far as it is ſimply evil, it never could be judicial, as hath been ſhewn at large *in the Doctrine of Divorce*, and will be reaſſum'd anon. Whence one of theſe two neceſſities follow, that either it was never eſtabliſht, or never aboliſht. Thus much may be enough to have ſaid on this place. The following Verſe will be better unfolded in the 19*th* Chapter, where it meets us again, after a large debatement on the Queſtion between our Saviour and his Adverſaries.

## Mat. XIX. 3, 4, &c.

V. 3. *And the Phariſees came unto him, tempting him, and ſaying unto him.*

*Tempting him.* ] The manner of theſe men coming to our Saviour, not to learn, but to tempt him, may give us to expect that their Anſwer will be ſuch as is fitteſt for them; not ſo much a teaching, as an intangling. No man, though never ſo willing or ſo well enabl'd to inſtruct, but if he diſcern his willingneſs and candor

made

made uſe of to intrap him, will ſuddenly draw in himſelf, and laying aſide the facil vein of perſpicuity, will know his time to utter Clouds and Riddles; if he be not leſs wiſe than that noted Fiſh, when as he ſhould be not unwiſer than the Serpent. Our Saviour at no time expreſt any great deſire to teach the obſtinate and unteachable Phariſees; but when they came to tempt him, then leaſt of all. As now about the liberty of Divorce, ſo another time about the puniſhment of Adultery they came to ſound him; and what ſatisfaction got they from his anſwer, either to themſelves or to us, that might direct a Law under the Goſpel new from that of *Moſes*, unleſs we draw his abſolution of Adultery into an Edict? So about the Tribute, who is there can pick out a full Solution, what and when we muſt give to *Cæſar*, by the Anſwer which he gave the Phariſees? If we muſt give to *Cæſar* that which is *Cæſars*, and all be *Cæſars* which hath his Image, we muſt either new ſtamp our Coin, or we may go new ſtamp our Foreheads with the ſuperſcription of Slaves inſtead of Freemen. Beſides, it is a general Precept, not only of Chriſt, but of all other Sages, not to inſtruct the unworthy and the conceited, who love Tradition more than Truth, but to perplex and ſtumble them purpoſely with contriv'd obſcurities. No wonder then if they who would determine of Divorce by this place, have ever found it difficult, and unſatiſfying through all the Ages of the Church, as *Auſtin* himſelf and other great Writers confeſs. Laſtly, It is manifeſt to be the principal ſcope of our Saviour, both here, and in the 5th of *Matthew*, to convince the Phariſees of what they being evil did licentiouſly, not to explain what others being good and blameleſs men might be permitted to do in caſe of extremity. Neither was it ſeaſonable to talk of honeſt and conſcientious liberty among them, who had abuſed legal and civil liberty to uncivil licence. We do not ſay to a Servant what we ſay to a Son; nor was it expedient to preach Freedom to thoſe who had tranſgreſt in Wantonneſs. When we rebuke a Prodigal, we admoniſh him of Thrift, not of Magnificence, or Bounty. And to ſchool a proud man we labour to make him humble, not magnanimous. So Chriſt to retort theſe arrogant Inquiſitors their own, took the courſe to lay their Haughtineſs under a ſeverity which they deſerv'd; not to acquaint them, or to make them Judges either of the juſt mans Right and Privilege, or of the afflicted mans Neceſſity. And if we may have leave to conjecture, there is a likelyhood offer'd us by *Tertullian* in his 4th againſt *Marcion*, whereby it may ſeem very probable that the Phariſees had a private drift of Malice againſt our Saviours life in propoſing this Queſtion; and our Saviour had a peculiar aim in the rigor of his Anſwer, both to let them know the freedom of his ſpirit, and the ſharpneſs of his diſcerning. *This I muſt now ſhew,* ſaith *Tertullian, whence our Lord deduc'd this ſentence, and which way he directed it, whereby it will more fully appear that he intended not to diſſolve* Moſes. And thereupon tells us, that the vehemence of this our Saviours ſpeech was chiefly darted againſt *Herod* and *Herodias*. The Story is out of *Joſephus*: *Herod* had been a long time married to the Daughter of *Aretas* King of *Petra*, till haphing on his jorney towards *Rome* to be entertain'd at his brother *Philips* houſe, he caſt his eye unlawfully and ungueſtlike upon *Herodias* there, the Wife of *Philip*, but Daughter to *Ariſtobulus* their common Brother, and durſt make words of marrying her his Neece from his Brothers bed. She aſſented upon agreement he ſhould expel his former Wife. All was accompliſht, and by the *Baptiſt* rebukt with the loſs of his head. Though doubtles that ſtaid not the various diſcourſes of men upon the fact, which while the *Herodian* flatterers, and not a few perhaps among the Phariſees, endeavour'd to defend by wreſting the Law, it might be a means to bring the Queſtion of Divorce into a hot agitation among the People, how far *Moſes* gave allowance. The Phariſees therefore, knowing our Saviour to be a friend of *John the Baptiſt*, and no doubt but having heard much of his Sermon in the Mount, wherein he ſpake rigidly againſt the licence of Divorce, they put him this Queſtion, both in hope to find him a Contradicter of *Moſes*, and a Condemner of *Herod*; ſo to inſnare him within compaſs of the ſame accuſation which had ended his friend; and our Saviour ſo orders his Anſwer, as that they might perceive *Herod* and his Adultreſs, only not nam'd: ſo lively it concern'd them both what he ſpake. No wonder then if the Sentence of our Saviour ſounded ſtricter then his cuſtom was; which his conſcious Attempters doubtleſs apprehended ſooner then his other Auditors. Thus much we gain from hence to inform us, that what Chriſt intends to ſpeak here of Divorce, will be rather the forbidding of what we may not do herein paſſionately and abuſively, as *Herod* and *Herodias* did, then the diſcuſſing of what herein we may do reaſonably and neceſſarily.

*Is it lawful for a man to put away his wife?*] It might be render'd more exactly from the Greek, *to looſen or to ſet free*; which though it ſeem to have a milder ſignification then the two Hebrew words commonly us'd for divorce, yet Interpreters have noted, that the Greek alſo is read in the *Septuagint*, for an act which is not without conſtraint. As when *Achiſh* drove from his preſence *David* counterfeting madneſs. *Pſal.* 34. the Greek word is the ſame with this here, to put away. And *Eraſmus* quotes *Hilary* rendering it by an expreſſion not ſo ſoft. Whence may be doubted, whether the Phariſes did not ſtate this queſtion in the ſtrict right of the man, not tarrying for the wives conſent. And if our Saviour anſwer directly according to what was askt in the term of putting away, it may be queſtionable, whether the rigor of his ſentence did not forbid only ſuch putting away as is without mutual conſent, in a violent and harſh manner, or without any reaſon, but will, as the *Tetrarch* did. Which might be the cauſe that thoſe Chriſtian Emperours fear'd not in their conſtitutions to diſſolve Marriage by mutual conſent; in that our Saviour ſeems here, as the caſe is moſt likely, not to condemn all divorce, but all injury and violence in divorce. But no injury can be done to them who ſeek it, as the *Ethics* of *Ariſtotle* ſufficiently prove. True it is, that an unjuſt thing may be done to one though willing, and ſo may juſtly be forbid'n: But divorce being in it ſelf no unjuſt or evil thing, but only as it is joyn'd with injury, or luſt; injury it cannot be at law, if conſent be, and *Ariſtotle* err not. And luſt it may as frequently not be, while charity hath the judging of ſo many private grievances in a misfortun'd Wedlock, which may pard'nably ſeek a redemption. But whether it be or not, the law cannot diſcern, or examin luſt, ſo long as it walks from one lawful term to another, from Divorce to Marriage, both in themſelves indifferent. For if the Law cannot take hold to puniſh many actions apparently covetous, ambitious, ingrateful, proud, how can it forbid and puniſh that for luſt, which is but only ſurmis'd ſo, and can no more be certainly prov'd in the divorcing now, then before in the marrying? Whence if Divorce be no unjuſt thing, but through luſt, a cauſe not diſcernable by law, as law is wont to diſcern in other caſes, and can be no injury where conſent is, there can be nothing in the equity of law, why divorce by conſent may not be lawful: leaving ſecrecies to conſcience, the thing which our Saviour here aims to rectifie, not to revoke the ſtatutes of *Moſes*. In the mean while the word *To put away*, being in the Greek to looſen or diſſolve, utterly takes away that vain papiſtical diſtinction of divorce from bed, and divorce from bond, evincing plainly that both Chriſt and the Phariſes mean here that divorce which finally diſſolves the bond, and frees both parties to a ſecond Marriage.

*For every cauſe.*] This the Phariſes held, that for every cauſe they might divorce, for every accidental cauſe, any quarrel or difference that might happ'n. So both *Joſephus* and *Philo*, men who liv'd in the ſame age, explain; and the *Syriack* tranſlater, whoſe antiquity is thought parallel to the *Evangeliſts* themſelves, reads it conformably *upon any occaſion or pretence.* Divines alſo generally agree that thus the Phariſes meant. *Cameron* a late Writer, much applauded, commenting this place not undiligently, affirms that the Greek prepoſition κατὰ tranſlated unuſually (For) hath a force in it implying the ſuddeneſs of thoſe Phariſaic divorces; and that their queſtion was to this effect, *whether for any cauſe whatever it chanc'd to be, ſtraight as it roſe, the divorce might be lawful.* This he freely gives what ever mov'd him, and I as freely take, nor can deny his obſervation to be acute and learned. If therefore we inſiſt upon the word of *putting away*, that it imports a conſtraint without conſent, as might be inſiſted, and may enjoy what *Cameron* beſtows on us, that *for every cauſe* is to be underſtood, *according as any cauſe may happen*, with a relation to the ſpeedineſs of thoſe divorces, and that *Herodian* act eſpecially, as is already brought us, the ſentence of our Saviour will appear nothing ſo ſtrict a prohibition as hath been long conceiv'd, forbidding only to divorce for caſual and temporary cauſes, that may be ſoon ended, or ſoon remedied; and likewiſe forbidding to divorce raſhly, and on the ſudden heat, except it be for adultery. If theſe qualifications may be admitted, as partly we offer them, partly are offer'd them by ſome of their own opinion, and that where nothing is repugnant why they ſhould not be admitted, nothing can wreſt them from us, the ſevere ſentence of our Saviour will ſtraight unbend the ſeeming frown into that gentleneſs and compaſſion which was ſo abundant in all his actions, his office and his doctrine, from all which otherwiſe it ſtands off at no mean diſtance.

Verſ. 4. *And he anſwered and ſaid unto them, Have ye not read that he which made them at the beginning, made them Male and Female?*

Verſ. 5. *And ſaid, for this cauſe ſhall a man leave Father and Mother, and ſhall cleave to his Wiſe, and they twain ſhall be one fleſh.*

Verſ. 6. *Wherefore they are no more twain, but one fleſh: what therefore God hath joyned together, let no man put aſunder.*

4. and 5. *Made them Male and Female; And ſaid, for this cauſe*, &c.] We ſee it here undeniably, that the Law which our Saviour cites to prove that Divorce was forbidd'n, is not an abſolute and tyrannical command without reaſon, as now-a-days we make it little better, but is grounded upon ſome rational cauſe not difficult to be apprehended, being in a matter which equally concerns the meaneſt and the plaineſt ſort of perſons in a houſhold life. Our next way then will be to inquire if there be not more reaſons then one; and if there be, whether this be the beſt and chiefeſt. That we ſhall find by turning to the firſt Inſtitution, to which Chriſt refers our own reading; He himſelf having to deal with treacherous aſſailants, uſeth brevity, and lighting on the firſt place in *Geneſis* that mentions any thing tending to Marriage in the firſt chapter, joyns it immediately to the 24th verſe of the 2d chapter, omitting all the prime words between, which create the inſtitution, and contain the nobleſt and pureſt ends of Matrimony; without which attain'd, that conjunction hath nothing in it above what is common to us with beaſts. So likewiſe beneath in this very chapter, to the young man who came not tempting him, but to learn of him, asking him which Commandments he ſhould keep; he neither repeats the firſt Table, nor all the ſecond, nor that in order which he repeats. If here then being tempted, he deſire to be the ſhorter, and the darker in his Conference, and omit to cite that from the ſecond of *Geneſis*, which all Divines confeſs is a Commentary to what he cites out of the firſt, the *making them Male and Female:* what are we to do, but to ſearch the inſtitution our ſelves? and we ſhall find there his own authority, giving other manner of reaſons why ſuch firm union is to be in Matrimony; without which reaſons, there being male and female can be no cauſe of joyning them unſeparably: for if it be, then no Adultery can ſever. Therefore the prohibition of Divorce depends not upon this reaſon here expreſt to the Phariſes, but upon the plainer and more eminent cauſes omitted here, and referr'd to the inſtitution; which cauſes not being found in a particular and caſual Matrimony, this ſenſitive and materious cauſe alone can no more hinder a divorce againſt thoſe higher and more human reaſons urging it, then it can alone without them to warrant a copulation, but leaves arbitrary to thoſe who in their chance of Marriage find not why Divorce is forbid them, but why it is permitted them; and find both here and in *Geneſis*, that the forbidding is not abſolute, but according to the reaſons there taught us, not here. And that our Saviour taught them no better, but uſes the moſt vulgar, moſt animal and corporal argument to convince them, is firſt to ſhew us, that as through their licentious Divorces they made no more of Marriage then, as if to marry were no more then to be male and female, ſo he goes no higher in his confutation; deeming them unworthy to be talkt with in a higher ſtrain, but to be ty'd in Marriage by the meer material cauſe thereof, ſince their own licence teſtify'd that nothing matrimonial was in their thought but to be male and female. Next it might be done to diſcover the brute ignorance of theſe carnal Doctors, who taking on them to diſpute of Marriage and Divorce, were put to ſilence with ſuch a ſlender oppoſition as this, and outed from their hold with ſcarce one quarter of an argument. That we may believe this, his entertainment of the young man ſoon after may perſwade us. Whom, though he came to preach eternal life by faith only, he diſmiſſes with a ſalvation taught him by works only. On which place *Paræus* notes, *That this man was to be convinc'd by a falſe perſwaſion; and that Chriſt is wont otherwiſe to anſwer hypocrites, otherwiſe thoſe that are docible.* Much rather then may we think that in handling theſe tempters, he forgot not ſo to frame his prudent ambiguities and concealments, as was to the troubling of thoſe peremptory diſputants moſt wholſome. When therefore we would know what right there may be, in ill accidents, to divorce, we muſt repair thither where God profeſſes to teach his ſervants by the prime inſtitution, and not where we ſee him intending to dazle Sophiſters: We muſt not read *he made them Male and Female*, and not underſtand he made them more intendedly *a meet help* to remove the evil of being *alone*. We muſt take both theſe together, and then we may infer compleatly as from the whole cauſe why a man ſhall cleave to his wife, and

they twain ſhall be one fleſh: but if the full and chief cauſe why we may not divorce, be wanting here, this place may skirmiſh with the Rabbies while it will, but to the true Chriſtian it prohibits nothing beyond the full reaſon of its own prohibiting, which is beſt known by the inſtitution.

Verſ. 6. *Wherefore they are no more twain, but one fleſh.*] This is true in the general right of Marriage, but not in the chance-medley of every particular match. For if they who were once undoubtedly one fleſh, yet become twain by adultery, then ſure they who were never one fleſh rightly, never helps meet for each other according to the plain preſcript of God, may with leſs ado then a volume be concluded ſtill twain. And ſo long as we account a Magiſtrate no Magiſtrate, if there be but a flaw in his election, why ſhould we not much rather count a Matrimony no Matrimony, if it cannot be in any reaſonable manner according to the words of God's inſtitution?

*What therefore God hath joyned, let no man put aſunder.*] But here the Chriſtian prudence lies to conſider what God hath joyn'd; ſhall we ſay that God hath joyn'd error, fraud, unfitneſs, wrath, contention, perpetual lonelineſs, perpetual diſcord; what ever luſt, or wine, or witchery, threat, or inticement, avarice or ambition hath joyn'd together, faithful with unfaithful, Chriſtian with Antichriſtian, hate with hate, or hate with love, ſhall we ſay this is God's joyning?

*Let not man put aſunder.*] That is to ſay, what God hath joyn'd; for if it be, as how oft we ſee it may be, not of God's joyning, and his Law tells us he joyns not unmatchable things, but hates to joyn them, as an abominable confuſion, then the divine law of *Moſes* puts them aſunder, his own divine will in the inſtitution puts them aſunder, as oft as the reaſons be not extant, for which only God ordain'd their joyning. Man only puts aſunder when his inordinate deſires, his paſſion, his violence, his injury makes the breach: not when the utter want of that which lawfully was the end of his joyning, when wrongs and extremities, and unſupportable grievances compel him to disjoin: when ſuch as *Herod* and the Phariſes divorce beſide law, or againſt law, then only man ſeparates, and to ſuch only this prohibition belongs. In a word, if it be unlawful for man to put aſunder that which God hath joyn'd, let man take heed it be not deteſtable to joyn that by compulſion which God hath put aſunder.

Verſ. 7. *They ſay unto him, Why did Moſes then command to give a writing of divorcement, and to put her away?*

Verſ. 8. *He ſaith unto them, Moſes becauſe of the hardneſs of your hearts ſuffered you to put away your wives; but from the beginning it was not ſo.*

*Moſes becauſe of the hardneſs of your hearts ſuffered you.*] Hence the Divinity now current argues that this judicial *Moſes* is aboliſht. But ſuppoſe it were ſo, though it hath bin prov'd otherwiſe, the firmneſs of ſuch right to divorce as here pleads is fetcht from the prime inſtitution, does not ſtand or fall with the judicial Jew, but is as moral as what is moraleſt. Yet as I have ſhewn poſitively that this law cannot be abrogated, both by the words of our Saviour pronouncing the contrary, and by that unaboliſhable equity which it conveies to us; ſo I ſhall now bring to view thoſe appearances of ſtrength which are levied from this text to maintain the moſt groſs and maſſy paradox that ever did violence to reaſon and religion, bred only under the ſhadow of theſe words, to all other piety or philoſophy ſtrange and inſolent, that God by act of law drew out a line of adultery almoſt two thouſand years long: although to detect the prodigy of this ſurmiſe, the former book ſet forth on this argument hath already been copious. I ſhall not repeat much though I might borrow of mine own, but ſhall endeavour to add ſomething either yet untoucht, or not largely anough explain'd. Firſt it ſhall be manifeſt that the common expoſition cannot poſſibly conſiſt with chriſtian doctrine: next a truer meaning of this our Saviours reply ſhall be left in the room. The receiv'd expoſition is, that God, though not approving, did enact a law to permit adultery by divorcement ſimply unlawful. And this conceit they feed with fond ſuppoſals that have not the leaſt footing in Scripture: As that the Jews learnt this cuſtom of divorce in *Egypt*, and therefore God would not unteach it them till Chriſt came, but let it ſtick as a notorious botch of deformity in the midſt of his moſt perfect and ſevere law. And yet he ſaith, *Levit.* the 18th, *after the doings of Egypt ye ſhall not do.* Another while they invent a ſlander (as what thing more bold then teaching Ignorance when he ſhifts to hide his nakednes?) that the Jews were naturally to their wives the crueleſt men in the world; would poiſon, brain, and do I know not what, if they might not divorce. Certain, if it were a fault heavily puniſht, to bring an evil report upon the land which God gave, what is it to raiſe a groundles calumny againſt the people which God made choiſe of? But that this bold interpretament, how commonly ſo ever ſided with, cannot ſtand a minute with any competent reverence to God or his law, or his people, nor with any other maxim of religion, or good manners, might be prov'd through all the heads and the *Topics* of argumentation: but I ſhall willingly be as conciſe as poſſible. Firſt the law, not only the moral, but the judicial given by *Moſes*, is juſt and pure; for ſuch is God who gave it. *Harken O Iſrael*, ſaith *Moſes*, Deut. 4. *unto the ſtatutes and the judgments which I teach you, to do them, that ye may live*, &c. *Ye ſhall not add unto the word which I command you, neither ſhall ye diminiſh ought from it, that ye may keep the commandments of the Lord your God which I command you.* And onward in the chapter, *Behold, I have taught you ſtatutes and judgments, even as the Lord my God commanded me. Keep therefore and do them, for this is your wiſdom and your underſtanding. For what nation hath God ſo nigh unto them, and what nation hath ſtatutes and judgments ſo righteous as all this law which I ſet before ye this day?* Is it imaginable ther ſhould be among theſe a law which God allow'd not, a law giving permiſſions laxative to unmarry a wife and marry a luſt, a law to ſuffer a kind of *tribunal* adultery? Many other Scriptures might be brought to aſſert the purity of this judicial Law, and many I have alleg'd before; this law therefore is pure and juſt. But if it permit, if it teach, if it defend that which is both unjuſt and impure, as by the common doctrine it doth, what think we? The three general doctrines of *Juſtinians* law, are *To live in honeſty, To hurt no man, To give every one his due.* Shall the *Roman civil* law obſerve theſe three things, as the only end of law, and ſhall a ſtatute be found in the civil law of God, enacted ſimply and totally againſt all theſe three precepts of nature and morality?

Secondly, The gifts of God are all perfet, and certainly the Law is of all his other gifts one of the perfeteſt. But if it give that outwardly which it takes away really, and give that ſeemingly, which, if a man take it, wraps him into ſin and damns him; what gift of an enemy can be more dangerous and deſtroying then this?

Thirdly, *Moſes* every-where commends his Laws, prefers them before all of other Nations, and warrants them to be the way of life and ſafety to all that walk therein, *Levit.* 18. But if they contain Statutes which God approves not, and train men unweeting to commit injuſtice and adultery under the ſhelter of Law; if thoſe things be ſin, and death ſins wages, what is this Law but the ſnare of death?

Fourthly, The Statutes and Judgments of the Lord, which, without exception, are often told us to be ſuch, as doing we may live by them, are doubtles to be counted the rule of knowledg and of conſcience. *For I had not known luſt*, ſaith the Apoſtle, *but by the law.* But if the Law come down from the ſtate of her incorruptible Majeſty to grant luſt his boon, palpably it dark'ns and confounds both knowledg and conſcience; it goes againſt the common office of all goodneſs and friendlineſs, which is at leaſt to counſel and admoniſh; it ſubverts the rules of all ſober education, and is it ſelf a moſt negligent and debauching Tutor.

Fiftly, If the Law permit a thing unlawful, it permits that which elſe-where it hath forbid; ſo that hereby it contradicts it ſelf, and tranſgreſſes it ſelf. But if the Law become a tranſgreſſor, it ſtands guilty to it ſelf, and how then ſhall it ſave another? it makes a confederacy with ſin, how then can it juſtly condemn a ſinner? And thus reducing it ſelf to the ſtate of neither ſaving nor condemning, it will not fail to expire ſolemnly ridiculous.

Sixtly, The Prophets in Scripture declare ſeverely againſt the decreeing of that which is unjuſt, *Pſal.* 94. 20. *Iſaiah* the 10th. But it was done, they ſay, for hardneſs of heart: To which Objection the Apoſtle's rule, *not to do evil that good may come thereby*, gives an invincible repuls; and here eſpecially, where it cannot be ſhewn how any good came by doing this evil, how rather more evil did not hereon abound; for the giving way to hardneſs of heart hard'ns the more, and adds more to the number. God to an evil and adulterous generation would not *grant a ſign*; much leſs would he for their hardneſs of heart pollute his Law with an adulterous permiſſion. Yea, but to permit evil, is not to do evil. Yes, it is in a moſt eminent manner to do evil: where elſe are all our grave and faithful ſayings, that he whoſe office is to forbid and forbids not, bids, exhorts, encourages? Why hath God denounc'd his anger againſt Parents, Maſters, Friends, Magiſtrates neglectful of forbidding what they ought, if Law, the common Father, Maſter, Friend, and perpetual Magiſtrate ſhall not only not forbid, but enact, exhibit, and uphold with countenance and protection, a deed every way diſhoneſt, whatever the pretence be. If it were of thoſe inward vices, which the Law cannot by outward conſtraint remedy, but leaves to conſcience and perſwaſion, it had bin guiltleſs in being ſilent: but to write a Decree of that which can be no way lawful, and might with eaſe be hinder'd, makes Law by the doom of Law it ſelf acceſſory in the higheſt degree.

Seventhly, It makes God the direct author of Sin: For although he be not made the author of what he ſilently permits in his Providence, yet in his Law, the image of his Will, when in plain expreſſion he conſtitutes and ordains a fact utterly unlawful; what wants he to authorize it, and what wants that to be the author?

Eightly, To eſtabliſh by Law a thing wholly unlawful and diſhoneſt, is an affirmation was never heard of before in any Law, Reaſon, Philoſophy, or Religion, till it was rais'd by inconſiderat Gloſſiſts from the miſtake of this Text. And though the Civilians have bin contented to chew this opinion, after the Canon had ſubdu'd them, yet they never could bring example or authority either from divine Writ, or human Learning, or human Practice in any Nation, or well-form'd Republick, but only from the cuſtomary abuſe of this text. Uſually they allege the Epiſtle of *Cicero* to *Atticus*; wherein *Cato* is blam'd for giving ſentence to the ſcum of *Romulus*, as if he were in *Plato*'s Commonwealth. *Cato* would have call'd ſome great one into judgment for Bribery; *Cicero*, as the time ſtood, adviſ'd againſt it. *Cato*, not to endamage the public Treaſury, would not grant to the Roman Knights, that the *Aſian* Taxes might be farm'd them at a leſs rate. *Cicero* wiſht it granted. Nothing in all this will be like the eſtabliſhing of a Law to ſin: Here are no Laws made, here only the execution of Law is crav'd might be ſuſpended: between which and our queſtion is a broad difference. And what if human Law-givers have confeſt they could not frame their Laws to that perfection which they deſir'd? we hear of no ſuch confeſſion from *Moſes* concerning the Laws of God, but rather all praiſe and high teſtimony of perfection given them. And although man's nature cannot bear exacteſt Laws, yet ſtill within the confines of good it may and muſt, ſo long as leſs good is far enough from altogether evil. As for what they inſtance of Uſury, let them firſt prove Uſury to be wholly unlawful, as the Law allows it; which learned Men as numerous on the other ſide will deny them. Or if it be altogether unlawful, why is it tolerated more then Divorce? he who ſaid, Divorce not, ſaid alſo, *Lend, hoping for nothing again*, Luk. 6. 35. But then they put in, that Trade could not ſtand. And ſo to ſerve the commodity of inſatiable trading, Uſury ſhall be permitted, but Divorce, the only means oft-times to right the innocent, and outragiouſly wrong'd, ſhall be utterly forbid. This is egregious doctrine, and for which one day Charity will much thank them. *Beza* not finding how to ſalve this perplexity, and *Cameron* ſince him, would ſecure us; although the latter confeſſes that to *permit a wicked thing by law, is a wickedneſs which God abhors; yet to limit ſin, and preſcribe it a certain meaſure, is good.* Firſt this evaſion will not help here; for this Law bounded no man; he might put away whatever found not favour in his eyes. And how could it forbid to divorce, whom it could not forbid to diſlike, or command to love? If theſe be the limits of Law to reſtrain ſin, who ſo lame a ſinner but may hop over them more eaſily then over thoſe *Romulean* circumſcriptions, not as *Remus* did with hard ſucces, but with all indemnity? Such a limiting as this were not worth the miſchief that accompanies it. This Law therefore not bounding the ſuppoſed ſin, by permitting enlarges it, gives it enfranchiſement. And never greater confuſion, then when Law and Sin move their Land-marks, mix their Territories, and correſpond, have intercourſe and traffick together. When Law contracts a kindred and hoſpitality with Tranſgreſſion, becomes the Godfather of ſin, and names it lawful; when ſin revels and goſſips within the Arcenal of Law, plays and dandles the Artillery of Juſtice that ſhould be bent againſt her, this is a fair limitation indeed. Beſides, it is an abſurdity to ſay that Law can meaſure ſin, or moderate ſin; ſin is not in a predicament to be meaſur'd and modify'd, but is always an exceſs. The leaſt ſin that is, exceeds the meaſure of the largeſt Law that can be good; and is as boundleſs as that vacuity beyond the world. If once it ſquare to the meaſure of Law, it ceaſes to be an exceſs, and conſequently ceaſes to be a ſin; or elſe Law conforming it ſelf to the obliquity of ſin, betrays it ſelf to be not ſtreight, but crooked, and ſo immediately no Law. And the improper conceit of moderating ſin by Law, will appear, if we can imagin any Law-giver ſo ſenſleſs as to decree that ſo far a man may ſteal, and thus far be drunk, that moderately he may cozen, and moderately commit adultery. To the ſame extent it would be as pithily abſurd to publiſh that a man may moderately divorce, if to do that be intirely naught. But to end this moot, the Law of *Moſes* is manifeſt to fix no limit therein at all, or ſuch at leaſt as impeaches the fraudulent abuſer no more then if it were not ſet; only requires the diſmiſſive writing without other caution, leaves that to the inner man, and the bar of conſcience. But it ſtopt other ſins. This is as vain as the reſt, and dangerouſly uncertain: the contrary to be fear'd rather, that one ſin admitted courteouſly by Law, open'd the gate to another. However, evil muſt not be done for good. And it were a fall to be lamented, an indignity unſpeakable, if Law ſhould become tributary to ſin her ſlave, and forc'd to yield up into his hands her awful miniſter Puniſhment, ſhould buy out her peace with ſin for ſin, paying as it were her ſo many *Philiſtian* foreskins to the proud demand of Tranſgreſſion. But ſuppoſe it any way poſſible to limit ſin, to put a girdle about that *Chaos*, ſuppoſe it alſo good; yet if to permit ſin by Law be an abomination in the eyes of God, as *Cameron* acknowledges, the evil of permitting will eat out the good of limiting. For though ſin be not limited, there can but evil come out of evil; but if it be permitted and decreed lawful by divine Law, of force then ſin muſt proceed from the infinite Good, which is a dreadful thought. But if the reſtraining of ſin by this permiſſion being good, as this author teſtifies, be more good then the permiſſion of more ſin by the reſtraint of divorce, and that God weighing both theſe, like two ingots in the perfet ſcales of his Juſtice and Providence found them ſo, and others coming without authority from God, ſhall change this counterpoiſe, and judg it better to let ſin multiply by ſetting a judicial reſtraint upon divorce, which Chriſt never ſet; then to limit ſin by this permiſſion, as God himſelf thought beſt to permit it, it will behove them to conſult betimes whether theſe their ballances be not fals and abominable; and this their limiting that which God looſen'd, and their looſning the ſins that he limited, which they confeſs was good to do: and were it poſſible to do by Law, doubtleſs it would be moſt morally good; and they ſo believing, as we hear they do, and yet aboliſhing a Law ſo good and moral, the limiter of ſin, what are they elſe but contrary to themſelves? for they can never bring us to that time wherein it will not be good to limit ſin, and they can never limit it better then ſo as God preſcrib'd in his Law.

Others conceive it a more defenſible retirement to ſay this permiſſion to divorce ſinfully for hardneſs of heart was a diſpenſation. But ſurely they either know not, or attend not what a diſpenſation means. A diſpenſation is for no long time, is particular to ſome perſons rather then general to a whole people; always hath Charity the end, is granted to neceſſities and infirmities, not to obſtinate luſt. This permiſſion is another creature, hath all thoſe evils and abſurdities following the name of a diſpenſation, as when it was nam'd a Law; and is the very *antarctic pole* againſt Charity, nothing more advers, enſnaring and ruining thoſe that truſt in it, or uſe it; ſo leud and criminous as never durſt enter into the head of any Politician, Jew, or Proſelyte, till they became the apt Scholars of this Canoniſtic Expoſition. Ought in it, that can allude in the leaſt manner to Charity, or Goodneſs, belongs with more full right to the Chriſtian under Grace and Liberty, then to the Jew under Law and Bondage. To Jewiſh ignorance it could not be diſpenc'd, without a horrid imputation laid upon the Law, to diſpence foully, inſtead of teaching fairly; like that diſpenſation that firſt polluted Chriſtendom with Idolatry, permitting to laymen Images inſtead of Books and Preaching. Sloth or malice in the Law would they have this call'd? But what ignorance can be pretended for the Jews, who had all the ſame Precepts about Marriage, that we now? for Chriſt refers all to the inſtitution. It was as reaſonable for them to know then as for us now, and concern'd them alike: for wherein hath the Goſpel alter'd the nature of Matrimony? All theſe conſiderations, or many of them, have bin furder amplify'd in *the doctrine of Divorce*. And what *Rivetus* and *Pareus* hath objected, or giv'n over as paſt cure, hath bin there diſcuſs'd. Whereby it may be plain enough to men of eyes, that the vulgar expoſition of a permittance by Law to an entire ſin, whatever the colour may be, is an opinion both ungodly, unpolitic, unvertuous, and void of all honeſty and civil ſenſe. It appertains therefore to every zealous Chriſtian both for the honour of God's Law, and the vindication of our Saviour's Words, that ſuch an irreligious depravement no longer may be ſooth'd and flatter'd through cuſtom, but with all diligence and ſpeed ſolidly refuted, and in the room a better explanation giv'n; which is now our next endeavour.

*Moſes ſuffer'd you to put away, &c.*] Not commanded you, ſays the common obſerver, and therefore car'd not how ſoon it were aboliſht, being but ſuffer'd; here in declaring his annotation to be ſlight, and nothing law prudent. For in this place *commanded* and *ſuffer'd* are interchangeably us'd in the ſame ſenſe both by our Saviour and the Phariſes. Our Saviour who here ſaith, *Moſes ſuffer'd you*, in the 10th of *Mark* ſaith, *Moſes wrote you this Command.* And the Phariſes who here ſay, *Moſes commanded*, and would mainly have it a Command, in that place of *Mark* ſay *Moſes ſuffered*, which had made againſt them in their own mouths, if the word of *ſuffering* had weaken'd the command. So that *ſuffer'd* and *commanded* is here taken for the ſame thing on both ſides of the controverſy: as *Cameron* alſo and others on this place acknowledg. And Lawyers know that all the precepts of Law are divided into obligatory and permiſſive, containing either what we muſt do, or what we may do; and of this latter ſort are as many precepts, as of the former, and all as lawful. Tutelage, an ordainment then which nothing more juſt, being for the defence of Orphans, the *Inſtitutes of Juſtinian*, ſay *is given and permitted by the Civil Law:* and *to Parents it is permitted to chooſe and appoint by will the Guardians of their Children.* What more equal, and yet the Civil Law calls this *permiſſion.* So likewiſe to *manumiſe*, to adopt, to make a Will, and to be made an Heir is call'd *permiſſion* by Law. Marriage it ſelf, and this which is already granted, to divorce for Adultery, obliges no man, is but a permiſſion by Law, is but ſuffer'd. By this we may ſee how weakly it hath bin thought that all Divorce is utterly unlawful, becauſe the Law is ſaid to ſuffer it: whenas to *ſuffer* is but the legal phraſe denoting what by law a man may do or not do.

*Becauſe of the hardneſs of your hearts.*] Hence they argue that therefore he allow'd it not; and therefore it muſt be aboliſht. But the contrary to this will ſooner follow, that becauſe he ſuffer'd it for a cauſe, therefore in relation to that cauſe he allow'd it. Next, if he in his wiſdom, and in the midſt of his ſeverity allow'd it for hardneſs of heart, it can be nothing better then arrogance and preſumption to take ſtricter courſes againſt hardneſs of heart then God ever ſet an example, and that under the Goſpel which warrants them to no judicial act of compulſion in this matter, much leſs to be more ſevere againſt hardneſs of extremity, then God thought good to be againſt hardneſs of heart. He ſuffer'd it, rather then worſe inconveniences; theſe men wiſer as they make themſelves, will ſuffer the worſt and hainouſeſt inconveniences to follow, rather then they will ſuffer what God ſuffer'd. Although they can know when they pleaſe, that Chriſt ſpake only to the conſcience, did not judg on the civil bench, but always diſavow'd it. What can be more contrary to the ways of God then theſe their doings? If they be ſuch enemies to hardnes of heart, although this groundleſs rigor proclaims it to be in themſelves, they may yet learn, or conſider that hardneſs of heart hath a twofold acception in the Goſpel. One, when it is in a good man taken for infirmity, and imperfection, which was in all the Apoſtles, whoſe weakneſs only, not utter want of belief is call'd hardnes of heart, *Mark* 16. Partly for this hardneſs of heart, the imperfection and decay of man from original righteouſneſs, it was that God ſuffer'd not Divorce only, but all that which by Civilians is term'd the *ſecondary Law of Nature and of Nations.* He ſuffer'd his own people to waſt and ſpoil and ſlay by War, to lead captives, to be ſome maſters, ſome ſervants, ſome to be Princes, others to be Subjects; he ſuffer'd propriety to divide all things by ſeveral poſſeſſion, trade and commerce, not without uſury; in his Commonwealth ſome to be undeſervedly rich, others to be undeſervingly poor. All which till hardneſs of heart came in, was moſt unjuſt; whenas prime Nature made us all equal, made us equal coheirs by common right and dominion over all creatures. In the ſame manner, and for the ſame cauſe he ſuffer'd Divorce as well as Marriage, our imperfect and degenerate condition of neceſſity requiring this Law among the reſt, as a remedy againſt intolerable wrong and ſervitude above the patience of man to bear. Nor was it giv'n only becauſe our infirmity, or if it muſt be ſo call'd, hardneſs of heart could not endure all things, but becauſe the hardneſs of anothers heart might not inflict all things upon an innocent perſon, whom far other ends brought into a league of love and not of bondage and indignity. If therefore we aboliſh Divorce as only ſuffer'd for hardnes of heart, we may as well aboliſh the whole Law of Nations, as only ſuffer'd for the ſame cauſe; it being ſhewn us by Saint *Paul* 1 *Cor.* 6. that the very ſeeking of a mans right by Law, and at the hands of a worldly Magiſtrate, is not without the hardneſs of our hearts. *For why do ye not rather take wrong*, ſaith he, *why ſuffer ye not rather your ſelves to be defrauded?* If nothing now muſt be ſuffer'd for hardnes of heart, I ſay the very proſecution of our right by way of civil Juſtice can no more be ſuffer'd among

Chriſtians, for the hardnes of heart wherewith moſt men perſue it. And that would next remove all our judicial Laws, and this reſtraint of Divorce alſo in the number; which would more then half end the controverſy. But if it be plain that the whole juridical Law and Civil Power is only ſuffer'd under the Goſpel, for the hardnes of our hearts, then wherefore ſhould not that which *Moſes* ſuffer'd, be ſuffer'd ſtill by the ſame reaſon?

In a ſecond ſignification hardnes of heart is tak'n for a ſtubborn reſolution to do evil. And that God ever makes any Law purpoſely to ſuch, I deny; for he voutſafes not to enter Cov'nant with them, but as they fortune to be mixt with good men, and paſs undiſcover'd; much leſs that he ſhould decree an unlawful thing only to ſerve their licentiouſneſs. But that God *ſuffers* this reprobate hardnes of heart I affirm, not only in this law of Divorce, but throughout all his beſt and pureſt Commandments. He commands all to worſhip in ſinglenes of heart according to all his Ordinances; and yet ſuffers the wicked man to perform all the rites of Religion hypocritically and in the hardnes of his heart. He gives us general ſtatutes and privileges in all civil matters, juſt and good of themſelves, yet ſuffers unworthieſt men, to uſe them, and by them to proſecute their own right, or any colour of right, tho for the moſt part maliciouſly, covetouſly, rigorouſly, revengefully. He allow'd by law the diſcreet father and husband to forbid, if he thought fit, the religious vows of his wife or daughter, *Num.* 30. and in the ſame law ſuffer'd the hard-heartednes of impious and covetous fathers or husbands abuſing this law to forbid their wives or daughters in their offrings and devotions of greateſt zeal. If then God ſuffer hardnes of heart equally in the beſt Laws as in this of Divorce, there can be no reaſon that for this cauſe this Law ſhould be aboliſht. But other Laws, they object, may be well us'd, this never. How often ſhall I anſwer both from the inſtitution of Marriage, and from other general rules in Scripture, that this Law of Divorce hath many wiſe and charitable ends beſides the being ſuffer'd for hardnes of heart; which is indeed no end, but an accident hapning through the whole Law; which gives to good men right, and to bad men, who abuſe right under falſe pretences, gives only ſufferance. Now although Chriſt expreſs no other reaſons here, but only what was ſuffer'd, it nothing followes that this Law had no other reaſon to be permitted but for hardnes of heart. The Scripture ſeldom, or never in one place ſets down all the reaſons of what it grants or commands, eſpecially when it talks to enemies and tempters. St. *Paul* permitting Marriage, 1 *Cor.* 7. ſeems to permit even that alſo for hardnes of heart only, leſt we ſhould run into fornication; yet no intelligent man thence concludes Marriage allow'd in the Goſpel only to avoid an evil, becauſe no other end is there expreſt. Thus *Moſes* of neceſſity ſuffer'd many to put away their wives for hardneſs of heart; but enacted the law of Divorce doubtles for other good cauſes, nor for this only ſufferance. He permitted not Divorce by law as an evil, for that was impoſſible to divine Law, but permitted by accident the evil of them who divorc't againſt the Laws intention undiſcoverably. This alſo may be thought not improbably, that Chriſt, ſtirr'd up in his ſpirit againſt theſe tempting Phariſes, anſwer'd them in a certain form of indignation uſual among good authors; whereby the queſtion, or the truth is not directly anſwer'd, but ſome thing which is fitter for them, who ask, to hear. So in the Eccleſiaſtical ſtories, one demanding how God imploy'd himſelf before the world was made? had anſwer; that he was making hell for curious queſtioners. Another (and *Libanius* the *Sophiſt* as I remember) asking in deriſion ſome Chriſtian, What the Carpenter, meaning our Saviour, was doing, now that *Julian* ſo prevail'd? had it return'd him, that the Carpenter was making a coffin for the *Apoſtat*. So Chriſt being demanded maliciouſly why *Moſes* made the law of Divorce, anſwers them in a vehement *ſcheme*, not telling them the cauſe why he made it, but what was fitteſt to be told them, that *for the hardneſs of their hearts* he ſuffer'd them to abuſe it. And albeit *Mark* ſay not he ſuffer'd you, but *to you he wrote this precept*; *Mark* may be warrantably expounded by *Matthew* the larger. And whether he ſuffer'd, or gave precept, being all one as was heard, it changes not the *trope* of indignation, fitteſt account for ſuch askers. Next for the hardnes of *your hearts to you he wrote this precept*, infers not therefore for this cauſe only he wrote it, as was parallell'd by other Scriptures. Laſtly, It may be worth the obſerving, that Chriſt ſpeaking to the Phariſes, does not ſay in general that for hardnes of heart he gave this precept, but *you he ſuffer'd*, and *to you he gave this precept for your* hardnes of heart. It cannot be eaſily thought that Chriſt here included all the children of *Iſrael* under the perſon of theſe tempting Phariſes, but that he conceals; wherefore he gave the better ſort of them this Law, and expreſſes by ſaying emphatically *To you* how he gave it to the worſer, ſuch as the Phariſees beſt repreſented, that is to ſay, for the hardnes of your hearts: as indeed to wicked men and hardn'd hearts he gives the whole Law and the Goſpel alſo, to hard'n them the more. Thus many ways it may orthodoxally be underſtood how God or *Moſes* ſuffer'd ſuch as the demanders were, to divorce for hardnes of heart. Whereas the vulgar Expoſitor, beſet with contradictions and abſurdities round, and reſolving at any peril to make an expoſition of it, as there is nothing more violent and boiſtrous than a reverend ignorance in fear to be convicted, ruſhes brutely and impetuouſly againſt all the principles both of Nature, Piety, and moral Goodnes; and in the fury of his literal expounding overturns them all.

*But from the beginning it was not ſo.*] Not how from the beginning? do they ſuppoſe that men might not divorce at all, not neceſſarily, not deliberatly, except for Adultery, but that ſom law, like canon law, preſently attacht them both before and after the flood, till ſtricter *Moſes* came, and with law brought licence into the world? that were a fancy indeed to ſmile at. Undoubtedly as to point of judicial Law Divorce was more permiſſive from the beginning before *Moſes* then under *Moſes*. But from the beginning, that is to ſay, by the inſtitution in Paradiſe, it was not intended that Matrimony ſhould diſſolve for every trivial cauſe, as you Phariſees accuſtom. But that it was not thus ſuffer'd from the beginning ever ſince the race of men corrupted, and Laws were made, he who will affirm, muſt have found out other antiquities then are yet known. Beſides we muſt conſider now, what can be ſo as from the beginning, not only what ſhould be ſo. In the beginning, had men continu'd perfet, it had bin juſt that all things ſhould have remain'd, as they began to *Adam* and *Eve*. But after that the Sons of Men grew violent and injurious, it alter'd the lore of juſtice, and put the government of things into a new frame. While man and woman were both perfet each to other, there needed no Divorce; but when they both degenerated to imperfection, and oft times grew to be an intolerable evil each to other, then Law more juſtly did permit the alienating of that evil which miſtake made proper, then it did the appropriating of that good which Nature at firſt made common. For if the abſence of outward good be not ſo bad as the preſence of a cloſe evil, and that propriety, whether by cov'nant or poſſeſſion, be but the attainment of ſome outward good, it is more natural and righteous that the Law ſhould ſever us from an intimat evil, then appropriate any outward good to us from the Community of nature. The Goſpel indeed tending ever to that which is perfeteſt, aim'd at the reſtorement of all things as they were in the beginning, and therefore all things were in common to thoſe primitive Chriſtians in the Acts, which *Ananias* and *Sapphira* dearly felt. That cuſtom alſo continu'd more or leſs till the time of *Juſtin Martyr*, as may be read in his ſecond *Apology*, which might be writ after that act of communion perhaps ſome forty years above a hundr'd. But who will be the man ſhall introduce this kind of Commonwealth, as Chriſtianity now goes? If then Marriage muſt be as in the beginning, the perſons that marry muſt be ſuch as then were; the inſtitution muſt make good, in ſom tolerable ſort, what it promiſes to either party. If not, it is but madnes to drag this one Ordinance back to the beginning, and draw down all other to the preſent neceſſity and condition, far from the beginning, even to the tolerating of extortions and opreſſions. Chriſt only told us that from the beginning it was not ſo; that is to ſay, not ſo as the Phariſees manur'd the buſines; did not command us that it ſhould be forcibly ſo again in all points, as at the beginning; or ſo at leaſt in our intentions and deſires, but ſo in execution, as reaſon and preſent nature can bear. Although we are not to ſeek, that the inſtitution it ſelf from the firſt beginning was never but conditional, as all cov'nants are: becauſe thus and thus, therefore ſo and ſo; if not thus, then not ſo. Then moreover was perfeteſt to fulfil each Law in itſelf; now is perfeteſt in this eſtate of things, to ask of charity how much law may be fulfill'd: els the fulfilling oft times is the greateſt breaking. If any therefore demand, which is now moſt perfection, to eaſe an extremity by Divorce, or to enrage and feſter it by the grievous obſervance of a miſerable Wedloc, I am not deſtitute to ſay which is moſt perfection (although ſom who believ they think favourably of Divorce, eſteem it only venial to infirmity.) Him I hold more in the way to perfection who forgoes an unfit, ungodly, and diſcordant Wedloc, to live according to peace and love, and Gods inſtitution in a fitter chois, then he who debars himſelf the happy experience of all godly, which is peaceful converſation in his family, to live a contentious, and unchriſtian life not to be avoided, in temptations not to be liv'd in, only for the fals keeping of a moſt unreal nullity, a Marriage that hath no affinity with God's intention, a daring phantaſm, a meer toy of terror awing weak ſenſes, to the lamentable ſuperſtition of ruining themſelvs; the remedy whereof God in his Law vouchſafes us. Which not to dare uſe, he warranting, is not our perfection, is our infirmity, our little faith, our timorous and low conceit of Charity: and in them who force us, it is their masking pride and vanity, to ſeem holier and more circumſpect then God. So far is it that we need impute to him infirmity, who thus divorces: ſince the rule of perfection is not ſo much that which was don in the beginning, as that which now is neareſt to the rule of charity. This is the greateſt, the perfeteſt, the higheſt commandment.

V. 9. *And I ſay unto you, Whoſo ſhall put away his wife, except it be for Fornication, and ſhall marry another, committeth adultery; and whoſo marrieth her which is put away, doth commit adultery.*

*And I ſay unto you.*] That this reſtrictive denouncement of Chriſt contradicts and refutes that permiſſive precept of *Moſes*, common Expoſitors themſelves diſclaim: and that it does not traverſe from the Cloſet of Conſcience to the Courts of Civil or Canon Law, with any Chriſtian rightly commenc't, requires not long evincing. If Chriſt then did not heer check permiſſive *Moſes*, nor did reduce Matrimony to the beginning more then all other things, as the reaſon of mans condition could bear, we would know preciſely what it was which he did, and what the end was of his declaring thus auſterely againſt Divorce. For this is a confeſt Oracle in Law, that he who looks not at the intention of a Precept, the more ſuperſtitious he is of the letter, the more he miſinterprets. Was it to ſhame *Moſes?* that had been monſtrous: or all thoſe pureſt Ages of *Iſrael*, to whom the Permiſſion was granted? that were as incredible. Or was it that he who came to abrogate the burden of Law, not the equity, ſhould put this yoke upon a blameleſs perſon, to league himſelf in chains with a begirting miſchief, not to ſeparate till death? He who taught us that no man puts a piece of new cloth upon an old garment, nor new wine into old bottels, that he ſhould ſew this patch of ſtrictnes upon the old apparel of our frailty, to make a rent more incurable, whenas in all other amendments his doctrine ſtill charges, that regard be had to the garment, and to the veſſel, what it can endure; this were an irregular and ſingle peece of rigor, not only ſounding diſproportion to the whole Goſpel, but outſtretching the moſt rigorous nervs of Law and Rigor it ſelf. No other end therefore can be left imaginable of this exceſſive reſtraint, but to bridle thoſe erroneous and licentious poſtillers the Phariſees; not by telling them what may be done in neceſſity, but what cenſure they deſerve who divorce abuſively, which their Tetrarch had done. And as the offence was in one extreme, ſo the rebuke, to bring more efficaciouſly to a rectitude and mediocrity, ſtands not in the middle way of duty, but in the other extreme. Which art of powerful reclaiming, wiſeſt men have alſo taught in their ethical Precepts and *Gnomologies*, reſembling it, as when we bend a crooked wand the contrary way; not that it ſhould ſtand ſo bent, but that the overbending might reduce it to a ſtraitneſs by its own reluctance. And as the Phyſician cures him who hath tak'n down poyſon, not by the middling temper of nouriſhment, but by the other extreme of *Antidote*, ſo Chriſt adminiſters heer a ſharp and corroſive ſentence againſt a foul and putrid licence; not to eat into the fleſh, but into the ſore. And knowing that our Divines through all their Comments make no ſcruple, where they pleaſe, to ſoften the high and vehement ſpeeches of our Saviour, which they call *Hyperbolies*; why in this one Text ſhould they be ſuch crabbed *Maſorites* of the letter, as not to mollifie a tranſcendence of literal rigidity, which they confeſs to find often elſewhere in his manner of delivery, but muſt make their expoſition heer ſuch an obdurate *Cyclops*, to have but one eye for this Text, and that only open to cruelty and enthralment, ſuch as no divine or human Law before ever heard of? No, let the foppiſh Canoniſt, with his fardel of matrimonial caſes, go and be vendible where men be ſo unhappy as to cheap'n him: the words of Chriſt ſhall be aſſerted from ſuch elemental Notaries, and reſolv'd by the now-only lawgiving mouth of charity; which may be done undoubtedly by underſtanding them as follows.

*Whoſoever ſhall put away his wife.*] That is to ſay, ſhall ſo put away as the Propounders of this queſtion, the Phariſees, were wont to do, and covertly defended *Herod* for ſo doing; whom to rebuke, our Saviour heer mainly intends, and not to determine all the caſes of Divorce, as appears by St. *Paul*. Whoſoever ſhall put away, either violently without mutual conſent for urgent reaſons, or conſpiringly by plot of luſt, or cunning malice, ſhall put away for any ſudden mood, or contingency of diſagreement,

agreement, which is not daily practice, but may blow ſoon over, and be reconcil'd, except it be Fornication; whoſoever ſhall put away raſhly, as his choler prompts him, without due time of deliberating, and think his Conſcience diſcharg'd only by the bill of Divorce giv'n, and the outward Law ſatiſfi'd; whoſoever, laſtly, ſhall put away his Wife, that is a Wife indeed, and not in name only, ſuch a one who both can and is willing to be a meet help toward the chief ends of Marriage both civil and ſanctify'd, except Fornication be the cauſe, that Man, or that Pair, commit Adultery. Not he who puts away by mutual conſent, with all the conſiderations and reſpects of humanity and gentleneſs without malicious or luſtful drift. Not he who after ſober and cool experience, and long debate within himſelf, puts away, whom though he cannot love or ſuffer as a Wife, with that ſincere affection that Marriage requires, yet loves at leaſt with that civility and goodneſs, as not to keep her under a neglected and unwelcom reſidence, where nothing can be hearty, and not being, it muſt needs be both unjoyous, and injurious to any perceiving perſon ſo detain'd, and more injurious then to be freely, and upon good terms diſmiſt. Nor doth he put away adulterouſly who complains of cauſes rooted in immutable nature, utter unfitneſs, utter diſconformity, not concileable, becauſe not to be amended without a miracle. Nor he who puts away an unquenchable vexation from his boſom, and flies an evil, then which a greater cannot befall human ſociety. Nor he who puts away with the full ſuffrage and applauſe of his conſcience, not relying on the writt'n bill of Law, but claiming by faith and fulnes of perſwaſion the rights and promiſes of Gods inſtitution, of which he finds himſelf in a miſtak'n wedlock defrauded. Doubtleſs this man hath bail enough to be no Adulterer, giving Divorce for theſe cauſes.

*His wife.*] This word is not to be idle here, a meer word without a ſenſe, much leſs a fallacious word ſignifying contrary to what it pretends; but faithfully ſignifies a Wife, that is, a comfortable help and ſociety, as God inſtituted; does not ſignify deceitfully under this name, an intolerable adverſary, not a helpleſs, unaffectionate and ſullen maſs, whoſe very company repreſents the viſible and exacteſt figure of lonelineſs it ſelf. Such an aſſociate he who puts away, divorces not a wife, but disjoyns a nullity which God never joyn'd, if ſhe be neither willing, nor to her proper and requiſite duties ſufficient, as the words of God inſtitute her. And this alſo is *Bucers* explication of this place.

*Except it be for fornication, or ſaving for the cauſe of fornication, as Matt.* 5.] This declares what kind of cauſes our Saviour meant; fornication being no natural and perpetual cauſe, but only accidental and temporary; therefore ſhews that head of cauſes from whence it is excepted, to be meant of the ſame ſort. For exceptions are not logically deduc't from a divers kind, as to ſay whoſo puts away for any natural cauſe except Fornication, the exception would want ſalt. And if they underſtand it, who ſo for any cauſe whatever, they caſt themſelves; granting Divorce for frigidity a natural cauſe of their own allowing, though not heer expreſt, and for deſertion without infidelity, when as he who marries, as they allow him for a deſertion, deſerts as well as is deſerted, and finally puts away for another cauſe beſides Adultery. It will with all due reaſon therefore be thus better underſtood, who ſo puts away for any accidental and temporary cauſes, except one of them, which is fornication. Thus this exception finds out the cauſes from whence it is excepted, to be of the ſame kind, that is caſual, not continual.

*Saving for the cauſe of fornication.*] The New Teſtament, though it be ſaid originally writ in Greek, yet hath nothing neer ſo many *Atticiſms* as *Hebraiſms*, and *Syriaciſms*, which was the Majeſty of God, not fitting the tongue of Scripture to a Gentiliſh *Idiom*, but in a princely manner offring to them as to Gentiles and Foreiners grace and mercy, though not in forein words, yet in a forein ſtile that might induce them to the fountains; and though their calling were high and happy, yet ſtill to acknowledg Gods ancient people their betters, and that language the *Metropolitan* language. He therefore who thinks to *Scholiaze* upon the Goſpel, though Greek according to his Greek *Analogies*, and hath not bin Auditor to the Oriental dialects, ſhall want in the heat of his *Analyſis* no accommodation to ſtumble. In this place, as the 5th of *Matth.* reads it, *Saving for the cauſe of fornication*, the Greek, ſuch as it is, ſounds it, except for the *word, report, ſpeech, or proportion* of fornication. In which regard, with other inducements, many ancient and learned Writers have underſtood this exception, as comprehending any fault equivalent and proportional to fornication. But truth is, the Evangeliſt heer *Hebraizes*, taking *word* or *ſpeech* for *cauſe* or *matter* in the common Eaſtern phraſe, meaning perhaps no more then if he had ſaid for fornication, as in this 19*th* chapter. And yet the word is found in the

5th of *Exodus* alſo ſignifying *Proportion* ; where the Iſraelites are commanded to do their tasks, *The matter of each day in his day.* A task we know is a proportion of work not doing the ſame thing abſolutely every day, but ſo much. Whereby it may be doubtful yet, whether here be not excepted not only fornication it ſelf, but other cauſes equipollent, and proportional to fornication. Which very word alſo to underſtand rightly, we muſt of neceſſity have recours again to the Ebrew. For in the Greek and Latin, ſenſe by fornication is meant the common proſtitution of body for ſale. So that they who are ſo exact for the letter, ſhall be dealt with by the *Lexicon*, and the *Etymologicon* too if they pleaſe, and muſt be bound to forbid Divorce for adultery alſo, until it come to open whoredom and trade, like that for which *Claudius* divorc't *Meſſalina*. Since therfore they take not here the word fornication in the common ſignificance, for an open exerciſe in the ſtews, but grant Divorce for one ſingle act of privateſt Adultery, notwithſtanding that the word ſpeaks a public and notorious frequency of fact, not without price ; we may reaſon with as good leav, and as little ſtraining to the text, that our Saviour on ſet purpoſe choſe this word *Fornication*, improperly appli'd to the lapſe of Adultery, that we might not think our ſelves bound from all Divorce, except when that fault hath bin actually committed. For the language of Scripture ſignifies by fornication ( and others beſides St. *Auſtin* ſo expounded it ) not only the treſpas of Body, nor perhaps that between married perſons, unleſs in a degree or quality as ſhameles as the *Bordello*, but ſignifies alſo any notable diſobedience, or intractable carriage of the Wife to the Husband, as *Judg.* 19. 2. Whereof at large *in the Doctrine of Divorce*, l. 2. c. 18. Secondly, ſignifies the apparent alienation of mind not to Idolatry, (which may ſeem to anſwer the act of Adultery) but far on this ſide, to any point of will-worſhip, though to the true God ; ſometimes it notes the love of earthly things, or worldly pleaſures, though in a right Believer, ſometimes the leaſt ſuſpicion of unwitting Idolatry. As *Num.* 15. 39. wilful diſobedience to any the leaſt of Gods Commandment is call'd fornication. *Pſal.* 73. 26, 27. A diſtruſt only in God, and withdrawing from that neernes of zeal and confidence which ought to be, is call'd fornication. We may be ſure it could not import thus much leſs than Idolatry in the borrow'd metaphor between God and Man, unleſs it ſignify'd as much leſs than Adultery in the ordinary acception between Man and Wife. Add alſo, that there was no need our Saviour ſhould grant divorce for Adultery, it being death by Law, and Law then in force. Which was the cauſe why *Joſeph* ſought to put away his betrothed Wife privately, leſt he ſhould make her an example of capital puniſhment, as learnedeſt Expounders affirm, *Herod* being a great zelot of the Moſaic Law, and the Phariſees great maſters of the Text, as the woman tak'n in Adultery doubtles had cauſe to fear. Or if they can prove it was neglected, which they cannot do, why did our Saviour ſhape his Anſwer to the corruption of that age, and not rather tell them of their neglect? If they ſay he came not to meddle with their Judicatures, much leſs then was it in his thought to make them new ones, or that Divorce ſhould be judicially reſtrain'd in a ſtricter manner by theſe his words, more than Adultery judicially acquitted by thoſe his words to the Adultreſs. His ſentence doth no more by Law forbid Divorce here, then by Law it doth abſolve Adultery there. To them therfore who have drawn this yoke upon Chriſtians from his words thus wreſted, nothing remains but the guilt of a preſumption and perverſneſs, which will be hard for them to anſwer. Thus much that the word Fornication is to be underſtood as the Language of Chriſt underſtands it, for a conſtant alienation and diſaffection of mind, or for the continual practice of diſobedience and croſſnes from the duties of love and peace ; that is in ſum, when to be a tolerable Wife is either naturally not in their power, or obſtinately not in their will : and this Opinion alſo is St. *Auſtin*'s, leſt it ſhould hap to be ſuſpected of novelty. Yet grant the thing heer meant were only Adultery, the reaſon of things will afford more to our aſſertion, then did the reaſon of words. For why is Divorce unlawful but only for Adultery ? becauſe, ſay they, that crime only breaks the Matrimony. But this, I reply, the Inſtitution it ſelf gainſays : for that which is moſt contrary to the words and meaning of the Inſtitution, that moſt breaks the Matrimony ; but a perpetual unmeetnes and unwillingnes to all the duties of Help, of Love, and Tranquillity, is moſt contrary to the words and meaning of the Inſtitution ; that therefore much more breaks Matrimony then the act of Adultery though repeated. For this, as it is not felt, nor troubles him who perceives it not, ſo being perceiv'd, may be ſoon repented, ſoon amended, ſoon, if it can be pardon'd, may be redeem'd with the more ardent love and duty in her who hath the pardon. But this natural unmeetnes both cannot be unknown long, and ever after cannot be amended, if it be natural, and will not, if it be far gon obſtinat. So that wanting ought in the inſtant to be as great a breach as Adultery, it gains it in the perpetuity to be greater. Next, Adultery does not exclude her other fitnes, her other pleaſingnes; ſhe may be otherwiſe both loving and prevalent, as many Adultreſſes be; but in this general unfitnes or alienation ſhe can be nothing to him that can pleaſe. In Adultery nothing is given from the husband, which he miſſes, or enjoys the leſs, as it may be ſuttly giv'n: but this unfitnes defrauds him of the whole contentment which is ſought in Wedlock. And what benefit to him, though nothing be giv'n by the ſtealth of Adultery to another, if that which there is to give, whether it be ſolace, or ſociety, be not ſuch as may juſtly content him? and ſo not only deprives him of what it ſhould give him, but gives him ſorrow and affliction, which it did not owe him. Beſides, is Adultery the greateſt breach of Matrimony in reſpect of the offence to God, or of the injury to Man? if in the former, then other ſins may offend God more, and ſooner cauſe him to diſunite his ſervant from being one fleſh with ſuch an offender. If in reſpect of the latter, other injuries are demonſtrated therein more heavy to mans nature than the iterated act of Adultery. God therefore, in his wiſdom, would not ſo diſpoſe his remedies, as to provide them for the leſs injuries, and not allow them for the greater. Thus is won both from the word Fornication, and the reaſon of Adultery, that the exception of Divorce is not limited to that act, but enlarg'd to the cauſes above ſpecify'd.

*And whoſo marrieth her which is put away, doth commit adultery.*] By this Clauſe alone, if by nothing elſe, we may aſſure us, that Chriſt intended not to deliver heer the whole doctrine of Divorce, but only to condemn abuſes. Otherwiſe to marry after Deſertion, which the Apoſtle, and the reformed Churches at this day permit, is heer forbid, as Adultery. Be ſhe never ſo wrongfully deſerted, or put away, as the Law then ſuffer'd, if thus forſak'n and expulſt, ſhe accept the refuge and protection of any honeſter man who would love her better, and give her ſelf in Marriage to him, by what the letter guides us, it ſhall be preſent Adultery to them both. This is either harſh and cruel, or all the Churches teaching as they do the contrary, are loos and remiſs; beſides that the Apoſtle himſelf ſtands deeply ſin'd in a contradiction againſt our Saviour. What ſhall we make of this? what rather the common interpreter can make of it, for they be his own markets,let him now try; let him try which way he can wind in his *Vertumnian* diſtinctions and evaſions, if his canonical Gabardine of text and letter do not now ſit too cloſe about him, and pinch his activity; which if I err not, hath heer hamper'd it ſelf in a ſpring fit for thoſe who put their confidence in Alphabets. *Spanheim* a writer of *Evangelic doubts*, comes now and confeſſes that our Saviour's words *are to be limited beyond the limitation there expreſt, and excepted beyond their own exception*, as not ſpeaking of what happen'd rarely, but what moſt commonly. Is it ſo rare, *Spanheim*, to be deſerted? or was it then ſo rare to put away injuriouſly, that a perſon ſo hatefully expell'd, ſhould to the heaping of more injury be turn'd like an infectious thing out of all Marriage-fruition upon pain of Adultery, as not conſiderable to the brevity of this half ſentence? Of what then ſpeaks our Saviour? of *that colluſion*, ſaith he *which was then moſt frequent among the Jews of changing wives and husbands, through inconſtancy and unchaſt deſires.* Colluders your ſelves, as violent to this Law of God by your unmerciful binding, as the Phariſes by their unbounded looſning! Have thouſands of Chriſtian ſouls periſht as to this life, and God knows what hath betided their Conſciences, for want of this healing explanation; and is it now at laſt obſcurely drawn forth, only to cure a ſcratch, and leave the main wound ſpouting? *Whoſoever putteth away his wife, except for fornication, committeth adultery.* That ſhall be ſpoke of all ages, and all men, though never ſo juſtly otherwiſe mov'd to Divorce: In the very next breath, *And whoſo marrieth her which is put away, committeth adultery:* the men are new and miraculous, they tell you now *you are to limit it to that age, when it was in faſhion to chop matrimonies; and muſt be meant of him who puts away with his wifes conſent through the lightnes and leudnes of them both.* But what rule of Logic, or indeed of Reaſon is our commiſſion to underſtand the *Antecedent* one way and the *Conſequent* another? for in that habitude this whole vers may be conſidered: or at leaſt to take the parts of a *copulat axiom*, both abſolutely affirmative, and to ſay the firſt is abſolutely true, the other not, but muſt be limited to a certain time and cuſtom; which is no leſs then to ſay they are both falſe? For in this *compound axiom*, be the parts never ſo many, if one of them do but falter, and be not equally abſolute and general, the reſt are all fals. If therefore that *he who marries her which is put away commits adultery*, be not generally true, neither is it generally true that *he commits adultery who puts away for other cauſe then fornication.* And if the marrying her which is put away, muſt be underſtood limited, which they cannot but yield it muſt with the ſame limitation muſt be underſtoodthe putting away. Thus doth the common expoſition confound it ſelf, and juſtify this which is heer brought; that our Saviour as well in the firſt part of this ſentence as in the ſecond, prohibited onely ſuch Divorces as the Jews then made through malice or through plotted licence, not thoſe which are for neceſſary and juſt cauſes; where charity and wiſdom disjoyns, that which not God, but Error and Diſaſter joyn'd.

And there is yet to this our expoſition, a ſtronger ſiding friend, then any can be an adverſary, unleſs St. *Paul* be doubted, who repeating a command concerning Divorce, *1 Cor.* 7. which is agreed by Writers to be the ſame with this of our Saviour, and appointing that the *wife remain unmarried, or be reconcil'd to her husband*, leavs it infallible that our Saviour ſpake chiefly againſt putting away for caſual and choleric diſagreements, or any other cauſe which may with human patience and wiſdom be reconcil'd, not hereby meaning to hale and daſh together the irreconcilable averſations of nature, nor to tie up a faultleſs perſon like a Parricide, as it were into one ſack with an enemy, to be his cauſleſs tormenter and executioner the length of a long life. Laſtly, let this ſentence of Chriſt be underſtood how it will, yet that it was never intended for a judicial Law, to be enforc'd by the Magiſtrat, beſides that the office of our Saviour had no ſuch purpoſe in the Goſpel, this latter part of the ſentence may aſſure us, *And whoſo marrieth her who is put away, commits adultery.* Shall the exception for Adultery belong to this clauſe or not? if not, it would be ſtrange, that he who marries a Woman really divorc'd for Adultery, as Chriſt permitted, ſhould become an Adulterer by marrying one who is now no other mans Wife, himſelf being alſo free, who might by this means reclaim her from common Whoredom. And if the exception muſt belong hither, then it follows that he who marries an Adultreſs divorc'd commits no Adultry; which would ſoon diſcover to us what an abſurd and ſenſles peece of injuſtice this would be to make a civil Statute of in penal Courts: whereby the Adultreſs put away may marry another ſafely, and without a crime to him that marries her; but the innocent and wrongfully divorc'd ſhall not marry again without the guilt of Adultery both to her ſelf and to her ſecond husband. This ſaying of Chriſt therefore cannot be made a temporal Law, were it but for this reaſon. Nor is it eaſie to ſay what coherence there is at all in it from the letter, to any perfet ſenſe not obnoxious to ſom abſurdity, and ſeems much leſs agreeable to what ever elſe of the Goſpel is left us written; doubtleſs by our Saviour ſpok'n in that fiercenes and abſtruſe intricacy, firſt to amuſe his tempters, and admoniſh in general the abuſers of that Moſaic Law; next to let *Herod* know a ſecond knower of his unlawful act, though the Baptiſt were beheaded; laſt, that his Diſciples and all good men might learn to expound him in this place, as in all other his precepts, not by the written letter, but by that unerring paraphraſe of Chriſtian Love and Charity, which is the ſum of all commands, and the perfection.

V. 10. *His Diſciples ſay unto him, If the caſe of the man be ſo with his Wife, it is not good to marry.*

This verſe I add, to leave no objection behind unanſwer'd: for ſome may think, if this our Saviour's ſentence be ſo fair, as not commanding ought that patience or nature cannot brook, why then did the diſciples murmer and ſay, *it is not good to marry*? I anſwer, that the Diſciples had bin longer bred up under the Phariſæan Doctrine, then under that of Chriſt, and ſo no marvel though they yet retain'd the infection of loving old licentious cuſtoms; no marvel though they thought it hard they might not for any offence that throughly anger'd them, divorce a Wife, as well as put away a Servant, ſince it was but giving her a Bill, as they were taught. Secondly, it was no unwonted thing with them not to underſtand our Saviour in matters far eaſier. So that be it granted their conceit of this text was the ſame which is now commonly conceiv'd, according to the uſual rate of their capacity then, it will not hurt a better interpretation. But why did not Chriſt, ſeeing their error, inform them? for good cauſe; it was his profeſt method not to teach them all things at all times, but each thing in due place and ſeaſon. Chriſt ſaid, *Luke* 22. that *he who had no ſword ſhould ſell his garment and buy one*: the Diſciples took it in a manifeſt wrong ſenſe, yet our Saviour did not there inform them better. He told them *it was eaſier for a Camel to go through a needles eye*, then a rich man in at heav'n gate. They were *amaz'd exceedingly*: he explain'd himſelf to mean of thoſe *who truſt in riches*, Mark 10. *They were ama-*

*zed then out of meaſure*, for ſo *Mark* relates it; as if his explaining had increas'd their amazement in ſuch a plain caſe, and which concern'd ſo neerly their calling to be inform'd in. Good reaſon therefore, if Chriſt at that time did not ſtand amplifying, to the thick prejudice and tradition wherein they were, this queſtion of more difficulty, and leſs concernment to any perhaps of them in particular. Yet did he not omit to ſow within them the ſeeds of a ſufficient determining, agen the time that his promis'd Spirit ſhould bring all things to their memory. He had declar'd in their hearing not long before, how diſtant he was from aboliſhing the Law it ſelf of Divorce; he had refer'd them to the inſtitution; and after all this, gives them a ſet anſwer, from which they might collect what was cleer enough, that *all men cannot receive all ſayings*, verſe 11. If ſuch regard be had to each mans receiving of Marriage or ſingle life, what can ariſe that the ſame chriſtian regard ſhould not be had in moſt neceſſary Divorce? All which inſtructed both them and us, that it beſeem'd his Diſciples to learn the deciding of this queſtion, which hath nothing new in it, firſt by the inſtitution, then by the general grounds of Religion, not by a particular ſaying here or there, temper'd and level'd only to an incident occaſion, the riddance of a tempting aſſault. For what can this be but weak and ſhallow apprehenſion, to forſake the ſtandard principles of inſtitution, faith, and charity; then to be blank and various at every occurrence in Scripture, and in a cold *Spaſm* of ſcruple, to rear peculiar doctrines upon the place, that ſhall bid the gray autority of moſt unchangeable and ſovran Rules to ſtand by and be contradicted? Thus to this Evangelic precept of famous difficulty, which for theſe many ages weakly underſtood, and violently put in practice, hath made a ſhambles rather then an ordinance of Matrimony, I am firm a truer expoſition cannot be given. If this or that argument heer us'd, pleaſe not every one, there is no ſcarſity of arguments, any half of them will ſuffice. Or ſhould they all fail, as Truth it ſelf can fail as ſoon, I ſhould content me with the inſtitution alone to wage this controverſie, and not diſtruſt to evince. If any need it not, the happier; yet Chriſtians ought to ſtudy earneſtly what may be anothers need. But if, as mortal miſchances are, ſome hap to need it, let them be ſure they abuſe not, and give God his thanks, who hath reviv'd this remedy, not too late for them, and ſcowr'd off an inveterate miſexpoſition from the Goſpel: a work not to periſh by the vain breath or doom of this age. Our next induſtry ſhall be, under the ſame guidance, to try with what fidelity that remaining paſſage in the *Epiſtles* touching this matter, hath bin commented.

## 1 Cor. VII. 10, &c.

10. *And unto the married I command, &c.*
11. *And let not the husband put away his wife.*

THis intimates but what our Saviour taught before, that Divorce is not raſhly to be made, but reconcilement to be perſuaded and endevor'd, as oft as the cauſe can have to do with reconcilement, and is not under the dominion of blameles nature; which may have reaſon to depart, though ſeldomeſt and laſt from charitable love, yet ſometimes from friendly, and familiar, and ſomething oftner from conjugal love, which requires not only moral, but natural cauſes to the making and maintaining; and may be warrantably excus'd to retire from the deception of what it juſtly ſeeks, and the ill requitals which unjuſtly it finds. For Nature hath her *Zodiack* alſo, keeps her great annual circuit over human things, as truly as the Sun and Planets in the firmament; hath her *anomalies*, hath her obliquities in aſcenſions and declinations, acceſſes and receſſes, as blameleſly as they in Heaven. And ſitting in her planetary Orb with two reins in each hand, one ſtrait, the other loos, tempers the cours of minds as well as bodies to ſeveral conjunctions and oppoſitions, friendly or unfriendly aſpects, conſenting ofteſt with reaſon, but never contrary. This in the effect no man of meaneſt reach but daily ſees; and though to every one it appear not in the cauſe, yet to a clear capacity, well nurtur'd with good reading and obſervation, it cannot but be plain and viſible. Other expoſition therefore then hath bin given to former places that give light to theſe two ſummary verſes, will not be needful: ſave only that theſe precepts are meant to thoſe married who differ not in Religion.

*But to the reſt ſpeak I, not the Lord; if any brother hath a wife that believeth not, and ſhe be pleaſed to dwell with him, let him not put her away.*

Now follows what is to be done, if the perſons wedded be of a different faith. The common belief is, that a Chriſtian is here commanded not to divorce, if the Infidel pleaſe to ſtay, though it be but to vex, or to deride, or to ſeduce the Chriſtian. This doctrin will be the eaſie work of a refutation. The other opinion is, that a Chriſtian is here conditionally permitted to hold Wedlock with a miſbeliever only, upon hopes limited by Chriſtian prudence, which without much difficulty ſhall be defended. That this here ſpoken by *Paul*, not by the Lord, cannot be a Command, theſe reaſons avouch. Firſt, the Law of *Moſes*, *Exod.* 34. 16. *Deut.* 7. 3, 6. interpreted by *Ezra* and *Nehemiah*, two infallible authors, commands to divorce an Infidel not for the fear only of a ceremonious defilement, but of an irreligious ſeducement, fear'd both in reſpect of the Believer himſelf, and of his Children in danger to be perverted by the miſbelieving parent, *Nehem.* 13. 24, 26. And *Peter Martyr* thought this a convincing reaſon. If therefore the legal pollution vaniſhing, have abrogated the ceremony of this Law, ſo that a Chriſtian may be permitted to retain an Infidel without uncleannes, yet the moral reaſon of divorcing ſtands to eternity, which neither Apoſtle nor Angel from heaven can countermand. All that they reply to this, is their human warrant, that God will preſerve us in our obedience to this command againſt the danger of ſeducement. And ſo undoubtedly he will, if we underſtand his commands aright; if we turn not this evangelick permiſſion into a legal, and yet illegal command; if we turn not hope into bondage, the charitable and free hope of gaining another, into the forc't and ſervil temptation of loſing our ſelves: but more of this beneath. Thus theſe words of *Paul*, by common doctrin made a command, are made a contradiction to the moral Law.

Secondly, not the Law only, but the Goſpel from the Law, and from it ſelf, requires even in the ſame chapter, where Divorce between them of one Religion is ſo narrowly forbid, rather then our Chriſtian love ſhould come into danger of backſliding, to forſake all relations how near ſo ever, and the Wife expreſly, with promiſe of a high reward, *Mat.* 19. And he who hates not Father or Mother, Wife or Children, hindring his chriſtian cours, much more if they deſpiſe or aſſault it, cannot be a Diſciple, *Luke* 14. How can the Apoſtle then command us to love and continue in that matrimony, which our Saviour bids us hate, and forſake? They can as ſoon teach our faculty of reſpiration to contract and to dilate it ſelf at once, to breath and to fetch breath in the ſame inſtant, as teach our minds how to do ſuch contrary acts as theſe towards the ſame object, and as they muſt be done in the ſame moment. For either the hatred of her Religion, and her hatred to our Religion will work powerfully againſt the love of her ſociety, or the love of that will by degrees flatter out all our zealous hatred and forſaking, and ſoon enſnare us to unchriſtianly compliances.

Thirdly, In Marriage there ought not only to be a civil love, but ſuch a love as Chriſt loves his Church; but where the Religion is contrary without hope of converſion, there can be no love, no faith, no peaceful ſociety, ( they of the other opinion confeſs it ) nay there ought not to be, furder then in expectation of gaining a ſoul; when that ceaſes, we know God hath put an enmity between the ſeed of the Woman, and the ſeed of the Serpent. Neither ſhould *we love them that hate the Lord*, as the Prophet told *Jehoſaphat*, 2 *Chron.* 19. And this Apoſtle himſelf in another place warns us *that we be not unequally yokt with Infidels*, 2 *Cor.* 6. for that there can be no fellowſhip, no communion, no concord between ſuch. Outward commerce and Civil intercours cannot perhaps be avoided; but true friendſhip and familiarity there can be none. How vainly therefore, not to ſay how impiouſly would the moſt inward and dear alliance of Marriage or continuance in Marriage be commanded, where true friendſhip is confeſt impoſſible? For ſay they, we are forbid here to marry with an Infidel, not bid to divorce. But to rob the words thus of their full ſenſe, will not be allow'd them: it is not ſaid, enter not into yoke, but *be not unequally yokt*; which plainly forbids the thing in preſent act, as well as in purpoſe: and his manifeſt concluſion is, not only that *we ſhould not touch*, but that having toucht, *we ſhould come out from among them, and be ſeparate*; with the promiſe of a bleſſing thereupon, that *God will receive us, will be our father, and we his ſons and daughters*, v. 17, 18. Why we ſhould ſtay with an Infidel after the expence of all our hopes, can be but for a civil relati[illegible]; but why we ſhould depart from a ſeducer, ſetting aſide the miſconſtruction of this place, is from a religious neceſſity of departing. The wors cauſe therefore of ſtaying ( if it be any cauſe at all, for civil government forces it not ) muſt not overtop the religious cauſe of ſeparating, executed with ſuch an urgent zeal, and ſuch a proſtrate humiliation by *Ezra* and *Nehemiah*. What God hates to joyn, certainly he cannot love ſhould continue joyn'd: it being all one in matter of ill conſequence, to marry, or to continue married with an Infidel, ſave only ſo long as we wait willingly, and with a ſafe hope. St. *Paul* therefore citing heer a command of *the Lord Almighty*, for ſo he terms it, that we ſhould *ſeparate* cannot have bound us with that which he calls his own whether command or counſel that we ſhould not ſeparate.

Which is the fourth Reaſon, for he himſelf takes care leſt we ſhould miſtake him, [*But to the reſt ſpeak I, not the Lord.*] If the Lord ſpake not, then Man ſpake it, and Man hath no Lordſhip to command the conſcience: yet modern Interpreters will have it a command, maugre St. *Paul* himſelf, they will make him a Prophet like *Caiphas*, to ſpeak the word of the Lord not thinking, nay denying to think; though he diſavow to have receiv'd it from the Lord, his word ſhall not be tak'n, though an Apoſtle, he ſhall be born down in his own Epiſtle, by a race of Expoſiters who preſume to know from whom he ſpake, better then he himſelf. *Paul* depoſes that the Lord ſpeaks not this, they, that the Lord ſpeaks it: Can this be leſs then to brave him with a full-fac'd contradiction? Certainly to ſuch a violence as this, for I cannot call it an expounding, what a man ſhould anſwer I know not, unleſs that if it be their pleaſure next to put a gag into the Apoſtle's mouth, they are already furniſht with a commodious audacity toward the attempt. *Beza* would ſeem to ſhun the contradictory, by telling us that the Lord ſpake it not in perſon, as he did the former precept. But how many other Doctrines doth St. *Paul* deliver, which the Lord ſpake not in perſon, and yet never uſes this preamble but in things indifferent? So long as we receive him for a meſſenger of God, for him to ſtand ſorting Sentences what the Lord ſpake in perſon, and what he, not the Lord in perſon, would be but a chill trifling, and his Readers might catch an Ague the while. But if we ſhall ſupply the Grammatical *Ellipſis* regularly, and as we muſt in the ſame *tenſe*, all will be then clear, for we cannot ſupply it thus, to the reſt I ſpeak; the Lord ſpake not, but I ſpeak, the Lord ſpeaks not. If then the Lord neither ſpake in perſon, nor ſpeaks it now, the Apoſtle teſtifying both, it follows duely, that this can be no command. Forſooth the fear is, leſt this not being a command, would prove an evangelick counſel, and ſo make way for ſupererogations. As if the Apoſtle could not ſpeak his mind in things indifferent, as he doth in four or five ſeveral places of this chapter with the like preface of not commanding, but that the doubted inconvenience of ſupererogating muſt needs ruſh in. And how adds it to the Word of the Lord, (for this alſo they object) when as the Apoſtle by his chriſtian prudence guids us in the liberty which God hath left us to, without command? could not the Spirit of God inſtruct us by him what was free, as well as what was not? But what need I more, when *Cameron* an ingenuous writer, and in high eſteem, ſolidly confutes the ſurmiſe of a command heer, and among other words hath theſe; That *when Paul ſpeaks as an Apoſtle, he uſes this form*, The Lord ſaith. not I, v. 10. *but as a private man he ſaith*, I ſpeak, not the Lord. And thus alſo all the prime fathers, *Auſtin*, *Jerom*, and the reſt underſtood this place.

Fiftly, The very ſtating of the Queſtion declares this to be no Command; *If any Brother hath an unbelieving Wife, and ſhe be pleaſed to dwell with him, let him not put her away.* For the Greek word συνευδοκεῖ does not imply only her being pleas'd to ſtay, but his being pleas'd to let her ſtay; it muſt be a conſent of them both. Nor can the force of this word be render'd leſs, without either much negligence or iniquity of him that otherwiſe tranſlates it. And thus the Greek Church alſo and their Synods underſtood it, who beſt knew what their own language meant, as appears by *Matthaus Monachus*, an Author ſet forth by *Leunclavius*, and of antiquity perhaps not inferior to *Balſamon*, who writes upon the Canons of the Apoſtles: this Author in his chap. *That Marriage is not to be made with Hereticks*, thus recites the ſecond Canon of the 6th Synod; *As to the* Corinthians, Paul *determins*; *If the believing Wife chooſe to live with the unbelieving Husband, or the believing Husband with the unbelieving Wife. Mark*, ſaith he, *how the Apoſtle here condeſcends, if the believer pleaſe to dwell with the unbeliever, ſo that if he pleaſe not, out of doubt the Marriage is diſſolv'd. And I am perſwaded it was ſo in the beginning, and thus preacht.* And thereupon gives an example of one, who though not deſerted, yet by the Decree of *Theodotus* the Patriarch divorc'd an unbelieving Wife. What therefore depends in the plain ſtate of this queſtion on the conſent and well liking of them both, muſt not be a Command. Lay next the latter end of the 11th verſe to the 12th (for wherefore elſe is Logic taught us) in a *diſcreet axiom*, as it can be no other by the phraſe; *The Lord ſaith, Let not the Husband put away his Wife: but I ſay, Let him not put away a misbelieving Wife.* This ſounds as if by the judgment of *Paul*, a man might put away any Wife but the misbelieving; or elſe the parts are not *diſcreet*, or *diſſentany*, for both conclude not putting away, and conſequently in ſuch a form the propoſition is ridiculous. Of neceſſity therefore the former part of this ſentence muſt be conceiv'd, as underſtood, and ſilently granted, that although the Lord command to divorce an infidel, yet I, not the Lord command you? No, but give my judgment, that for ſome evangelick reaſons a Chriſtian may be permitted not to divorce her. Thus while we reduce the brevity of St. *Paul* to a plainer ſenſe, by the needful ſupply of that which was granted between him and the Corinthians, the very logic of his ſpeech extracts him confeſſing that the Lords command lay in a ſeeming contrariety to this his counſel: and that he meant not to thruſt out a command of the Lord by a new one of his own, as one nail drives another, but to releaſe us from the rigor of it, by the right of the Goſpel, ſo farr forth as a charitable cauſe leads us on in the hope of winning another ſoul without the peril of loſing our own. For this is the glory of the Goſpel, to teach us that *the end of the commandment is charity*, 1 *Tim.* 1. not the drudging out a poor and worthleſs duty forc'd from us by the tax and tail of ſo many letters. This doctrine therefore can be no command, but it muſt contradict the moral Law, the Goſpel; and the Apoſtle himſelf both elſewhere, and here alſo even in the act of ſpeaking.

If then it be no command, it muſt remain to be a permiſſion, and that not abſolute, for ſo it would be ſtill contrary to the law, but with ſuch a caution as breaks not the Law, but as the manner of the Goſpel is, fulfils it through Charity. The Law had two reaſons, the one was ceremonial, the pollution that all Gentiles were to the Jews; this the viſion of *Peter* had aboliſht, *Acts* 10. and clens'd all creatures to the uſe of a Chriſtian. The *Corinthians* underſtood not this, but fear'd leſt dwelling in matrimony with an unbeliever, they were defil'd. The Apoſtle diſcuſſes that ſcruple with an Evangelic reaſon, ſhewing them that although God heretofore under the Law, not intending the converſion of the Gentiles, except ſome ſpecial ones, held them as polluted things to the Jew, yet now purpoſing to call them in, he hath purify'd them from that legal uncleanneſs wherein they ſtood, to uſe and to be us'd in a pure manner.

For ſaith he, *The unbelieving husband is ſanctify'd by the wife, and the unbelieving wife is ſanctifi'd by the husband, elſe were your children unclean; but now they are holy.* That is, they are ſanctify'd to you, from that legal impurity which you ſo fear; and are brought into a neer capacity to be holy, if they believe, and to have free acceſs to holy things. In the mean time, as being God's creatures, a Chriſtian hath power to uſe them according to their proper uſe; in as much as now, *all things to the pure are become pure.* In this legal reſpect therefore ye need not doubt to continue in Marriage with an unbeliever. Thus others alſo expound this place, and *Cameron* eſpecially. This reaſon warrants us only what we may do without fear of pollution, does not bind us that we muſt. But the other reaſon of the Law to divorce an infidel was moral, the avoiding of enticement from the true Faith. This cannot ſhrink; but remains in as full force as ever, to ſave the actual Chriſtian from the ſnare of a misbeliever. Yet if a Chriſtian full of grace and ſpiritual gifts, finding the misbeliever not frowardly affected, fears not a ſeducing, but hopes rather a gaining, who ſees not that this moral Reaſon is not violated by not divorcing, which the Law commanded to do, but better fulfill'd by the excellence of the Goſpel working through Charity. For neither the faithful is ſeduc'd, and the unfaithful is either ſav'd, or with all diſcharge of love, and evangelic duty ſought to be ſav'd. But contrary-wiſe if the infirm Chriſtian ſhall be commanded here againſt his mind, againſt his hope, and againſt his ſtrength, to dwell with all the ſcandals, the houſhold perſecutions, or alluring temptations of an Infidel, how is not the Goſpel by this made harſher then the Law, and more yoaking? Therefore the Apoſtle ere he delivers this other reaſon why we need not in all haſt put away an Infidel, his mind miſgiving him, leſt he ſhould ſeem to be the impoſer of a new command, ſtays not for method, but with an abrupt ſpeed inſerts the declaration of their liberty in this matter.

*But if the unbelieving depart, let him depart; a brother or a ſiſter is not under bondage in ſuch caſes: but God hath called us to peace.*

*But if the unbelieving depart.*] This cannot be reſtrain'd to local departure only; for who knows not that an offenſive ſociety is worſe then a forſaking. If his purpoſe of cohabitation be to endanger the life, or the conſcience, *Beza* himſelf is half perſwaded, that this may purchaſe to the faithful perſon the ſame freedom that a deſertion may; and ſo *Gerard* and others whom he cites. If therefore he depart in affection; if he depart from giving hope of his converſion; if he diſturb, or ſcoff at Religion, ſeduce, or tempt; if he rage, doubtleſs not the weak only, but the ſtrong may leave him; if not for fear, yet for the dignities ſake of Religion, which cannot be liable to all baſe affronts, meerly for the worſhipping of a civil Marriage. I take therefore *departing* to be as large as the negative of being well pleas'd: that is, if he be not pleas'd for the preſent to live lovingly, quietly, inoffenſively, ſo as may give good hope; which appears well by that which follows.

*A brother or a ſiſter is not under bondage in ſuch caſes.*] If St. *Paul* provide ſeriouſly againſt the bondage of a Chriſtian, it is not the only bondage to live unmarried for a deſerting Infidel, but to endure his preſence intolerably, to bear indignities againſt his Religion in words or deeds, to be wearied with ſeducements, to have idolatries and ſuperſtitions ever before his eyes, to be tormented with impure and prophane converſation, this muſt needs be bondage to a Chriſtian: is this left all unprovided for, without remedy, or freedom granted? undoubtedly no, for, the Apoſtle leaves it furder to be conſider'd with prudence, what bondage a brother or ſiſter is not under, not only in this caſe, but as he ſpeaks himſelf plurally, *in ſuch caſes.*

*But God hath called us to peace.*] To peace, not to bondage, not to brabbles and contentions with him who is not pleas'd to live peaceably, as Marriage and Chriſtianity requires. And where ſtriſe ariſes from a cauſe hopeleſs to be allay'd, what better way to peace then by ſeparating that which is ill joyn'd? It is not Divorce that firſt breaks the peace of a family, as ſome fondly comment on this place, but it is peace already brok'n, which, when other cures fail, can only be reſtor'd to the faultles perſon by a neceſſary Divorce. And St. *Paul* here warrants us to ſeek peace, rather then to remain in bondage. If God hath call'd us to peace, why ſhould we not follow him? why ſhould we miſerably ſtay in perpetual diſcord under a ſervitude not requir'd?

*For what knoweſt thou, O Wife, whether thou ſhalt ſave thy Husband, &c.*] St. *Paul* having thus clear'd himſelf, not to go about the mining of our Chriſtian liberty, not *to caſt a ſnare upon us*, which to do he ſo much hated, returns now to the ſecond reaſon of that Law, to put away an Infidel for fear of ſeducement, which he does not here contradict with a Command now to venture that; but if neither the infirmity of the Chriſtian, nor the ſtrength of the Unbeliever be fear'd, but hopes appearing that he may be won, he judges it no breaking of that Law, though the Believer be permitted to forbear Divorce, and can abide, without the peril of ſeducement, to offer the charity of a ſalvation to Wife or Husband, which is the fulfilling, not the tranſgreſſing of that Law; and well worth the undertaking with much hazard and patience. For what knoweſt thou whether thou ſhalt ſave thy Wife, that is, till all means convenient and poſſible with diſcretion and probability, as human things are, have bin us'd. For Chriſt himſelf ſends not our hope on pilgrimage to the World's end; but ſets it bounds, beyond which we need not wait on a Brother, much leſs on an Infidel. If after ſuch a time we may count a profeſſing Chriſtian no better then a Heathen, after leſs time perhaps we may ceaſe to hope of a Heathen, that he will turn Chriſtian. Otherwiſe, to bind us harder then the Law, and tell us we are not under Bondage, is meer mockery. If till the unbeliever pleaſe to part, we may not ſtir from the houſe of our bondage, then certain this our liberty is not grounded in the purchas of Chriſt, but in the pleaſure of a Miſcreant. What knows the loyal Husband, whether he may not ſave the Adultereſs? he is not therefore bound to receive her. What knows the Wiſe but ſhe may reclaim her Husband who hath deſerted her? yet the reformed Churches do not enjoyn her to wait longer then after the contempt of an Eccleſiaſtical Summons. *Beza* himſelf here befriends us with a remarkable Speech, *What could be firmly conſtituted in human matters, if under pretence of expecting grace from above, it ſhould be never lawful for us to ſeek our right.* And yet in other caſes not leſs reaſonable to obtain a moſt juſt and needful remedy by Divorce, he turns the innocent party to a task of prayers beyond the multitude of Beads and *Roſaries*, to beg the gift of Chaſtity in recompence of an injurious Marriage. But the Apoſtle is evident enough, *we are not under bondage*, truſting that he writes to thoſe who are not ignorant what Bondage is, to let ſupercilious determiners cheat them of their freedom. God hath call'd us to peace, and ſo doubtleſs hath left in our hands how to obtain it ſeaſonably; if it be not our own choice to ſit ever like novices wretchedly ſervile.

Thus much the Apoſtle in this queſtion between Chriſtian and Pagan, to us now of little uſe; yet ſuppoſing it written for our inſtruction, as it may be rightly apply'd, I doubt not but that the difference between a true believer and a heretic, or any one truely religious either deſerted or ſeeking Divorce from any one groſſly erroneous or profane may be referr'd hither. For St. *Paul* leaves us heer the ſolution not of this caſe only, which little concernes us, but of *ſuch like caſes*, which may ocurr to us.

For where the reaſons directly ſquare, who can forbid why the verdit ſhould not be the ſame? But this the common Writers allow us not. And yet from this Text, which in plain words gives liberty to none, unleſs deſerted by an Infidel, they collect the ſame freedom, though the deſertion be not for Religion, which, as I conceive, they need not do; but may, without ſtraining, reduce it to the cauſe of Fornication. For firſt, they confeſs that deſertion is ſeldom without a juſt ſuſpition of Adultery: next it is a breach of Marriage in the ſame kind, and in ſome ſort worſe: for Adultery, though it give to another, yet it bereaves not all; but the deſerter wholly denies all right, and makes one fleſh twain, which is counted the abſoluteſt breach of Matrimony, and cauſes the other, as much as in him lies, to commit ſin, by being ſo left. Nevertheleſs, thoſe reaſons which they bring of eſtabliſhing by this place the like liberty from any deſertion, are fair and ſolid: and if the thing be lawful, and can be prov'd ſo, more ways then one, ſo much the ſafer. Their arguments I ſhall here recite, and that they may not come idle, ſhall uſe them to make good the like freedom to Divorce for other cauſes; and that we are no more under Bondage to any hainous default againſt the main ends of Matrimony, then to a Deſertion: Firſt they allege that to 1 *Tim.* 5.8. *If any provide not for thoſe of his own houſe, he hath deny'd the faith, and is worſe then an Infidel.* But a deſerter, ſay they, *can have no care of them who are moſt his own, therefore the deſerted party is not leſs to be righted againſt ſuch a one then againſt an Infidel.* With the ſame evidence I argue, that Man or Wife who hates in Wedlock, is perpetually unſociable, unpeaceful, or unduteous, either not being able, or not willing to perform what the main ends of Marriage demand in help and ſolace, cannot be ſaid to care for who ſhould be deareſt in the houſe; therefore is worſe then an infidel in both regards, either in undertaking a duty which he cannot perform, to the undeſerved and unſpeakable injury of the other party ſo defrauded and betrai'd, or not performing what he hath undertaken, whenas he may or might have, to the perjury of himſelf more irreligious then heatheniſm. The blameleſs perſon therefore hath as good a plea to ſue out his delivery from this bondage, as from the deſertion of an infidel. Since moſt Writers cannot but grant that deſertion is not only a local abſence, but an intolerable ſociety; or if they grant it not, the reaſons of Saint *Paul* grant it, withall as much leave as they grant to enlarge a particular freedom from paganiſm, into a general freedom from any deſertion. Secondly, they reaſon from the likenes of either fact, *the ſame loſs redounds to the deſerted by a Chriſtian, as by an Infidel, the ſame peril of temptation.* And I in like manner affirm, that if honeſt and free perſons may be allow'd to know what is moſt to their own loſs, the ſame loſs and diſcontent, but worſe diſquiet, with continual miſery and temptation, reſides in the company, or better call'd the perſecution of an unfit, or an unpeaceable Conſort, then by his deſertion. For then the deſerted may enjoy himſelf at leaſt. And he who deſerts is more favourable to the party whom his preſence afflicts, then that importunate thing which is and will be ever converſant before the eyes, a loyal and individual vexation. As for thoſe who ſtill rudely urge it no loſs to Marriage, no Deſertion, ſo long as the Fleſh is preſent, and offers a Benevolence that hates, or is juſtly hated; I am not of that vulgar and low perſwaſion, to think ſuch forc'd embracements as theſe worth the honour, or the humanity of Marriage, but far beneath the ſoul of a rational and free-born Man. Thirdly, they ſay, *It is not the Infidelity of the deſerter, but the deſertion of the Infidel from which the Apoſtle gives this freedom*; and I joyn, that the Apoſtle could as little require our ſubjection to an unfit and injurious Bondage preſent, as to an Infidel abſent. To free us from that which is an evil by being diſtant, and not from that which is an inmate, and in the boſom evil, argues an improvident and careles Deliverer. And thus all occaſions, which way ſoever they turn, are not unofficious to adminiſter ſomething which may conduce to explain, or to defend the aſſertion of this book touching Divorce. I complain of nothing, but that it is indeed too copious to be the matter of a diſpute, or a defence, rather to be yielded, as in the beſt Ages, a thing of common Reaſon, not of Controverſie. What have I left to ſay? I fear to be more elaborat in ſuch a perſpicuity as this; leſt I ſhould ſeem not to teach, but to upbraid the dulnes of an Age; not to commune with reaſon in men, but to deplore the loſs of reaſon from among men: this only, and not the want of more to ſay, is the limit of my diſcourſe.

### *Who among the Fathers have interpreted the words of Chriſt concerning Divorce, as is here interpreted; and what the Civil Law of Chriſtian Emperors in the primitive Church determin'd*

Although teſtimony be in Logic an argument rightly call'd *inartificial*, and doth not ſolidly fetch the truth by multiplicity of Authors, nor argue a thing falſe by the few that hold ſo; yet ſeeing moſt men from their youth ſo accuſtom, as not to ſcan reaſon, nor clearly to apprehend it, but to truſt for that the names and numbers of ſuch, as have got, and many times undeſervedly, the reputation among them to know much, and becauſe there is a vulgar alſo of teachers, who are as blindly by whom they fancy led, as they lead the people, it will not be amiſs for them who had rather liſt themſelves under this weaker ſort, and follow authorities, to take notice that this opinion which I bring, hath bin favour'd, and by ſome of thoſe affirm'd, who in their time were able to carry what they taught, had they urg'd it, through all Chriſtendom; or to have left it ſuch a credit with all good men, as they who could not boldly uſe the opinion, would have fear'd to cenſure it. But ſince by his appointment on whom the times and ſeaſons wait, every point of doctrine is not fatal to be throughly ſifted out in every age, it will be anough for me to find, that the thoughts of wiſeſt heads heertofore, and hearts no leſs reverenc'd for devotion have tended this way, and contributed their lot in ſome good meaſure towards this which hath bin here attain'd. Others of them, and modern eſpecially, have bin as full in the aſſertion, though not ſo full in the reaſon; ſo that either in this regard, or in the former, I ſhall be maniſeſt in a middle fortune to meet the praiſe or diſpraiſe of being ſomething firſt.

But I defer not what I undertook to ſhew, that in the Church both primitive and reformed, the words of Chriſt have bin underſtood to grant Divorce for other cauſes then Adultery; and that the word *fornication* in Marriage hath a larger ſenſe then that commonly ſuppos'd.

*Juſtin Martyr* in his firſt Apology writt'n within 50 years after St. *John* dy'd, relates a ſtory which *Euſebius* tranſcribes, that a certain Matron of *Rome*, the Wife of a vitious Husband, her ſelf alſo formerly vitious, but converted to the Faith, and perſuading the ſame to her Husband, at leaſt the amendment of his wicked life, upon his not yeilding to her daily entreaties and perſuaſions in this behalf, procur'd by Law to be divorc'd from him. This was neither for Adultery, nor Deſertion, but as the relation ſays, *eſteeming it an ungodly thing to be the conſort of bed with him, who againſt the Law of Nature and of right ſought out voluptuous ways.* Suppoſe he endeavour'd ſome unnatural abuſe, as the Greek admits that meaning, it cannot yet be call'd Adultery; it therefore could be thought worthy of Divorce no otherwiſe then as equivalent, or wors; and other vices will appear in other reſpects as much divorſive. Next 'tis ſaid her friends adviſ'd her to ſtay a while; and what reaſon gave they? not becauſe they held unlawful what ſhe purpos'd, but becauſe they thought ſhe might longer yet hope his repentance. She obey'd, till the man going to *Alexandria*, and from thence reported to grow ſtill more impenitent, not for any Adultery or Deſertion, wherof neither can be gather'd, but, ſaith the *Martyr*, and ſpeaks it like one approving, *leſt ſhe ſhould be partaker of his unrighteous and ungodly deeds, remaining in Wedlock, the communion of bed and board with ſuch a perſon, ſhe left him by a lawful Divorce.* This cannot but give us the judgment of the Church in thoſe pure and next to Apoſtolic times. For how els could the Woman have bin permitted, or here not reprehended? and if a Wife might then do this without reproof, a Husband certainly might no leſs, if not more.

*Tertullian* in the ſame Age, writing his 4th Book againſt *Marcion*, witneſſes *that Chriſt by his anſwer to the Phariſes, protected the conſtitution of* Moſes *as his own, and directed the inſtitution of the Creator*, for I alter not his *Carthaginian* phraſe; *he excus'd rather then deſtroy'd the conſtitution of* Moſes; *I ſay, he forbid conditionally, if any one therefore put away, that he may marry another: ſo that if he prohibited conditionally, then not wholly; and what he forbad not wholly, he permitted otherwiſe, where the cauſe ceaſes for which he prohibited:* that is, when a man makes it not the cauſe of his putting away, meerly that he may marry again. *Chriſt teaches not contrary to* Moſes, *the juſtice of Divorce hath Chriſt the aſſerter: he would not have Marriage ſeparate, nor kept with ignominy, permitting then a Divorce*; and gueſſes that this vehemence of our Saviour's ſentence was chiefly bent againſt *Herod*, as was cited before. Which leaves it evident how *Tertullian* interpreted this prohibition of our Saviour: for whereas the Text is, *Whoſoever putteth away, and marrieth another*; wherefore ſhould *Tertullian* explain it, *Whoſoever putteth away that he may marry another*, but to ſignifie his opinion, that our Saviour did not forbid Divorce from an unworthy Yoke, but forbid the Malice or the Luſt of a needles Change, and chiefly thoſe plotted Divorces then in uſe?

*Origen* in the next century teſtifies to have known certain who had the government of Churches in his time, who permitted ſom to marry, while yet their former huſbands liv'd, and excuſes the deed, as don *not without cauſe, though without Scripture*, which confirms that cauſe not to be Adultery; for how then was it againſt Scripture that they married again? And a little beneath, for I cite his 7. homily on *Matthew*, ſaith he, *To endure faults wors then adultery and fornication, ſeems a thing unreaſonable*; and diſputes therefore that Chriſt did not ſpeak by *way of precept*, *but as it were expounding*. By which, and the like ſpeeches, *Origen* declares his mind, far from thinking that our Saviour confin'd all the cauſes of Divorce to actual adultery.

*Lactantius* of the age that ſucceeded, ſpeaking of this matter in the *6th* of his *Inſtitutions*, hath theſe words: *But leſt any think he may circumſcribe divine precepts, let this be added, that all miſinterpreting, and occaſion of fraud or death may be remov'd, he commits adultery who marries the divorc't wife, and, beſides the crime of adultery, divorces a wife that he may marry another.* To divorce and marry another, and to divorce that he may marry another, are two different things; and imply that *Lactantius* thought not this place the forbidding of all neceſſary Divorce, but ſuch only as proceeded from the wanton deſire of a future chois, not from the burden of a preſent affliction.

About this time the Council of *Eliberis* in *Spain* decreed the huſband excommunicat, *If he kept his wife being an adultreſs; but if he left her, he might after ten years be receiv'd into communion, if he retain'd her any while in his houſe after the adultery known.* The Council of *Neocaſarea* in the year 314. decreed, That if the wife of any *Laic* were convicted of adultery, that man could not be admitted into the Miniſtry: if after ordination it were committed, he was to divorce her; if not, he could not hold his Miniſtry. The Council of *Nantes* condemn'd in ſeven years penance the huſband that would reconcile with an adultreſs. But how proves this that other cauſes may divorce? It proves thus: There can be but two cauſes why theſe Councils enjoin'd ſo ſtrictly the divorſing of an adultreſs, either as an offender againſt God, or againſt the huſband; in the latter reſpect they could not impoſe on him to divorce; for every man is the maſter of his own forgivnes; who ſhall hinder him to pardon the injuries don againſt himſelf? It follows therefore that the divorce of an adultreſs was commanded by theſe three Councils, as it was a ſin againſt God; and by all conſequence they could not but believe that other ſins as hainous might with equal juſtice be the ground of a divorce.

*Baſil* in his 73d Rule, as *Chamier* numbers it, thus determins, That divorce ought not to be, unleſs for adultery, *or the hinderance to a godly life.* What doth this but proclaim aloud more cauſes of divorce then adultery, if by other ſins beſides this, in wife or huſband, the godlines of the better perſon may be certainly hinder'd and endanger'd?

*Epiphanius* no leſs ancient, writing againſt Hereticks, and therefore ſhould himſelf be orthodoxal above others, acquaints us in his ſecond book, *Tom.* 1. not that his private perſuaſion was, but that the whole Church in his time generally thought other cauſes of divorce lawful beſides adultery, as comprehended under that name: *If*, ſaith he, *a divorce happ'n for any cauſe, either fornication, or adultery, or any hainous fault, the word of God blames not either the man or wife marrying again, nor cuts them off from the congregation, or from life, but bears with the infirmity; not that he may keep both wives, but that leaving the former he may be lawfully joyn'd to the latter: the holy Word, and the holy Church of God commiſerates this man, eſpecially if he be otherwiſe of good converſation, and live according to Gods law.* This place is cleerer then expoſition, and needs no comment.

*Ambroſe* on the *16th* of *Luke*, teaches *that all wedloc is not Gods joyning:* and to the *19th* of *Prov.* That a *wife is prepar'd of the Lord*, as the old Latin tranſlates it, he anſwers that the Septuagint renders it, *a wife is fitted by the Lord, and temper'd to a kind of harmony; and where that harmony is, there God joyns; where it is not, there diſſention reigns, which is not from God, for God is love.* . This he brings to prove the marrying of Chriſtian with Gentile to be no marriage, and conſequently divorc't without ſin: but he who ſees not this Argument how plainly it ſerves to divorce any untunable, or unatonable matrimony, ſees little. On the *1ſt* to the *Cor.* 7. he grants a woman may leave her huſband not for only fornication, *but for Apoſtacy, and inverting nature, though not marry again; but the man may:* here are cauſes of divorce aſſign'd other then adultery. And going on, he affirms, *that the cauſe of God is greater than the cauſe of matrimony; that the reverence of wedloc is not due to him* *who hates the author thereof; that no matrimony is firm without devotion to God; that diſhonour don to God acquits the other being deſerted from the bond of matrimony; that the faith of marriage is not to be kept with ſuch.* If theſe contorted ſentences be ought worth, it is not the deſertion that breaks what is broken, but the impiety; and who then may not for that cauſe better divorce, than tarry to be deſerted? or theſe grave ſayings of St. *Ambroſe* are but knacks.

*Jerom* on the *19th* of *Matthew* explains, that for the cauſe of fornication, or the *ſuſpicion thereof, a man may freely divorce.* What can breed that ſuſpicion, but ſundry faults leading that way? by *Jeroms* conſent therfore Divorce is free not only for actual adultery, but for any cauſe that may incline a wiſe man to the juſt ſuſpicion therof.

*Auſtin* alſo muſt be remember'd among thoſe who hold that this inſtance of fornication gives equal inference to other faults equally hateful, for which to divorce: and therfore in his books to *Pollentius* he diſputes that *Infidelity, as being a greater ſin then Adultery, ought ſo much the rather cauſe a divorce.* And on the Sermon in the Mount, under the name of fornication will have *idolatry, or any harmful ſuperſtition* contain'd, which are not thought to diſturb Matrimony ſo directly as ſom other obſtinacies and diſaffections, more againſt the daily duties of that cov'nant, and in the Eaſtern tongues not unfrequently call'd fornication, as hath bin ſhewn. *Hence is underſtood,* ſaith he, *that not only for bodily fornication, but for that which draws the mind from Gods law, and foully corrupts it, a man may without fault put away his wife, and a wife her husband, becauſe the Lord excepts the cauſe of fornication, which fornication we are conſtrain'd to interpret in a general ſenſe.* And in the firſt book of his *Retractations,* chap. 16. he retracts not this his opinion, but commends it to ſerious conſideration; and explains that he counted not there all ſin to be fornication, but the more deteſtable ſort of ſins. The cauſe of Fornication therefore is not in this diſcours newly interpreted to ſignify other faults infringing the duties of Wedlock, beſides Adultery.

Laſtly, the Council of *Agatha* in the year 506. Can. 25. decreed, that *if Lay-men who divorc't without ſome great fault, or giving no probable cauſe, therefore divorc't, that they might marry ſom unlawful perſon, or ſom other mans, if before the provincial Biſhops were made acquainted, or judgment paſt, they preſum'd this, Excommunication was the penalty.* Whence it follows, that if the cauſe of Divorce were ſom great offence, or that they gave probable cauſes for what they did, and did not therefore divorce that they might preſume with ſom unlawful perſon, or what was another mans, the cenſure of Church in thoſe days did not touch them.

Thus having alleg'd enough to ſhew, after what manner the primitive Church for above 500 years underſtood our Saviours words touching Divorce, I ſhall now, with a labour leſs diſperſt, and ſooner diſpatcht, bring under view what the civil Law of thoſe times conſtituted about this matter: I ſay the civil Law, which is the honour of every true Civilian to ſtand for, rather then to count that for Law, which the *Pontificial* Canon had enthrall'd them to, and inſtead of interpreting a generous and elegant Law, made them the drudges of a blockiſh *Rubric.*

*Theodoſius* and *Valentinian,* pious Emperors both, ordain'd that *as by conſent lawful marriages were made, ſo by conſent, but not without the bill of Divorce, they might be diſſolv'd; and to diſſolve was the more difficult, only in favour of the children.* We ſee the Wiſdom and Piety of that age, one of the pureſt and learnedeſt ſince Chriſt, conceiv'd no hindrance in the words of our Saviour, but that a Divorce mutually conſented, might be ſuffer'd by the Law, eſpecially if there were no children, or if there were, careful proviſion was made. And further ſaith that Law (ſuppoſing there wanted the conſent of either) *We deſign the cauſes of Divorce by this moſt wholſom Law; for as we forbid the diſſolving of Marriage without juſt cauſe, ſo we deſire that a husband or a wife diſtreſt by ſom advers neceſſity, ſhould be freed, though by an unhappy, yet a neceſſary releef.* What dram of Wiſdom or Religion (for Charity is trueſt Religion) could there be in that knowing age, which is not virtually ſum'd up in this moſt juſt Law? As for thoſe other Chriſtian Emperors, from *Conſtantine* the firſt of them, finding the Roman Law in this point ſo anſwerable to the Moſaic, it might be the likelieſt cauſe why they alter'd nothing to reſtraint, but if ought, rather to liberty, for the help, and conſideration of the weaker ſex, according as the Goſpel ſeems to make the wife more equal to her husband in theſe conjugal reſpects then the law of *Moſes* doth. Therefore *if a man were abſent from his wife four years, and in that ſpace not heard of, though gon to war in the ſervice of* *the Empire*, ſhe might divorce, and marry another by the edict of *Conſtantine* to *Dalmatius*, *Co. l.* 5. *tit.* 17. And this was an Age of the Church both antient, and cry'd up ſtill for the moſt flouriſhing in knowledg and pious government ſince the Apoſtles. But to return to this Law of *Theodoſius*, with this obſervation by the way, that ſtill as the Church corrupted, as the Clergy grew more ignorant, and yet more uſurping on the Magiſtrate, who alſo now declin'd, ſo ſtill Divorce grew more reſtrain'd; though certainly if better times permitted the thing that worſe times reſtrain'd, it would not weakly argue that the permiſſion was better, and the reſtraint worſe. This Law therefore of *Theodoſius*, wiſer in this then the moſt of his ſucceſſors, though not wiſer then God and *Moſes*, reduc't the cauſes of Divorce to a certain number, which by the judicial Law of God, and all recorded humanity were left before to the breſt of each husband, provided that the diſmiſs was not without reaſonable conditions to the Wife. But this was a reſtraint not yet come to extremes. For beſides Adultery, and that not only actual, but ſuſpected by many ſigns there ſet down, any fault equally puniſhable with Adultery, or equally infamous, might be the cauſe of a Divorce. Which informs us how the wiſeſt of thoſe ages underſtood that place in the Goſpel, whereby, not the pilfering of a Benevolence was conſider'd as the main and only breach of Wedloc, as is now thought, but the breach of love and peace, a more holy union then that of the fleſh; and the dignity of an honeſt perſon was regarded, not to be held in bondage with one whoſe ignominy was infectious. To this purpoſe was conſtituted *Cod. l.* 5. *tit.* 17. and *Authent. collat.* 4. *tit.* 1. *Novell.* 22. where *Juſtinian* added three cauſes more. In the 117. *Novell.* moſt of the ſame cauſes are allow'd, but the liberty of divorcing by conſent is repeal'd: but by whom? by *Juſtinian*, not a wiſer, not a more religious Emperor then either of the former, but noted by judicious writers for his fickle head in making and unmaking Laws; and how *Procopius*, a good Hiſtorian, and a Counſellor of State then living, deciphers him in his other actions, I willingly omit. Nor was the Church then in better caſe, but had the corruption of a 100 declining years ſwept on it, when the ſtatute of *Conſent* was call'd in; which, as I ſaid, gives us every way more reaſon to ſuſpect this reſtraint, more than that liberty: which therefore in the reign of *Juſtin*, the ſucceeding Emperor, was recall'd, *Novell.* 140. and eſtabliſht with a preface more wiſe and chriſtianly then for thoſe times, declaring the neceſſity to reſtore that *Theodoſian* Law, if no other means of reconcilement could be found. And by whom this Law was abrogated, or how long after, I do not find; but that thoſe other cauſes remain'd in force as long as the Greek Empire ſubſiſted, and were aſſented by that Church, is to be read in the Canons and Edicts compar'd by *Photius* the Patriarch, with the avertiments of *Balſamon* and *Matthæus Monachus* thereon.

But long before thoſe days *Leo*, the ſon of *Baſilius Macedo*, reigning about the year 886. and for his excellent wiſdom ſurnam'd the *Philoſopher*, conſtituted *that in caſe of madneſs the husband might divorce after three years, the wife after five. Conſtitut. Leon.* 111, 112. This declares how he expounded our Saviour, and deriv'd his reaſons from the Inſtitution, which in his Preface with great eloquence are ſet down; whereof a paſſage or two may give ſom proof, though better not divided from the reſt. *There is not*, ſaith he, *a thing more neceſſary to preſerve mankind, then the help giv'n him from his own rib; both God and Nature ſo teaching us: which being ſo, it was requiſite that the providence of Law, or if any other care be to the good of man, ſhould teach and ordain thoſe things which are to the help and comfort of married perſons, and confirm the end of marriage purpos'd in the beginning, not thoſe things which afflict and bring perpetual miſery to them.* Then anſwers the Objection that they are one fleſh; *if matrimony had held ſo as God ordain'd it, he were wicked that would diſſolve it. But if we reſpect this in matrimony, that it be contracted to the good of both, how ſhall he, who for ſome great evil fear'd, perſwades not to marry though contracted, not perſwade to unmarry, if after marriage a calamity befall? Should we bid beware leſt any fall into an evil, and leave him helpleſs who by human error is fall'n therein? This were as if we ſhould uſe remedies to prevent a diſeaſe, but let the ſick die without remedy.* The reſt will be worth reading in the Author.

And thus we have the judgment firſt of primitive fathers; next of the imperial Law not diſallow'd by the univerſal Church in ages of her beſt authority; and laſtly of the whole Greek Church and civil State, incorporating their Canons and Edicts together, that Divorce was lawful for other cauſes equivalent to Adultery, contain'd under the word Fornication. So that the expoſition of our Saviour's ſentence here alleg'd hath all theſe ancient and great aſſerters, is therefore neither new nor licentious, as ſome would perſwade the commonalty; although it be nearer truth that nothing is more new then thoſe teachers themſelves, and nothing more licentious then ſome known to be, whoſe hypocriſie yet ſhames not to take offence at this doctrine for licence; when as indeed they fear it would remove licence, and leave them but few companions.

### *That the Popes Canon Law incroaching upon civil Magiſtracy, aboliſh't all Divorce even for Adultery. What the reformed Divines have recover'd; and that the famouſeſt of them have taught according to the aſſertion of this Book.*

But in theſe weſtern parts of the Empire it will appear almoſt unqueſtionable that the cited Law of *Theodoſius* and *Valentinian* ſtood in force until the blindeſt and corrupteſt times of Popedom diſplac't it. For, that the Volumes of *Juſtinian* never came into *Italy*, or beyond *Illyricum*, is the Opinion of good Antiquaries. And that only Manuſcript thereof found in *Apulia* by *Lotharius* the *Saxon*, and giv'n to the States of *Piſa* for their aid at ſea againſt the *Normans* of *Sicily*, was receiv'd as a rarity, not to be matcht. And altho the *Goths*, and after them the *Lombards* and *Franks*, who over-run the moſt of *Europe* except this Iland (unleſs we make our *Saxons* and *Normans* a limb of them) brought in their own cuſtoms, yet that they follow'd the Roman Laws in their Contracts and Marriages, *Agathias* the Hiſtorian is alleg'd. And other teſtimonies relate that *Alaricus* and *Theodoric* their Kings writ their ſtatutes out of this *Theodoſian Code*, which hath the recited Law of Divorce. Nevertheleſs while the Monarchs of Chriſtendom were yet barbarous, and but half Chriſtian, the Popes took this advantage of their weak Superſtition, to raiſe a corpulent Law out of the Canons and *Decretals* of audacious Prieſts; and preſum'd alſo to ſet this in the front; *That the conſtitutions of Princes are not above the conſtitutions of Clergy, but beneath them.* Uſing this very inſtance of Divorce as the firſt prop of their tyranny; by a falſe conſequence drawn from a paſſage of *Ambroſe* upon *Luke*, where he ſaith, though *Mans law grant it, yet Gods law prohibits it*: Whence *Gregory* the Pope writing to *Theoctiſta* infers that Eccleſiaſtical Courts cannot be diſſolv'd by the Magiſtrate. A fair concluſion from a double error. Firſt in ſaying that the Divine Law prohibited Divorce, for what will he make of *Moſes*? next ſuppoſing that it did, how will it follow, that whatever Chriſts forbids in his Evangelic precepts, ſhould be hal'd into a judicial conſtraint againſt the pattern of a divine Law? Certainly the Goſpel came not to enact ſuch compulſions. In the mean while we may note here that the reſtraint of Divorce was one of the firſt fair ſeeming pleas which the Pope had, to ſtep into ſecular authority, and with his Antichriſtian rigor to aboliſh the permiſſive Law of Chriſtian Princes conforming to a ſacred Lawgiver. Which if we conſider, this papal and unjuſt reſtriction of Divorce need not be ſo deer to us, ſince the plauſible reſtraining of that was in a manner the firſt looſning of Antichriſt, and as it were the ſubſtance of his eldeſt Horn. Nor do we leſs remarkably ow the firſt means of his fall here in *England* to the contemning of that reſtraint by *Henry* 8, whoſe Divorce he oppoſed. Yet was not that rigour executed anciently in ſpiritual Courts until *Alexander* the third, who trod upon the neck of *Frederic Barbaroſſa* the Emperor, and ſummond our *Henry* 2. into *Normandy* about the death of *Becket*. He it was, that the worthy author may be known, who firſt actually repeal'd the imperial Law of Divorce, and decreed this tyrannous Decree, that Matrimony for no cauſe ſhould be diſſolv'd, though for many cauſes it might ſeparate; as may be ſeen *Decret Gregor*. l. 4. *tit.* 19. and in other places of the Canonical Tomes. The main good of which invention, wherein it conſiſts who can tell? but that it hath one vertue incomparable, to fill all Chriſtendom with Whoredoms and Adulteries beyond the art of *Balaams*, or of Devils. Yet neither can theſe, though ſo perverſe, but acknowledg that the words of Chriſt under the name of fornication allow putting away for other cauſes then Adultery both from *bed and bord*, but not from the *bond*; their only reaſon is, becauſe Marriage they believe to be a Sacrament. But our Divines who would ſeem long ſince to have renounc't that reaſon, have ſo forgot themſelves, as yet to hold the abſurdity, which but for that reaſon, unleſs their be ſome myſtery of Satan in it, perhaps the Papiſt would not hold. 'Tis true, we grant Divorce for actual and prov'd Adultery, and not for leſs then many tedious and unreparable years of deſertion, wherein a man ſhall loſe all his hope of poſterity, which great and holy men have bewail'd, ere he can be righted; and then perhaps on the confines of his old age, when all is not worth the while. But grant this were ſeaſonably don; what are theſe two caſes to many other, which afflict the ſtate of

Marriage as bad, and yet find no redreſs? What hath the ſoul of man deſerv'd, if it be in the way of ſalvation, that it ſhould be morgag'd thus, and may not redeem it ſelf according to conſcience out of the hands of ſuch ignorant and ſlothful teachers as theſe, who are neither able nor mindful to give due tendance to that pretious cure which they raſhly undertake; nor have in them the noble goodneſs to conſider theſe diſtreſſes and accidents of mans life, but are bent rather to fill their mouths with Tithe and Oblation? Yet if they can learn to follow, as well as they can ſeek to be follow'd, I ſhall direct them to a fair number of renowned men, worthy to be their leaders, who will commend to them a doctrin in this point wiſer then their own; and if they be not impatient, it will be the ſame doctrine which this Treatis hath defended.

*Wicklef* that Engliſhman honor'd of God to be the firſt Preacher of a general Reformation to all *Europe*, was not in this thing better taught of God, then to teach among his chiefeſt recoveries of truth, that Divorce is lawful to the Chriſtian for many other cauſes equal to Adultery. This book indeed, through the poverty of our Libraries, I am forc't to cite from *Arniſæus* of *Halberſtad on the right of Marriage*, who cites it from *Coraſius* of *Toulouſe*, *c.* 4. *Cent. Sct.* and he from *Wicklef*, *l.* 4. *Dial. c.*21. So much the ſorrier, for that I never lookt into an Author cited by his Adverſary upon this occaſion, but found him more conducible to the queſtion than his quotation render'd him.

Next *Luther*, how great a ſervant of God, in his book of *conjugal life* quoted by *Gerard* out of the Dutch, allows Divorce for the obſtinate denial of conjugal duty; and *that a man may ſend away a proud Vaſthi, and marry an Eſther in her ſtead.* It ſeems, if this example ſhall not be impertinent, that *Luther* meant not only the refuſal of benevolence, but a ſtubborn denial of any main conjugal duty; or if he did not, it will be evinc't from what he allows. For out of queſtion, with men that are not barbarous, love and peace, and fitneſs, will be yielded as eſſential to marriage, as corporal benevolence. *Though I give my body to be burnt*, ſaith St. *Paul*, *and have not charity, it profits me nothing.* So though the body proſtitute it ſelf to whom the mind affords no other love or peace, but conſtant malice and vexation, can this bodily benevolence deſerve to be call'd a marriage between Chriſtians and rational Creatures?

*Melancton*, the third great luminary of Reformation, in his book *concerning Marriage*, grants Divorce for cruel uſage, and danger of life, urging the authority of that *Theodoſian* Law, which he eſteems written with the grave deliberation of godly men; *and that they who reject this law, and think it diſagreeing from the Goſpel, underſtand not the difference of Law and Goſpel; that the Magiſtrat ought not only to defend life, but to ſuccour the weak conſcience, leſt broke with grief and indignation, it relinquiſh Prayer, and turn to ſome unlawful thing.* What if this heavy plight of deſpair ariſe from other diſcontents in Wedloc, which may go to the ſoul of a good man more than the danger of his life, or cruel uſing? which a man cannot be liable to, ſuppoſe it be ingrateful uſage, ſuppoſe it be perpetual ſpight, and diſobedience, ſuppoſe a hatred; ſhall not the Magiſtrat free him from this diſquiet which interrupts his prayers, and diſturbs the cours of his ſervice to God and his Country all as much, and brings him ſuch a miſery, as that he more deſires to leave his life, then fears to loſe it? ſhall not this equally concern the office of civil protection, and much more the charity of a true Church to remedy?

*Eraſmus*, who for Learning was the wonder of his age, both in his *Notes* on *Matthew*, and on the firſt to the *Corinthians*, in a large and eloquent Diſcourſe, and in his anſwer to *Phimoſtomus* a Papiſt, maintains (and no Proteſtant then living contradicted him) that the words of Chriſt comprehend many other cauſes of Divorce under the name of fornication.

*Bucer* (whom our famous Dr. *Rainolds* was wont to prefer before *Calvin*) in his Comment on *Matthew*, and in his ſecond book *of the Kingdom of Chriſt*, treats of Divorce at large to the ſame effect as is written in *the doctrine and diſcipline of Divorce* lately publiſht, and the Tranſlation is extant: whom leſt I ſhould be thought to have wreſted to mine own purpoſe, take ſomthing more out of his *49th* Chapter, which I then for brevity omitted. *It will be the duty of pious Princes, and all who govern Church or Commonwealth, if any, whether husband or wife, ſhall affirm their want of ſuch who either will, or can tolerably perform the neceſſary duties of married life, to grant that they may ſeek them ſuch, and marry them; if they make it appear that ſuch they have not.* This Book he wrote here in *England*, where he liv'd the greateſt admir'd man; and this he dedicated to *Edward* the ſixt.

*Fagius*, rankt among the famous Divines of *Germany*, whom *Frederic*, at that time the *Palatine*, ſent for to be the Reformer of his Dominion, and whom afterwards *England* ſought to, and obtain'd of him to come and teach her, differs not in this opinion from *Bucer*, as his Notes on the *Chaldee Paraphraſt* well teſtify.

The whole Church of *Strasburgh* in her moſt flouriſhing time, when *Zellius*, *Hedio*, *Capito*, and other great Divines taught there, and thoſe two renouned Magiſtrates *Farrerus* and *Sturmius* govern'd that Commonwealth and Academy to the admiration of all *Germany*, hath thus in the 21ſt Article: *We teach, that if according to the word of God, yea or againſt it, Divorces happen, to do according to Gods word, Deut.* 24. 1. *Mat.* 19. 1 *Cor.* 7. *and the obſervation of the primitive Church, and the Chriſtian conſtitution of pious Cæſars.*

*Peter Martyr* ſeems in word our eaſy adverſary, but is in deed for us: toward which though it be ſomthing when he ſaith of this opinion, *that it is not wicked, and can hardly be refuted*, this which follows is much more; *I ſpeak not here,* ſaith he, *of natural impediments which may ſo happ'n that the matrimony can no longer hold:* but adding, *that he often wonder'd, how the antient and moſt chriſtian Emperors eſtabliſht thoſe laws of Divorce, and neither* Ambroſe, *who had ſuch influence upon the laws of* Theodoſius, *nor any of thoſe holy Fathers found fault, nor any of the Churches, why the Magiſtrats of this day ſhould be ſo loth to conſtitute the ſame. Perhaps they fear an inundation of Divorces, which is not likely, whenas we read not either among the* Ebrews, Greeks, *or* Romans, *that they were much frequent where they were moſt permitted. If they judg chriſtian men worſe than Jews or Pagans, they both injure that name, and by this reaſon will be conſtrain'd to grant Divorces the rather; becauſe it was permitted as a remedy of evil, for who would remove the medcin, while the diſeaſe is yet ſo rife?* This being read both in *his common places*, and on the firſt *to the Corinthians*, with what we ſhall relate more of him yet ere the end, ſets him abſolutely on this ſide. Not to inſiſt that in both theſe, and other places of his commentaries he grants Divorce not only for deſertion, but for the ſeducement and ſcandalous demeanour of a heretical conſort.

*Muſculus*, a Divine of no obſcure fame, diſtinguiſhes between the religious and the civil determination of Divorce; and leaving the civil wholly to the Lawyers, pronounces a conſcionable Divorce for impotence not only natural, but accidental, if it be durable. His equity, it ſeems, can enlarge the words of Chriſt to one cauſe more then Adultery; why may not the reaſon of another man as wiſe, enlarge them to another cauſe?

*Gualter* of *Zuric*, a well known judicious commentator, in his Homilies on *Matthew* allows Divorce for *Leproſie, or any other cauſe which renders unfit for wedloc*, and calls this rather *a nullity of marriage then a divorce*. And who, that is not himſelf a meer body, can reſtrain all the unfitnes of Marriage only to a corporeal defect?

*Hemingius* an Author highly eſteem'd, and his works printed at *Geneva*, writing of Divorce, confeſſes that learned men *vary in this queſtion, ſome granting three cauſes thereof, ſome five, others many more*; he himſelf gives us ſix, *Adultery, Deſertion, Inability, Error, Evil-uſage, and Impiety*, uſing argument *that Chriſt under one ſpecial contains the whole kind, and under the name and example of fornication* he includes *other cauſes equipollent*. This diſcours he wrote at the requeſt of many who had the judging of theſe cauſes in *Denmark* and *Norway*, who by all likelyhood follow'd his advice.

*Hunnius* a Doctor of *Wittenberg*, well known both in Divinity and other Arts, on the 19th of *Matth.* affirms, *That the exception of fornication expreſt by our Saviour excludes not other cauſes equalling adultery, or deſtructive to the ſubſtantials of matrimony; but was oppos'd to the cuſtom of the Jews who made divorce for every light cauſe.*

*Felix Bidenbachius*, an eminent Divine in the Dutchy of *Wirtemberg*, affirms, *That the obſtinate refuſal of conjugal due, is a lawful cauſe of Divorce*, and gives an inſtance *that the conſiſtory of that ſtate ſo judg'd.*

*Gerard* cites *Harbardus* an Author not unknown, and *Arniſæus* cites *Wigandus*, both yeelding divorce *in caſe of cruel uſage*; and another author who teſtifies *to have ſeen in a dukedom of Germany marriages diſjoyn'd for ſome implacable enmities ariſing.*

*Beza*, one of the ſtricteſt againſt Divorce, denies it not *for danger of life from a Heretic*, or *importunat ſolicitation to do ought againſt Religion:* and counts it *all one whether the Heretic deſert, or would ſtay upon intolerable conditions.* But this deciſion well examin'd will be found of no ſolidity. For *Beza* would be ask'd why, if God ſo ſtrictly exact our ſtay in any kind of Wedloc, we had not better ſtay and hazard a murdering for Religion at the hand of a wife or husband, as he and others enjoyn us to ſtay and venture it for all other cauſes but that? and why a mans life is not as well and warrantably ſav'd by divorcing from an orthodox murderer, as a heretical? Again, if deſertion be confeſt by him to conſiſt not only in the forſaking, but in the unſufferable conditions of ſtaying, a man may as well deduce the lawfulneſs of divorcing from any intolerable conditions (if his grant be good that we may divorce thereupon from a Heretic) as he can deduce it lawful to divorce from any deſerter, by finding it lawful to divorce from a deſerting Infidel. For this is plain, if St. *Pauls* permiſſion to divorce an infidel deſerter, infer it lawful for any malicious deſertion, then doth *Beza's* definition of a deſerter transfer it ſelf with like facility from the cauſe of Religion to the cauſe of Malice, and proves it as good to divorce from him who intolerably ſtays, as from him who purpoſely departs; and leaves it as lawful to depart from him who urgently requires a wicked thing, though profeſſing the ſame Religion, as from him who urges a heatheniſh or ſuperſtitious compliance in a different faith. For if there be ſuch neceſſity of our abiding, we ought rather to abide the utmoſt for Religion than for any other cauſe; ſeeing both the cauſe of our ſtay is pretended our Religion to Marriage, and the cauſe of our ſuffering is ſuppos'd our conſtant Marriage to Religion. *Beza* therefore, by his own definition of a deſerter, juſtifies a divorce from any wicked or intolerable conditions rather in the ſame Religion than in a different.

*Aretius*, a famous Divine of *Bern*, approves many cauſes of Divorce in his *Problems*, and adds, *That the laws and conſiſtories of Swizzerland approve them alſo.* As firſt, *Adultery, and that not actual only, but intentional*, alleging *Matthew* 5. *Whoſoever looketh to luſt, hath committed adultery already in his heart. Whereby*, ſaith he, *our Saviour ſhews that the breach of matrimony may be not only by outward act, but by the heart and deſire; when that hath once poſſeſt, it renders the converſation intolerable, and commonly the fact follows.* Other cauſes to the number of 9. or 10. conſenting in moſt with the imperial Laws, may be read in the Author himſelf, who avers them *to be grave and weighty.* All theſe are men of name in Divinity; and to theſe, if need were, might be added more. Nor have the Civilians bin all ſo blinded by the Canon, as not to avouch the juſtice of thoſe old permiſſions touching Divorce.

*Alciat* of *Millain*, a man of extraordinary wiſdom and learning, in the ſixt book of his *Parerga*, defends thoſe imperial Laws, *not repugnant to the Goſpel, as the Church then interpreted. For*, ſaith he, *the antients underſtood him ſeparat by man, whom paſſions and corrupt affections divorc't, not if the provincial Biſhops firſt heard the matter, and judg'd, as the Council of* Agatha *declares:* and on ſome part of the Code he names *Iſidorus Hiſpalenſis*, the firſt computer of Canons, *to be in the ſame mind.* And in the former place gives his opinion *that Divorce might be more lawfully permitted than Uſury.*

*Coraſius*, recorded by *Helvicus* among the famous Lawyers, hath been already cited of the ſame judgment.

*Weſembechius*, a much nam'd Civilian, in his Comment on this Law defends it, and affirms, *That our Saviour excluded not other faults equal to adultery; and that the word fornication ſignifies larger among the Hebrews than with us, comprehending every fault which alienates from him to whom obedience is due, and that the primitive Church interpreted ſo.*

*Grotius*, yet living, and of prime note among learned men, retires plainly from the Canon to the antient Civility, yea to the Moſaic Law, *as being moſt juſt and undecevable.* On the 5*th* of *Matth.* he ſaith, *That Chriſt made no civil Laws, but taught us how to uſe Law: that the Law ſent not a husband to the Judg about this matter of Divorce, but left him to his own conſcience; that Chriſt therfore cannot be thought to ſend him; that Adultery may be judg'd by a vehement ſuſpition; that the exception of Adultery ſeems an example of other like offences;* proves it *from the manner of ſpeech, the maxims of Law, the reaſon of Charity, and common Equity.*

Theſe Authorities, without long ſearch, I had to produce, all excellent Men, ſom of them ſuch as many ages had brought forth none greater: almoſt the meaneſt of them might deſerve to obtain credit in a ſingularity; what might not then all of them joyn'd in an opinion ſo conſonant to reaſon? For although ſom ſpeak of this cauſe, others of that, why Divorce may be, yet all agreeing in the neceſſary enlargement of that textual ſtraitnes, leave the matter to equity, nor to literal bondage, and ſo the Opinion cloſes. Nor could I have wanted more teſtimonies, had the cauſe needed a more ſollicitous enquiry. But herein the ſatiſfaction of others hath bin ſtudied, not the gaining of more aſſurance to mine own perſwaſion: although authorities contributing reaſon withall, be a good confirmation and a welcom. But God, I ſolemnly atteſt him, withheld from my knowledge the conſenting judgment of theſe men ſo late, until they could not be my inſtructers, but only my unexpected witneſſes to partial men, that in this work I had not given the worſt experiment of an induſtry joyn'd with integrity, and the free utterance tho of an unpopular truth. Which yet to the people of *England* may, if God ſo pleaſe, prove a memorable informing; certainly a benefit which was intended them long ſince by men of higheſt repute for Wiſdom and Piety, *Bucer* and *Eraſmus*. Only this one autority more, whether in place or out of place, I am not to omit; which if any can think a ſmall one, I muſt be patient, it is no ſmaller then the whole aſſembl'd Autority of *England* both Church and State; and in thoſe times which are on record for the pureſt and ſincereſt that ever ſhon yet on the reformation of this Iland, the time of *Edward* the *6th*. That worthy Prince having utterly aboliſht the Canon Law out of his Dominions, as his Father did before him, appointed by full vote of Parlament, a Committie of two and thirty choſen men, Divines and Lawyers, of whom *Cranmer* the Archbiſhop, *Peter Martyr*, and *Walter Haddon* (not without the aſſiſtance of Sir *John Cheeke* the Kings Tutor, a man at that time counted the learnedeſt of Engliſh-men, and for piety not inferior) were the chief, to frame anew ſom Eccleſiaſtical Laws that might be inſtead of what was abrogated. The work with great diligence was finiſht, and with as great approbation of that reforming age was receav'd; and had bin doubtleſs, as the learned Preface thereof teſtifies, eſtabliſht by Act of Parlament, had not the good Kings death ſo ſoon enſuing, arreſted the furder growth of Religion alſo, from that ſeaſon to this. Thoſe Laws, thus founded on the memorable Wiſdom and Piety of that religious Parlament and Synod, allow Divorce and ſecond Marriage *not only for adultery or deſertion, but for any capital enmity or plot laid againſt the others life, and likewiſe for evil and fierce uſage:* nay the 12 Chap. of that title by plain conſequence declares, *that leſſer contentions, if they be perpetual, may obtain divorce:* which is all one really with the poſition by me held in the former Treatiſe publiſht on this argument, herein only differing, that there the cauſe of perpetual ſtrife was put for example in the unchangeable diſcord of ſom natures; but in theſe Laws intended us by the beſt of our anceſtors, the effect of continual ſtrife is determined no unjuſt plea of Divorce, whether the cauſe be natural or wilful. Wherby the warineſs and deliberation from which that diſcourſe proceeded, will appear, and that God hath aided us to make no bad concluſion of this point; ſeeing the Opinion which of late hath undergon ill cenſures among the vulgar, hath now prov'd to have don no violence to Scripture, unleſs all theſe famous Authors alleg'd have done the like; nor hath affirm'd ought more then what indeed the moſt nominated Fathers of the Church both ancient and modern are unexpectedly affirming, the Laws of Gods peculiar people, and of primitive Chriſtendom found to have practis'd, reformed Churches and States to have imitated, and eſpecially the moſt pious Church-times of this Kingdom to have fram'd and publiſht, and, but for ſad hindrances in the ſudden change of Religion, had enacted by the Parlament. Henceforth let them who condemn the aſſertion of this book for new and licentious, be ſorry; leſt, while they think to be of the graver ſort, and take on them to be teachers, they expoſe themſelves rather to be pledg'd up and down by men who intimately know them, to the diſcovery and contempt of their ignorance and preſumption.

# THE
# JUDGMENT
# OF
# Martin Bucer,
# CONCERNING
# DIVORCE:

Writt'n to EDWARD the Sixt, in his Second
Book of the Kingdom of Chriſt:

And now Engliſht.

Wherein a late Book, reſtoring the *Doctrine and*
*Diſcipline of Divorce*, is here confirm'd and juſtify'd by the
Authority of MARTIN BUCER.

*To the Parlament of* England.

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JOHN III. 10.
*Art thou a Teacher of Iſrael, and know'ſt not theſe things?*

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Publiſht by Authority.

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## *Teſtimonies of the high Approbation which Learned Men have given of* MARTIN BUCER.

### *Simon Grynæus*, 1533.

AMong all the *Germans*, I give the Palm to *Bucer* for Excellence in the Scriptures. *Melanchton* in human Learning is wondrous fluent; but greater Knowledg in the Scripture I attribute to *Bucer*, and ſpeak it unfainedly.

### *John Calvin*, 1539.

*Martin Bucer*, a moſt faithful Doctor of the Church of Chriſt, beſides his rare Learning, and copious Knowledg of many things, beſides his clearnes of Wit, much Reading, and other many and various Vertues, wherein he is almoſt by none now living excell'd, hath few Equals, and excels moſt; hath this praiſe peculiar to himſelf, that none in this Age hath us'd exacter diligence in the Expoſition of Scripture.

### *And a little beneath.*

*Bucer* is more large then to be read by over-buſied Men, and too high to be eaſily underſtood by unattentive Men, and of a low capacity.

### *Sir* John Cheek, *Tutor to K.* Edward VI. 1551.

We have loſt our Maſter, then whom the World ſcarce held a greater, whether we conſider his knowledg of true Religion, or his integrity and innocence of life, or his inceſſant ſtudy of holy things, or his matchleſs labour of promoting piety, or his authority and amplitude of teaching, or whatever els was praiſe-worthy and glorious in him. *Script. Anglicana, pag.* 864.

### *John Sturmius* of *Strasburgh.*

No man can be ignorant what a great and conſtant opinion and eſtimation of *Bucer* there is in *Italy*, *France*, and *England*. Whence the Saying of *Quintilian* hath oft come to my mind, that he hath well profited in Eloquence whom *Cicero* pleaſes. The ſame ſay I of *Bucer*, that he hath made no ſmall progreſs in Divinity, whom *Bucer* pleaſes; for in his Volumes, which he wrote very many, there is the plain impreſſion to be diſcern'd of many great Vertues, of Diligence, of Charity, of Truth, of Acuteneſs of Judgment, of Learning. Wherein he hath a certain proper kind of Writing, whereby he doth not only teach the Reader, but affects him with the ſweetneſs of his Sentences, and with the manner of his Arguing, which is ſo teaching, and ſo logical, that it may be perceiv'd how learnedly he ſeparates probable Reaſons from neceſſary, how forcibly he confirms what he has to prove, how ſuttly he refutes, not with ſharpnes, but with truth.

### Theodore Beza *on the Portraiture of* M. Bucer.

This is that count'nance of *Bucer*, the mirror of mildnes, temper'd with gravity; to whom the City of *Strasburgh* owes the Reformation of her Church. Whoſe ſingular Learning, and eminent Zeal, joyn'd with excellent Wiſdom, both his learned Books, and public Diſputations in the general Diets of the Empire, ſhall witneſs to all Ages. Him the *German* Perſecution drove into *England*; where honourably entertain'd by *Edward* the Sixt, he was for two years chief Profeſſor of Divinity in *Cambridge*, with greateſt frequency and applauſe of all learned and pious Men until his death, 1551. *Bezæ Icones.*

### *Mr.* Fox *Book of Martyrs, Vol.* 3. *p.* 763.

*Bucer*, what by writing, but chiefly by reading and preaching openly, wherein being painful in the Word of God, he never ſpar'd himſelf, nor regarded his Health, brought all Men into ſuch an admiration of him, that neither his Friends could ſufficiently praiſe him, nor his Enemies in any point find fault with his ſingular Life, and ſincere Doctrine. A moſt certain tok'n whereof may be his ſumptuous Burial at *Cambridge*, ſolemniz'd with ſo great an aſſiſtance of all the Univerſity, that it was not poſſible to deviſe more to the ſetting out and amplifying of the ſame.

### Dr. Pern *the Popiſh Vice-Chancellor of* Cambridg, *his Adverſary.*

Cardinal *Pool* about the ſourth year of Queen *Mary*, intending to reduce the Univerſity of *Cambridg* to Popery again, thought no way ſo effectual, as to cauſe the Bones of *Martin Bucer* and *Paulus Fagius*, which had been four years in the Grave, to be tak'n up and burnt openly with their Books, as knowing that thoſe two worthy Men had bin of greateſt moment to the Reformation of that place from Popery, and had left ſuch powerful Seeds of their Doctrine behind them, as would never die, unleſs the Men themſelves were digg'd up, and openly condemn'd for Heretics by the Univerſity it ſelf. This was put in execution, and Doctor *Pern*, Vice-Chancellor, appointed to preach againſt *Bucer*. Who, among other things, laid to his charge the Opinions which he held of the Marriage of Prieſts, ot Divorcement, and of Uſury. But immediately after his Sermon, or ſomewhat before, as the *Book of Martyrs* for a truth relates, *Vol.* 3. *p.* 770. the ſaid Doctor *Pern* ſmiting himſelf on the Breaſt, and in manner weeping, wiſht with all his heart, that God would grant his Soul might then preſently depart, and remain with *Bucer*'s; for he knew his Life was ſuch, that if any man's Soul were worthy of Heaven, he thought *Bucers* in ſpecial to be moſt worthy. *Hiſtor. de Combuſt. Buceri, & Fagii.*

### Acworth *the Univerſity-Orator.*

Soon after that Queen *Elizabeth* came to the Crown, this Condemnation of *Bucer* and *Fagius* by the Cardinal and his Doctors, was ſolemnly repeal'd by the Univerſity; and the Memory of thoſe two famous Men celebrated in an Oration by *Acworth* the Univerſity-Orator, which is yet extant in the Book of Martyrs, *Vol.* 3. *p.* 773. and in Latin, *Scripta Anglic. p.* 936.

*Nicolas Carre*, a learned Man; *Walter Haddon*, Maſter of the Requeſts to Queen *Elizabeth*; *Matthew Parker*, afterwards Primate of *England*, with other eminent Men, in their funeral Orations and Sermons, expreſs abundantly how great a Man *Martin Bucer* was; what an incredible loſs *England* ſuſtain'd in his Death; and that with him dy'd the hope of a perfet Reformation for that Age. *Ibid.*

### Jacobus Verheiden *of* Grave, *in his Elogies of famous Divines.*

Though the Name of *Martin Luther* be famous, yet thou *Martin Bucer*, for Piety, Learning, Labour, Care, Vigilance, and Writing, art not to be held inferior to *Luther*. *Bucer* was a ſingular inſtrument of God, ſo was *Luther*. By the Death of this moſt learned and moſt faithful Man, the Church of Chriſt ſuſtain'd a heavy loſs, as *Calvin* witneſſeth; and they who are ſtudious of *Calvin*, are not ignorant how much he aſcribes to *Bucer*; for thus he writes in a Letter to *Viretus*: What a manifold loſs befel the Church of God in the Death of *Bucer*, as oft as I call to mind, I feel my heart almoſt rent aſunder.

## Peter Martyr *Epiſt. to* Conradus Hubertus.

He is dead, who hath overcome in many Battels of the Lord. God lent us for a time this our Father, and our Teacher, never enough prais'd. Death hath divided me from a moſt unanimous Friend, one truly according to mine own heart. My Mind is over-preſt with Grief, inſomuch that I have not power to write more. I bid thee in Chriſt farewel, and wiſh thou maiſt be able to bear the loſs of *Bucer*, better then I can bear it.

## *Teſtimonies giv'n by Learned Men to* Paulus Fagius, *who held the ſame Opinion with* Martin Bucer *concerning Divorce.*

*Bezæ Icones.* *Paulus Fagius*, born in the *Palatinate*, became moſt ſkilful in the Hebrew Tongue. Being call'd to the Miniſtery at *Iſna*, he publiſht many ancient and profitable Hebrew Books, being aided in the expences by a Senator of that City, as *Origen* ſometime was by a certain rich man call'd *Ambroſius*. At length invited to *Strasburgh*, he there famouſly diſcharg'd the Office of a Teacher; until the ſame Perſecution drove him and *Bucer* into *England*, where he was preferr'd to a Profeſſors place in *Cambridge*, and ſoon after died.

*Melchior Adamus* writes his Life among the famous *German* Divines.

*Sleidan* and *Thuanus* mention him with honour in their Hiſtory. And *Verheiden* in his *Elogies*.

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## *To the* PARLAMENT.

THE Book, which among other great and high Points of Reformation, contains as a principal part thereof, this Treatiſe here preſented, Supreme Court of Parlament, was by the famous Author *Martin Bucer*, dedicated to *Edward* the ſixt: whoſe incomparable Youth doubtleſs had brought forth to the Church of *England* ſuch a glorious Manhood, had his life reacht it, as would have left in the affairs of Religion, nothing without an excellent pattern for us now to follow. But ſince the ſecret purpoſe of divine Appointment hath reſerv'd no leſs perhaps then the juſt half of ſuch a ſacred Work to be accompliſht in this Age, and principally, as we truſt, by your ſucceſful Wiſdom and Authority, religious Lords and Commons, what wonder if I ſeek no other, to whoſe exacteſt judgment and review I may commend theſe laſt and worthieſt Labours of this renowned Teacher? whom living, all the pious Nobility of thoſe reforming Times, your trueſt and beſt imitated Anceſtors, reverenc'd and admir'd. Nor was he wanting to a recompence as great as was himſelf; when both at many times before, and eſpecially among his laſt Sighs and Prayers teſtifying his dear and fatherly affection to the Church and Realm of *England*, he ſincerely wiſht in the hearing of many devout Men, *that what he had in this his laſt Book*
Nicol. de obit Buceri. *written to King* Edward *concerning Diſcipline, might have place in this Kingdom. His hope was then, that no calamity, no confuſion, or deformity would happen to the Common-wealth; but otherwiſe he fear'd, leſt in the midſt of all this ardency to know God, yet by the neglect of Diſcipline, or good Endeavours would not ſucceed.* Theſe remarkable words of ſo godly and ſo eminent a Man at his death, as they are related by a ſufficient and well-known witnes, who heard them, and inſerted by *Thuanus* into his grave and ſerious Hiſtory; ſo ought they to be chiefly conſider'd by that Nation for whoſe ſake they were utter'd, and more eſpecially by that general Council which repreſents the Body of that Nation. If therfore the Book or this part therof, for neceſſary cauſes, be now reviv'd and recommended to the uſe of this undiſciplin'd Age; it

hence appears, that theſe Reaſons have not err'd in the choice of a fit Patronage for a diſcourſe of ſuch importance. But why the whole Tractat is not here brought entire, but this matter of Divorcement ſelected in particular, to prevent the full ſpeed of ſome miſ-interpreter, I haſten to diſcloſe. Firſt, it will be ſoon manifeſt to them who know what wiſe men ſhould know, that the conſtitution and reformation of a Common-wealth, if *Ezra* and *Nehemiah* did not miſ-reform, is, like a building, to begin orderly from the foundation therof, which is Marriage and the Family, to ſet right firſt what ever is amiſs therein. How can there els grow up a Race of warrantable Men, while the houſe and home that breeds them, is troubl'd and diſquieted under a bondage not of God's conſtraining with a natureles conſtraint (if his moſt righteous judgments may be our rule) but laid upon us imperiouſly in the worſt and weakeſt Ages of Knowledg, by a canonical tyranny of ſtupid and malicious Monks: who having raſhly vow'd themſelves to a ſingle life, which they could not undergo, invented new fetters to throw on Matrimony, that the World thereby waxing more diſſolute, they alſo in a general looſnes might ſin with more favour. Next, there being yet among many, ſuch a ſtrange iniquity and perverſnes againſt all neceſſary Divorce, while they will needs expound the words of our Saviour not duly by comparing other places, as they muſt do in the reſolving of a hunder'd other Scriptures, but by perſiſting deafly in the abrupt and Papiſtical way of a literal apprehenſion againſt the direct *Analogy* of Senſe, Reaſon, Law and Goſpel; it therfore may well ſeem more then time to apply the ſound and holy Perſuaſions of this Apoſtolic Man, to that part in us, which is not yet fully diſpoſſeſt of an error as abſurd, as moſt that we deplore in our blindeſt Adverſaries; and to let his Autority and unanſwerable Reaſons be vulgarly known, that either his Name, or the force of his Doctrine may work a wholſome effect. Laſtly, I find it clear to be the Author's intention, that this point of Divorcement ſhould be held and receiv'd as a moſt neceſſary and prime part of diſcipline in every Chriſtian Government. And therfore having reduc'd his model of Reformation to 14 Heads, he beſtows almoſt as much time about this one point of Divorce, as about all the reſt; which alſo was the judgment of his Heirs and learned Friends in *Germany*, beſt acquainted with his meaning; who firſt publiſhing this his Book by *Oporinus* at *Baſil* (a City for Learning and Conſtancy in the true Faith, honorable among the firſt) added a ſpecial note in the title, *that there the Reader ſhould find the Doctrine of Divorce handl'd ſo ſolidly, and ſo fully, as ſcars the like in a Writer of that Age:* and with this particular commendation they doubted not to dedicate the Book, as a moſt profitable and exquiſit Diſcours, to *Chriſtian* the *3d*, a worthy and pious King of *Denmark*, as the Author himſelf had done before to our *Edward* the ſixt. Yet did not *Bucer* in that Volume only declare what his conſtant opinion was herein, but alſo in his Comment upon *Matthew*, written at *Straſburgh* divers years before, he treats diſtinctly and copiouſly the ſame Argument in three ſeveral places; touches it alſo upon the 7th to the *Romans*, and promiſes the ſame Solution more largely upon the 1ſt to the *Corinthians*, omitting no occaſion to weed out this laſt and deepeſt miſchief of the Canon-law, ſown into the Opinions of modern Men, againſt the Laws and Practice both of God's choſen People, and the beſt primitive Times. Wherin his faithfulnes and powerful evidence prevail'd ſo far with all the Church of *Straſburg*, that they publiſht this doctrine of Divorce, as an Article of their Confeſſion, after they had taught ſo eight and twenty years, through all thoſe times, when that City flouriſht, and excell'd moſt, both in Religion, Learning, and good Government, under thoſe firſt reſtorers of the Goſpel there, *Zelius*, *Hedio*, *Capito*, *Fagius*, and thoſe who incomparably then govern'd the Common-wealth, *Farrerus* and *Sturmius*. If therfore God in the former Age found out a Servant, and by whom he had converted and reform'd many a City, by him thought good to reſtore the moſt needful Doctrine of Divorce from rigorous and harmful miſtakes on the right hand, it can be no ſtrange thing if in this age he ſtir up by whatſoever means whom it pleaſes him, to take in hand and maintain the ſame aſſertion. Certainly if it be in man's diſcerning to ſever Providence from Chance, I could allege many inſtances, wherin there would appear cauſe to eſteem of me no other then a paſſive inſtrument under ſome power and counſel higher and better then can be human, working to a general good in the whole cours of this matter. For that I owe no light, or leading receiv'd from any man in the diſcovery of this truth, what time I firſt undertook it *in the doctrine and diſcipline of Divorce*, and had only the infallible grounds of Scripture to be my guide; he who tries the inmoſt heart, and ſaw with what ſevere induſtry and examination of my ſelf, I ſet down every period, will be my witnes. When I had almoſt finiſht the firſt Edition,

tion, I chanc'd to read in the Notes of *Hugo Grotius* upon the 5th of *Matth.* whom I ſtrait underſtood inclining to reaſonable terms in this Controverſie: and ſomething he whiſper'd rather then diſputed about the Law of Charity, and the true end of Wedloc. Glad therfore of ſuch an able Aſſiſtant, however at much diſtance, I reſolv'd at length to put off into this wild and calumnious World. For God, it ſeems, intended to prove me, whether I durſt alone take up a rightful Cauſe againſt a World of diſeſteem, and found I durſt. My Name I did not publiſh, as not willing it ſhould ſway the Reader either for me or againſt me. But when I was told, that the ſtile, which what it ails to be ſo ſoon diſtinguiſhable, I cannot tell, was known by moſt Men, and that ſome of the Clergy began to inveigh and exclaim on what I was credibly inform'd they had not read; I took it then for my proper ſeaſon both to ſhew them a Name that could eaſily contemn ſuch an indiſcreet kind of Cenſure, and to reinforce the Queſtion with a more accurat diligence: that if any of them would be ſo good as to leave railing, and to let us hear ſo much of his Learning and Chriſtian Wiſdom, as will be ſtrictly demanded of him in his anſwering to this Problem, care was had he ſhould not ſpend his Preparations againſt a nameleſs Pamphlet. By this time I had learnt that *Paulus Fagius*, one of the chief Divines in *Germany*, ſent for by *Frederic* the *Palatine*, to reform his Dominion, and after that invited hither in King *Edward*'s days to be Profeſſor of Divinity in *Cambridge*, was of the ſame Opinion touching Divorce, which theſe Men ſo laviſhly traduc'd in me. What I found, I inſerted where fitteſt place was, thinking ſure they would reſpect ſo grave an Author, at laſt to the moderating of their odious Inferences. And having now perfected a ſecond Edition, I referr'd the judging therof to your high and impartial Sentence, honour'd Lords and Commons. For I was confident, if any thing generous, any thing noble, and above the Multitude, were left yet in the Spirit of *England*; it could be no where ſooner found, and no where ſooner underſtood, then in that Houſe of Juſtice and true Liberty where ye ſit in Council. Nor doth the Event hitherto, for ſome reaſons which I ſhall not here deliver, fail me of what I conceiv'd ſo highly. Nevertheleſs, being far otherwiſe dealt with by ſome, of whoſe Profeſſion and ſuppoſed Knowledg I had better hope, and eſteem'd the deviſer of a new and pernicious Paradox, I felt no difference within me from that peace and firmnes of Mind, which is of neareſt kin to Patience and Contentment: both for that I knew I had divulg'd a truth linkt inſeparably with the moſt fundamental Rules of Chriſtianity, to ſtand or fall together, and was not un-inform'd that divers learned and judicious Men teſtify'd their daily Approbation of the Book. Yet at length it hath pleas'd God, who had already giv'n me ſatisfaction in my ſelf, to afford me now a means wherby I may be fully juſtify'd alſo in the eyes of Men. When the Book had bin now the ſecond time ſet forth welnigh three Months, as I beſt remember, I then firſt came to hear that *Martin Bucer* had writt'n much concerning Divorce: whom earneſtly turning over, I ſoon perceiv'd, but not without amazement, in the ſame Opinion, confirm'd with the ſame Reaſons which in that publiſht Book, without the help or imitation of any precedent Writer, I had labour'd out, and laid together. Not but that there is ſome difference in the Handling, in the Order, and the Number of Arguments, but ſtill agreeing in the ſame Concluſion. So as I may juſtly gratulat mine own mind with due acknowledgment of aſſiſtance from above, which led me, not as a Learner, but as a collateral Teacher, to a ſympathy of judgment with no leſs a man then *Martin Bucer*. And he, if our things here below arrive him where he is, does not repent him to ſee that point of Knowledg which he firſt, and with an uncheckt freedom preacht to thoſe more knowing times of *England*, now found ſo neceſſary, though what he admoniſht were loſt out of our memory; yet that God doth now again create the ſame doctrince in another unwritt'n Table, and raiſes it up immediately out of his pure Oracle to the convincement of a pervers Age, eager in the reformation of Names and Ceremonies, but in realities as traditional and as ignorant as their forefathers. I would aſk now the formoſt of my profound Accuſers, Whether they dare affirm that to be licentious, new and dangerous, which *Martin Bucer* ſo often, and ſo urgently avoucht to be moſt lawful, moſt neceſſary, and moſt Chriſtian, without the leaſt blemiſh to his good Name, among all the worthy Men of that Age, and ſince, who teſtifie ſo highly of him? If they dare, they muſt then ſet up an Arrogance of their own againſt all thoſe Churches and Saints who honour'd him without this exception: If they dare not, how can they now make that licentious Doctrine in another, which was never blam'd, or confuted in *Bucer*, or in *Fagius*? The truth is, there will be due to them for this their unadviſed raſhnes, the beſt Donative that can be giv'n them, I mean a round

Reproof; now that where they thought to be moſt Magiſterial, they have diſplay'd their own want, both of reading, and of judgment. Firſt, to be ſo unacquainted in the Writings of *Bucer*, which are ſo obvious and ſo uſeful in their own faculty; next to be ſo caught in a prejudicating weaknes, as to condemn that for lewd, which (whether they knew or not) theſe elect Servants of Chriſt commended for lawful; and for new, that which was taught by theſe almoſt the firſt and greateſt Authors of Reformation, who were never taxt for ſo teaching; and dedicated without ſcruple to a royal Pair of the firſt reforming Kings in Chriſtendom, and confeſt in the public Confeſſion of a moſt *Orthodoxal* Church and State in *Germany*. This is alſo another fault which I muſt tell them; that they have ſtood now almoſt this whole year clamouring a far off, while the Book hath bin twice printed, twice bought up, and never once vouchſaft a friendly Conference with the Author, who would be glad and thankful to be ſhewn an Error, either by privat Diſpute, or public Anſwer, and could retract, as well as wiſe men before him; might alſo be worth the gaining, as one who heretofore, hath done good ſervice to the Church by their own confeſſion. Or if he be obſtinat, their Confutation would have render'd him without excuſe, and reclam'd others of no mean parts who incline to his Opinion. But now their work is more then doubl'd; and how they will hold up their heads againſt the ſudden aſpect of theſe two great and reverend Saints whom they have defam'd, how they will make good the cenſuring of that for a novelty of licence, which *Bucer* conſtantly taught to be a pure and holy Law of Chriſt's Kingdom, let them adviſe. For againſt theſe my Adverſaries, who before the examining of a propounded truth in a fit time of Reformation, have had the conſcience to oppoſe naught els but their blind reproaches and ſurmiſes, that a ſingle innocence might not be oppreſt and overborn by a crew of mouths for the reſtoring of a Law and Doctrin falſely and unlearnedly reputed new and ſcandalous, God, that I may ever magnifie and record this his Goodnes, hath unexpectedly rais'd up as it were from the dead, more then one famous Light of the firſt Reformation to bear witnes with me, and to do me honour in that very thing, wherein theſe men thought to have blotted me: And hath giv'n them the proof of a capacity which they deſpis'd, running equal, and authentic with ſome of their chiefeſt Maſters unthought of, and in a point of ſageſt moment. However, if we know at all when to aſcribe the Occurences of this life to the work of a ſpecial Providence, as nothing is more uſual in the talk of good men, what can be more like to a ſpecial Providence of God, then in the firſt Reformation of *England*, that this queſtion of Divorce, as a main thing to be reſtor'd to juſt freedom, was writt'n, and ſeriouſly commended to *Edward* the ſixt, by a man call'd from another Country to be the inſtructer of our Nation; and now in this preſent renewing of the Church and Commonwealth, which we pray may be more laſting, that the ſame Queſtion ſhould be again treated and preſented to this Parlament, by one enabl'd to uſe the ſame reaſons without the leaſt ſight or knowledg of what was done before. It were no treſpas, Lords and Commons, though ſomething of leſs note were attributed to the ordering of a heavenly Power; this queſtion therfore of ſuch prime concernment both to Chriſtian and Civil welfare, in ſuch an extraordinary manner, not recover'd, but plainly twice born to theſe latter Ages, as from a divine hand I tender to your Acceptance, and moſt conſiderate Thoughts. Think not that God rais'd up in vain a man of greateſt autority in the Church to tell a trivial and licentious Tale in the ears of that good Prince, and to bequeath it as his laſt Will and Teſtament, nay rather as the Teſtament and Royal Law of Chriſt to this Nation; or that it ſhould of it ſelf after ſo many years, as it were in a new Feild where it was never ſow'n, grow up again as a vitious plant in the mind of another, who had ſpoke honeſteſt things to the Nation; though he knew not that what his Youth then reaſon'd without a pattern, had bin heard already, and well allow'd from the Gravity and Worth of *Martin Bucer*: till meeting with the envy of men ignorant in their own undertak'n Calling, God directed him to the forgott'n Writings of this faithful Evangeliſt, to be his defence and warrant againſt the groſs imputation of broaching Licence. Ye are now in the glorious way to high Vertue, and matchleſs Deeds, truſted with a moſt ineſtimable Truſt, the aſſerting of our juſt Liberties. Ye have a Nation that expects now, and from mighty ſuffrings aſpires to be the example of all Chriſtendom to a perfeteſt reforming. Dare to be as great, as ample, and as eminent in the fair progreſs of your noble deſigns, as the full and goodly ſtature of Truth and Excellence it ſelf; as unlimited by petty Precedents and Copies, as your unqueſtionable Calling from Heaven gives ye power to be. What are all our public Immunities and Privileges worth? and how ſhall it be judg'd that we fight for them with Minds worthy to enjoy them, if we ſuffer our ſelves in the mean while not to underſtand the moſt important freedom that God and Nature hath giv'n us in the family; which no wiſe Nation ever wanted, till the Popery and Superſtition of ſome former Ages attempted to remove and alter divine and moſt prudent Laws for human and moſt imprudent Canons: whereby good men in the beſt portion of their lives, and in that Ordinance of God which entitles them from the beginning to moſt juſt and requiſite contentments, are compell'd to civil Indignities, which by the Law of *Moſes* bad men were not compell'd to? Be not bound about, and ſtraitn'd in the ſpatious Wiſdom of your free Spirits, by the ſcanty and unadequat and inconſiſtent Principles of ſuch as condemn others for adhering to Traditions, and are themſelves the proſtrat Worſhippers of Cuſtom; and of ſuch a tradition as they can deduce from no antiquity, but from the rudeſt, and thickeſt Barbariſm of Antichriſtian times. But why do I anticipate the more acceptable, and prevailing voice of learned *Bucer* himſelf, the Paſtor of Nations? And O that I could ſet him living before ye in that Doctoral Chair, where once the learnedeſt of *England* thought it no diſparagement to ſit at his feet! He would be ſuch a Pilot, and ſuch a Father to ye, as ye would ſoon find the difference of his hand and ſkill upon the helm of Reformation. Nor do I forget that faithful Aſſociate of his Labours, *Paulus Fagius*; for theſe their great Names and Merits, how pretious ſo ever, God hath now joyn'd with me neceſſarily, in the good or evil report of this doctrine which I leave with you. It was writt'n to a religious King of this Land; writt'n earneſtly, as a main matter wherin this Kingdom needed a reform, if it purpos'd to be the Kingdom of Chriſt: Writt'n by him, who if any ſince the days of *Luther*, merits to be counted the Apoſtle of our Church; whoſe unwearied pains and watching for our ſakes, as they ſpent him quickly here among us, ſo did they, during the ſhortnes of his Life, incredibly promote the Goſpel throughout this Realm. The Autority, the Learning, the Godlines of this Man conſulted with, is able to out-ballance all that the lightnes of a vulgar oppoſition can bring to counterpoiſe. I leave him alſo as my complete Surety and Teſtimonial, if Truth be not the beſt witnes to it ſelf, that what I formerly preſented to your reading on this ſubject, was good, and juſt, and honeſt, not licentious. Not that I have now more confidence by the addition of theſe great Authors to my party; for what I wrote was not my opinion, but my Knowledg; ev'n then when I could trace no footſtep in the way I went: nor that I think to win upon your apprehenſions with Numbers and with Names, rather then with Reaſons, yet certainly the worſt of my detracters will not except againſt ſo good a bail of my integrity and judgment, as now appears for me. They muſt els put in the Fame of *Bucer* and of *Fagius*, as my Accomplices and Confederats into the ſame Inditement; they muſt dig up the good Name of theſe prime Worthies (if their Names could be ever buried) they muſt dig them up and brand them as the Papiſts did their Bodies; and thoſe their pure unblamable Spirits, which live not only in Heaven, but in their Writings, they muſt attaint with new Attaintures which no Proteſtant ever before aſpers'd them with. Or if perhaps we may obtain to get our Appeachment new drawn, a Writ of Error, not of Libertiſm, that thoſe two principal Leaders of Reformation may not now come to be ſu'd in a Bill of Licence, to the ſcandal of our Church; the brief reſult will be, that for the Error, if their own Works be not thought ſufficient to defend them, there livs yet who will be ready, in a fair and chriſtianly diſcuſſive way, to debate and ſift this matter to the utmoſt ounce of Learning and Religion, in him that ſhall lay it as an error, either upon *Martin Bucer*, or any other of his Opinion. If this be not enough to qualifie my Traducers, and that they think it more for the Wiſdom of thir Virulence, not to recant the Injuries they have beſpoke me, I ſhall not for much more diſturbance then they can bring me, intermit the proſecution of thoſe Thoughts which may render me beſt ſerviceable, either to this Age, or if it ſo happ'n, to Poſterity; following the fair path which your illuſtrious Exploits, Honour'd Lords and Commons, againſt the breſt of Tyranny have open'd; and depending ſo on your happy ſucceſſes in the hopes that I have conceiv'd either of my ſelf, or of the Nation, as muſt needs conclude me who moſt affectionately wiſhes and awaits the proſperous iſſue of your noble and valorous Counſels.

# THE
# JUDGMENT of *MARTIN BUCER*
# TOUCHING
# DIVORCE.

Taken out of the Second Book entitl'd *Of the Kingdom of Chriſt*; writt'n by MARTIN BUCER to EDWARD the Sixth, King of *England*.

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## CHAP. XV.

### *The 7th Law of the ſanctifying and ordering of Marriage.*

Beſides theſe things, Chriſt our King, and his Churches require from your Sacred Majeſty, that you would take upon you the juſt care of Marriages. For it is unſpeakable how many good Conſciences are hereby entangl'd, afflicted, and in danger, becauſe there are no juſt Laws, no ſpeedy way conſtituted according to God's Word, touching this holy Society and Fountain of Mankind. For ſeeing Matrimony is a civil thing, Men, that they may rightly contract, inviolably keep, and not without extreme neceſſity diſſolve Marriage, are not only to be taught by the Doctrine and Diſcipline of the Church, but alſo are to be acquitted, aided, and compell'd by Laws and Judicature of the Common-wealth. Which thing pious Emperours acknowledging, and therin framing themſelves to the Law of Nations, gave Laws both of contracting and preſerving, and alſo where an unhappy need requir'd, of divorcing Marriages. As may be ſeen in the Code of *Juſtinian*, the 5th Book, from the beginning through 24 Titles. And in the Authentic of *Juſtinian* the 22d, and ſome others.

That the ordering of Marriage belongs to the Civil Power.

But the Antichriſts of *Rome*, to get the Imperial Power into thir own hands, firſt by fraudulent perſuaſion, afterwards by force drew to themſelves the whole autority of determining and judging as well in matrimonial cauſes, as in moſt other matters. Therfore it hath bin long believ'd, that the care and government therof doth not belong to the Civil Magiſtrate. Yet where the Goſpel of Chriſt is receiv'd, the Laws of Antichriſt ſhould be rejected. If therfore Kings and Governours take not this care, by the power of Law and Juſtice to provide that Marriages be piouſly contracted, religiouſly kept, and lawfully diſſolv'd, if need require, who ſees not what confuſion and trouble is brought upon this holy Society; and what a rack is prepar'd, ev'n for many of the beſt Conſciences, while they have no certain Laws to follow, no Juſtice to implore, if any intolerable thing happen. And how much it concerns the honour and ſafety of the Common-wealth, that Marriages, according to the Will of Chriſt, be made, maintain'd, and not without juſt cauſe diſſolv'd, who underſtands not? For unleſs that firſt and holieſt Society of Man and Woman be purely conſtituted, that houſhold Diſcipline may be upheld by them according to God's Law, how can we expect a Race of good Men? Let your Majeſty therfore know that this is your duty, and in the firſt place, to reaſſume to your ſelf the juſt ordering of Matrimony, and by firm Laws to eſtabliſh and defend the Religion of this firſt and divine Society among Men, as all wiſe Law-givers of old, and Chriſtian Emperours have carefully done.

The Popes have invaded by fraud and force the ordering of Marriage.

*The two next Chapters, becauſe they chiefly treat about the Degrees of Conſanguinity and Affinity, I omit; only ſetting down a paſſage or two concerning the Judicial Laws of* Moſes, *how fit they be for Chriſtians to imitate rather then any other.*

## CHAP. XVII. toward the end.

I Confeſs that we being free in Chriſt, are not bound to the Civil Laws of *Moſes* in every circumſtance; yet ſeeing no Laws can be more honeſt, juſt, and wholſom, then thoſe which God himſelf gave, who is eternal Wiſdom and Goodneſs, I ſee not why Chriſtians, in things which no leſs appertain to them, ought not to follow the Laws of God, rather then of any Men. We are not to uſe Circumciſion, Sacrifice, and thoſe bodily Waſhings preſcrib'd to the *Jews*; yet by theſe things we may rightly learn, with what purity and devotion both Baptiſm and the Lord's Supper ſhould be adminiſter'd and receiv'd. How much more is it our duty to obſerve diligently what the Lord hath commanded, and taught by the Examples of his People concerning Marriage, wherof we have the uſe no leſs then they?

*And becauſe this ſame worthy Author hath another paſſage to this purpoſe in his Comment upon* Matthew, *Chap. 5. 19. I here inſert it from p. 46.*

Since we have need of Civil Laws and the power of puniſhing, it will be wiſeſt not to contemn thoſe giv'n by *Moſes*; but ſeriouſly rather to conſider what the meaning of God was in them, what he chiefly requir'd, and how much it might be to the good of every Nation, if they would borrow thence thir manner of governing the Common-wealth; yet freely all things and with the Spirit of Chriſt. For what *Solon*, or *Plato*, or *Ariſtotle*, what Lawyers or *Cæſars* could make better Laws then God? And it is no light argument, that many Magiſtrates at this day do not enough acknowledg the Kingdom of Chriſt, though they would ſeem moſt Chriſtian, in that they govern their States by Laws ſo divers from thoſe of *Moſes*.

*The 18th Chapter I only mention as determining a thing not here in queſtion, that Marriage without conſent of Parents ought not to be held good; yet with this qualification fit to be known.*

That if Parents admit not the honeſt deſires of thir Children, but ſhall perſiſt to abuſe the power they have over them; they are to be mollifi'd by Admonitions, Entreaties, and Perſuaſions, firſt of their Friends and Kindred, next of the Church-Elders. Whom if ſtill the hard Parents refuſe to hear, then ought the Magiſtrate to interpoſe his Power: leſt any by the evil mind of thir Parents be detain'd from Marriage longer then is meet, or forc'd to an unworthy match: in which caſe the *Roman* Laws alſo provided. *C. de nupt. l. 11, 13, 26.*

## CHAP. XIX.

### *Whether it may be permitted to revoke the Promiſe of Marriage.*

HEre ariſeth another Queſtion concerning Contracts, when they ought to be unchangeable? for religious Emperours decreed that the Contract was not indiſſoluble, until the Spouſe were brought home, and the Solemnities perform'd. They thought it a thing unworthy of divine and human Equity, and the due conſideration of man's infirmity in deliberating and determining, when ſpace is giv'n to renounce other contracts of much leſs moment, which are not yet confirm'd before the Magiſtrate, to deny that to the moſt weighty contract of Marriage, which requires the greateſt care and conſultation. Yet leſt ſuch a Covenant ſhould be brok'n for no juſt cauſe, and to the injury of that perſon to whom Marriage was promis'd, they decreed a Fine, that he who deni'd Marriage to whom he had promis'd, and for ſome cauſe not approv'd by the Judges, ſhould pay the double of that pledg which was giv'n at making ſure, or as much as the Judg ſhould pronounce might ſatisfie the damage, or the hinderance of either party. It being moſt certain, that oft-times after contract, juſt and honeſt cauſes of departing from promiſe, come to be known and found out, it cannot be other then the duty of pious Princes to give men the ſame liberty of unpromiſing in theſe caſes, as pious Emperours granted: eſpecially where there is only a promiſe, and not carnal knowledg. And as there is no true Marriage between them, who agree not in true conſent of mind; ſo it will be the part of godly Magiſtrates to procure that no Matrimony be among thir Subjects, but what is knit with love and conſent. And though your Majeſty be not bound to the Imperial Laws, yet it is the duty of a Chriſtian King to embrace and follow whatever he knows to be any-where piouſly and juſtly conſtituted, and to be honeſt, juſt, and well-pleaſing to his People.

But why in God's Law and the Examples of his Saints, nothing hereof is read? no marvel, ſeeing his antient People had power, yea a precept, that whoſo could not bend his mind to the true love of his Wife, ſhould give her a Bill of Divorce, and ſend her from him, though after carnal knowledg and long dwelling together. This is enough to authorize a godly Prince in that indulgence which he gives to the changing of a Contract; both becauſe it is certainly the invention of Antichriſt, that the promiſe of Marriage *de præſenti*, as they call it, ſhould be indiſſoluble, and becauſe it ſhould be a Prince's care that Matrimony be ſo joyn'd, as God ordain'd; which is, that every one ſhould love his Wife with ſuch a love as *Adam* expreſt to *Eve*: So as we may hope that they who marry may become one fleſh, and one alſo in the Lord.

## CHAP. XX.

### *Concerns only the Celebration of Marriage.*

## CHAP. XXI.

### *The means of preſerving Marriage holy and pure.*

NOW ſince there ought not to be leſs care that Marriage be religiouſly kept, then that it be piouſly and deliberately contracted, it will be meet that to every Church be ordain'd certain grave and godly Men, who may have this care upon them, to obſerve whether the Husband bear himſelf wiſely toward the Wife, loving, and inciting her to all Piety, and the other duties of this life; and whether the Wife be ſubject to her Husband, and ſtudy to be truly a meet help to him, as firſt to all Godlineſs, ſo to every other uſe of life. And if they ſhall find each to other failing of their duty, or the one long abſent from the other without juſt and urgent cauſe, or giving ſuſpicion of irreligious and impure life, or of living in manifeſt Wickedneſs, let it be admoniſht them in time. And if their autority be contemn'd, let the names of ſuch contemners be brought to the Magiſtrate, who may uſe puniſhment to compel ſuch Violaters of Marriage to their duty, that they may abſtain from all probable ſuſpicion of tranſgreſſing; and if they admit of ſuſpected company, the Magiſtrate is to forbid them; whom they not therin obeying, are to be puniſht as Adulterers, according to the Law of *Juſtinian*, *Authent.* 117. For if holy Wedlock, the fountain and ſeminary of good Subjects, be not vigilantly preſerv'd from all blots and diſturbances, what can be hop'd, as I ſaid before, of the ſpringing up of good Men, and a right Reformation of the Common-wealth? We know it is not enough for Chriſtians to abſtain from foul deeds, but from the appearance and ſuſpicion therof.

## CHAP. XXII.

### *Of lawful Divorce, what the ancient Churches have thought.*

NOW we ſhall ſpeak about that diſſolving of Matrimony which may be approv'd in the ſight of God, if any grievous neceſſity require. In which thing the Roman Antichriſts have knit many a pernicious entanglement to diſtreſſed Conſciences: for that they might here alſo exalt themſelves above God, as if they would be wiſer and chaſter then God himſelf is, for no cauſe, honeſt or neceſſary, will they permit a final Divorce; in the mean while Whoredoms and Adulteries, and worſe things then theſe, not only tolerating in themſelves and others, but cheriſhing and throwing Men headlong into theſe evils. For although they alſo disjoyn married perſons from Board and Bed, that is, from all conjugal Society and Communion, and this not only for Adultery, but for ill Uſage, and matrimonial Duties deni'd; yet they forbid thoſe thus parted, to joyn in Wedlock with others, but, as I ſaid before, any diſhoneſt aſſociating they permit. And they pronounce the Bond of Marriage to remain between thoſe whom they have thus ſeparate. As if the Bond of Marriage, God ſo teaching and pronouncing, were not ſuch a league as binds the married couple to all ſociety of life, and communion in divine and humane things; and ſo aſſociated keeps them. Somthing indeed out of the later Fathers they may pretend for this their Tyranny, eſpecially out of *Auſtin* and ſome others, who were much tak'n with a prepoſterous admiration of ſingle life; yet though theſe Fathers, from the words of

Chriſt not rightly underſtood, taught that it was unlawful to marry again, while the former Wife liv'd, whatever cauſe there had bin either of Deſertion or Divorce, yet if we mark the cuſtom of the Church, and the common judgment which both in thir times and afterward prevail'd, we ſhall perceive that neither theſe Fathers did ever caſt out of the Church any one for marrying after a Divorce, approv'd by the Imperial Laws.

Nor only the firſt Chriſtian Emperours, but the latter alſo, ev'n to *Juſtinian*, and after him, did grant for certain Cauſes approv'd by Judges, to make a true Divorce; which made and confirm'd by Law, it might be lawful to marry again: which if it could not have bin done without diſpleaſing Chriſt and his Church, ſurely it would not have been granted by Chriſtian Emperours, nor had the Fathers then winkt at thoſe doings in the Emperours. Hence ye may ſee that *Jerom* alſo, though zealous of ſingle life more then enough, and ſuch a condemner of ſecond Marriage, though after the death of either party, yet forc'd by plain equity, defended *Fabiola*, a noble Matron of *Rome*, who having refus'd her Husband for juſt Cauſes, was married to another. For that the ſending of a Divorce to her Husband was not blame-worthy, he affirms, becauſe the man was hainouſly vitious; and that if an adulterous Wife may be diſcarded, an adulterous Husband is not to be kept. But that ſhe married again, while yet her Husband was alive; he defends in that the Apoſtle hath ſaid, *It is better to marry then to burn*, and that young Widows ſhould marry, for ſuch was *Fabiola*, and could not remain in Widowhood.

But ſome one will object that *Jerom* there adds, *Neither did ſhe know the vigor of the Goſpel, wherein all cauſe of marrying is debarr'd from Women, while their Husbands live; and again, while ſhe avoided many wounds of Satan, ſhe receiv'd one ere ſhe was aware.* But let the equal Reader mind alſo what went before; *Becauſe*, ſaith he ſoon after the beginning, *there is a rock and ſtorm of ſlanderers oppos'd againſt her, I will not praiſe her converted, unleſs I firſt abſolve her guilty.* For why does he call them ſlanderers who accus'd *Fabiola* of marrying again, if he did not judg it a matter of Chriſtian Equity and Charity, to paſs by and pardon that fact, though in his own opinion he held it a fault? And what can this mean? *I will not praiſe her, unleſs I firſt abſolve her.* For how could he abſolve her, but by proving that *Fabiola* neither in rejecting her vitious Husband, nor in marrying another, had committed ſuch a ſin, as could be juſtly condemn'd? Nay, he proves both by evident reaſon, and clear teſtimonies of Scripture, that ſhe avoided ſin.

This alſo is hence underſtood, that *Jerom* by the vigour of the Goſpel, meant that height and perfection of our Saviours precept, which might be remitted to thoſe that burn; for he adds, *But if ſhe be accus'd in that ſhe remain'd not unmarried, I ſhall confeſs the fault, ſo I may relate the neceſſity.* If then he acknowledg'd a neceſſity, as he did, becauſe ſhe was young, and could not live in Widowhood, certainly he could not impute her ſecond Marriage to her much blame: but when he excuſes her out of the Word of God, does he not openly declare his thoughts, that the ſecond Marriage of *Fabiola* was permitted her by the Holy Ghoſt himſelf for the neceſſity which he ſuffer'd, and to ſhun the danger of fornication, though ſhe went ſomwhat aſide from the vigour of the Goſpel? But if any urge that *Fabiola* did public penance for her ſecond Marriage, which was not impos'd but for great faults: 'Tis anſwer'd, ſhe was not enjoyn'd to this penance, but did it of her own accord, *and not till after her ſecond Husbands Death.* As in the time of *Cyprian* we read that many were wont to do voluntary penance for ſmall faults, which were not liable to excommunication.

## CHAP. XXIII.

### *That Marriage was granted by the ancient Fathers, ev'n after the Vow of ſingle life.*

*I omit his Teſtimonies out of* Cyprian, Gelaſius, Epiphanius, *contented only to relate what he thence collects to the preſent purpoſe.*

Some will ſay perhaps, Wherfore all this concerning Marriage after vow of ſingle life, when as the queſtion was of Marriage after Divorce? For this reaſon, that they whom it ſo much moves, becauſe ſome of the Fathers thought Marriage after any kind of Divorce, to be condemn'd of our Saviour, may ſee that this concluſion follows not. The Fathers thought all Marriage after Divorce to be forbidd'n of our

Saviour, therfore they thought ſuch Marriage was not to be tolerated in a Chriſtian. For the ſame Fathers judg'd it forbidd'n to marry after vow; yet ſuch Marriages they neither diſſolv'd not excommunicated. For theſe words of our Saviour, and of the holy Ghoſt, ſtood in their way; *All cannot receive this ſaying, but they to whom it is giv'n. Every one hath his proper gift from God, one after this manner, another after that. It is better to marry then to burn. I will that younger Widows marry*, and the like.

So there are many Canons and Laws extant, wherby Prieſts, if they married, were remov'd from their office, yet is it not read that their Marriage was diſſolv'd, as the Papiſts now-a-days do, or that they were excommunicated, nay expreſly they might communicate as Laymen. If the conſideration of human infirmity, and thoſe teſtimonies of divine Scripture which grant Marriage to every one that wants it, perſuaded thoſe Fathers to bear themſelves ſo humanly toward them who had married with breach of vow to God, as they believ'd, and with Divorce of that Marriage wherin they were in a manner joyn'd to God, who doubts but that the ſame Fathers held the like humanity was to be afforded to thoſe who after Divorce and Faith broken with men, as they thought, enter'd into a ſecond Marriage? for among ſuch are alſo found no leſs weak, and no leſs burning.

## CHAP. XXIV.

### *Who of the ancient Fathers have granted Marriage after Divorce?*

THis is clear both by what hath bin ſaid, and by that which *Origen* relates of certain Biſhops in his time, *Homil.* 7. in Matth. *I know ſome*, ſaith he, *which are over Churches, who without Scripture have permitted the Wife to marry while her former Husband liv'd. And did this againſt Scripture, which ſaith, The Wife is bound to her Husband ſo long as he lives; and ſhe ſhall be call'd an adultreſs, if, her Husband living, ſhe take another Man; yet did they not permit this without cauſe, perhaps for the infirmity of ſuch as had not continence, they permitted evil to avoid worſe.* Ye ſee *Origen* and the Doctors of his Age, not without all cauſe, permitted Women after Divorce to marry, though their former Husbands were living; yet writes that they permitted againſt Scripture. But what cauſe could they have to do ſo, unleſs they thought our Saviour in his precepts of Divorce had ſo forbid'n, as willing to remit ſuch perfection to his weaker ones, caſt into danger of worſe faults?

The ſame thought *Leo*, Biſhop of *Rome*, *Ep.* 85. to the African Biſhops of *Mauritania Cæſarienſis*, wherin complaining of a certain Prieſt who divorcing his Wife, or being divorc'd by her, as other copies have it, had married another, neither diſſolves the Matrimony, nor excommunicates him, only unprieſts him. The Fathers therfore, as we ſee, did not ſimply and wholly condemn Marriage after Divorce.

But as for me, this remitting of our Saviour's precepts, which theſe Ancients allow to the infirm in marrying after Vow and Divorce, I can in no ways admit; for what ſo ever plainly conſents not with the Commandment, cannot, I am certain, be permitted, or ſuffer'd in any Chriſtian: for heav'n and earth ſhall paſs away, but not a tittle from the Commands of God among them who expect life eternal. Let us therfore conſider, and waigh the words of our Lord concerning Marriage and Divorce, which he pronounc't both by himſelf, and by his Apoſtle, and let us compare them with other Oracles of God; for whatſoever is contrary to theſe, I ſhall not perſuade the leaſt tolerating thereof. But if it can be taught to agree with the Word of God, yea to be commanded that moſt men may have permiſſion giv'n them to divorce and marry again, I muſt prefer the Autority of God's Word before the Opinion of Fathers and Doctors, as they themſelves teach.

## CHAP. XXV.

### *The words of our Lord, and of the Holy Ghoſt, by the Apoſtle* Paul *concerning Divorce, are explain'd.*

BUT the words of our Lord and of the Holy Ghoſt, out of which *Auſtin* and ſome others of the Fathers think it concluded that our Saviour forbids Marriage after any Divorce, are theſe; *Mat.* 5. 31, 32. *It hath bin ſaid*, &c. And *Mat.* 19. 7. *They ſay unto him, why did Moſes then command?* &c. And *Mark* 10. and *Luke* 16. *Rom.* 7. 1, 2, 3. 1 *Cor.* 7. 10, 11. Hence therfore they conclude that all Marriage after Divorce is call'd Adultery; which to commit, being no ways to be tolerated in any Chriſtian, they think it follows that ſecond marriage is in no caſe to be permitted either to the Divorcer, or to the Divorced.

The 1. axiom that Chriſt could not condemn of Adultery that which he once commanded.

But that it may be more fully and plainly perceiv'd what force is in this kind of reaſoning, it will be the beſt cours to lay down certain grounds wherof no Chriſtian can doubt the truth. Firſt, it is a wickednes to ſuſpect that our Saviour branded that for Adultery, which himſelf, in his own Law which he came to fulfil and not to diſſolve, did not only permit, but alſo command; for by him the only Mediator, was the whole Law of God giv'n. But that by this Law of God Marriage was permitted after any divorce, is certain by *Deut.* 24. 1.

## CHAP. XXVI.

### *That God in his Law did not only grant, but alſo command Divorce to certain men.*

DEut. 24. 1. *When a man hath taken a wife*, &c. But in *Mal.* 2. 15, 16. is read the Lord's command to put her away whom a man hates, in theſe words: *Take heed to your ſpirit, and let none deal injuriouſly againſt the wife of his youth. If he hate, let him put away, ſaith the Lord God of Iſrael. And he ſhall hide thy violence with his garment*, that marries her divorc't by thee, *ſaith the Lord of hoſts*; but *take heed to your ſpirit, and do no injury.* By theſe Teſtimonies of the divine Law, we ſee that the Lord did not only permit, but alſo expreſly and earneſtly commanded his people, by whom he would that all holineſs and faith of Marriage-cov'nant ſhould be obſerved, that he who could not induce his mind to love his wife with a true conjugal love, might diſmiſs her that ſhe might marry to another.

## CHAP. XXVII.

### *That what the Lord permitted and commanded to his ancient people concerning Divorce, belongs alſo to Chriſtians.*

NOW what the Lord permitted to his firſt-born people, that certainly he could not forbid to his own among the Gentiles, whom he made coheirs and into one body with his people; nor could he ever permit, much leſs command ought that was not good for them, at leaſt ſo us'd as he commanded. For being God, he is not chang'd as Man. Which thing who ſeriouſly conſiders, how can he imagine that God would make that wicked to them that believe, and ſerv him under Grace, which he granted and commanded to them that ſerv'd him under the Law? Whenas the ſame cauſes require the ſame permiſſion. And who that knows but humane matters, and loves the truth, will deny that many Marriages hang as ill together now, as ever they did among the Jews? So that ſuch Marriages are liker to torments than true Marriages. As therfore the Lord doth always ſuccor and help the oppreſſed, ſo he would ever have it provided for injur'd husbands and wives, that under pretence of the marriage-bond, they be not ſold to perpetual vexations, inſtead of the loving and comfortable marriage-duties. And laſtly, as God doth always deteſt hypocriſie and fraud, ſo neither doth he approve that among his people, that ſhould be counted marriage, wherin none of thoſe duties remain, wherby the league of wedlock is chiefly preſerv'd. What inconſiderate neglect then of God's Law is this, that I may not call it worſe, to hold that Chriſt our Lord would not grant the ſame remedies both of divorce and ſecond marriage to the weak, or to the evil, if they will needs have it ſo, but eſpecially to the innocent and wronged, whenas the ſame urgent cauſes remain as before, when the diſcipline of the Church and Magiſtrate hath try'd what may be try'd.

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## CHAP. XXVIII.

### *That our Lord Chriſt intended not to make new Laws of Marriage and Divorce, or of any civil matters.*

Axiom 2.

IT is agreed by all who determin of the Kingdom and Offices of Chriſt by the holy Scriptures, as all godly men ought to do, that our Saviour upon earth took not on him either to give new Laws in civil affairs, or to change the old. But it is certain that Matrimony and Divorce are civil things. Which the Chriſtian Emperors knowing, gave conjugal Laws, and reſerv'd the adminiſtration of them to thir own Courts; which no true ancient Biſhop ever condemn'd.

Our Saviour came to preach Repentance and Remiſſion; ſeeing therfore thoſe who put away thir wives without any juſt cauſe, were not toucht with conſcience of the ſin, through miſunderſtanding of the Law, he recall'd them to a right interpretation, and taught that the woman in the beginning was ſo joyn'd to the man, that there ſhould be a perpetual union both in body and ſpirit: where this is not, the matrimony is already broke, before there be yet any divorce made or ſecond marriage.

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## CHAP. XXIX.

### *That it is wicked to ſtrain the words of Chriſt beyond thir purpoſe.*

*This is his third Axiom, wherof there needs no explication here.*

## CHAP. XXX.

### *That all places of Scripture about the ſame thing are to be joyn'd, and compar'd, to avoid Contradictions.*

Axiom 4.

*This he demonſtrates at large out of ſundry places in the Goſpel, and principally by that precept againſt ſwearing, which compar'd with many places of the Law and Prophets, is a flat contradiction of them all, if we follow ſuperſtitiouſly the letter. Then having repeated briefly his four Axioms, he thus proceeds.*

Mat. 5. 34.

Theſe things thus preadmoniſht, let us enquire what the undoubted meaning is of our Saviour's words, and enquire according to the rule which is obſerv'd by all learned and good men in thir expoſitions; that praying firſt to God, who is the only opener of our hearts, we may firſt with fear and reverence conſider well the words of our Saviour touching this queſtion. Next, that we may compare them with all other places of Scripture treating of this matter, to ſee how they conſent with our Saviour's words, and thoſe of his Apoſtle.

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## CHAP. XXXI.

*This Chapter diſputes againſt* Auſtin *and the Papiſts, who deny ſecond marriage ev'n to them who divorce in caſe of Adultery; which becauſe it is not controverted among true Proteſtants, but that the innocent perſon is eaſily allow'd to marry, I ſpare the tranſlating.*

CHAP.

## CHAP. XXXII.

### *That a manifeſt Adultreſs ought to be divorc't, and cannot lawfully be retain'd in marriage by any true Chriſtian.*

*This though he prove ſufficiently, yet I let paſs, becauſe this queſtion was not handled in the Doctrin and Diſciplin of Divorce; to which book I bring ſo much of this Treatiſe as runs parallel.*

## CHAP. XXXIII.

### *That Adultery is to be puniſht by death.*

*This Chapter alſo I omit for the reaſon laſt alleg'd.*

## CHAP. XXXIV.

### *That it is lawful for a Wife to leav an Adulterer, and to marry another Husband.*

*This is generally granted, and therfore excuſes me the writing out.*

## CHAP. XXXV.

### *Places in the Writings of the Apoſtle* Paul *touching Divorce explain'd.*

LET us conſider the anſwers of the Lord giv'n by the Apoſtle ſeverally. Concerning the firſt, which is *Rom.* 7. 1. *Know ye not, brethren, for I ſpeak to them that know the law,* &c. Ver. 2. *The woman is bound by the law to her husband ſo long as he liveth.* Here it is certain that the Holy Ghoſt had no purpoſe to determin ought of marriage, or divorce, but only to bring an example from the common and ordinary law of Wedloc, to ſhew that as no covenant holds either party being dead, ſo now that we are not bound to the law, but to Chriſt our Lord, ſeeing that through him we are dead to ſin, and to the law; and ſo joyn'd to Chriſt that we may bring forth fruit in him from a willing godlines, and not by the compulſion of law, wherby our ſins are more excited, and become more violent. What therfore the holy Spirit here ſpeaks of matrimony, cannot be extended beyond the general rule.

Beſides it is manifeſt, that the Apoſtle did allege the law of Wedloc, as it was deliver'd to the *Jews*; for, ſaith he, I ſpeak to them that know the law. They knew no law of God but that of *Moſes*, which plainly grants divorce for ſeveral reaſons. It cannot therfore be ſaid that the Apoſtle cited this general example out of the law, to aboliſh the ſeveral exceptions of that law, which God himſelf granted by giving autority to divorce.

Next, when the Apoſtle brings an example out of God's law concerning man and wife, it muſt be neceſſary that we underſtand ſuch for man and wife, as are ſo indeed according to the ſame law of God; that is, who are ſo diſpos'd as that they are both willing and able to perform the neceſſary duties of marriage; not thoſe who under a falſe title of marriage, keep themſelves mutually bound to injuries and diſgraces; for ſuch twain are nothing leſs than lawful man and wife.

The like anſwer is to be giv'n to all the other places both of the Goſpel and the Apoſtle, that whatever exception may be prov'd out of God's law, be not excluded from thoſe places. For the Spirit of God doth not condemn things formerly granted and allowed, where there is like cauſe and reaſon. Hence *Ambroſe* upon that place, 1 Cor. 7. 15. *A brother or a ſiſter is not under bondage in ſuch caſes,* thus expounds; *The reverence of marriage is not due to him who abhors the author of marriage; nor is that marriage ratify'd which is without devotion to God: he ſins not therfore who is put away for God's cauſe, though he joyn himſelf to another. For the diſhonour of the Creator diſſolves the right of matrimony to him who is deſerted, that he be not accus'd, though marrying to another. The faith of wedloc is not to be kept with him who departs, that he might not hear the God of Chriſtians to be the author of wedloc. For if* Ezra *caus'd the misbelieving wives and husbands to be divorc't, that God might be appeas'd, and not offended, though they took others of thir own faith, how much more*

*more ſhall it be free, if the misbeliever depart to marry one of our own Religion. For this is not to be counted matrimony which is againſt the law of God.*

Two things are here to be obſerv'd toward the following diſcourſe, which truth it ſelf, and the force of Gods word hath drawn from this holy man. For thoſe words are very large, *Matrimony is not ratiſy'd without devotion to God.* And *the diſhonour of the Creator diſſolvs the right of matrimony.* For devotion is far off, and diſhonour is done to God by all who perſiſt in any wickednes and hainous crime.

## CHAP. XXXVI.

### *That although it ſeem in the Goſpel, as if our Saviour granted Divorce only for Adultery, yet in very deed he granted it for other cauſes alſo.*

NOW is to be dealt with this queſtion, Whether it be lawful to divorce and marry again for other cauſes beſides adultery, ſince our Saviour expreſt that only? To this queſtion, if we retain our principles already laid, and muſt acknowledg it to be a curſed blaſphemy, if we ſay that the words of God do contradict one another, of neceſſity we muſt confeſs that our Lord did grant divorce, and marriage after that, for other cauſes beſides adultery, notwithſtanding what he ſaid in *Matthew*. For firſt, they who conſider but only that place, 1 *Cor.* 7. which treats of believers and misbelievers matcht together, muſt of force confeſs, That our Lord granted juſt divorce, and ſecond marriage in the cauſe of deſertion, which is other than the cauſe of fornication. And if there be one other cauſe found lawful, then is it moſt true that divorce was granted not only for fornication.

Next, it cannot be doubted, as I ſhew'd before, by them to whom it is giv'n to know God and his judgments out of his own word, but that, what means of peace and ſafety God ever granted and ordain'd to his elected people, the ſame he grants and ordains to men of all ages who have equally need of the ſame remedies. And who, that is but a knowing man, dares ſay there be not husbands and wives now to be found in ſuch a hardneſs of heart, that they will not perform either conjugal affection, or any requiſite duty therof, though it be moſt deſerv'd at thir hands?

Neither can any one defer to confeſs, but that God whoſe property it is to judg the cauſe of them that ſuffer injury, hath provided for innocent and honeſt perſons wedded, how they might free themſelves by lawful means of Divorce, from the bondage and iniquity of thoſe who are falſly term'd thir husbands or thir wives. This is cleer out of *Deut.* 24. 1. *Malach.* 2. *Matth.* 19. 1 *Cor.* 7. and out of thoſe principles which the Scripture every where teaches, That God changes not his mind, diſſents not from himſelf, is no accepter of perſons; but allows the ſame remedies to all men oppreſt with the ſame neceſſities and infirmities; yea, requires that we ſhould uſe them. This he will eaſily perceive, who conſiders theſe things in the Spirit of the Lord.

Laſtly, it is moſt certain, that the Lord hath commanded us to obey the civil Laws every one of his own Commonwealth, if they be not againſt the Laws of God.

## CHAP. XXXVII.

### *For what cauſes Divorce is permitted by the civil Law* ex l. Conſenſu Codic. de repudiis.

IT is alſo manifeſt that the Law of *Thedoſius* and *Valentinian*, which begins *Conſenſu*, &c. touching Divorce, and many other decrees of pious Emperours agreeing herwith, are not contrary to the word of God; and therfore may be recall'd into uſe by any Chriſtian Prince or Commonwealth, nay ought to be with due reſpect had to every nation. For whatſoever is equal and juſt, that in every thing is to be ſought and us'd by Chriſtians. Hence it is plain that Divorce is granted by divine approbation, both to husbands and to wives, if either party can convict the other of theſe following offences before the Magiſtrate.

If the husband can prove the wife to be an Adultereſs, a Witch, a Murdreſs, to have bought or ſold to ſlavery any one free born, to have violated Sepulchers, committed ſacrilege, favor'd theevs and robbers, deſirous of feaſting with ſtrangers, the husband not knowing, or not willing, if ſhe lodg forth without a juſt and probable cauſe, or frequent theaters and ſights, he forbidding, if ſhe be privie with thoſe that plot againſt the State, or if ſhe deal falſly, or offer blows. And if the wife can prove her husband guilty of any thoſe forenamed crimes, and frequent the company of lewd women in her ſight; or if he beat her, ſhe had the like liberty to quit her ſelf; with this difference, that the man after Divorce might forthwith marry again; the woman not till a year after, leſt ſhe might chance to have conceav'd.

## CHAP. XXXVIII.

### *An expoſition of thoſe places wherin God declares the nature of holy Wedloc.*

NOW to the end it may be ſeen that this agrees with the divine law, the firſt inſtitution of Marriage is to be conſider'd, and thoſe texts in which God eſtabliſht the joyning of male and female, and deſcrib'd the duties of them both. When God had determin'd to make woman, and give her as a wife to man, he ſpake thus, *Gen.* 2. 18. *It is not good for man to be alone, I will make him a help meet for him. And Adam ſaid*, but in the Spirit of God, *v.* 23, 24. *This is now bone of my bone, and fleſh of my fleſh. Therefore ſhall a man leav his father and mother, and ſhall cleav to his wife, and they ſhall be one fleſh.*

To this firſt inſtitution did Chriſt recal his own; when anſwering the Phariſees, he condemn'd the licence of unlawful Divorce. He taught therfore by his example, that we, according to this firſt inſtitution, and what God hath ſpok'n therof, ought to determin what kind of cov'nant Marriage is, how to be kept, and how far; and laſtly, for what cauſes to be diſſolv'd. To which decrees of God theſe alſo are to be joyn'd, which the holy Ghoſt hath taught by his Apoſtle, that neither the Husband nor the Wife *hath power of thir own body, but mutually each of eithers.* That *the husband ſhall love the wife as his own body, yea as Chriſt loves his Church; and that the wife ought to be ſubject to her husband, as the Church is to Chriſt.*

By theſe things the nature of holy Wedloc is certainly known; wherof if only one be wanting in both or either party, and that either by obſtinate malevolence, or too deep inbred weaknes of mind, or laſtly, through incurable impotence of Body, it cannot then be ſaid that the cov'nant of matrimony holds good between ſuch; if we mean that cov'nant which God inſtituted and call'd Marriage, and that wherof only it muſt be underſtood that our Saviour ſaid, *Thoſe whom God hath joyn'd, let no man ſeparate.*

And hence is concluded, that matrimony requires continual cohabitation and living together, unleſs the calling of God be otherwiſe evident; which union if the parties themſelves diſjoyn either by mutual conſent, or one againſt the others will depart, the Marriage is then brok'n. Wherin the Papiſts, as in other things, oppoſe themſelves againſt God; while they ſeparate for many cauſes from bed and board, and yet will have the bond of matrimony remain, as if this cov'nant could be other then the conjunction and communion not only of bed and board, but of all other loving and helpful duties. This we may ſee in theſe words; *I will make him a help meet for him; bone of his bones, and fleſh of his fleſh: for this cauſe ſhall he leav father and mother, and cleav to his wife, and they twain ſhall be one fleſh.* By which words who diſcerns not, that God requires of them both ſo to live together, and to be united not only in body but in mind alſo, with ſuch an affection as none may be dearer and more ardent among all the relations of Mankind, nor of more efficacy to the mutual offices of love, and loyalty. They muſt communicate and conſent in all things both divine and human, which have any moment to well and happy living. The wife muſt honour and obey her husband, as the Church honours and obeys Chriſt her head. The husband muſt love and cheriſh his wife, as Chriſt his Church. Thus they muſt be to each other, if they will be true man and wife in the ſight of God, whom certainly the Churches ought to follow in thir judgment. Now the proper and ultimate end of Marriage is not copulation, or children, for then there was not true matrimony between *Joſeph* and *Mary* the mother of Chriſt, nor between many holy perſons more; but the full and proper and main end of Marriage, is the communicating of all duties, both divine and human, each to other with utmoſt benevolence and affection.

CHAP.

# CHAP. XXXIX.

## *The properties of a true and Chriſtian Marriage more diſtinctly repeated.*

BY which definition we may know that God eſteems and reckons upon theſe four neceſſary properties to be in every true Marriage. 1. That they ſhould live together, unleſs the calling of God require otherwiſe for a time. 2. That they ſhould love one another to the height of dearnes, and that in the Lord, and in the communion of true Religion. 3. That the huſband bear himſelf as the head and preſerver of his wife, inſtructing her to all godlineſs and integrity of life; that the wife alſo be to her huſband a help, according to her place, eſpecially furdering him in the true worſhip of God, and next in all the occaſions of civil life. And 4. That they defraud not each other of conjugal benevolence, as the Apoſtle commands, 1 *Cor.* 7. Hence it follows, according to the ſentence of God, which all Chriſtians ought to be rul'd by, that between thoſe who either through obſtinacy, or helples inability, cannot or will not perform theſe repeated duties, between thoſe there can be no true matrimony, nor ought they to be counted man and wife.

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# CHAP. XL.

## *Whether thoſe Crimes recited Chap. 37. out of the Civil Law, diſſolv Matrimony in God's account.*

NOW if a huſband or wife be found guilty of any thoſe crimes, which by the Law *conſenſu* are made cauſes of Divorce, 'tis manifeſt that ſuch a man cannot be the head and preſerver of his wife, nor ſuch a woman be a meet help to her huſband, as the divine Law in true Wedloc requires; for theſe faults are puniſht either by death, or deportation, or extream infamy, which are directly oppoſite to the cov'nant of Marriage. If they deſerve death, as Adultery and the like, doubtleſs God would not that any ſhould live in Wedloc with them whom he would not have to live at all. Or if it be not death, but the incurring of notorious infamy, certain it is neither juſt, nor expedient, nor meet that an honeſt man ſhould be coupled with an infamous woman, nor an honeſt matron with an infamous man. The wiſe Roman Princes had ſo great regard to the equal honour of either wedded perſon, that they counted thoſe Marriages of no force which were made between the one of good repute, and the other of evil note. How much more will all honeſt regard of Chriſtian expedience and comlines beſeem and concern thoſe who are ſet free and dignify'd in Chriſt, then it could the Roman Senate, or their ſons, for whom that Law was provided?

And this all godly men will ſoon apprehend, that he who ought to be the head and preſerver not only of his wife, but alſo of his children and family, as Chriſt is of his Church, had need be one of honeſt name: ſo likewiſe the wife, which is to be the meet help of an honeſt and good man, the mother of an honeſt off-ſpring and family. The glory of the man, ev'n as the man is the glory of Chriſt, ſhould not be tainted with ignominy; as neither of them can avoid to be, having bin juſtly appeacht of thoſe forenamed crimes; and therfore cannot be worthy to hold thir place in a Chriſtian family: yea they themſelves turn out themſelves and diſſolv that holy covenant. And they who are true brethren and ſiſters in the Lord, are no more in bondage to ſuch violaters of Marriage.

But heer the patrons of wickedneſs and diſſolvers of Chriſtian diſciplin will object, that it is the part of man and wife to bear one anothers croſs, whether in calamity, or infamy, that they might gain each other, if not to a good name, yet to repentance and amendment. But they who thus object, ſeek the impunity of wickednes, and the favour of wicked men, not the duties of true charity; which prefers public honeſty before private intereſt, and had rather the remedies of wholſom puniſhment appointed by God ſhould be in uſe, then that by remiſneſs, the licence of evil doing ſhould encreaſe. For if they who by committing ſuch offences, have made void the holy knot of Marriage, be capable of repentance, they will be ſooner mov'd when due puniſhment is executed on them, then when it is remitted.

We muſt ever beware, leſt in contriving what will be beſt for the ſouls health of Delinquents, we make our ſelvs wiſer and diſcreeter than God. He that religiouſly waighs his Oracles concerning Marriage, cannot doubt that they who have committed the foreſaid tranſgreſſions, have loſt the right of Matrimony, and are unworthy to hold thir dignity in an honeſt and Chriſtian family.

But if any huſband or wife ſee ſuch ſigns of repentance in thir tranſgreſſor, as that they doubt not to regain them by continuing with them, and partaking of thir miſeries and attaintures, they may be left to thir own hopes, and thir own mind, ſaving ever the right of Church and Commonwealth, that it receive no ſcandal by the neglect of due ſeverity, and thir children no harm by this invitation to licence, and want of good education.

From all theſe conſiderations, if they be thought on, as in the preſence of God, and out of his word, any one may perceav, who deſires to determine of theſe things by the Scripture, that thoſe cauſes of lawful divorce, which the moſt religious Emperors *Theodoſius* and *Valentinian* ſet forth in the forecited place, are according to the law of God, and the prime inſtitution of Marriage. *And were ſtill more and more ſtraitn'd, as the Church and State of the Empire ſtill more and more corrupted and degenerated.* Therfore pious Princes and Commonwealths both may and ought eſtabliſh them again, if they have a mind to reſtore the honour, ſanctity, and religion of holy wedloc to thir people, and diſentangle many conſciences from a miſerable and perilous condition, to a chaſte and honeſt life.

To thoſe recited cauſes wherfore a wife might ſend a divorce to her huſband, *Juſtinian* added four more, *Conſtit.* 117. And four more, for which a man might put away his wife. Three other cauſes were added in the *Code de repudiis*, l. *Jubemus.* All which cauſes are ſo clearly contrary to the firſt intent of marriage, that they plainly diſſolv it. *I ſet them not down, being eaſie to be found in the body of the civil Law.*

It was permitted alſo by Chriſtian Emperors, that they who would divorce by mutual conſent, might without impediment. *Or if there were any difficulty at all in it, the law expreſſes the reaſon, that it was only in favour of the children; ſo that if there were none, the law of thoſe godly Emperors made no other difficulty of a divorce by conſent.* Or if any were minded without conſent of the other to divorce, and without thoſe cauſes which have been nam'd, the Chriſtian Emperors laid no other puniſhment upon them, then that the Huſband wrongfully divorcing his Wife, ſhould give back her dowry, and the uſe of that which was call'd *Donatio propter nuptias*; or if there were no dowry nor no donation, that he ſhould then give her the fourth part of his goods. The like penalty was inflicted on the wife departing without juſt cauſe. But that they who were once married, ſhould be compell'd to remain ſo ever againſt thir wills, was not exacted. Wherin thoſe pious Princes follow'd the Law of God in *Deut.* 24. 1. and his expreſs charge by the Prophet *Malachy* to diſmiſs from him the wife whom he hates. For God never meant in marriage to give to man a perpetual torment inſtead of a meet help. Neither can God approve that to the violation of this holy league (which is violated as ſoon as true affection ceaſes and is loſt) ſhould be added murder, which is already committed by either of them who reſolvedly hates the other, as I ſhew'd out of 1 *John* 15. *Whoſo hateth his brother, is a murderer.*

## CHAP. XLI.

### *Whether the Huſband or Wife deſerted may marry to another.*

THE wifes deſertion of her huſband the Chriſtian Emperors plainly decreed to be a juſt cauſe of divorce, whenas they granted him the right therof, if ſhe had but lain out one night againſt his will without probable cauſe. But of the man deſerting his wife they did not ſo determin: Yet if we look into the word of God, we ſhall find, that he who though but for a year without juſt cauſe forſakes his wife, and neither provides for her maintenance, nor ſignifies his purpoſe of returning, and good will towards her, whenas he may, hath forfeited his right in her ſo forſak'n. For the Spirit of God ſpeaks plainly, that both man and wife hath ſuch power over one anothers perſon, as that they cannot deprive each other of living together, but by conſent, and for a time.

Hither may be added that the holy Spirit grants deſertion to be a cauſe of Divorce, in thoſe anſwers giv'n to the *Corinthians* concerning a brother or ſiſter deſerted by a miſbeleever. *If he depart, let him depart, a brother or a ſiſter is not under bondage in* *ſuch caſes.* In which words, who ſees not that the Holy Ghoſt openly pronounc't; that the party without cauſe deſerted, is not bound for anothers wilful deſertion?

But ſom will ſay, that this is ſpok'n of a miſ-beleever departing. But I beſeech ye, doth not he reject the faith of Chriſt in his deeds, who raſhly breaks the holy Covnant of Wedloc inſtituted by God? and beſides this the holy Spirit does not make the miſ-beleeving of him who departs, but the departing of him who miſbeleevs, to be the juſt cauſe of freedom to the brother or ſiſter.

Since therfore it will be agreed among Chriſtians, that they who depart from Wedloc without juſt cauſe, do not only deny the faith of matrimony, but of Chriſt alſo, what ever they profeſs with their mouths, it is but reaſon to conclude, that the party deſerted is not bound in caſe of cauſleſs deſertion, but that he may lawfully ſeek another conſort, if it be needful to him, toward a pure and blameles converſation.

## CHAP. XLII.

### *That impotence of Body, Leproſie, Madnes, &c. are juſt cauſes of Divorce*

OF this, becauſe it was not diſputed in the doctrin and diſciplin of Divorce, him that would know furder I commend to the Latin original.

## CHAP. XLIII.

### *That to grant Divorce for all the cauſes which have bin hitherto brought, diſagrees not from the words of Chriſt naming only the cauſe of Adultery.*

NOW we muſt ſee how theſe things can ſtand with the words of our Saviour, who ſeems directly to forbid all Divorce except it be for Adultery. To the underſtanding wherof, we muſt ever remember this: That in the words of our Saviour there can be no contrariety: That his words and anſwers are not to be ſtretcht beyond the queſtion propos'd: That our Saviour did not there purpoſe to treat of all the cauſes for which it might be lawful to divorce and marry again; *for then that in the Corinthians of marrying again without guilt of adultery could not be added.* That it is not good for that man to be alone, who hath not the ſpecial gift from above. That it is good for every ſuch one to be married, that he may ſhun Fornication.

With regard to theſe principles, let us ſee what our Lord anſwer'd to the tempting Phariſees about Divorce, and ſecond Marriage, and how far his anſwer doth extend.

Firſt, no man who is not very contentious will deny that the Phariſees askt our Lord whether it were lawful to put away ſuch a wife, as was truly, and according to Gods law, to be counted a wife; that is, ſuch a one as would dwell with her husband, and both would and could perform the neceſſary duties of Wedloc tolerably. But ſhe who will not dwell with her husband, is not put away by him, but goes of her ſelf: and ſhe who denies to be a meet help, or to be ſo hath made her ſelf unfit by open miſdemeanours, or through incurable impotencies cannot be able, is not by the Law of God to be eſteem'd a wife; as hath bin ſhewn both from the firſt inſtitution, and other places of Scripture. Neither certainly would the Phariſees propound a queſtion concerning ſuch an unconjugal wife; *for thir depravation of the Law had brought them to that paſs, as to think a man had right to put away his wife for any cauſe, though never ſo ſlight.* Since therfore it is manifeſt that Chriſt anſwer'd the Phariſees concerning a fit and meet Wife according to the Law of God, whom he forbid to divorce for any cauſe but Fornication: Who ſees not that it is a wickedneſs ſo to wreſt and extend that anſwer of his, as if it forbad to divorce her who hath already forſak'n, or hath loſt the place and dignity of a Wife by deſerved infamy, *or hath undertak'n to be that which ſhe hath not natural ability to be?*

This truth is ſo powerful, that it hath mov'd the Papiſts to grant thir kind of Divorce for other cauſes beſides adultery, as for ill uſage, and the not performing of conjugal duty; and to ſeparate from bed and board for theſe cauſes, which is as much Divorce, as they grant for Adultery.

But ſom perhaps will object, that though it be yielded that our Lord granted Divorce not only for Adultery, yet it is not certain that he permitted Marriage after

Divorce, unleſs for that only cauſe. I anſwer, firſt, That the ſentence of Divorce, and ſecond Marriage, is one and the ſame. So that when the right of Divorce is evinc'd to belong not only to the cauſe of Fornication, the power of ſecond Marriage is alſo prov'd to be not limited to that cauſe only; and that moſt evidently, when as the Holy Ghoſt, 1 *Cor.* 7. ſo frees the deſerted party from Bondage, as that he may not only ſend a juſt Divorce in caſe of Deſertion, but may ſeek another Marriage.

Laſtly, Seeing God will not that any ſhould live in danger of Fornication and utter ruin for the default of another, and hath commanded the Husband to ſend away with a Bill of Divorce her whom he could not love; it is impoſſible that the charge of Adultery ſhould belong to him who for lawful cauſes divorces and marries, or to her who marries after ſhe hath bin unjuſtly rejected, or to him who receives her without all fraud to the former wedloc. For this were a horrid blaſphemy againſt God, ſo to interpret his words, as to make him diſſent from himſelf; for who ſees not a flat contradiction in this, to enthral blameleſs men and women to miſeries and injuries, under a falſe and ſoothing title of Marriage, and yet to declare by his Apoſtle that a brother or ſiſter is not under bondage in ſuch caſes? No leſs do theſe two things conflict with themſelves, to enforce the innocent and faultles to endure the pain and miſery of anothers perverſnes, or elſe to live in unavoidable temptation; and to affirm elſewhere that he lays on no man the burden of another mans ſin, nor doth conſtrain any man to the endangering of his ſoul.

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## CHAP. XLIV.

### *That to thoſe alſo who are juſtly divorc'd, ſecond Marriage ought to be permitted.*

THis although it be well prov'd, yet becauſe it concerns only the Offendor, I leave him to ſearch out his own Charter himſelf in the Author.

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## CHAP. XLV.

### *That ſom perſons are ſo ordain'd to Marriage, as that they cannot obtain the gift of Continence, no not by earneſt Prayer; and that therin every one is to be left to his own judgment and conſcience, and not to have a burden laid upon him by any other.*

## CHAP. XLVI.

### *The Words of the Apoſtle concerning the praiſe of ſingle life unfolded.*

THeſe two Chapters not ſo immediatly debating the right of Divorce, I choſe rather not to inſert.

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## CHAP. XLVII.

### *The Concluſion of this Treatiſe.*

THeſe things, moſt renowned King, I have brought together, both to explain for what cauſes the unhappy, but ſomtimes moſt neceſſary help of Divorce ought to be granted, according to God's Word, by Princes and Rulers: as alſo to explain how the words of Chriſt do conſent with ſuch a grant. I have bin large indeed both in handling thoſe Oracles of God, and in laying down thoſe certain principles, which he who will know what the mind of God is in this matter, muſt ever think on and remember. But if we conſider what miſt and obſcurity hath bin pour'd out by Antichriſt upon this queſtion, and how deep this pernicious contempt of Wedloc, and admiration of ſingle life, ev'n in thoſe who are not call'd therto, hath ſunk into many mens perſuaſions, I fear leſt all that hath bin ſaid, be hardly enough to perſuade ſuch that they would ceaſe at length to make themſelves wiſer and holier then God himſelf, in being ſo ſevere to grant lawful Marriage, and ſo eaſie to connive at all, not only whordoms, but deflowrings, and adulteries. When as among the people of God, no whordom was to be tolerated.

Our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who came to deſtroy the works of Satan, ſend down his Spirit upon all Chriſtians, and principally upon Chriſtian Governours both in Church and Commonwealth (for of the clear judgment of your Royal Majeſty I nothing doubt, revolving the Scripture ſo often as ye do) that they may acknowledg how much they provoke the anger of God againſt us, when as all kind of unchaſtity is tolerated, fornications and adulteries winkt at: But holy and honourable Wedloc is oft withheld by the meer perſuaſion of Antichriſt, from ſuch as without this remedy, cannot preſerve themſelves from damnation! For none who hath but a ſpark of honeſty will deny that Princes and States ought to uſe diligence toward the maintaining of pure and honeſt life among all men, without which all Juſtice, all fear of God, and true Religion decays.

And who knows not that chaſtity and purenes of life can never be reſtor'd, or continu'd in the Common-wealth, unleſs it be firſt eſtabliſht in private houſes, from whence the whole breed of men is to come forth? To effect this, no wiſe man can doubt that is is neceſſary for Princes and Magiſtrates firſt with ſeverity to puniſh Whor~~dom and Adultery; next to ſee that Marriages be lawfully contracted, and in the Lord~~, then that they be faithfully kept; and laſtly, when that unhappines urges, that they be lawfully diſſolv'd, and other Marriage granted, according as the law of God, and of nature, and Conſtitutions of pious Princes have decreed; as I have ſhewn both by evident autorities of Scripture, together with the writings of the ancient Fathers, and other teſtimonies. Only the Lord grant that we may learn to prefer his ever juſt and ſaving Word, before the Comments of Antichriſt, too deeply rooted in many, and the falſe and blaſphemous expoſition of our Saviour's words. *Amen.*

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# *A* POSTSCRIPT.

THus far *Martin Bucer*: Whom where I might without injury to either part of the cauſe, I deny not to have *epitomiz'd*; in the reſt obſerving a well-warranted rule, not to give an Inventory of ſo many words, but to weigh thir force. I could have added that eloquent and right Chriſtian diſcours, writt'n by *Eraſmus* on this Argument, not diſagreeing in effect from *Bucer*. But this, I hope, will be anough to excuſe me with the meer *Engliſhman*, to be no forger of new and looſe opinions. Others may read him in his own phraſe on the firſt to the *Corinthians*, and eaſe me who never could delight in long citations, much leſs in whole traductions; Whether it be natural diſpoſition or education in me, or that my mother bore me a ſpeaker of what God made mine own, and not a tranſlator. There be others alſo whom I could reck'n up, of no mean account in the Church (and *Peter Martyr* among the firſt) who are more then half our own in this controverſy. But this is a providence not to be ſlighted, that as *Bucer* wrote this tractat of Divorce in *England* and for *England*, ſo *Eraſmus* profeſſes he begun here among us the ſame ſubject, eſpecially out of compaſſion, for the need he ſaw this Nation had of ſome charitable redreſs herin; and ſeriouſly exhorts others to uſe thir beſt induſtry in the clearing of this point, wherin cuſtom hath a greater ſway then verity. That therfore which came into the mind of theſe two admired ſtrangers to do for *England*, and in a touch of higheſt prudence which they took to be not yet recover'd from monaſtic ſuperſtition, if I a native am found to have done for mine own Country, altogether ſutably and conformly to thir ſo large and clear underſtanding, yet without the leaſt help of thirs, I ſuppoſe that hence-forward among conſcionable and judicious perſons, it will no more be thought to my diſcredit, or at all to this Nations diſhonour. And if theſe thir Books, the one ſhall be printed often with beſt allowance in moſt religious Cities, the other with expreſs autority of *Leo* the tenth a Pope, ſhall for the propagating of truth be publiſht and republiſht, though againſt the receiv'd opinion of that Church, and mine containing but the ſame thing, ſhall in a time of reformation, a time of free ſpeaking, free writing, not find a permiſſion to the Preſs; I refer me to wiſeſt men, whether truth be ſuffer'd to be truth, or liberty to be liberty now among us, and be not again in danger of new fetters and captivity after all our hopes and labours loſt: and whether Learning be not ( which our enemies too profetically fear'd ) in the way to be trodd'n down again by ignorance. Wherof while time is, out of the faith owing to God and my Country, I bid this Kingdom beware; and doubt not but God who hath dignify'd this Parliament already to ſo many glorious degrees, will alſo give them ( which is a ſingular bleſſing ) to inform themſelves rightly in the midſt of an unprincipl'd age; and to prevent this working myſtery of ignorance and eccleſiaſtical thraldom, which under new ſhapes and diſguiſes begins afreſh to grow upon us.

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Cola-

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# Colaſterion :

## A Reply to a Nameleſs Answer againſt the Doctrin and Diſciplin of Divorce.

### Wherin the trivial Author of that Anſwer is diſcover'd, the Licenſer conferr'd with, and the Opinion which they traduce, defended.

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Prov. XXVI. 5.

*Anſwer a fool according to his folly, leſt he be wiſe in his own conceit.*

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After many Rumours of Confutations and Convictions, forth-coming againſt the Doctrin and Diſciplin of Divorce, and now and then a by-blow from the Pulpit, feather'd with a cenſure ſtrict indeed, but how true, more beholding to the Authority of that devout place which it borrowed to be utter'd in, then to any ſound reaſon which it could oracle; while I ſtill hoped as for a bleſſing to ſee ſome piece of diligence, or learned diſcretion come from them, it was my hap at length, lighting on a certain parcel of Queries, that ſeek and find not, to find not ſeeking, at the tail of *Anabaptiſtical*, *Antinomian*, *Heretical*, *Atheiſtical* Epithets, a jolly Slander; called *Divorce at pleaſure:* I ſtood awhile and wondered, what we might do to a Man's heart, or what Anatomy uſe, to find in it ſincerity; for all our wonted Marks every day fail us, and where we thought it was, we ſee it is not, for alter and change reſidence it cannot ſure. And yet I ſee no good of Body or of Mind ſecure to a man for all his paſt labours without perpetual watchfulneſs, and perſeverance. Whenas one above others, who hath ſuffer'd much and long in the defence of Truth, ſhall after all this, give her cauſe to leave him ſo deſtitute and ſo vacant of her defence, as to yield his mouth to be the common road of Truth and Falſehood, and ſuch falſehood as is joyned with a raſh and heedleſs Calumny of his Neighbour. For what Book hath he ever met with, as his complaint is, *Printed in the City*, maintaining either in the title, or in the whole purſuance, *Divorce at pleaſure?* 'Tis true, that to divorce upon extream neceſſity, when through the perverſneſs, or the apparent unfitneſs of either, the continuance can be to both no good at all, but an intolerable injury and temptation to the wrong'd and the defrauded, to divorce then there is a Book that writes it lawful. And that this Law is a pure and wholſome national Law, not to be with-held from Good Men, becauſe others likely enough may abuſe it to thir pleaſure, cannot be charged upon that Book, but muſt be entred a bold and impious Accuſation againſt God himſelf; who did not for this abuſe with-hold it from his own people. It will be juſt therfore, and beſt for the reputation of him who in his Subitanes hath thus cenſured, to recal his ſentence. And if, out of the abundance of his Volumes, and the readineſs of his Quill, and the vaſtneſs of his other Imployments, eſpecially in the great Audit for Accounts, he can ſpare us ought to the better underſtanding of this point, he ſhall be thankt in publick; and what hath offended in the Book, ſhall willingly ſubmit to his correction. Provided he be ſure not to come with theſe old and ſtale Suppoſitions, unleſs he can take away clearly what that Diſcourſe hath urged againſt them, by one who will expect other Arguments to be perſwaded the good health of a ſound Anſwer, then the Gout and Dropſie of a big Margent, litter'd and overlaid with crude and huddl'd Quotations. But as I ſtill was waiting, when theſe light-armed Refuters would have done pelting at thir three Lines uttered with a ſage delivery of no Reaſon, but an impotent and worſe then *Bonner*-like Cenſure, to burn that which provokes them to a fair diſpute; at length a Book was brought to my hands intitl'd, *An Anſwer to the Doctrinand Diſciplin of Divorce.*

Gladly I receiv'd it, and very attentively compoſed my ſelf to read; hoping that now ſome good Man had vouchſafed the pains to inſtruct me better, then I could yet learn out of all the Volumes which for this purpoſe I had viſited. Only this I marvel'd, and other men have ſince, when as I, in a ſubject ſo new to this Age, and ſo hazardous to pleaſe, conceal'd not my Name, why this Author, defending that part which is ſo creeded by the People, would conceal his. But ere I could enter three leaves into the Pamphlet, (for I defer the pleaſant rudeneſs which by the Licencer's leave I met with afterwards) my ſatisfaction came in abundantly, that it could be nothing why he durſt not name himſelf, but the guilt of his own wretchedneſs. For firſt, not to ſpeak of his abrupt and bald beginning, his very firſt Page notoriouſly bewraies him an illiterate and arrogant preſumer in that which he underſtands not, bearing us in hand as if he knew both Greek and Hebrew, and is not able to ſpell it; which had he been, it had been either written as it ought, or ſcor'd upon the Printer. If it be excuſed as the careleſneſs of his deputy, be it known, the learned Author himſelf is inventoried, and ſumm'd up to the utmoſt value of his Livery-Cloak. Whoever he be, though this to ſome may ſeem a ſlight Conteſt, I ſhall yet continue to think that Man full of other ſecret injuſtice, and deceitful pride, who ſhall offer in publick to aſſume the skill, though it be but of a Tongue which he hath not, and would catch his readers to believe of his ability, that which is not in him. The Licenſer indeed, as his Authority now ſtands, may licenſe much; but if theſe Greek Orthographies were of his Licenſing, the Boys at School might reckon with him at his Grammar. Nor did I find this his want of the pretended Languages alone, but accompanied with ſuch a low and home-ſpun Expreſſion of his Mother-Engliſh all along, without joynt or frame, as made me ere I knew further of him, often ſtop and conclude, that this Author could for certain be no other then ſome Mechanic Nor was the ſtile flat and rude, and the matter grave and ſolid, for then there had been pardon; but ſo ſhallow and ſo unwary was that alſo, as gave ſufficiently the character of a groſs and ſluggiſh, yet a contentious and overweening pretender. For firſt, it behoving him to ſhew, as he promiſes, what Divorce is, and what the true Doctrin and Diſciplin therof, and this being to do by ſuch principles and proofs as are received on both ſides, he performs neither of theſe; but ſhews it firſt from the Judaical practice, which he himſelf diſallows, and next from the practice of Canon-Law, which the Book he would confute utterly rejects, and all Laws depending theron; which this puny Clark calls the *Laws of England*, and yet pronounceth them by an Eccleſiaſtical Judg: as if that were to be accounted the Law of *England*, which dependeth on the Popery of *England*; or if it were, this Parliament he might know hath now damn'd that Judicature. So that whether his meaning were to inform his own Party, or to confute his Adverſary, inſtead of ſhewing us the true Doctrin and Diſciplin of Divorce, he ſhews us nothing but his own contemptible Ignorance. For what is the Moſaic Law to his Opinion? and what is the Canon, utterly now antiquated, either to that, or to mine? Ye ſee already what a faithful Definer we have him. From ſuch a wind Egg of definition as this, they who expect any of his other Arguments to be well hatcht, let them enjoy the virtue of thir worthy Champion. But one thing more I obſerved, a ſingular note of his ſtupidity, and that his Trade is not to meddle with Books, much leſs with Confutations; whenas the Doctrin of Divorce had now a whole Year been publiſhed the ſecond time, with many Arguments added, and the former ones bettered and confirmed, this idle Pamphlet comes reeling forth againſt the firſt Edition only, as may appear to any by the Pages quoted. Which put me in mind of what by chance I had notice of to this purpoſe the laſt Summer, as nothing ſo ſerious but happens oftimes to be attended with a ridiculous accident; it was then told me that the Doctrin of Divorce was anſwered, and the Anſwer half printed againſt the firſt Edition, not by one, but by a pack of Heads; of whom the chief, by circumſtance, was intimated to me, and ſince ratified to be no other, if any can hold laughter, and I am ſure none will gueſs him lower than an actual Serving-man. This Creature, for the ſtory muſt on, (and what though he be the loweſt perſon of an Interlude, he may deſerve a canvaſing) tranſplanted himſelf, and to the improvement of his Wages, and your better notice of his Capacity, turned Soliciter. And having converſed much with a ſtripling Divine or two of theſe newly-fledg Probationers, that uſually come ſcouting from the Univerſity, and lie here no lame Legers to pop into the *Betheſda* of ſome Knights Chaplainſhip, where they bring Grace to his good Cheer, but no Peace or Benediction elſe to his Houſe; theſe made the Cham-party, he contributed the Law, and both joyned in the Divinity. Which made me intend, following the advice alſo of friends, to lay aſide the thoughts of miſpending a Reply to the Buz of ſuch a Drone's neſt. But finding that it lay, whatever was the matter, half a year after unfiniſhed in the Preſs, and hearing for certain that a Divine of note, out of his good-will to the Opinion, had taken it into his Reviſe, and ſomthing had put out, ſomthing put in, and ſtruck it here and there with a claw of his own Calligraphy to keep it from tainting: And farther, when I ſaw the Stuff, though very coarſe and thredbare, garniſht and trimly faced with the commendations of a Licenſer, I reſolved, ſo ſoon as leaſure granted me the recreation, that my Man of Law ſhould not altogether loſe his Soliciting. Although I impute a ſhare of the making to him whoſe Name I find in the Approbation, who may take, as his mind ſerves him, this Reply. In the mean-while it ſhall be ſeen, I refuſe no Occaſion, and avoid no Adverſary, either to maintain what I have begun, or to give it up for better reaſon.

To begin then with the Licenſer and his Cenſure. For a Licenſer is not contented now to give his ſingle *Imprimatur*, but brings his Chair into the Title leaf; there ſits and judges up, or judges down what Book he pleaſes: if this be ſuffered, what worthleſs Author, or what cunning Printer will not be ambitious of ſuch a ſtale to put off the heavieſt gear; which may in time bring in round fees to the Licenſer, and wretched miſleading to the People? But to the matter: he approves the publiſhing of this Book, to preſerve the ſtrength and honour of Marriage againſt thoſe ſad breaches and dangerous abuſes of it. Belike then the wrongful ſuffering of all thoſe ſad breaches and abuſes in Marriage to a remedileſs thraldom, is the ſtrength and honour of Marriage; a boiſterous and beſtial Strength, a diſhonourable Honour, an infatuated Doctrin, worſe then the *Salvo jure* of tyranizing, which we all fight againſt. Next he ſaith, that common Diſcontents make theſe Breaches in unſtaid Minds, and Men given to change. His words may be apprehended, as if they diſallowed only to divorce for common Diſcontents, in unſtaid minds, having no cauſe, but a deſire of change, and then we agree. But if he takes all Diſcontents on this ſide Adultery, to be common, that is to ſay, not difficult to endure, and to affect only unſtaid Minds, it might adminiſter juſt cauſe to think him the unfitteſt man that could be, to offer at a * Comment upon *Job*; as ſeeming by this to have no more true ſence of a good man in his afflictions, then theſe Edomitiſh friends had, of whom *Job* complains, and againſt whom God teſtifies his anger. Shall a man of your own Coat, who hath eſpouſed his Flock, and repreſents Chriſt more, in being the true Husband of his Congregation, then an ordinary man doth in being the Husband of his Wife, and yet this repreſentment is thought a chief cauſe why Marriage muſt be inſeparable; ſhall this ſpiritual Man ordinarily for the increaſe of his maintenance, or any ſlight cauſe, forſake that wedded Cure of Souls, that ſhould be deareſt to him, and marry another, and another? and ſhall not a perſon wrongfully afflicted, and perſecuted even to extremity, forſake an unfit, injurious and peſtilent Mate, tied only by a civil and fleſhly Covenant? If you be a man ſo much hating Change, hate that other Change; if your ſelf be not guilty, counſel your Brethren to hate it; and leave to be the ſupercilious Judg of other mens Miſeries and Changes, that your own be not judged. The reaſons of your licens'd Pamphlet, you ſay are good; they muſt be better then your own then, I ſhall wonder elſe how ſuch a trivial fellow was accepted and commended, to be the confuter of ſo dangerous an Opinion as ye give out mine.

* *Mr.* Caryl.

Now therfore to your Atturney, ſince no worthier an Adverſary makes his Appearance, nor this neither his Appearance, but lurking under the ſafety of his nameleſs obſcurity; ſuch as ye turn him forth at the Poſtern, I muſt accept him, and in a better temper then *Ajax*, do mean to ſcourge this Ram for ye till I meet with his *Vlyſſes*.

He begins with Law, and we have it of him as good, cheap as any Huckſter at Law, newly ſet up, can poſſibly afford, and as impertinent; but for that he hath receiv'd his hanſel. He preſumes alſo to cite the Civil Law, which I perceive by his citing never came within his Dormitory; yet what he cites, makes but againſt himſelf.

His ſecond thing therfore is to refute the adverſe Poſition, and very methodically, three Pages before he ſets it down; and ſets his own in the place, That diſagreement of mind or diſpoſition, though ſhewing it ſelf in much ſharpneſs, is not by the Law of God or Man a juſt cauſe of Divorce.

To this Poſition I anſwer; That it lays no battery againſt mine, no nor ſo much as faces it, but tacks about long ere it comes near, like a harmleſs and reſpectful Confutement. For I confeſs that diſagreement of mind or diſpoſition, though in much ſharpneſs, is not always a juſt cauſe of Divorce; for much may be endured. But what if the ſharpneſs be much more than his much? To that point it is our miſhap we have not here his grave deciſion. He that will contradict the Poſition which I alledged, muſt hold that no diſagreement of Mind or Diſpoſition can divorce, though ſhewn in moſt ſharpneſs; otherwiſe he leaves a place for Equity to appoint limits, and ſo his following Arguments will either not prove his own Poſition, or not diſprove mine.

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I anſwer. If this be a true Conſequence, why are not all Troubles to be born alike? why are we ſuffered to divorce Adulteries, Deſertions, or Frigidities? Who knows not that Trouble and Affliction is the Decree of God upon every ſtate of life? Follows it therfore, that though they grow exceſſive and inſupportable, we muſt not avoid them? If we may in all other Conditions, and not in Marriage, the doom of our ſuffering ties us not by the Trouble, but by the Bond of Marriage; and that muſt be proved inſeparable from other Reaſons, not from this place. And his own Confeſſion declares the weakneſs of this Argument, yet his ungovern'd Arrogance could not be diſſwaded from venting it.

His 9th Argument is, That a Husband muſt love his Wife as himſelf; therfore he may not divorce for any Diſagreement, no more than he may ſeparate his Soul from his Body.

I anſwer: If he love his Wife as himſelf, he muſt love her ſo far as he may preſerve himſelf to her in a cheerful and comfortable manner, and not ſo as to ruin himſelf by anguiſh and ſorrow, without any benefit to her. Next, if the Husband muſt love his Wife as himſelf, ſhe muſt be underſtood a Wife in ſome reaſonable meaſure, willing and ſufficient to perform the chief Duties of her Covenant, elſe by the hold of this Argument it would be his great Sin to divorce either for Adultery or Deſertion. The reſt of this will run circuit with the Union of one Fleſh, which was anſwered before. And that to divorce a Relative and Metaphorical Union of two Bodies into one Fleſh, can't be likened in all things to the dividing of that natural Union of Soul and Body into one Perſon, is apparent of it ſelf.

His laſt Argument he fetches from the inconvenience that would follow upon this freedom of Divorce, to the corrupting of mens Minds, and the overturning of all humane Society.

But for me, let God and *Moſes* anſwer this Blaſphemer, who dares bring in ſuch a foul Indictment againſt the Divine Law. Why did God permit this to his people the Jews, but that the Right and Good which came directly therby was more in his eſteem, than the Wrong and Evil which came by accident? And for thoſe weak Suppoſes of Infants that would be left in thir Mothers Belly (which muſt needs be good News for Chamber-maids to hear a Serving-man grown ſo provident for great Bellies) and Portions and Joyntures likely to incur imbezlement hereby, the antient Civil Law inſtructs us plentifully how to award, which our profound Oppoſite knew not, for it was not in his Tenures.

His Arguments are ſpun; now follows the Chaplain with his Antiquities, wiſer if he had refrained, for his very touching ought that is learned, ſoils it, and lays him ſtill more and more open, a conſpicuous Gull. There being both Fathers and Councels more antient, wherwith to have ſerved his purpoſe better than with what he cites, how may we do to know the ſubtile drift that moved him to begin firſt with the twelfth Councel of *Toledo?* I would not undervalue the depth of his Notion; but perhaps he had heard that the Men of *Toledo* had ſtore of good blade Mettle, and were excellent at Cutling: Who can tell but it might be the reach of his policy, that theſe able Men of Deciſion would do beſt to have the prime ſtroak among his Teſtimonies in deciding this Cauſe? But all this craft avails him not; for ſeeing they allow no cauſe of Divorce but Fornication, what do theſe keen Doctors here, but cut him over the Sinews with thir Toledo's, for holding in the precedent Page other Cauſes of Divorce beſides, both directly and by conſequence? As evil doth that *Saxon* Councel, next quoted, beſtead him. For if it allow Divorce preciſely for no cauſe but Fornication, it thwarts his own Expoſition: and if it underſtand Fornication largely, it ſides with whom he would confute. However, the Authority of that Synod can be but ſmall, being under *Theodorus*, the *Canterbury* Biſhop, a *Grecian* Monk of *Tarſus*, revolted from his own Church to the Pope. What have we next? The Civil Law ſtufft in between two Councels, as if the Code had been ſome Synod; for that he underſtood himſelf in this Quotation, is incredible; where the Law, *Cod. l.* 3. *tit.* 38. *leg.* 11. ſpeaks not of Divorce, but againſt the dividing of Poſſeſſions to divers Heirs, wherby the married Servants of a great Family were divided, perhaps into diſtant Countries and Colonies; Father from Son, Wife from Husband, ſore againſt thir will. Somewhat lower he confeſſeth, that the Civil Law allows many Reaſons of Divorce, but the Canon Law decrees otherwiſe; A fair credit to his Cauſe! And I amaze me, though the fancy of this Doubt be as obtuſe and ſad as any Mallet, how the Licenſer could ſleep out all this, and ſuffer him to uphold his Opinion by Canons and Gregorial Decretals; a Law which not only his Adverſary, but the whole Reformation of this Church and State hath branded and rejected. As ignorantly, and too ignorantly to deceive any Reader but an unlearned, he talks of *Juſtin Martyr*'s Apology, not telling us which of the twain; for that paſſage in the beginning of his firſt, which I have cited elſewhere, plainly makes againſt him: So doth *Tertullian*, cited next, and next *Eraſmus*, the one againſt *Marcion*, the other in his Annotations on *Matthew*, and to the *Corinthians*. And thus ye have the Liſt of his choice Antiquities, as pleaſantly choſen as ye would wiſh from a man of his handy Vocation, pufft up with no luck at all, above the ſtint of his capacity.

Now he comes to the Poſition, which I ſet down whole; and like an able Textman, ſlits it into four, that he may the better come at it with his Barber-Surgery, and his Sleeves turned up. Wherin firſt, he denies that any Diſpoſition, Unfitneſs, or Contrariety of Mind, is unchangeable in Nature, but that by the help of Diet and Phyſick it may be alter'd.

I mean not to diſpute Philoſophy with this Pork, who never read any. But I appeal to all Experience, though there be many drugs to purge theſe redundant Humours and Circulations, that commonly impair Health, and are not natural, whether any man can with the ſafety of his life bring a healthy Conſtitution into Phyſick with this deſign, to alter his natural temperament and diſpoſition of Mind. How much more vain and ridiculous would it be, by altering and rooting up the Grounds of Nature, which is moſt likely to produce Death or Madneſs, to hope the reducing of a Mind to this or that fitneſs, or two diſagreeing Minds to a mutual Sympathy? Suppoſe they might, and that with great danger of thir Lives and right Senſes, alter one temperature, how can they know that the ſucceeding Diſpoſition will not be as far from Fitneſs and Agreement? They would perhaps change Melancholy into Sanguin; but what if Fleam and Choler in as great a meaſure come inſtead, the Unfitneſs will be ſtill as difficult and troubleſome? But laſtly, Whether theſe things be changeable or not, Experience teaches us, and our Poſition ſuppoſes that they ſeldom do change in any time commenſurable to the Neceſſities of Man, or convenient to the Ends of Marriage; and if the fault be in the one, ſhall the other live all his days in Bondage and Miſery for anothers perverſneſs, or immedicable diſaffection? To my Friends, of which may feweſt be ſo unhappy, I have a Remedy, as they know, more wiſe and manly to preſcribe: but for his Friends and Followers ( of which many may deſerve juſtly to feel themſelves the unhappineſs which they conſider not in others ) I ſend them by his advice to ſit upon the Stool and ſtrain, till thir croſs Diſpoſitions and Contrarieties of Mind ſhall change to a better correſpondence, and to a quicker apprehenſion of common ſenſe, and thir own good.

His ſecond Reaſon is as heedleſs; becauſe that Grace may change the Diſpoſition, therfore no Indiſpoſition may cauſe Divorce.

*Anſw.* Firſt, it will not be deniable that many perſons, gracious both, may yet happen to be very unfitly married to the great diſturbance of either. Secondly, What if one have Grace, the other not, and will not alter, as the Scriptures teſtifie there be of thoſe, in whom we may expect a change, when *the Blackamoor changes his colour, or the Leopard his ſpots,* Jer. 13. 23. Shall the gracious therefore dwell in Torment all his life for the ungracious? We ſee that holieſt Precepts, than which there can no better Phyſick be adminiſtred to the mind of Man, and ſet on with powerful Preaching, cannot work this cure, no not in the Family, not in the Wife of him that preaches Day and Night to her. What an unreaſonable thing it is that Men, and Clergymen eſpecially, ſhould exact ſuch wondrous Changes in another man's Houſe, and are ſeen to work ſo little in thir own?

To the ſecond Point of the Poſition, That this Unfitneſs hinders the main Ends and Benefits of Marriage; he anſwers, If I mean the Unfitneſs of Choler, or ſullen Diſpoſition, that *ſoft words,* according to *Solomon, pacify wrath.*

But I reply, That the Saying of *Solomon* is a Proverb frequently true, not univerſally, as both the Event ſhews, and many other Sentences written by the ſame Author, particularly of an evil Woman, *Prov.* 21. 9, 19. and in other Chapters, that ſhe is better ſhunn'd than dwelt with, and a Deſert is preferr'd before her Society. What need the Spirit of God put this choice into our heads, if ſoft words could always take effect with her? How frivolous is not only this Diſputer, but he that taught him thus, and let him come abroad?

To his ſecond Anſwer I return this, That although there be not eaſily found ſuch an Antipathy, as to hate one another like a Toad or Poiſon; yet that there is oft ſuch a diſlike in both, or either, to conjugal Love, as hinders all the comfort of Matrimony, ſcarce any can be ſo ſimple as not to apprehend. And what can be that favour, found or not found, in the eyes of the Husband, but a natural Liking or Diſliking; wherof the Law of God, *Deut.* 24. bears witneſs, as of an ordinary Accident, and determins wiſely and divinely therafter. And this diſaffection hap'ning to be in the one, not without the unſpeakable diſcomfort of the other, muſt he be left like a thing conſecrated to Calamity, and deſpair without Redemption?

Againſt the third Branch of the Poſition, he denies that Solace and Peace, which is contrary to Diſcord and Variance, is the main end of Marriage. What then? He will have it the Solace of Male and Female. Came this Doctrine out of ſome School or ſome Stie? Who but one forſaken of all Senſe and civil Nature, and chiefly of Chriſtianity, will deny that Peace, contrary to Diſcord, is the Calling and the general End of every Chriſtian, and of all his Actions, and more eſpecially of Marriage, which is the deareſt League of Love, and the deareſt Reſemblance of that Love which in Chriſt is deareſt to his Church? how then can Peace and Comfort, as it is contrary to Diſcord, which God hates to dwell with, not be the main end of Marriage? Diſcord then we ought to fly, and to purſue Peace, far above the obſervance of a civil Covenant already broken, and the breaking daily iterated on the other ſide. And what better Teſtimony than the words of the Inſtitution it ſelf, to prove that a converſing Solace and peaceful Society, is the prime end of Marriage, without which no other Help or Office can be mutual, beſeeming the Dignity of reaſonable Creatures, that ſuch as they ſhould be coupled in the Rites of Nature by the meer compulſion of Luſt, without Love or Peace, worſe than wild Beaſts? Nor was it half ſo wiſely ſpoken as ſome deem, though *Auſtin* ſpake it, that if God had intended other than Copulation in Marriage, he would for *Adam* have created a Friend, rather than a Wife, to converſe with, and our own Writers blame him for this opinion: for which and the like paſſages, concerning Marriage, he might be juſtly taxed of Ruſticity in theſe affairs. For this cannot but be with eaſe conceived, that there is one Society of grave Friendſhip, and another amiable and attractive Society of conjugal Love, beſides the deed of Procreation, which of it ſelf ſoon cloys, and is deſpiſed, unleſs it be cheriſht and reincited with a pleaſing Converſation. Which if ignoble and ſwainiſh Minds cannot apprehend, ſhall ſuch merit therfore to be the Cenſurers of more generous and vertuous Spirits?

Againſt the laſt Point of the Poſition, to prove that Contrariety of Mind is not a greater cauſe of Divorce than corporal Frigidity, he enters into ſuch a tedious and drawling tale of Burning, and Burning, and Luſt and Burning, that the dull Argument it ſelf burns too for want of ſtirring; and yet all this Burning is not able to expel the Frigidity of his Brain. So long therfore as that Cauſe in the Poſition ſhall be proved a ſufficient cauſe of Divorce, rather than ſpend words with this fleamy Clod of an Antagoniſt, more than of neceſſity and a little merriment, I will not now contend whether it be a greater Cauſe than Frigidity or no.

His next attempt is upon the Arguments which I brought to prove the Poſition. And for the firſt, not finding it of that ſtructure as to be ſcaled with his ſhort Ladder, he retreats with a Bravado, that it deſerves no Anſwer. And I as much wonder what the whole Book deſerved, to be thus troubled and ſolicited by ſuch a paltry Solicitor. I would he had not caſt the gracious Eye of his Duncery upon the ſmall Deſerts of a Pamphlet, whoſe every Line medled with, uncaſes him to ſcorn and laughter.

That which he takes for the ſecond Argument, if he look better, is no Argument, but an Induction to thoſe that follow. Then he ſtumbles that I ſhould ſay, the gentleſt ends of Marriage, confeſſing that he underſtands it not. And I believe him heartily: For how ſhould he, a Serving-man both by Nature and by Function, an Idiot by Breeding, and a Solicitor by Preſumption, ever come to know or feel within himſelf what the meaning is of *gentle?* He blames it for a neat Phraſe, for nothing angers him more than his own proper Contrary. Yet altogether without Art ſure he is not; for who could have deviſed to give us more briefly a better deſcription of his own Servility?

But what will become now of the buſineſs I know not; for the Man is ſuddenly taken with a Lunacy of Law, and ſpeaks Revelations out of the Attorneys Academy only from a lying ſpirit: For he ſays, that where a thing is void, *ipſo facto*, there needs no legal Proceeding to make it void: which is falſe, for Marriage is void by Adultery or Frigidity, yet not made void without legal Proceeding. Then asks my Opinion of *John-a-Noaks* and *John-a-Stiles:* and I anſwer him, that I, for my part, think *John Dory* was a better Man than both of them; for certainly they were the greateſt Wranglers that ever lived, and have fill'd all our Law-books with the obtunding Story of their Suits and Tryals.

After this he tells a miraculous piece of Antiquity, how two Romans, *Titus* and *Sempronius*, made Feoffments, at *Rome* ſure, and levied Forces by the Common Law. But now his fit of Law paſt, yet hardly come to himſelf, he maintains, that if Marriage be void, as being neither of God nor Nature, there needs no legal proceeding to part it, and I tell him that offends not me; Then, quoth he, this is nothing to your Book, being the Doctrin and Diſciplin of Divorce. But that I deny him; for all Diſciplin is not Legal, that is to ſay Juridical, but ſom is Perſonal, ſom Economical, and ſom Eccleſiaſtical.

Laſtly, If I prove that contrary Diſpoſitions are joyned neither of God nor Nature, and ſo the Marriage void, he will give me the Controverſie. I have prov'd it in that Book to any wiſe Man, and without more ado the Inſtitution proves it.

Where I anſwer an objection uſually made, that the Diſpoſition ought to be known before Marriage, and ſhew how difficult it is to chooſe a fit Conſort, and how eaſy to miſtake; the Servitor would know what I mean by Converſation, declaring his Capacity nothing refined ſince his Law-puddering, but ſtill the ſame it was in the Pantry and at the Dreſſer. Shall I argue of Converſation with this Hoyd'n, to go and practiſe at his opportunities in the Larder? To men of Quality I have ſaid enough; and Experience confirms by daily Example that wiſeſt, ſobereſt, juſteſt Men are ſomtimes miſerably miſtaken in thir choice. Whom to leave thus without remedy, toſt and tempeſted in a moſt unquiet Sea of Afflictions and Temptations, I ſay is moſt unchriſtianly.

But he goes on to untruſs my Arguments, imagining them his maſters Points. Only in the paſſage following, I cannot but admire the ripeneſs, and the pregnance of his native treachery, endeavouring to be more a Fox than his wit will ſuffer him. Wheras I briefly mentioned certain Heads of diſcourſe, which I referr'd to a place more proper according to my Method, to be treated ther at full with all thir Reaſons about them, this Brain-worm againſt all the Laws of diſpute, will needs deal with them here. And as a Country Hind, ſomtimes ambitious to ſhew his betters that he is not ſo ſimple as you take him, and that he knows his advantages, will teach us a new trick to confute by. And would you think to what a pride he ſwells in the Contemplation of his rare ſtratagem, offering to carp at the Language of a Book, which yet he confeſſes to be generally commended; while himſelf will be acknowledged by all that read him, the baſeſt and the hungreſt indighter, that could take the boldneſs to look abroad. Obſerve now the Arrogance of a Groom, how it will mount. I had written that common Adultery is a thing which the rankeſt politician would think it ſhame and diſworſhip, that his Law ſhould countenance. Firſt, it offends him, that *rankeſt* ſhould ſignifie ought but his own ſmell; who that knows Engliſh, would not underſtand me, when I ſay a rank Serving-man, a rank Pettifogger, to mean a meer Serving-man, a meer and arrant Pettifogger, who lately was ſo hardy, as to lay aſide his Buckram-wallet, and make himſelf a fool in Print, with confuting Books which are above him? Next the word *Politician* is not uſed to his Maw, and therupon he plays the moſt notorions Hobby-horſe, jeſting and friſking in the Luxury of his Nonſence with ſuch poor fetches to cog a laughter from us, that no antic Hobnail at a Morris, but is more handſomly facetious.

Concerning that place *Deut.* 24. 1. which he ſaith to be the main Pillar of my Opinion, though I rely more on the Inſtitution than on that: Theſe two Pillars I do indeed confeſs are to me as thoſe two in the Porch of the Temple, *Jachin* and *Boaz*, which names import Eſtabliſhment and Strength; nor do I fear who can ſhake them. The Expoſition of *Deut.* which I brought, is the received Expoſition, both antient and modern, by all Learned Men, unleſs it be a Monkiſh Papiſt here and there: and the Gloſs which he and his obſcure Aſſiſtant would perſwade us to, is meerly new and abſurd, preſuming out of his utter ignorance in the Hebrew, to interpret theſe words of the Text, firſt, in a miſtaken ſenſe of uncleanneſs, againſt all approved Writers. Secondly, in a limited ſenſe, whenas the Original ſpeaks without limitation, ſom uncleanneſs or any: and it had been a wiſe Law indeed to mean it ſelf particular, and not to expreſs the caſe which this acute *Rabbi* hath all this while been hooking for; wherby they who are moſt partial to him may gueſs that ſomthing is in this Doctrin which I alledg, that forces the Adverſary to ſuch a new and ſtrained Expoſition: Wherin he does nothing for above four Pages, but founder himſelf to and fro in his own Objections; one while denying that Divorce was permitted, another while affirming that it was permitted for the Wives ſake, and after all, diſtruſts himſelf. And for his ſureſt retirement, betakes him to thoſe old Suppoſitions, that Chriſt aboliſht the Moſaic Law of Divorce; that the Jews had not ſufficient knowledg in this point, through the darkneſs of the Diſpenſation of heavenly things; that under the plenteous Grace of the Goſpel, we are tied by cruelleſt compulſion to live in Marriage till death, with the wickedeſt, the worſt, the moſt perſecuting Mate. Theſe ignorant and doting ſurmiſes he might have read confuted at large, even in the firſt Edition, but found it ſafer to paſs that part over in ſilence. So that they who ſee not the ſottiſhneſs of this his new and tedious Expoſition, are worthy to love it dearly.

His Explanation don, he charges me with a wicked Gloſs, and almoſt Blaſphemy, for ſaying that Chriſt in teaching, meant not always to be taken word for word; but like a wiſe Phyſician, adminiſtring one Exceſs againſt another, to reduce us to a perfect mean. Certainly to teach thus, were no diſhoneſt method: Chriſt himſelf hath often uſed Hyberboles in his teaching; and graveſt Authors, both *Ariſtotle* in the ſecond of his Ethics to *Nichomachus*, and *Seneca* in his ſeventh *de Beneficiis*, adviſe us to ſtretch out the Line of Precept oft-times beyond meaſure, that while we tend further, the mean might be the eaſier attained. And whoever comments that 5th of *Matthew*, when he comes to the turning of Cheek after Cheek to blows, and the parting both with Cloak and Coat, if any pleaſe to be the rifler, will be forced to recommend himſelf to the ſame Expoſition, though this chattering Law-monger be bold to call it wicked. Now note another precious piece of him; Chriſt, ſaith he, *doth not ſay that an unchaſt look is Adultery, but the luſting after her*; as if the looking unchaſtly could be without luſting. This gear is licenſed for good reaſon, *Imprimatur*.

Next he would prove that the Speech of Chriſt is not utter'd in exceſs againſt the Phariſees, firſt, Becauſe he ſpeaks it to his Diſciples, *Matth.* 5. which is falſe, for he ſpake it to the Multitude, as by the firſt Verſe is evident, among which in all likelyhood were many Phariſes, but out of doubt, all of them Phariſean Diſciples, and bred up in thir Doctrin; from which extreams of Error and Falſity, Chriſt throughout his whole Sermon labours to reclaim the People. Secondly, ſaith he, becauſe Chriſt forbids not only putting away, but marrying her who is put away. Acutely, as if the Phariſes might not have offended as much in marrying the Divorc'd, as in divorcing the Married. The Precept may bind all, rightly underſtood; and yet the vehement manner of giving it, may be occaſion'd only by the Phariſes.

Finally, he winds up his Text with much doubt and trepidation; for it may be his Trenchers were not ſcrap'd, and that which never yet afforded Corn of Savour to his Noddle, the Salt-ſeller was not rubb'd: and therfore in this haſt eaſily granting, that his Anſwers fall foul upon each other, and praying, you would not think he writes, as a Prophet, but as a Man, he runs to the Black Jack, fills his Flagon, ſpreads the Table, and ſerves up Dinner.

After waiting and voiding, he thinks to void my ſecond Argument, and the contradictions that will follow both in the Law and Goſpel, if the Moſaic Law were abrogated by our Saviour, and a compulſive Prohibition fixt inſtead: and ſings his old Song, that the Goſpel counts unlawful that which the Law allow'd, inſtancing in Circumciſion, Sacrifices, Waſhings. But what are theſe ceremonial things to the changing of a moral point in houſhold Duty, equally belonging to Jew and Gentile? Divorce was then right, now wrong; then permitted in the rigorous time of Law, now forbidd'n by Law, even to the moſt extreamly afflicted, in the favourable time of Grace and Freedom. But this is not for an unbutton'd fellow to diſcuſs in the Garret at his Treſle, and dimenſion of Candle by the Snuff; which brought forth his cullionly Paraphraſe on St. *Paul*, whom he brings in, diſcourſing ſuch idle ſtuff to the Maids and Widows, as his own ſervile Inurbanity forbears not to put into the Apoſtle's mouth, of the Souls converſing: and this he preſumes to do, being a Bayard, who never had the ſoul to know what converſing means, but as his Provender, and the familiarity of the Kitchin ſchool'd his conceptions.

He paſſes to the third Argument, like a Boar in a Vineyard, doing naught elſe, but ſtill as he goes champing and chewing over, what I could mean by this Chimera of a *fit converſing ſoul*, Notions and Words never made for theſe chops; but like a generous Wine, only by over-working the ſettled Mud of his fancy, to make him drunk, and diſgorge his vileneſs the more openly. All perſons of gentle Breeding (I ſay gentle, though this Barrow grunt at the word) I know will apprehend, and be ſatisfied in what I ſpake, how unpleaſing and diſcontenting the Society of Body muſt needs be between thoſe whoſe Minds cannot be ſociable. But what ſhould a Man ſay more to a Snout in this pickle? what Language can be low and degenerate enough?

The fourth Argument which I had, was, That Marriage being a Covenant, the very being wherof conſiſts in the Performance of unfained Love and Peace; if that wer not tolerably performed, the Cov'nant became broke and revocable. Which how can any, in whoſe mind the principles of right Reaſon and Juſtice are not cancell'd, deny? for how can a thing ſubſiſt, when the true Eſſence therof is diſſolved? Yet this he denies, and yet in ſuch a manner as alters my aſſertion; for he puts in, though the main end be not attain'd in full meaſure: but my Poſition is, if it be not tolerably attained, as throughout the whole Diſcourſe is apparent.

Now for his Reaſons; *Heman* found not that Peace and Solace which is the main end of Communion with God, ſhould he therfore break off that Communion?

I anſwer, That if *Heman* found it not, the fault was certainly his own: but in Marriage it happ'ns far otherwiſe: ſomtimes the fault is plainly not his who ſeeks Divorce: ſomtimes it cannot be diſcern'd whoſe fault it is; and therfore cannot in Reaſon or Equity be the matter of an abſolute Prohibition.

His other inſtance declares, what a right Handicrafts-man he is of petty Caſes, and how unfit to be ought elſe at higheſt, but a Hackney of the Law. I change Houſes with a man; it is ſuppoſed I do it for my own ends; I attain them not in this Houſe; I ſhall not therfore go from my Bargain. How without fear might the young *Charinus* in *Andria* now cry out, *What likeneſs can be here to a Marriage?* In this Bargain was no Capitulation, but the yielding of Poſſeſſion to one another, wherin each of them had his ſeveral end apart? in Marriage there is a ſolemn Vow of Love and Fidelity each to other: this Bargain is fully accompliſht in the change; in Marriage the Covenant ſtill is in performing. If one of them perform nothing tolerably, but inſtead of Love, abound in Diſaffection, Diſobedience, Fraud and Hatred; what thing in the nature of a Covenant ſhall bind the other to ſuch a perdurable miſchief? Keep to your Problems of Ten groats, theſe matters are not for Pragmaticks, and Folk-mooters to babble in.

Concerning the place of *Paul*, that God hath called us to peace, 1 *Cor.* 7. And therfore certainly, if any-where in this World, we have a right to claim it reaſonably in Marriage, it is plain enough in the ſenſe which I gave, and confeſt by *Paræus*, and other Orthodox Divines, to be a good ſenſe, and this Anſwerer doth not weak'n it. The other place, that *he who hateth, may put away*, which, if I ſhew him, he promiſes to yield the whole Controverſie, is, beſides *Deut.* 24. 1. *Deut.* 21. 14. and before this, *Exod.* 21. 8. Of *Malachy* I have ſpoken more in another place; and ſay again, that the beſt Interpreters, all the Antient, and moſt of the Modern tranſlate it, as I cite it, and very few otherwiſe, wherof perhaps *Junius* is the chief.

Another thing troubles him, that Marriage is called *the myſtery of Joy*. Let it ſtill trouble him; for what hath he to do either with joy or with myſtery? He thinks it frantick Divinity to ſay, it is not the outward continuance of Marriage that keeps the Covenant of Marriage whole; but whoſoever doth moſt according to peace and love, whether in Marriage or Divorce, he breaks Marriage leaſt. If I ſhall ſpell it to him, he breaks Marriage leaſt, is to ſay, he diſhonours not Marriage; for leaſt is taken in the Bible, and other good Authors, for, not at all. And a particular Marriage a Man may break, if for a lawful Cauſe, and yet not break, that is, not violate, or diſhonour the Ordinance of Marriage. Hence theſe two Queſtions that follow, are left ridiculous; and the Maids at *Algate*, whom he flouts, are likely to have more Wit than the Serving-man at *Addle-gate*.

Wheras he taxes me of adding to the Scripture, in that I ſaid Love only is the fulfilling of every Commandment, I cited no particular Scripture, but ſpake a general ſenſe, which might be collected from many places. For ſeeing Love includes Faith, what is there that can fulfil every Commandment but only Love? and I meant, as any intelligent Reader might apprehend, every poſitive and civil Commandment, wherof Chriſt hath taught us that Man is the Lord. It is not the formal Duty of Worſhip, or the ſitting ſtill, that keeps the holy Reſt of Sabbath; but whoſoever doth moſt according to Charity, whether he works or works not, he breaks the holy Reſt of Sabbath leaſt. So Marriage being a Civil Ordinance, made for Man, not Man for it; he who doth that which moſt accords with Charity, firſt to himſelf, next to whom he next owes it, whether in Marriage or Divorce, he breaks the Ordinance of Marriage leaſt. And what in religious Prudence can be Charity to himſelf, and what to his Wife, either in continuing, or in diſſolving the Marriag-knot, hath been already oft enough diſcourſed. So that what St. *Paul* ſaith of Circumciſion, the ſame I ſtick not to ſay of a Civil Ordinance, made to the good and comfort of Man, not to his ruin; Marriage is nothing, and Divorce is nothing, but Faith which worketh by Love. And this I truſt none can miſtake.

Againſt the fifth Argument, That a Chriſtian in a higher Order of Prieſthood than that Levitical, is a perſon dedicate to Joy and Peace; and therefore needs not in ſubjection to a Civil Ordinance, made to no other end but for his good, ( when without his fault he finds it impoſſible to be decently or tolerably obſerved ) to plunge himſelf into immeaſurable Diſtractions and Temptations, above his ſtrength; againſt this he proves nothing, but gads into ſilly conjectures of what Abuſes would follow, and with as good reaſon might declaim againſt the beſt things that are.

Againſt the ſixth Argument, That to force the Continuance of Marriage between Minds found utterly unfit and diſproportional, is againſt Nature, and ſeems forbid under that allegorical Precept of *Moſes*, not to ſow a Field with divers Seeds, leſt both be defiled; not to plough with an Ox and an Aſs together, which I deduced by the pattern of St. *Paul*'s reaſoning what was meant by not muzling the Ox; he rambles over a long Narration, to tell us that by the Oxen are meant the Preachers: which is not doubted. Then he demands if this my reaſoning be like St. *Paul*'s? and I anſwer him, Yes: He replys, that ſure St. *Paul* would be aſham'd to reaſon thus. And I tell him, No. He grants that place which I alledged, 2 *Cor.* 6. of unequal yoking, may allude to that of *Moſes*, but ſays, I cannot prove it makes to my purpoſe, and ſhews not firſt how he can diſprove it. Waigh, Gentlemen, and conſider, whether my Affirmations, backt with Reaſon, may hold ballance againſt the bare Denials of this ponderous Confuter, elected by his ghoſtly Patrons to be my Copesmate.

Proceeding on to ſpeak of myſterious things in Nature, I had occaſion to fit the Language therafter, matters not; for the reading of this odious Fool, who thus ever when he meets with ought above the cogitation of his Breeding, leaves the noiſom ſtench of his rude Slot behind him, maligning that any thing ſhould be ſpoke or underſtood above his own genuin baſeneſs; and gives ſentence that his confuting hath been imployed about a frothy, immeritous and undeſerving Diſcourſe. Who could have believed ſo much Inſolence durſt vent it ſelf from out the Hide of a Varlet, as thus to cenſure that which Men of mature judgment have applauded to be writ with good Reaſon? But this contents him not, he falls now to rave in his barbarous abuſiveneſs; and why? a reaſon befitting ſuch an Artificer, becauſe he ſaith the Book is contrary to all human Learning; whenas the World knows, that all, both Human and Divine Learning, till the Canon-Law, allow'd Divorce by conſent, and for many Cauſes without conſent. Next he dooms it as contrary to Truth; whenas it hath been diſputable among Learned Men ever ſince it was prohibited: and is by *Peter Martyr* thought an Opinion not impious, but hard to be refuted; and by *Eraſmus* deem'd a Doctrin ſo charitable and pious, as, if it cannot be uſed, were to be wiſhed it could; but is by *Martin Bucer*, a man of deareſt and moſt religious Memory in the Church, taught and maintained to be either moſt lawfully uſed, or moſt lawfully permitted. And for this, for I affirm no more than *Bucer*, what cenſure do you think, Readers, he hath condemned the Book to? To a death no leſs impious than to be burnt by the Hangman. Mr. Licenſer, for I deal not now with this Caitiff, never worth my Earneſt, and now not ſeaſonable for my Jeſt, you are reputed a Man diſcreet enough, religious enough, honeſt enough, that is, to an ordinary competence in all theſe. But now your turn is, to hear what your own hand hath earned ye; that when you ſuffered this nameleſs Hangman to caſt into publick ſuch a deſpiteful Contumely upon a Name and Perſon deſerving of the Church and State equally to your ſelf, and one who hath done more to the preſent advancement of your own Tribe, than you or many of them have done for themſelves; you forgot to be either honeſt, religious, or diſcreet. Whatever the State might do concerning it, ſuppos'd a matter to expect Evil from, I ſhould not doubt to meet among them with wiſe, and honourable, and knowing Men. But as to this brute Libel, ſo much the more impudent and lawleſs for the abuſed Authority which it bears; I ſay again, that I abominate the Cenſure of Raſcals and thir Licenſers.

With difficulty I return to what remains of this ignoble Task, for the diſdain I have to change a period more with the filth and venom of this Gourmand, ſwell'd into a Confuter; yet, for the ſatisfaction of others, I endure all this.

Againſt the ſeventh Argument, That if the Canon-Law and Divines allow Divorce for Conſpiracy of Death, they may as well allow it to avoid the ſame conſequence from the likelihood of natural Cauſes:

Firſt, he denies that the Canon ſo decrees.

I anſwer, That it decrees for danger of Life, as much as for Adultery. *Decret. Gregor. l.* 4. *tit.* 19. and in other places: And the beſt Civilians who cite the Canon-Law, ſo collect, as *Schneidewin in Inſtitut. tit.* 10. *p.* 4. *de Divort.* And indeed, who would have denied it, but one of a reprobate Ignorance in all he medles with?

Secondly, He ſaith, the caſe alters; for there the Offender, who ſeeks the Life, doth implicitly at leaſt act a Divorce.

And I anſwer, That here Nature, though no Offender, doth the ſame. But if an Offender by acting a Divorce, ſhall releaſe the offended, this is an ample grant againſt himſelf. He ſaith, Nature teaches to ſave life from one who ſeeks it. And I ſay, ſhe teaches no leſs to ſave it from any other Cauſe that endangers it: He ſaith, that here they are both Actors. Admit they were, it would not be uncharitable to part them; yet ſomtimes they are not both Actors, but the one of them moſt lamentedly paſſive. So he concludes, We muſt not take advantage of our own Faults and Corruptions to releaſe us from our Duties. But ſhall we take no advantage to ſave our ſelves from the faults of another, who hath annull'd his right to our Duty? No, ſaith he, let them die of the Sullens, and try who will pity them. *Barbarian, the ſhame of all honeſt Attorneys,* why do they not hoiſe him over the Bar, and blanket him?

Againſt the eigth Argument, That they who are deſtitute of all marriageable Gifts, except a Body not plainly unfit, have not the calling to marry, and conſequently married and ſo found, may be divorced: this, he ſaith, is nothing to the purpoſe, and not fit to be anſwer'd. I leave it therfore to the judgment of his Maſters.

Againſt the ninth Argument, That Marriage is a human Society, and ſo chiefly ſeated in Agreement and Unity of Mind: If therfore the Mind cannot have that due Society by Marriage, that it may reaſonably and humanly deſire, it can be no human Society, and ſo not without reaſon divorcible: here he falſifies, and turns what the Poſition required of a reaſonable Agreement in the main matters of Society into an Agreement in all things, which makes the Opinion not mine, and ſo he leaves it.

At laſt and in good hour, we are come to his farewel, which is to be a concluding taſte of his Jabberment in Law, the flaſhieſt and fuſtieſt that ever corrupted in ſuch an unſwill'd Hogſhead.

Againſt my tenth Argument, as he calls it, but as I intended it, my other Poſition, That Divorce is not a thing determinable by a compulſive Law, for that all Law is for ſome good that may be frequently attained without the admixture of a worſe inconvenience: But the Law forbidding Divorce, never attains to any good end of ſuch Prohibition, but rather multiplies Evil; therfore the Prohibition of Divorce is no good Law. Now for his Attorneys priſe: but firſt, like a right cunning and ſturdy Logician, he denies my Argument, not mattering whether in the *major* or *minor*; and ſaith there are many Laws made for Good, and yet that Good is not attained, through the defaults of the Party, but a greater inconvenience follows.

But I reply, That this Anſwer builds upon a ſhallow foundation, and moſt unjuſtly ſuppoſes every one in default, who ſeeks Divorce from the moſt injurious Wedloc. The default therfore will be found in the Law it ſelf; which is neither able to puniſh the Offender, but the Innocent muſt withal ſuffer; nor can right the Innocent in what is chiefly ſought, the obtainment of Love or Quietneſs. His Inſtances out of the Common Law are all ſo quite beſide the matter which he would prove, as may be a Warning to all Clients how they venture thir buſineſs with ſuch a cockbrain'd Solicitor. For being to ſhew ſome Law of *England*, attaining to no good end, and yet through no default of the party, who is therby debar'd all remedy, he ſhews us only how ſome do loſe the benefit of good Laws through thir own default. His firſt Example ſaith, it is a juſt Law that every one ſhall peaceably enjoy his Eſtate in Lands or otherwiſe. Does this Law attain to no good end? the Bar will bluſh at this moſt incogitant Woodcock. But ſee if a draſt of *Littleton* will recover him to his Senſes. If this man having Fee-ſimple in his Lands, yet will take a Leaſe of his own Lands from another, this ſhall be an Eſtopple to him in an Aſſize from the recovering of his own Land.

Mark now and regiſter him! How many are there of ten thouſand who have ſuch a Fee-ſimple in thir Sconſe, as to take a Leaſe of thir own Lands from another? So that this inconvenience lights upon ſcarce one in an Age, and by his own default; and the Law of enjoying each Man his own, is good to all others. But on the contrary, this Prohibition of Divorce is good to none, and brings inconvenience to Numbers, who lie under intolerable Grievances without thir own default, through the wickedneſs or folly of another ; and all this iniquity the Law remedies not, but in a manner maintains. His other Caſes are directly to the ſame purpoſe, and might have been ſpared, but that he is a Tradeſman of the Law, and muſt be born with at his firſt ſetting up, to lay forth his beſt Ware, which is only gibberiſh.

I have now don that, which for many Cauſes I might have thought, could not likely have been my fortune, to be put to this under-work of ſcowring and unrubbiſhing the low and ſordid Ignorance of ſuch a preſumptuous Lozel. Yet *Hercules* had the labour once impoſed upon him to carry Dung out of the *Augean* Stable. At any hand I would be rid of him: for I had rather, ſince the life of Man is likened to a Scene, that all my Entrances and Exits might mix with ſuch perſons only, whoſe Worth erects them and thir Actions to a grave and tragic Deportment, and not to have to do with Clowns and Vices. But if a man cannot peaceably walk into the World, but muſt be infeſted; ſomtimes at his face with Dorrs and Horſe-flies, ſomtimes beneath with bawling Whippets and Shin-barkers, and theſe to be ſet on by Plot and Conſultation with a Junto of Clergymen and Licenſers, commended alſo and rejoyced in by thoſe whoſe partiality cannot yet forgo old papiſtical Principles; have I not cauſe to be in ſuch a manner defenſive, as may procure me freedom to paſs more unmoleſted hereafter by thoſe Incumbrances, not ſo much regarded for themſelves, as for thoſe who incite them? And what defence can properly be uſed in ſuch a deſpicable Encounter as this, but either the Slap or the Spurn? If they can afford me none but a ridiculous Adverſary, the blame belongs not to me, though the whole Diſpute be ſtrew'd and ſcatter'd with Ridiculous? And if he have ſuch an ambition to know no better who are his Mates, but among theſe needy Thoughts, which, though his two Faculties of Serving-man and Solicitor ſhould compound into one Mongrel, would be but thin and meagre, if in this penury of Soul he can be poſſible to have the luſtineſs to think of Fame, let him but ſend me how he calls himſelf, and I may chance not fail to indorſe him on the backſide of Poſterity, not a golden, but a brazen Aſs. Since my fate extorts from me a Talent of Sport, which I had thought to hide in a Napkin, he ſhall be my *Batrachomuomachia*, my *Bavius*, my *Calandrino*, the common Adagy of ignorance and overweening: Nay perhaps, as the provocation may be, I may be driven to curl up this gliding Proſe into a rough Sotadic, that ſhall rime him into ſuch a condition, as inſtead of judging good Books to be burnt by the Executioner, he ſhall be readier to be his own Hangman. Thus much to this Nuiſance.

But as for the Subject it ſelf which I have writ and now defend, according as the oppoſition bears; if any man equal to the matter, ſhall think it appertains him to take in hand this Controverſy, either excepting againſt ought written, or perſwaded he can ſhew better how this Queſtion of ſuch moment, to be throughly known, may receive a true determination, not leaning on the old and rott'n Suggeſtions wheron it yet leans; if his Intents be ſincere to the publick, and ſhall carry him on without bitterneſs to the opinion, or to the perſon diſſenting, let him not, I entreat him, gueſs by the handling, which meritoriouſly hath been beſtowed on this object of contempt and laughter, that I account it any diſpleaſure don me to be contradicted in Print: But as it leads to the attainment of any thing more true, ſhall eſteem it a benefit; and ſhall know how to return his Civility and fair Argument in ſuch a ſort, as he ſhall confeſs that to do ſo is my Choice, and to have don thus was my Chance.

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Areopa-

# Areopagitica:

## A SPEECH for the Liberty of Unlicens'd PRINTING,

### To the PARLAMENT of *ENGLAND*.

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Τοὐλεύθερον δ᾽ ἐκεῖνο, εἴ τις θέλει πόλει
Χρηστόν τι βούλευμ᾽ εἰς μέσον φέρειν, ἔχων.
Καὶ ταῦθ᾽ ὁ χρῄζων, λαμπρὸς ἔσθ᾽, ὁ μὴ θέλων,
Σιγᾷ, τί τούτων ἐστιν ἰσαίτερον πόλει;

Euripid. Hicctid.

*This is true Liberty, when free-born Men,*
*Having to adviſe the Public, may ſpeak free,*
*Which he who can, and will, deſerv's high praiſe;*
*Who neither can nor will, may hold his peace;*
*What can be juſter in a State then this?*

Euripid. Hicetid.

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THey, who to States and Governours of the Commonwealth direct thir Speech, High Court of Parlament, or wanting ſuch acceſs in a private condition, write that which they foreſee may advance the publick good; I ſuppoſe them as at the beginning of no mean endeavour, not a little alter'd and mov'd inwardly in thir minds: Some with doubt of what will be the ſucceſs, others with fear of what will be the cenſure; ſome with hope, others with confidence of what they have to ſpeak. And me perhaps each of theſe diſpoſitions, as the ſubject was wheron I enter'd, may have at other times variouſly affected; and likely might in theſe formoſt expreſſions, now alſo diſcloſe which of them ſway'd moſt, but that the very attempt of this Addreſs thus made, and the thought of whom it hath recourſe to, hath got the power within me to a paſſion, far more welcom then incidental to a Preface. Which though I ſtay not to confeſs ere any ask, I ſhall be blameleſs, if it be no other, then the joy and gratulation which it brings to all who wiſh and promote thir Countries Liberty; wherof this whole Diſcourſe propos'd will be a certain Teſtimony, if not a Trophy. For this is not the Liberty which we can hope, that no grievance ever ſhould ariſe in the Commonwealth, that let no man in this World expect; but when complaints are freely heard, deeply conſider'd, and ſpeedily reform'd, then is the utmoſt bound of civil Liberty attain'd, that wiſe men look for. To which if I now manifeſt, by the very ſound of this which I ſhall utter, that we are already in good part arriv'd, and yet from ſuch a ſteep diſadvantage of tyranny and ſuperſtition grounded into our principles, as was beyond the manhood of a *Roman* recovery, it will be attributed firſt, as is moſt due, to the ſtrong aſſiſtance of God, our Deliverer, next to your faithful guidance and undaunted Wiſdom, Lords and Commons of *England*. Neither is it in God's eſteem, the diminution of his glory, when honourable things are ſpoken of good men, and worthy Magiſtrates; which if I now firſt ſhould begin to do, after ſo fair a progreſs of your laudable deeds, and ſuch a long obligement upon the whole Realm to your indefatigable vertues, I might be juſtly reckn'd among the tardieſt, and the unwillingeſt of them that praiſe ye. Nevertheles there being three principal things, without which all praiſing is but courtſhip and flattery, Firſt, when that only is prais'd which is ſolidly worth praiſe; next when greateſt likelihoods are brought, that ſuch things are truly and really in thoſe perſons, to whom they are aſcrib'd; the other, when he who praiſes, by ſhewing that ſuch his actual perſwaſion is of whom he writes, can demonſtrate that he flatters not: the former two of theſe I have heretofore endeavour'd, reſcuing the employment from him who went about to impair your merits, with a trivial and malignant *Encomium*; the latter as belonging chiefly to mine own acquittal, that whom I ſo extoll'd I did not flatter, hath been reſerv'd opportunely to this occaſion. For he who freely magnifies what hath been nobly don, and fears not to declare as freely what might be don better, gives ye the beſt cov'nant of his fidelity; and that his loyaleſt affection and his hope waits on your proceedings. His higheſt praiſing is not flattery, and his plaineſt advice is a kind of praiſing; for tho I ſhould affirm and hold by argument, that it would fare better with Truth, with Learning, and the Commonwealth, if one of your publiſht Orders which I ſhould name, were call'd in, yet at the ſame time it could not but much redound to the luſtre of your mild and equal Government, whenas private perſons are hereby animated to think ye better pleas'd with public advice, then other Statiſts have been delighted heretofore with public flattery. And men will then ſee what difference there is between the magnanimity of a triennial Parlament, and that jealous hautineſs of Prelats and cabin Counſellors that uſurpt of late, whenas they ſhall obſerve ye in the midſt of your Victories and Succeſſes more gently brooking writt'n exceptions againſt a voted Order, then other Courts, which had produc'd nothing worth memory but the weak oſtentation of wealth, would have endur'd the leaſt ſignifi'd diſlike at any ſudden Proclamation. If I ſhould thus far preſume upon the meek demeanour of your civil and gentle greatneſs, Lords and Commons, as what your publiſht Order hath directly ſaid, that to gainſay, I might defend my ſelf with eaſe, if any ſhould accuſe me of being new or inſolent, did they but know how much better I find ye eſteem it to imitate the old and elegant humanity of *Greece*, then the barbaric pride of a *Hunniſh* and *Norwegian* ſtatelines. And out of thoſe ages, to whoſe polite wiſdom and letters we ow that we are not yet *Gothes* and *Jutlanders*, I could name him who from his private houſe wrote that diſcourſe to the Parlament of *Athens*, that perſwades them to change the form of *Democraty* which was then eſtabliſht. Such honour was done in thoſe days to men who profeſt the ſtudy of Wiſdom and Eloquence, not only in thir own Country, but in other Lands, that Cities and Siniories heard them gladly, and with great reſpect, if they had ought in public to admoniſh the State. Thus did *Dion Pruſæus*, a ſtranger, and a private Orator, counſel the *Rhodians* againſt a former Edict: and I abound with other like examples, which to ſet heer would be ſuperfluous. But if from the induſtry of a life wholly dedicated to ſtudious labours, and thoſe natural endowments haply not the worſt for two and fifty degrees of northern latitude, ſo much muſt be derogated, as to count me not equal to any of thoſe who had this privilege, I would obtain to be thought not ſo inferior, as your ſelves are ſuperior to the moſt of them who receiv'd thir counſel: and how far you excel them, be aſſur'd, Lords and Commons, there can no greater teſtimony appear, then when your prudent ſpirit acknowledges and obeys the voice of reaſon, from what quarter ſoever it be heard ſpeaking; and renders ye as willing to repeal any Act of your own ſetting forth, as any ſet forth by your Predeceſſors.

If ye be thus reſolv'd, as it were injury to think ye were not, I know not what ſhould withhold me from preſenting ye with a fit inſtance wherin to ſhew both that love of truth which ye eminently profeſs, and that uprightneſs of your judgment which is not wont to be partial to your ſelves; by judging over again that Order which ye have ordain'd *to regulate Printing: That no Book, Pamphlet, or Paper ſhall be henceforth printed, unleſs the ſame be firſt approv'd and licenc'd by ſuch*, or at leaſt one of ſuch as ſhall be therto appointed. For that part which preſerves juſtly every mans Copy to himſelf, or provides for the poor, I touch not, only wiſh they be not made pretences to abuſe and perſecute honeſt and painful Men, who offend not in either of theſe particulars. But that other clauſe of Licencing Books, which we thought had dy'd with his brother *quadrageſimal* and *matrimonial* when the Prelats expir'd, I ſhall now attend with ſuch a Homily, as ſhall lay before ye, firſt the Inventors of it to be thoſe whom ye will be loth to own; next what is to be thought in general of reading, whatever ſort the Books be; and that this Order avails nothing to the ſuppreſſing of ſcandalous, ſeditious, and libellous Books, which were mainly intended to be ſuppreſt. Laſt, that it will be primely to the diſcouragement of all Learning, and the ſtop of Truth, not only by diſexerciſing and blunting our abilities, in what we know already, but by hindring and cropping the diſcovery that might be yet further made, both in religious and civil Wiſdom.

I deny not, but that it is of greateſt concernment in the Church and Commonwealth, to have a vigilant eye how Books demean themſelves as well as Men; and therafter to confine, impriſon, and do ſharpeſt juſtice on them as malefactors: For Books are not abſolutely dead things, but do contain a potencie of life in them to be as active as that ſoul was whoſe progeny they are; nay they do preſerve as in a viol the pureſt efficacy and extraction of that living intellect that bred them. I know they are as lively, and as vigorouſly productive, as thoſe fabulous Dragons teeth; and being ſown up and down, may chance to ſpring up armed Men. And yet on the other hand, unleſs warineſs be us'd, as good almoſt kill a Man as kill a good Book: who kills a Man kills a reaſonable Creature, God's Image; but he who deſtroys a good Book, kills Reaſon it ſelf, kills the Image of God, as it were in the eye. Many a man lives a burden to the Earth; but a good Book is the pretious life-blood of a maſter ſpirit, imbalm'd and treaſur'd up on purpoſe to a life beyond life. 'Tis true, no age can reſtore a life, wherof perhaps there is no great loſs; and revolutions of ages do not oft recover the loſs of a rejected Truth, for the want of which whole Nations fare the worſe. We ſhould be wary therfore what Perſecution we raiſe againſt the living Labours of publick men, how we ſpill that ſeaſon'd life of Man, preſerv'd and ſtor'd up in Books; ſince we ſee a kind of Homicide may be thus committed, ſometimes a Martyrdom; and if it extend to the whole impreſſion, a kind of maſſacre, wherof the execution ends not in the ſlaying of an elemental life, but ſtrikes at that ethereal and fift eſſence, the breath of Reaſon it ſelf, ſlays an immortality rather then a life. But leſt I ſhould be condemn'd of introducing Licenſe, while I oppoſe Licenſing, I refuſe not the pains to be ſo much hiſtorical, as will ſerve to ſhew what hath been don by ancient and famous Commonwealths, againſt this diſorder, till the very time that this project of Licenſing crept out of the *Inquiſition*, was catcht up by our Prelats, and hath caught ſome of our Presbyters.

In *Athens*, where Books and Wits were ever buſier then in any other part of *Greece*, I find but only two ſorts of Writings which the Magiſtrate car'd to take notice of; thoſe either Blaſphemous and Atheiſtical, or Libellous. Thus the Books of *Protagoras* were by the Judges of *Areopagus*, commanded to be burnt, and himſelf baniſht the Territory for a diſcourſe, begun with his confeſſing not to know, *whether there were gods, or whether not*. And againſt Defaming, it was decreed that none ſhould be traduc'd by name, as was the manner of *Vetus Comœdia*, wherby we may gueſs how they cenſur'd Libelling: And this courſe was quick enough, as *Cicero* writes, to quell both the deſperate Wits of other Atheiſts, and the open way of Defaming, as the event ſhew'd. Of other Sects and Opinions, though tending to Voluptuouſneſs, and the denying of divine Providence, they took no heed. Therfore we do not read that either *Epicurus*, or that Libertine School of *Cyrene*, or what the *Cynick* impudence utter'd, was ever queſtion'd by the Laws. Neither is it recorded, that the Writings of thoſe old Comedians were ſuppreſt, though the acting of them were forbid; and that *Plato* commended the reading of *Ariſtophanes*, the looſeſt of them all, to his Royal Scholar *Dionyſius*, is commonly known, and may be excus'd, if holy *Chryſoſtom*, as is reported, nightly ſtudied ſo much the ſame Author, and had the Art to cleanſe a ſcurrilous Vehemence, into the ſtile of a rouſing Sermon. That other leading City of *Greece*, *Lacedæmon*, conſidering that *Lycurgus* thir Law-giver was ſo addicted to elegant Learning, as to have been the firſt that brought out of *Ionia* the ſcatter'd Works of *Homer*, and ſent the Poet *Thales* from *Crete* to prepare and mollifie the *Spartan* ſurlineſs with his ſmooth Songs and Odes, the better to plant among them Law and Civility, it is to be wonder'd how muſeleſs and unbookiſh they were, minding nought but the feats of War. There needed no Licenſing of Books among them, for they diſlik'd all but thir own *Laconick Apothegms*, and took a ſlight occaſion to chaſe *Archilochus* out of thir City, perhaps for compoſing in a higher ſtrain then their own ſouldierly Ballats and Roundels could reach to: Or if it were for his broad Verſes, they were not therin ſo cautious, but they were as diſſolute in thir promiſcuous converſing; whence *Euripides* affirms in *Andromache*, that thir Women were all unchaſte. Thus much may give us light after what ſort Books were prohibited among the Greeks. The Romans alſo, for many Ages train'd up only to a military roughnes, reſembling moſt the *Lacedæmonian* guiſe, knew of Learning little but what thir twelve Tables, and the *Pontific* College with thir *Augurs* and *Flamins* taught them in Religion and Law, ſo unacquainted with other Learning, that when *Carneades* and *Critolaus*, with the *Stoick Diogenes* coming Embaſſadors to *Rome*, took therby occaſion to give the City a taſt of thir Philoſophy, they were ſuſpected for Seducers by no leſs a man then *Cato* the Cenſor, who mov'd it in the Senat to diſmiſs them ſpeedily, and to baniſh all ſuch *Attic* Bablers out of *Italy*. But *Scipio* and others of the nobleſt Senators withſtood him and his old *Sabin* auſterity; honour'd and admir'd the Men; and the Cenſor himſelf at laſt in his old age fell to the ſtudy of that wherof before he was ſo ſcrupulous. And yet at the ſame time, *Nævius* and *Plautus*, the firſt Latin Comedians, had fill'd the City with all the borrow'd Scenes of *Menander* and *Philemon*. Then began to be conſider'd there alſo what was to be done to libellous Books and Authors; for *Nevius* was quickly caſt into Priſon for his unbridl'd Pen, and releas'd by the *Tribunes* upon his Recantation: We read alſo that Libels were burnt, and the makers puniſht by *Auguſtus*. The like ſeverity, no doubt, was us'd, if ought were impiouſly writt'n againſt thir eſteemed gods. Except in theſe two points, how the World went in Books, the Magiſtrat kept no reck'ning. And therfore *Lucretius*, without impeachment, verſifies his Epicuriſm to *Memmius*, and had the honour to be ſet forth the ſecond time by *Cicero*, ſo great a Father of the Commonwealth; although himſelf diſputes againſt that Opinion in his own Writings. Nor was the Satyrical ſharpneſs, or naked plainneſs of *Lucilius*, or *Catullus*, or *Flaccus*, by any Order prohibited. And for matters of State, the ſtory of *Titus Livius*, though it extoll'd that part which *Pompey* held, was not therfore ſuppreſt by *Octavius Cæſar*, of the other Faction. But that *Naſo* was by him baniſht in his Old age, for the wanton Poems of his Youth, was but a meer covert of State over ſome ſecret Cauſe: and beſides, the Books were neither baniſht nor call'd in. From hence we ſhall meet with little elſe but Tyranny in the Roman Empire, that we may not marvel, if not ſo often bad, as good Books were ſilenc'd. I ſhall therfore deem to have bin large enough, in producing what among the Ancients was puniſhable to write, ſave only which, all other Arguments were free to treat on.

By this time the Emperors were becom Chriſtians, whoſe diſciplin in this point I do not find to have bin more ſevere then what was formerly in practice. The Books of thoſe whom they took to be grand Heretics were examin'd, refuted, and condemn'd in the general Councels; and not till then were prohibited, or burnt by autority of the Emperor. As for the Writings of Heathen Authors, unleſs they were plain invectives againſt Chriſtianity, as thoſe of *Porphyrius* and *Proclus*, they met with no interdict that can be cited, till about the Year 400, in a *Carthaginian* Councel, wherin Biſhops themſelves were forbid to read the Books of Gentiles, but Hereſies they might read: while others long before them on the contrary ſcrupl'd more the Books of Heretics, then of Gentiles. And that the primitive Councels and Biſhops were wont only to declare what Books were not commendable, paſſing no furder, but leaving it to each ones conſcience to read or to lay by, till after the Year 800, is obſerv'd already by *Padre Paolo* the great unmaſker of the *Trentine* Councel. After which time the Popes of *Rome* engroſſing what they pleas'd of Political rule into thir own hands, extended thir dominion over mens eyes, as they had before over thir judgments, burning and prohibiting to be read what they fanſied not; yet ſparing in thir cenſures, and the Books not many which they ſo dealt with: till *Martin* the 5th by his Bull not only prohibited, but was the firſt that excommunicated the reading of heretical Books; for about that time *Wicklef* and *Huſſe* growing terrible, were they who firſt drove the Papal Court to a ſtricter policy of prohibiting. Which cours *Leo* the 10th, and his Succeſſors follow'd, until the Council of *Trent*, and the Spaniſh Inquiſition engendring together, brought forth, or perfeted thoſe Catalogues, and expurging Indexes that rake through the entrals of many an old good Author, with a violation wors then any could be offer'd to his Tomb. Nor did they ſtay in matters Heretical, but any ſubject that was not to their palat, they either condemn'd in a Prohibition, or had it ſtrait into the new Purgatory of an Index. To fill up the meaſure of encroachment, thir laſt invention was to ordain that no Book, Pamphlet or Paper, ſhould be printed (as if S. *Peter* had bequeath'd them the Keys of the Preſs alſo, as well as of Paradiſe) unleſs it were approv'd and licens'd under the Hands of two or three gluttonous Friers. For example:

Let the Chancellor *Cini* be pleas'd to ſee if in this preſent Work be contain'd ought that may withſtand the Printing,

*Vincent Rabbata*, Vicar of *Florence*.

I have ſeen this preſent Work, and find nothing athwart the Catholic Faith and Good Manners: In witneſs wherof I have given, &c.

*Nicolò Cini*, Chancellor of *Florence*.

Attending the precedent Relation, it is allow'd that this preſent Work of *Davanzati* may be Printed,

*Vincent Rabatta*, &c.

It may be Printed, *July* 15.

Friar *Simon Mompei d'Amelia* Chancellor of the holy Office in *Florence*.

Sure they have a conceit, if he of the bottomleſs pit had not long ſince broke priſon, that this quadruple Exorciſm would bar him down. I fear thir next deſign will be to get into thir cuſtody the Licenſing of that which they ſay * *Claudius* intended, but went not through with. Voutſafe to ſee another of thir forms the Roman ſtamp:

* Quo veniam daret flatum crepitumque ventris in convivio emittendi. *Sueton. in Claudio.*

*Imprimatur*, If it ſeem good to the Reverend Maſter of the holy Palace,

*Belcaſtro* Vicegerent.

*Imprimatur*

Friar *Nicolò Rodolphi* Maſter of the holy Palace.

Somtimes five *Imprimaturs* are ſeen together dialogue-wiſe in the Piatza of one Title-page, complementing and ducking each to other with thir ſhav'n reverences, whether the Author, who ſtands by in perplexity at the foot of his Epiſtle, ſhall to the Preſs or to the Spunge. Theſe are the pretty Reſponſories, theſe are the dear Antiphonies that ſo bewitcht of late our Prelats, and thir Chaplains with the goodly Eccho they made; and beſotted us to the gay imitation of a lordly *Imprimatur*, one from *Lambeth*-houſe, another from the Weſt-end of *Pauls*; ſo apiſhly Romanizing, that the word of Command ſtill was ſet down in Latin; as if the learned Grammatical Pen that wrote it, would caſt no Ink without Latin: or perhaps, as they thought, becauſe no vulgar tongue was worthy to expreſs the pure conceit of an *Imprimatur*; but rather, as I hope, for that our Engliſh, the language of Men ever famous, and formoſt in the atchievments of Liberty, will not eaſily find ſervile Letters anow to ſpell ſuch a dictatory preſumption engliſht. And thus ye have the Inventors and the Original of Book-licenſing ript up, and drawn as lineally as any Pedigree. We have it not, that can be heard of, from any ancient State, or Polity, or Church, nor by any Statute left us by our Anceſtors elder or later; nor from the modern Cuſtom of any reformed City, or Church abroad; but from the moſt Antichriſtian Councel, and the moſt tyrannous Inquiſition that ever inquir'd. Till then Books were ever as freely admitted into the World as any other birth; the iſſue of the Brain was no more ſtifl'd then the iſſue of the Womb: no envious *Juno* ſate croſs-leg'd over the nativity of any man's intellectual off-ſpring; but if it prov'd a Monſter, who denies, but that it was juſtly burnt, or ſunk into the Sea. But that a Book in wors condition then a peccant Soul, ſhould be to ſtand before a Jury ere it be born to the World, and undergo yet in darkneſs the judgment of *Radamanth* and his Collegues, ere it can paſs the ferry backward into light, was never heard before, till that myſterious Iniquity, provokt and troubl'd at the firſt entrance of Reformation, ſought out new Limbo's and new Hells wherin they might include our Books alſo within the number of thir damned. And this was the rare morſel ſo officiouſly ſnatcht up, and ſo ilfavourdly imitated by our inquiſiturient Biſhops, and the attendant Minorites thir Chaplains. That ye like not now theſe moſt certain Authors of this Licenſing Order, and that all ſiniſter intention was far diſtant from your thoughts, when ye were importun'd the paſſing it, all men who know the integrity of your actions, and how ye honour Truth, will clear ye readily.

But ſom will ſay, What though the Inventors were bad, the thing for all that may be good? It may ſo; yet if that thing be no ſuch deep invention, but obvious, and eaſie for any man to light on, and yet beſt and wiſeſt Commonwealths through all ages and occaſions have forborn to uſe it, and falſeſt ſeducers and oppreſſors of men were the firſt who took it up, and to no other purpoſe but to obſtruct and hinder the firſt approach of Reformation; I am of thoſe who believe, it will be a harder Alchymy then *Lullius* ever knew, to ſublimat any good uſe out of ſuch an Invention. Yet this only is what I requeſt to gain from this reaſon, that it may be held a dangerous and ſuſpicious fruit, as certainly it deſerves, for the tree that bore it, until I can diſſect one by one the properties it has. But I have firſt to finiſh, as was propounded, what is to be thought in general of reading Books, whatever ſort they be, and whether be more the benefit, or the harm that thence proceeds?

Not to inſiſt upon the examples of *Moſes*, *Daniel* and *Paul*, who were skilful in all the learning of the Egyptians, Caldeans, and Greeks, which could not probably be without reading thir Books of all ſorts, in *Paul* eſpecially, who thought it no defilement to inſert into holy Scripture the ſentences of three Greek Poets, and one of them a Tragedian, the queſtion was notwithſtanding ſomtimes controverted among the Primitive Doctors, but with great odds on that ſide which affirm'd it both lawful and profitable, as was then evidently perceiv'd, when *Julian* the Apoſtat, and ſuttleſt enemy to our faith, made a decree forbidding Chriſtians the ſtudy of heathen learning: for, ſaid he, they wound us with our own weapons, and with our own arts and ſciences they overcom us. And indeed the Chriſtians were put ſo to thir ſhifts by this crafty means, and ſo much in danger to decline into all ignorance, that the two *Apollinarii* were fain, as a man may ſay, to coin all the ſeven liberal Sciences out of the Bible, reducing it into divers forms of Orations, Poems, Dialogues, ev'n to the calculating of a new Chriſtian Grammar. But ſaith the Hiſtorian *Socrates*, The providence of God provided better then the induſtry of *Apollinarius* and his ſon, by taking away that illiterat Law with the life of him who deviſ'd it. So great an injury they then held it to be depriv'd of *Hellenic* learning; and thought it a perſecution more undermining, and ſecretly decaying the Church, then the open cruelty of *Decius* or *Diocleſian*. And perhaps it was the ſame politic drift that the Devil whipt St. *Jerom* in a lenten dream, for reading *Cicero*; or elſe it was a fantaſm, bred by the fever which had then ſeis'd him. For had an Angel bin his diſcipliner, unleſs it were for dwelling too much upon Ciceronianiſms, and had chaſtiz'd the reading, not the vanity, it had bin plainly partial; firſt to correct him for grave *Cicero*, and not for ſcurril *Plautus*, whom he confeſſes to have bin reading not long before; next to correct him only, and let ſo many more ancient Fathers wax old in thoſe pleaſant and florid ſtudies without the laſh of ſuch a tutoring apparition; inſomuch that *Baſil* teaches how ſome good uſe may be made of *Margites* a ſportful Poem, not now extant, writ by *Homer*; and why not then of *Morgante* an Italian Romance much to the ſame purpoſe? But if it be agreed we ſhall be try'd by viſions, there is a viſion recorded by *Euſebius* far ancienter then this tale of *Jerom*, to the Nun *Euſtochium*, and beſides has nothing of a fever in it. *Dionyſius Alexandrinus* was about the year 240, a perſon of great name in the Church for piety and learning, who had wont to avail himſelf much againſt Heretics by being converſant in thir Books; until a certain Presbyter laid it ſcrupulouſly to his conſcience, how he durſt venture himſelf among thoſe defiling volumes. The worthy man loth to give offence, fell into a new debate with himſelf what was to be thought; when ſuddenly a Viſion ſent from God, it is his own Epiſtle that ſo avers it, confirm'd him in theſe words: “Read “any Books whatever com to thy hands, for thou art ſufficient both to judg “aright, and to examin each matter. To this Revelation he aſſented the ſooner, as he confeſſes, becauſe it was anſwerable to that of the Apoſtle to the Theſſalonians, *Prove all things, hold faſt that which is good.* And he might have added another remarkable ſaying of the ſame Author; *To the pure, all things are pure*, not only meats and drinks, but all kind of knowledg whether of good or evil; the Knowledg cannot defile, nor conſequently the Books, if the Will and Conſcience be not defil'd. For Books are as Meats and Viands are; ſome of good, ſome of evil ſubſtance; and yet God in that unapocryphal viſion, ſaid without exception, Riſe *Peter*, kill and eat, leaving the choice to each mans diſcretion. Wholeſom meats to a vitiated ſtomac differ little or nothing from unwholeſom; and beſt Books to a naughty mind are not unappliable to occaſions of evil. Bad meats will ſcarce breed good nouriſhment in the healthieſt concoction; but herein the difference is of bad Books, that they to a diſcreet and judicious Reader ſerve in many reſpects to diſcover, to confute, to forewarn, and to illuſtrate. Wherof what better witnes can ye expect I ſhould produce, then one of your own now ſitting in Parlament, the chief of learned men reputed in this Land, Mr. *Selden*, whoſe volume of natural and national Laws proves, not only by great authorities brought together, but by exquiſit reaſons and theorems almoſt mathematically demonſtrative, that all opinions, yea errors, known, read and collated, are of main ſervice and aſſiſtance toward the ſpeedy attainment of what is trueſt. I conceive therfore, that when God did enlarge the univerſal diet of mans body, ſaving ever the rules of temperance, he then alſo, as before, left arbitrary the dyeting and repaſting of our minds; as wherin every mature man might have to exerciſe his own leading capacity. How great a vertue is Temperance, how much of moment through the whole life of man? yet God commits the managing ſo great a truſt, without particular Law or preſcription, wholly to the demeanour of every grown man. And therfore when he himſelf tabl'd the Jews from heaven, that Omer which was every mans daily portion of Manna, is computed to have bin more then might have well ſuffic'd the heartieſt feeder thrice as many meals. For thoſe actions which enter into a man, rather then iſſue out of him, and therfore defile not, God uſes not to captivat under a perpetual childhood of preſcription, but truſts him with the gift of Reaſon to be his own chuſer; there were but little work left for Preaching, if Law and Compulſion ſhould grow ſo faſt upon thoſe things which hertofore were govern'd only by exhortation. *Salomon* informs us that much reading is a wearines to the fleſh; but neither he, nor other inſpir'd author tells us that ſuch, or ſuch reading is unlawful: yet certainly had God thought good to limit us herein, it had been much more expedient to have told us what was unlawful, then what was weariſom. As for the burning of thoſe Epheſian Books by St. *Paul*'s converts, 'tis reply'd, the Books were magic, the Syriac ſo renders them. It was a private act, a voluntary act, and leaves us to a voluntary imitation: the men in remorſe burnt thoſe Books which were thir own; the Magiſtrat by this example is not appointed: theſe men practiz'd the Books, another might perhaps have read them in ſome ſort uſefully. Good and evil we know in the field of this World grow up together almoſt inſeparably; and the knowledg of good is ſo involv'd and interwoven with the knowledg of evil, and in ſo many cunning reſemblances hardly to be diſcern'd, that thoſe confuſed ſeeds which were impos'd on *Pſyche* as an inceſſant labour to cull out, and ſort aſunder, were not more intermixt. It was from out the rind of one apple taſted, that the knowledg of good and evil, as two twins cleaving together, leapt forth into the World. And perhaps this is that doom which *Adam* fell into of knowing good and evil, that is to ſay of knowing good by evil. As therfore the ſtate of man now is; what wiſdom can there be to chooſe, what continence to forbear without the knowledg of evil? He that can apprehend and conſider vice with all her baits and ſeeming pleaſures, and yet abſtain, and yet diſtinguiſh, and yet prefer that which is truly better, he is the true wayfaring Chriſtian. I cannot praiſe a fugitive and cloiſter'd vertue, unexercis'd and unbreath'd, that never ſallies out and ſees her adverſary, but ſlinks out of the race, where that immortal Garland is to be run for, not without duſt and heat. Aſſuredly we bring not innocence into the world, we bring impurity much rather: that which purifies us is trial, and trial is by what is contrary. That vertue therfore which is but a youngling in the contemplation of evil, and knows not the utmoſt that vice promiſes to her followers, and rejects it, is but a blank vertue, not a pure; her whiteneſs is but an excremental whiteneſs: Which was the reaſon why our ſage and ſerious Poet *Spencer*, whom I dare be known to think a better teacher then *Scotus* or *Aquinas*, deſcribing true temperance under the perſon of *Guion*, brings him in with his palmer through the cave of Mammon, and the bowr of earthly bliſs, that he might ſee and know, and yet abſtain. Since therfore the knowledg and ſurvey of Vice is in this world ſo neceſſary to the conſtituting of human Vertue, and the ſcanning of error to the confirmation of truth, how can we more ſafely, and with leſs danger ſcout into the regions of ſin and falſity then by reading all manner of Tractats, and hearing all manner of Reaſon? And this is the benefit which may be had of Books promiſcuouſly read. But of the harm that may reſult hence three kinds are uſually reckon'd. Firſt, is fear'd the infection that may ſpread; but then all human learning and controverſie in religious points muſt remove out of the world, yea the Bible it ſelf; for that oftimes relates blaſphemy not nicely, it deſcribes the carnal ſenſe of wicked men not unelegantly, it brings in holieſt men paſſionately murmuring againſt Providence through all the arguments of *Epicurus*: in other great diſputes it anſwers dubiouſly and darkly to the common reader: And ask a Talmudiſt what ails the modeſty of his marginal Keri, that *Moſes* and all the Prophets cannot perſwade him to pronounce the textual Chetiv. For theſe cauſes we all know, the Bible it ſelf put by the Papiſt, into the firſt rank of prohibited books. The ancienteſt Fathers muſt be next remov'd, as *Clement* of *Alexandria*, and that *Euſebian* Book of Evangelic preparation, tranſmitting our ears through a hoard of heatheniſh Obſcenities to receive the Goſpel. Who finds not that *Irenæus*, *Epiphanius*, *Jerom*, and others diſcover more hereſies then they well confute, and that oft for hereſie which is the truer opinion? Nor boots it to ſay for theſe, and all the heathen Writers of greateſt infection, if it muſt be thought ſo, with whom is bound up the life of human learning, that they writ in an unknown tongue, ſo long as we are ſure thoſe languages are known as well to the worſt of men, who are both moſt able, and moſt diligent to inſtil the poiſon they ſuck, firſt into the Courts of Princes, acquainting them with the choiſeſt delights, and criticiſms of ſin. As perhaps did that *Petronius* whom *Nero* call'd his *Arbiter*, the Maſter of his Revels; and that notorious ribald of *Arezzo*, dreaded, and yet dear to the Italian Courtiers. I name not him for poſterities ſake, whom *Harry* the 8th nam'd in merriment his Vicar of Hell. By which compendious way all the contagion that forein Books can infuſe, will find a paſſage to the people far eaſier and ſhorter then an Indian voyage, though it could be ſail'd either by the North of *Cataio* Eaſtward, or of *Canada* Weſtward, while our Spaniſh licenſing gags the Engliſh Preſs never ſo ſeverely. But on the other ſide that infection which is from Books of controverſie in Religion, is more doubtful and dangerous to the learned, then to the ignorant; and yet thoſe Books muſt be permitted untoucht by the Licenſer. It will be hard to inſtance where any ignorant man hath bin ever ſeduc'd by any Papiſtical Book in Engliſh, unleſs it were commended and expounded to him by ſome of that Clergy: and indeed all ſuch tractats whether falſe or true, are as the Propheſie of *Iſaiah* was to the *Eunuch*, not to be ***underſtood without a guide***. But of our Prieſts and Doctors how many have bin corrupted by ſtudying the comments of Jeſuits and *Sorboniſts*, and how faſt they could transfuſe that corruption into the people, our experience is both late and ſad. It is not forgot, ſince the acute and diſtinct *Arminius* was perverted meerly by the peruſing of a nameleſs diſcours writt'n at *Delf*, which at firſt he took in hand to confute. Seeing therfore that thoſe Books, and thoſe in great abundance which are likelieſt to taint both life and doctrin, cannot be ſuppreſt without the fall of Learning, and of all ability in diſputation, and that theſe Books of either ſort are moſt and ſooneſt catching to the learned, from whom to the common people whatever is heretical or diſſolute may quickly be convey'd, and that evil manners are as perfectly learnt without Books a thouſand other ways which cannot be ſtopt, and evil doctrin not with Books can propagate, except a teacher guide, which he might alſo do without writing, and ſo beyond prohibiting, I am not able to unfold, how this cautelous enterpriſe of Licenſing can be exempted from the number of vain and impoſſible attempts. And he who were pleaſantly diſpos'd, could not well avoid to lik'n it to the exploit of that gallant man who thought to pound up the crows by ſhutting his Parkgate. Beſides another inconvenience, if learned men be the firſt receivers out of Books, and diſpredders both of vice and error, how ſhall the Licenſers themſelves be confided in, unleſs we can confer upon them, or they aſſume to themſelves above all others in the Land, the grace of infallibility, and uncorruptedneſs? And again, if it be true, that a wiſe man, like a good refiner, can gather gold out of the droſſieſt volume, and that a fool will be a fool with the beſt Book, yea or without Book, there is no reaſon that we ſhould deprive a wiſe Man of any advantage to his wiſdom, while we ſeek to reſtrain from a fool, that which being reſtrain'd will be no hindrance to his folly. For if there ſhould be ſo much exactneſs always us'd to keep that from him which is unfit for his reading, we ſhould in the judgment of *Ariſtotle* not only, but of *Salomon*, and of our Saviour, not vouſafe him good precepts, and by conſequence not willingly admit him to good Books; as being certain that a wiſe man will make better uſe of an idle pamphlet, then a fool will do of ſacred Scripture.

'Tis next alledg'd we muſt not expoſe our ſelves to temptations without neceſſity, and next to that, not imploy our time in vain things. To both theſe objections one anſwer will ſerve, out of the grounds already laid, that to all men ſuch Books are not temptations, nor vanities; but uſeful drugs and materials wherwith to temper and compoſe effective and ſtrong med'cins, which man's life cannot want. The reſt, as children and childiſh men, who have not the art to qualifie and prepare theſe working Minerals, well may be exhorted to forbear, but hinder'd forcibly they cannot be by all the licenſing that Sainted Inquiſition could ever yet contrive; which is what I promis'd to deliver next, That this Order of Licenſing conduces nothing to the end for which it was fram'd; and hath almoſt prevented me by being clear already while thus much hath bin explaining. See the ingenuity of Truth, who when ſhe gets a free and willing hand, opens her ſelf faſter then the pace of method and diſcours can overtake her. It was the task which I began with, To ſhew that no Nation, or well inſtituted State, if they valu'd Books at all, did ever uſe this way of Licenſing; and it might be anſwer'd, that this is a piece of prudence lately diſcover'd. To which I return, That as it was a thing ſlight and obvious to think on, ſo if it had bin difficult to find out, there wanted not among them long ſince, who ſuggeſted ſuch a cours; which they not following, leave us a pattern of thir judgment, that it was not the not knowing, but the not approving, which was the cauſe of thir not uſing it. *Plato*, a man of high autority indeed, but leaſt of all for his Commonwealth, in the book of his Laws, which no City ever yet receiv'd, fed his fancy with making many Edicts to his ayrie Burgomaſters, which they who otherwiſe admire him, wiſh had bin rather buried and excus'd in the *genial* cups of an *Academic* night-ſitting. By which Laws he ſeems to tolerat no kind of Learning, but by unalterable Decree, conſiſting moſt of practical Traditions, to the attainment wherof a Library of ſmaller bulk then his own Dialogues would be abundant. And there alſo enacts, that no Poet ſhould ſo much as read to any privat man what he had writt'n, until the Judges and Law-keepers had ſeen it, and allow'd it: But that *Plato* meant this Law peculiarly to that Commonwealth which he had imagin'd, and to no other, is evident. Why was he not elſe a Law-giver to himſelf, but a Tranſgreſſor, and to be expel'd by his own Magiſtrats, both for the wanton Epigrams and Dialogues which he made, and his perpetual reading of *Sophron*, *Mimus*, and *Ariſtophanes*, Books of groſſeſt infamy, and alſo for commending the latter of them, though he were the malicious Libeller of his chief friends, to be read by the Tyrant *Dionyſius*, who had little need of ſuch traſh to ſpend his time on? But that he knew this Licenſing of Poems had reference and dependence to many other proviſo's there ſet down in his fancied Republic, which in this world could have no place: and ſo neither he himſelf, nor any Magiſtrat or City ever imitated that cours, which tak'n apart from thoſe other collateral Injunctions, muſt needs be vain and fruitleſs. For if they fell upon one kind of ſtrictneſs, unleſs thir care were equal to regulat all other things of like aptnes to corrupt the mind, that ſingle endeavour they knew would be but a fond labour; to ſhut and fortifie one gate againſt corruption, and be neceſſitated to leave others round about wide open. If we think to regulat Printing, therby to rectifie Manners, we muſt regulat all Recreations and Paſtimes, all that is delightful to Man. No Muſic muſt be heard, no Song be ſet or ſung, but what is grave and *Doric*. There muſt be licenſing Dancers, that no geſture, motion, or deportment be taught our Youth but what by thir allowance ſhall be thought honeſt; for ſuch *Plato* was provided of: It will ask more then the work of twenty Licenſers to examin all the Lutes, the Violins, and the Ghittarrs in every houſe; they muſt not be ſuffer'd to prattle as they do, but muſt be licens'd what they may ſay. And who ſhall ſilence all the Airs and Madrigals that whiſper ſoftnes in Chambers? The Windows alſo, and the Balconeys muſt be thought on; there are ſhrewd Books, with dangerous Frontiſpieces, ſet to ſale; who ſhall prohibit them, ſhall twenty Licenſers? The Villages alſo muſt have their viſitors to enquire what Lectures the Bagpipe, and the Rebbeck reads, ev'n to the Ballatry and the Gammuth of every *municipal* Fidler, for theſe are the Countrymans *Arcadia's* and his *Monte Mayors*. Next, what more National corruption, for which *England* hears ill abroad, then houſhold gluttony; who ſhall be the rectors of our daily rioting? and what ſhall be done to inhibit the multitudes that frequent thoſe houſes where drunk'nes is ſold and harbour'd? Our garments alſo ſhould be referr'd to the licenſing of ſome more ſober work-maſters, to ſee them cut into a leſs wanton garb. Who ſhall regulat all the mixt converſation of our youth, male and female together, as is the faſhion of this Country? who ſhall ſtill appoint what ſhall be diſcours'd, what preſum'd, and no furder? Laſtly, who ſhall forbid and ſeparat all idle reſort, all evil company? Theſe things will be, and muſt be; but how they ſhall be leaſt hurtful, how leaſt enticing, herein conſiſts the grave and governing Wiſdom of a State. To ſequeſter out of the World into *Atlantic* and *Eutopian* Polities, which never can be drawn into uſe, will not mend our condition; but to ordain wiſely as in this World of evil, in the midſt wherof God hath plac'd us unavoidably. Nor is it *Plato*'s Licenſing of Books will do this, which neceſſarily pulls along with it ſo many other kinds of Licenſing, as will make us all both ridiculous and weary, and yet fruſtrat; but thoſe unwritt'n, or at leaſt unconſtraining Laws of vertuous education, religious and civil nurture, which *Plato* there mentions, as the bonds and ligaments of the Commonwealth, the pillars and the ſuſtainers of every writt'n Statute; theſe they be which will bear chief ſway in ſuch matters as theſe, when all Licenſing will be eaſily eluded. Impunity and remiſsnes for certain are the bane of a Commonwealth; but here the great art lies to diſcern in what the Law is to bid reſtraint and puniſhment, and in what things perſwaſion only is to work. If every action which is good or evil in Man at ripe years, were to be under pittance, and preſcription, and compulſion, what were Vertue but a name, what praiſe could be then due to well-doing, what grammercy to be ſober, juſt or continent? Many there be that complain of divine Providence for ſuffering *Adam* to tranſgreſs. Fooliſh tongues! when God gave him reaſon, he gave him freedom to chooſe, for reaſon is but chooſing; he had bin elſe a meer artificial *Adam*, ſuch an *Adam* as he is in the motions. We our ſelves eſteem not of that obedience, or love, or gift, which is of force: God therfore left him free, ſet before him a provoking object, ever almoſt in his eyes; herein conſiſted his merit, herein the right of his reward, the praiſe of his abſtinence. Wherfore did he creat paſſions within us, pleaſures round about us, but that theſe rightly temper'd are the very ingredients of vertue? They are not skilful conſiderers of human things, who imagin to remove ſin by removing the matter of ſin; for, beſides that it is a huge heap increaſing under the very act of diminiſhing, though ſom part of it may for a time be withdrawn from ſom perſons, it cannot from all, in ſuch a univerſal thing as Books are; and when this is don, yet the ſin remains entire. Though ye take from a covetous man all his treaſure, he has yet one jewel left, ye cannot bereave him of his Covetouſneſs. Baniſh all objects of luſt, ſhut up all youth into the ſevereſt diſciplin that can be exercis'd in any hermitage, ye cannot make them chaſte, that came not thither ſo: ſuch great care and wiſdom is requir'd to the right managing of this point. Suppoſe we could expel ſin by this means; look how much we thus expel of ſin, ſo much we expel of vertue; for the matter of them both is the ſame; remove that, and ye remove them both alike. This juſtifies the high Providence of God, who though he commands us Temperance, Juſtice, Continence, yet pours out before us ev'n to a profuſenes all deſirable things, and gives us minds that can wander beyond all limit and ſatiety. Why ſhould we then affect a rigor contrary to the manner of God and of nature, by abridging or ſcanting thoſe means, which Books, freely permitted, are, both to the trial of Vertue, and the exerciſe of Truth? It would be better done to learn that the Law muſt needs be frivolous which goes to reſtrain things, uncertainly and yet equally working to good, and to evil. And were I the chooſer, a dram of well-doing ſhould be preferr'd before many times as much the forcible hindrance of evil-doing. For God ſure eſteems the growth and compleating of one vertuous perſon, more then the reſtraint of ten vitious. And albeit whatever thing we hear or ſee, ſitting, walking, travelling, or converſing, may be fitly call'd our Book, and is of the ſame effect that Writings are; yet grant the thing to be prohibited were only Books, it appears that this Order hitherto is far inſufficient to the end which it intends. Do we not ſee, not once or oftner, but weekly, that continu'd Court-libel againſt the Parlament and City, printed, as the wet ſheets can witnes, and diſpers'd among us, for all that Licenſing can do? Yet this is the prime ſervice a man would think, wherin this Order ſhould give proof of it ſelf. If it were executed, you'l ſay. But certain, if execution be remiſs or blindfold now, and in this particular, what will it be hereafter, and in other Books? If then the Order ſhall not be vain and fruſtrat, behold a new labour, Lords and Commons, ye muſt repeal and proſcribe all ſcandalous and unlicens'd Books already printed and divulg'd; after ye have drawn them up into a Liſt, that all may know which are condemn'd, and which not; and ordain that no forein Books be deliver'd out of cuſtody, till they have bin read over. This office will require the whole time of not a few Overſeers, and thoſe no vulgar men. There be alſo Books which are partly uſeful and excellent, partly culpable and pernicious; this work will ask as many more Officials, to make expurgations and expunctions, that the Commonwealth of Learning be not damnify'd. In fine, when the multitude of Books encreaſe upon thir hands, ye muſt be fain to catalogue all thoſe Printers who are found frequently offending, and forbid the Importation of thir whole ſuſpected *Typography*. In a word, that this your Order may be exact, and not deficient, ye muſt reform it perfectly according to the model of *Trent* and *Sevil*, which I know ye abhor to do. Yet though ye ſhould condeſcend to this, which God forbid, the Order ſtill would be but fruitleſs and defective to that end wherto ye meant it. If to prevent Sects and Schiſms, who is ſo unread or ſo uncatechis'd in ſtory, that hath not heard of many Sects refuſing Books as a hindrance, and preſerving thir Doctrin unmixt for many Ages, only by unwritt'n Traditions? The Chriſtian Faith, for that was once a Schiſm, is not unknown to have ſpread all over *Aſia*, ere any Goſpel or Epiſtle was ſeen in writing. If the amendment of manners be aim'd at, look into *Italy* and *Spain*, whether thoſe places be one ſcruple the better, the honeſter, the wiſer, the chaſter, ſince all the inquiſitional rigor that hath bin executed upon Books.

Another reaſon, wherby to make it plain that this Order will miſs the end it ſeeks, conſider by the quality which ought to be in every Licenſer. It cannot be deny'd but that he who is made judg to ſit upon the birth, or death of Books, whether they may be waſted into this world, or not, had need to be a man above the common meaſure, both ſtudious, learned, and judicious; there may be elſe no mean miſtakes in the cenſure of what is paſſable or not; which is alſo no mean injury. If he be of ſuch worth as behoovs him, there cannot be a more tedious and unpleaſing Journey-work, a greater loſs of time levied upon his head, then to be made the perpetual reader of unchoſen Books and Pamphlets, oftimes huge Volumes. There is no Book that is acceptable, unleſs at certain ſeaſons; but to be enjoyn'd the reading of that at all times, and in a hand ſcars legible, wherof three pages would not down at any time in the faireſt Print, is an impoſition which I cannot beleeve how he that values time, and his own ſtudies, or is but of a ſenſible noſtril ſhould be able to endure. In this one thing I crave leave of the preſent Licenſers to be pardon'd for ſo thinking: who doubtleſs took this office up, looking on it through thir obedience to the Parlament, whoſe command perhaps made all things ſeem eaſie and unlaborious to them; but that this ſhort trial hath wearied them out already, thir own expreſſions and excuſes to them who make ſo many journeys to ſollicit thir licenſe, are teſtimony anough. Seeing therfore thoſe who now poſſeſs the imployment, by all evident ſigns wiſh themſelves well rid of it, and that no man of worth, none that is not a plain unthrift of his own hours, is ever likely to ſucceed them, except he mean to put himſelf to the ſalary of a Preſs-corrector, we may eaſily foreſee what kind of Licenſers we are to expect hereafter, either ignorant, imperious, and remiſs, or baſely pecuniary. This is what I had to ſhew, wherin this order cannot conduce to that end, wherof it bears the intention.

I laſtly proceed from the no good it can do, to the manifeſt hurt it cauſes, in being firſt the greateſt diſcouragement and affront that can be offer'd to Learning and to learned Men. It was the complaint and lamentation of Prelats, upon every leaſt breath of a motion to remove Pluralities, and diſtribute more equally Church revenu's, that then all Learning would be for ever daſht and diſcourag'd. But as for that opinion, I never found cauſe to think that the tenth part of learning ſtood or fell with the Clergy: nor could I ever but hold it for a ſordid and unworthy ſpeech of any Churchman, who had a competency left him. If therfore ye be loth to diſhearten utterly and diſcontent, not the mercenary crew of falſe pretenders to learning, but the free and ingenious ſort of ſuch as evidently were born to ſtudy and love Learning for it ſelf, not for lucre, or any other end, but the ſervice of God and of Truth, and perhaps that laſting fame and perpetuity of praiſe which God and good men have conſented ſhall be the reward of thoſe whoſe publiſht Labours advance the good of mankind, then know, that ſo far to diſtruſt the judgment and the honeſty of one who hath but a common repute in Learning, and never yet offended, as not to count him fit to print his mind without a tutor and examiner, leſt he ſhould drop a ſciſm, or ſomthing of corruption, is the greateſt diſpleaſure and indignity to a free and knowing ſpirit that can be put upon him. What advantage is it to be a Man over it is to be a Boy at School, if we have only ſcapt the Ferular, to come under the feſcu of an *Imprimatur?* if ſerious and elaborat Writings, as if they were no more then the theam of a Grammar-lad under his Pedagogue, muſt not be utter'd without the curſory eyes of a temporizing and extemporizing licenſer? He who is not truſted with his own actions, his drift not being known to be evil, and ſtanding to the hazard of Law and Penalty, has no great argument to think himſelf reputed in the Commonwealth wherin he was born, for other then a fool or a foreiner. When a man writes to the world, he ſummons up all his reaſon and deliberation to aſſiſt him; he ſearches, meditats, is induſtrious, and likely conſults and confers with his judicious friends; after all which don he takes himſelf to be inform'd in what he writes, as well as any that writ before him; if in this the moſt conſummat act of his fidelity and ripeneſs, no years, no induſtry, no former proof of his abilities can bring him to that ſtate of maturity, as not to be ſtill miſtruſted and ſuſpected, unleſs he carry all his conſiderat diligence, all his midnight watchings, and expence of *Palladian* oyl, to the haſty view of an unleaſur'd licenſer, perhaps much his younger, perhaps far his inferiour in judgment, perhaps one who never knew the labour of Book-writing, and if he be not repulſt, or ſlighted, muſt appear in print like a Puny with his Guardian, and his Cenſors hand on the back of his title to be his bayl and ſurety, that he is no Idiot, or Seducer, it cannot be but a diſhonor and derogation to the Author, to the Book, to the privilege and dignity of Learning. And what if the author ſhall be one ſo copious of fancy, as to have many things well worth the adding, come into his mind after licenſing, while the Book is yet under the Preſs, which not ſeldom happ'ns to the beſt and diligenteſt writers; and that perhaps a dozen times in one Book: The Printer dares not go beyond his licens't copy; ſo often then muſt the Author trudg to his leav-giver, that thoſe his new inſertions may be view'd; and many a jaunt will be made, ere that licenſer, for it muſt be the ſame man, can either be found, or found at leiſure; mean while either the Preſs muſt ſtand ſtill, which is no ſmall damage, or the author loſe his accurateſt thoughts, and ſend the Book forth wors then he had made it, which to a diligent writer is the greateſt melancholy and vexation that can befal. And how can a man teach with autority, which is the life of teaching; how can he be a Doctor in his Book as he ought to be, or elſe had better be ſilent, whenas all he teaches, all he delivers, is but under the tution, under the correction of his patriarchal licenſer to blot or alter what preciſely accords not with the hidebound humor which he calls his judgment? When every acute reader upon the firſt ſight of a pedantic licenſe, will be ready with theſe like words to ding the Book a coits diſtance from him, I hate a pupil teacher, I endure not an inſtructer that comes to me under the wardſhip of an overſeeing fiſt. I know nothing of the licenſer, but that I have his own hand here for his arrogance; who ſhall warrant me his judgment? The State Sir, replies the Stationer, but has a quick return, The State ſhall be my Governours, but not my Critics; they may be miſtak'n in the choice of a licenſer, as eaſily as this licenſer may be miſtak'n in an author. This is ſom common ſtuff; and he might add from Sir ***Francis Bacon***, That *ſuch authoriz'd Books are but the language of the times.* For though a licenſer ſhould happ'n to be judicious more then ordinary, which will be a great jeopardy of the next ſucceſſion, yet his very office, and his commiſſion enjoyns him to let paſs nothing but what is vulgarly receiv'd already. Nay, which is more lamentable, if the work of any deceaſed author, though never ſo famous in his life-time, and even to this day, comes to thir hands for licenſe to be printed, or reprinted, if there be found in his Book one ſentence of a ventrous edg, utter'd in the height of zeal, and who knows whether it might not be the dictat of a divine Spirit, yet not ſuting with every low decrepit humor of thir own, though it were ***Knox*** himſelf, the Reformer of a Kingdom that ſpake it, they will not pardon him thir daſh: the ſenſe of that great Man ſhall to all poſterity be loſt, for the fearfulneſs, or the preſumptuous raſhneſs of a perfunctory Licenſer. And to what an Author this violence hath bin lately done, and in what Book of greateſt conſequence to be faithfully publiſht, I could now inſtance, but ſhall forbear till a more convenient ſeaſon. Yet if theſe things be not reſented ſeriouſly and timely by them who have the remedy in thir power, but that ſuch iron moulds as theſe ſhall have autority to knaw out the choiſeſt periods of exquiſiteſt Books, and to commit ſuch a treacherous fraud againſt the orphan remainders of worthieſt men after death, the more ſorrow will belong to that haples race of men, whoſe misfortune it is to have underſtanding. Henceforth let no man care to learn, or care to be more then worldly wiſe; for certainly in higher matters to be ignorant and ſlothful, to be a common ſtedfaſt dunce, will be the only pleaſant life, and only in requeſt.

And as it is a particular diſeſteem of every knowing perſon alive, and moſt injurious to the writt'n labours and monuments of the dead, ſo to me it ſeems an undervaluing and vilifying of the whole Nation. I cannot ſet ſo light by all the invention, the art, the wit, the grave and ſolid judgment which is in ***England***, as that it can be comprehended in any twenty capacities how good ſoever, much leſs that it ſhould not paſs except thir Superintendence be over it, except it be ſifted and ſtrain'd with thir ſtrainers, that it ſhould be uncurrant without thir manual ſtamp. Truth and Underſtanding are not ſuch wares as to be monopoliz'd and traded in by tickets and ſtatutes, and ſtandards. We muſt not think to make a ſtaple commodity of all the knowledg in the Land, to mark and licenſe it like our broad cloth, and our woolpacks. What is it but a ſervitude like that impos'd by the Philiſtims, not to be allow'd the ſharpning of our own taxes and coulters, but we muſt repair from all quarters to twenty licenſing forges? Had any one writt'n and divulg'd erroneous things and ſcandalous to honeſt life, miſuſing and forfeiting the eſteem had of his reaſon among men, if after conviction this only cenſure were adjudg'd him, that he ſhould never henceforth write, but what were firſt examin'd by an appointed Officer, whoſe hand ſhould be annext to paſs his credit for him, that now he might be ſafely read, it could not be apprehended leſs then a diſgraceful puniſhment. Whence to include the whole Nation, and thoſe that never yet thus offended, under ſuch a diffident and ſuſpectful prohibition, may plainly be underſtood what a diſparagement it is. So much the more when as dettors and delinquents may walk abroad without a keeper, but unoffenſive Books muſt not ſtir forth without a viſible jaylor in thir title. Nor is it to the common people leſs then a reproach; for if we be ſo jealous over them, as that we dare not truſt them with an Engliſh pamphlet, what do we but cenſure them for a giddy, vitious, and ungrounded people; in ſuch a ſick and weak eſtate of faith and diſcretion, as to be able to take nothing down but through the pipe of a Licenſer? That this is care or love of them, we cannot pretend, whenas in thoſe Popiſh places where the Laity are moſt hated and deſpis'd, the ſame ſtrictnes is us'd over them. Wiſdom we cannot call it, becauſe it ſtops but one breach of licenſe, nor that neither: whenas thoſe corruptions which it ſeeks to prevent, break in faſter at other dores which cannot be ſhut.

And in concluſion it reflects to the diſrepute of our Miniſters alſo, of whoſe labours we ſhould hope better, and of the proficiency which thir flock reaps by them, then that after all this light of the Goſpel which is, and is to be, and all this continual preaching, they ſhould be ſtill frequented with ſuch an unprincipl'd, unedify'd, and laick rabble, as that the whiff of every new pamphlet ſhould ſtagger them out of thir Catechiſm, and Chriſtian walking. This may have much reaſon to diſcourage the Miniſters when ſuch a low conceit is had of all thir exhortations, and the benefiting of thir hearers, as that they are not thought fit to be turn'd looſe to three ſheets of paper without a Licenſer; that all the Sermons, all the Lectures preacht, printed, vented in ſuch numbers, and ſuch volumes, as have now well-nigh made all other Books unſalable, ſhould not be armor enough againſt one ſingle *Enchiridon*, without the Caſtle St. *Angelo* of an *Imprimatur*.

And leſt ſom ſhould perſwade ye, Lords and Commons, that theſe arguments of learned mens diſcouragement at this your Order, are meer flouriſhes, and not real, I could recount what I have ſeen and heard in other Countries, where this kind of inquiſition tyrannizes; when I have ſat among thir learned men, for that honour I had, and bin counted happy to be born in ſuch a place of *Philoſophic* freedom, as they ſuppos'd *England* was, while themſelvs did nothing but bemoan the ſervil condition into which Learning amongſt them was brought; that this was it which had dampt the glory of Italian wits; that nothing had bin there writt'n now theſe many years but flattery and fuſtian. There it was that I found, and viſited the famous *Galileo* grown old, a priſner to the Inquiſition, for thinking in Aſtronomy otherwiſe then the Franciſcan and Dominican licenſers thought. And though I knew that *England* then was groaning loudeſt under the Prelatical yoak, neverthelesſ I took it as a pledg of future happines, that other Nations were ſo perſwaded of her liberty. Yet was it beyond my hope, that thoſe Worthies were then breathing in her air, who ſhould be her leaders to ſuch a deliverance, as ſhall never be forgott'n by any revolution of time that this world hath to finiſh. When that was once begun, it was as little in my fear, that what words of complaint I heard among learned men of other parts utter'd againſt the Inquiſition, the ſame I ſhould hear by as learned men at home utter'd in time of Parlament againſt an Order of Licenſing; and that ſo generally, that when I had diſclos'd my ſelf a companion of thir diſcontent, I might ſay, if without envy, that he whom an honeſt *quæſtorſhip* had indear'd to the *Sicilians*, was not more by them importun'd againſt *Verres*, then the favourable opinion which I had among many who honour ye, and are known and reſpected by ye, loaded me with entreaties and perſwaſions, that I would not deſpair to lay together that which juſt reaſon ſhould bring into my mind, toward the removal of an undeſerved thraldom upon Learning. That this is not therfore the diſburdning of a particular fancy, but the common grievance of all thoſe who had prepar'd thir minds and ſtudies above the vulgar pitch to advance truth in others, and from others to entertain it, thus much may ſatisfie. And in thir name I ſhall for neither friend nor fo, conceal what the general murmur is; that if it com to inquiſitioning again, and licenſing, and that we are ſo timorous of our ſelvs, and ſo ſuſpicious of all men, as to fear each Book, and the ſhaking of every leaf, before we know what the contents are; if ſom who but of late were little better then ſilenc't from preaching, ſhall com now to ſilence us from reading, except what they pleaſe, it cannot be gueſt what is intended by ſom but a ſecond tyranny over Learning: and will ſoon put it out of controverſie that Biſhops and Presbyters are the ſame to us both name and thing. That thoſe evils of Prelaty which before from five or ſix and twenty Sees were diſtributivly charged upon the whole people, will now light wholly upon Learning, is not obſcure to us: whenas now the Paſtor of a ſmall unlearned Pariſh, on the ſudden ſhall be exalted Archbiſhop over a large dioces of Books, and yet not remove, but keep his other Cure too, a myſtical Pluraliſt. He who but of late cry'd down the ſole ordination of every novice Batchelor of Art, and deny'd ſole juriſdiction over the ſimpleſt Pariſhioner, ſhall now at home in his privat chair aſſume both theſe over worthieſt and excellenteſt Books, and ableſt Authors that write them. This is not, ye Cov'nants and Proteſtations that we have made; this is not to put down Prelaty; this is but to chop an Epiſcopacy; this is but to tranſlate the Palace *Metropolitan* from one kind of dominion into another; this is but an old canonical ſlight of *commuting* our penance. To ſtartle thus betimes at a meer unlicens'd Pamphlet, will, after a while, be afraid of every Conventicle, and a while after will make a Conventicle of every Chriſtian meeting. But I am certain that a State govern'd by the rules of Juſtice and Fortitude, or a Church built and founded upon the Rock of Faith and true Knowledg, cannot be ſo puſillanimous. While things are yet not conſtituted in Religion, that freedom of Writing ſhould be reſtrain'd by a diſciplin imitated from the Prelats, and learnt by them from the Inquiſition to ſhut us up all again into the breſt of a Licenſer, muſt needs give cauſe of doubt and diſcouragement to all learned and religious Men. Who cannot but diſcern the finenes of this politic drift, and who are the contrivers; that while Biſhops were to be baited down, then all Preſſes might be open; it was the peoples birth-right and privilege in time of Parlament, it was the breaking forth of light. But now the Biſhops abrogated and voided out of the Church, as if our Reformation ſought no more, but to make room for others into thir Seats under another name; the Epiſcopal Arts begin to bud again; the cruiſe of Truth muſt run no more Oyl; liberty of Printing muſt be enthrall'd again under a Prelatical Commiſſion of twenty; the privilege of the People nullify'd; and which is wors, the freedom of Learning muſt groan again, and to her old fetters: all this the Parlament yet ſitting. Although thir own late Arguments and Defences againſt the Prelats might remember them that this obſtructing Violence meets for the moſt part with an event utterly oppoſit to the end which it drives at: inſtead of ſuppreſſing Sects and Schiſms, it raiſes them and inveſts them with a reputation: *The puniſhing of Wits enhances thir autority*, ſaith the Vicount St. *Albans*; *and a forbidd'n writing is thought to be a certain ſpark of truth that flies up in the faces of them who ſeek to tread it out.* This Order therfore may prove a nurſing Mother to Sects, but I ſhall eaſily ſhew how it will be a ſtep-dame to Truth: and firſt by diſinabling us to the maintenance of what is known already.

Well knows he who uſes to conſider, that our Faith and Knowledg thrives by Exerciſe, as well as our Limbs and Complexion. Truth is compar'd in Scripture to a *ſtreaming fountain*; if her waters flow not in a perpetual progreſſion, they ſick'n into a muddy pool of Conformity and Tradition. A man may be a Heretic in the truth; and if he believe things only becauſe his Paſtor ſays ſo, or the Aſſembly ſo determins, without knowing other reaſon, though his belief be true; yet the very truth he holds, becomes his hereſie. There is not any burden that ſom would gladlier poſt off to another, then the charge and care of thir Religion. There be, who knows not that there be of Proteſtants and Profeſſors who live and die in as errant an implicit Faith, as any Lay-Papiſt of *Loretto*. A wealthy man, addicted to his pleaſure and to his profits, finds Religion to be a traffic ſo entangl'd, and of ſo many piddling accounts, that of all myſteries he cannot skill to keep a ſtock going upon that trade. What ſhould he do? fain he would have the name to be religious, fain he would bear up with his neighbours in that. What does he therfore, but reſolvs to give over toyling, and to find himſelf out ſom Factor, to whoſe care and credit he may commit the whole managing of his religious affairs; ſom Divine of note and eſtimation that muſt be. To him he adheres, reſigns the whole Warehouſe of his Religion, with all the Locks and Keys into his cuſtody; and indeed makes the very Perſon of that Man his Religion; eſteems his aſſociating with him a ſufficient evidence and commendatory of his own Piety. So that a man may ſay his Religion is now no more within himſelf, but is becom a dividual movable, and goes and comes near him, according as that good man frequents the houſe. He entertains him, gives him gifts, feaſts him, lodges him; his Religion comes home at night, prays, is liberally ſupt, and ſumptuouſly laid to ſleep; riſes, is ſaluted, and after the malmſey, or ſome well ſpic't bruage, and better breakfaſted, then he whoſe morning appetite would have gladly fed on green figs between *Bethany* and *Jeruſalem*; his Religion walks abroad at eight, and leavs his kind entertainer in the ſhop trading all day without his Religion.

Another ſort there be, who when they hear that all things ſhall be order'd, all things regulated and ſetl'd; nothing writt'n but what paſſes through the Cuſtom-houſe of certain Publicans that have the tunnaging and poundaging of all free-ſpok'n Truth, will ſtrait give themſelvs up into your hands, mak'em and cut'em out what Religion ye pleaſe; there be delights, there be recreations and jolly paſtimes that will fetch the day about from Sun to Sun, and rock the tedious year as in a delightful dream. What need they torture thir heads with that which others have tak'n ſo ſtrictly, and ſo unalterably into thir own purveying? Theſe are the fruits which a dull eaſe and ceſſation of our knowledg will bring forth among the people. How goodly, and how to be wiſht were ſuch an obedient unanimity as this? what a fine conformity would it ſtarch us all into? doubtles a ſtanch and ſolid piece of frame-work, as any *January* could freeze together.

Nor much better will be the conſequence ev'n among the Clergy themſelvs; it is no new thing never heard of before, for a *Parochial* Miniſter, who has his reward, and is at his *Hercules* Pillars in a warm Benefice, to be eaſily inclinable, if he having nothing elſe that may rouſe up his ſtudies, to finiſh his circuit in an Engliſh Concordance and a *topic Folio*, the gatherings and ſavings of a ſober Graduatſhip, a *Harmony* and a *Catena*, treading the conſtant round of certain common doctrinal Heads, attended with their Uſes, Motives, Marks and Means; out of which, as out of an Alphabet or *Sol fa*, by forming and transforming, joyning and diſ-joyning variouſly a little bookcraft, and two hours meditation, might furniſh him unſpeakably to the performance of more then a weekly charge of ſermoning: not to reck'n up the infinit helps of interlinearies, breviaries, *ſynopſes*, and other loitering gear. But as for the multitude of Sermons ready printed and pil'd up, on every text that is not difficult, our *London* trading St. *Thomas* in his Veſtry, and add to boot St. *Martin* and St. *Hugh*, have not within thir hallow'd limits more vendible ware of all ſorts ready made: ſo that penury he never need fear of Pulpit-proviſion, having where ſo plenteouſly to refreſh his magazin. But if his rear and flanks be not impal'd, if his back-door be not ſecur'd by the rigid Licenſer, but that a bold Book may now and then iſſue forth, and give the aſſault to ſom of his old Collections in thir Trenches, it will concern him then to keep waking, to ſtand in watch, to ſet good guards and ſentinels about his receiv'd Opinions, to walk the round and counter-round with his fellow inſpectors, fearing leſt any of his flock be ſeduc'd, who alſo then would be better inſtructed, better exercis'd and diſciplin'd. And God ſend that the fear of this diligence which muſt then be us'd, do not make us affect the lazines of a licenſing Church.

For if we be ſure we are in the right, and do not hold the truth guiltily, which becomes not, if we our ſelves condemn not our own weak and frivolous teaching, and the people for an untaught and irreligious gadding rout, what can be more fair, then when a man judicious, learned, and of a conſcience, for ought we know, as good as thirs that taught us what we know, ſhall not privily from houſe to houſe, which is more dangerous, but openly by writing publiſh to the World what his Opinion is, what his Reaſons, and wherfore that which is now thought cannot be ſound. Chriſt urg'd it as wherwith to juſtifie himſelf, that he preacht in public; yet writing is more public then preaching; and more eaſie to refutation, if need be, there being ſo many whoſe buſineſs and profeſſion meerly it is to be the champions of Truth; which if they neglect, what can be imputed but thir ſloth or unability?

Thus much we are hinder'd and diſ-inur'd by this cours of licenſing toward the true knowledg of what we ſeem to know. For how much it hurts and hinders the Licenſers themſelves in the calling of thir Miniſtery, more then any ſecular employment, if they will diſcharge that office as they ought, ſo that of neceſſity they muſt neglect either the one duty or the other; I inſiſt not, becauſe it is a particular, but leave it to thir own conſcience, how they will decide it there.

There is yet behind of what I purpos'd to lay open, the incredible loſs and detriment that this plot of Licenſing puts us to, more then if ſom enemy at Sea ſhould ſtop up all our Hav'ns, and Ports, and Creeks; it hinders and retards the Importation of our richeſt Merchandize, Truth: nay it was firſt eſtabliſht and put in practice by Antichriſtian malice and myſtery on ſet purpoſe to extinguiſh, if it were poſſible, the light of Reformation, and to ſettle falſhood; little differing from that policy wherwith the Turk upholds his *Alcoran*, by the prohibition of Printing. 'Tis not deny'd, but gladly confeſt, we are to ſend our Thanks and Vows to Heav'n, louder then moſt of Nations, for that great meaſure of Truth which we enjoy, eſpecially in thoſe main Points between us and the Pope, with his appertinences the Prelats: but he who thinks we are to pitch our Tent here, and have attain'd the utmoſt proſpect of Reformation, that the mortal glaſs wherin we contemplat can ſhew us, till we com to *beatific* Viſion, that man by this very Opinion declares, that he is yet far ſhort of the Truth.

Truth indeed came once into the world with her divine Maſter, and was a perfect ſhape moſt glorious to look on: but when he aſcended, and his Apoſtles after him were laid aſleep, then ſtrait aroſe a wicked race of deceivers, who as that ſtory goes of the *Epyptian Typhon* with his conſpirators, how they dealt with the good *Oſiris*, took the virgin Truth, hew'd her lovely form into a thouſand pieces, and ſcatter'd them to the four winds. From that time ever ſince, the ſad friends of Truth, ſuch as durſt appear, imitating the careful ſearch that *Iſis* made for the mangl'd body of *Oſiris*, went up and down gathering up limb by limb ſtill as they could find them. We have not yet found them all, Lords and Commons, nor ever ſhall do, till her Maſters ſecond coming; he ſhall bring together every joynt and member, and ſhall mould them into an immortal feature of lovelines and perfection. Suffer not theſe licenſing prohibitions to ſtand at every place of opportunity forbidding and diſturbing them that continue ſeeking, that continue to do our obſequies to the torn body of our martyr'd Saint. We boaſt our light; but if we look not wiſely on the Sun it ſelf, it ſmites us into darknes. Who can diſcern thoſe planets that are oft *combuſt*, and thoſe ſtars of brighteſt magnitude that riſe and ſet with the Sun, until the oppoſit motion of thir orbs bring them to ſuch a place in the firmament, where they may be ſeen evning or morning? The light which we have gain'd, was giv'n us, not to be ever ſtaring on, but by it to diſcover onward things more remote from our knowledg. It is not the unfrocking of a Prieſt, the unmitring of a Biſhop, and the removing him from off the *Presbyterian* ſhoulders, that will make us a happy Nation; no, if other things as great in the Church, and in the rule of life both economical and political be not lookt into and reform'd, we have lookt ſo long upon the blaze that *Zuinglius* and *Calvin* hath beacon'd up to us, that we are ſtark blind. There be who perpetually complain of ſchiſms and ſects, and make it ſuch a calamity, that any man diſſents from thir maxims. 'Tis thir own pride and ignorance which cauſes the diſturbing, who neither will hear with meeknes, nor can convince, yet all muſt be ſuppreſt which is not found in thir *Syntagma*. They are the troublers, they are the dividers of unity, who neglect and permit not others to unite thoſe diſſever'd pieces which are yet wanting to the body of Truth. To be ſtill ſearching what we know not, by what we know, ſtill cloſing up truth to truth as we find it (for all her body is *homogeneal*, and proportional) this is the golden rule in *Thelogy* as well as in Arithmetic, and makes up the beſt harmony in a Church; not the forc'd and outward union of cold, and neutral, and inwardly-divided minds.

Lords and Commons of *England*, conſider what Nation it is wherof ye are, and wherof ye are the Governours: a Nation not ſlow and dull, but of a quick, ingenious, and piercing ſpirit, acute to invent, ſuttle and ſinewy to diſcours, not beneath the reach of any point the higheſt that human capacity can ſoar to. Therfore the ſtudies of Learning in her deepeſt Sciences have bin ſo ancient, and ſo eminent among us, that Writers of good antiquity, and able judgment, have bin perſwaded that ev'n the ſchool of *Pythagoras*, and the *Perſian* wiſdom, took beginning from the old Philoſophy of this Iland. And that wiſe and civil Roman, *Julius Agricola*, who govern'd once here for *Cæſar*, preferr'd the natural Wits of *Britain*, before the labour'd ſtudies of the *French*. Nor is it for nothing that the grave and frugal *Tranſilvanian* ſends out yearly from as far as the mountanous borders of *Ruſſia*, and beyond the *Hercynian* wildernes, not thir youth, but thir ſtay'd men, to learn our language, and our *Theologic* arts. Yet that which is above all this, the favour and the love of Heav'n, we have great argument to think in a peculiar manner propitious and propending towards us. Why elſe was this Nation choſ'n before any other, that out of her as out of *Sion* ſhould be proclaim'd and ſounded forth the firſt tidings and trumpet of Reformation to all *Europ*? And had it not bin the obſtinat perverſnes of our Prelats againſt the divine and admirable ſpirit of *Wicklef*, to ſuppreſs him as a ſchiſmatic and *innovator*, perhaps neither the *Bohemian Huſſe* and *Jerom*, no nor the name of *Luther*, or of *Calvin* had bin ever known: the glory of a reforming all our neighbours had bin compleatly ours. But now, as our obdurat Clergy have with violence demean'd the matter, we are become hitherto the lateſt and the backwardeſt Scholers, of whom God offer'd to have made us the Teachers. Now once again by all concurrence of ſigns, and by the general inſtinct of holy and devout men, as they daily and ſolemnly expreſs thir thoughts, God is decreeing to begin ſome new and great period in his Church, ev'n to the reforming of Reformation it ſelf; what does he then but reveal Himſelf to his ſervants, and as his manner is, firſt to his Engliſh-men? I ſay as his manner is, firſt to us, though we mark not the method of his counſels, and are unworthy. Behold now this vaſt City; a City of refuge, the manſion-houſe of liberty, encompaſt and ſurrounded with his protection; the ſhop of War hath not there more anvils and hammers waking, to faſhion out the plates and inſtruments of armed Juſtice in defence of beleaguer'd Truth, then there be pens and heads there, ſitting by thir ſtudious lamps, muſing, ſearching, revolving new notions and idea's wherwith to preſent as with thir homage and thir fealty the approaching Reformation: others as faſt reading, trying all things, aſſenting to the force of reaſon and convincement. What could a man require more from a Nation ſo pliant and ſo prone to ſeek after knowledg? What wants there to ſuch a towardly and pregnant ſoil, but wiſe and faithful Labourers, to make a knowing People, a Nation of Prophets, of Sages, and of Worthies? We reck'n more then five months yet to harveſt; there need not be five weeks, had we but eyes to liſt up, the fields are white already. Where there is much deſire to learn, there of neceſſity will be much arguing, much writing, many opinions; for opinion in good men is but knowledg in the making. Under theſe fantaſtic terrors of ſect and ſchiſm, we wrong the earneſt and zealous thirſt after knowledg and underſtanding which God hath ſtirr'd up in this City. What ſom lament of, we rather ſhould rejoyce at, ſhould rather praiſe this pious forwardnes among men, to reaſſume the ill deputed care of thir Religion into thir own hands again. A little generous prudence, a little forbearance of one another, and ſom grain of charity might win all theſe diligences to joyn, and unite into one general and brotherly ſearch after Truth; could we but forgo this Prelatical tradition of crowding free Conſciences and Chriſtian Liberties into canons and precepts of men. I doubt not, if ſom great and worthy ſtranger ſhould com among us, wiſe to diſcern the mould and temper of a people, and how to govern it, obſerving the high hopes and aims, the diligent alacrity of our extended thoughts and reaſonings in the purſuance of truth and freedom, but that he would cry out as *Pirrhus* did, admiring the Roman docility and courage; if ſuch were my *Epirots*, I would not deſpair the greateſt deſign that could be attempted to make a Church or Kingdom happy. Yet theſe are the men cry'd out againſt for ſchiſmaticks and ſectaries, as if, while the Temple of the Lord was building, ſome cutting, ſome ſquaring the Marble, others hewing the Cedars, there ſhould be a ſort of irrational men who could not conſider there muſt be many ſchiſms and many diſſections made in the quarry and in the timber, ere the Houſe of God can be built. And when every ſtone is laid artfully together, it cannot be united into a continuity, it can but be contiguous in this world: neither can every piece of the Building be of one form; nay rather the perfection conſiſts in this, that out of many moderat varieties and brotherly diſſimilitudes that are not vaſtly diſproportional, ariſes the goodly and the graceful ſymmetry that commends the whole pile and ſtructure. Let us therſore be more conſiderat Builders, more wiſe in ſpiritual Architecture, when great Reformation is expected. For now the time ſeems come, wherin *Moſes* the great Prophet may ſit in Heav'n rejoycing to ſee that memorable and glorious wiſh of his fulfill'd, when not only our ſev'nty Elders, but all the Lords people are become Prophets. No marvel then though ſome men, and ſome good men too perhaps, but young in goodneſs, as *Joſhua* then was, envy them. They fret, and out of thir own weaknes are in agony, leſt theſe diviſions and ſub-diviſions will undo us. The adverſary again applauds, and waits the hour, when they have brancht themſelves out, ſaith he, ſmall anough into parties and partitions, then will be our time. Fool! he ſees not the firm root, out of which we all grow, though into branches; nor will beware until he ſee our ſmall divided maniples cutting through at every angle of his ill united and unweildy brigade. And that we are to hope better of all theſe ſuppoſed ſects and ſchiſms, and that we ſhall not need that ſolicitude, honeſt perhaps, though over-timorous, of them that vex in this behalf, but ſhall laugh in the end at thoſe malicious applauders of our differences, I have theſe reaſons to perſwade me.

Firſt, when a City ſhall be at it were beſieg'd and blockt about, her navigable river infeſted, inrodes and incurſions round, defiance and battel oft rumor'd to be marching up ev'n to her walls and ſuburb trenches, that then the people, or the greater part, more then at other times, wholly tak'n up with the ſtudy of higheſt and moſt important matters to be reform'd, ſhould be diſputing, reaſoning, reading, inventing, diſcourſing, ev'n to a rarity, and admiration, things not before diſcourſt or writt'n of, argues firſt a ſingular good will, contentedneſs and confidence in your prudent foreſight, and ſafe government, Lords and Commons; and from thence derives it ſelf to a gallant bravery and well grounded contempt of thir enemies, as if there were no ſmall number of as great ſpirits among us, as his was, who when *Rome* was nigh beſieg'd by *Hanibal*, being in the City, bought that piece of ground at no cheap rate, wheron *Hanibal* himſelf encampt his own regiment. Next it is a lively and cheerful preſage of our happy ſucceſs and victory. For as in a body, when the blood is freſh, the ſpirits pure and vigorous, not only to vital, but to rational faculties, and thoſe in the acuteſt, and the perteſt operations of wit and ſuttlety, it argues in what good plight and conſtitution the body is; ſo when the cheerfulneſs of the people is ſo ſprightly up, as that it has not only wherwith to guard well its own freedom and ſafety, but to ſpare, and to beſtow upon the ſolideſt and ſublimeſt points of controverſie, and new invention, it betok'ns us not degenerated, nor drooping to a fatal decay, but caſting off the old and wrincl'd ſkin of corruption to outlive theſe pangs, and wax young again, entring the glorious ways of Truth and proſperous Vertue, deſtin'd to becom great and honourable in theſe latter ages. Methinks I ſee in my mind a noble and puiſſant Nation rouſing her ſelf like a ſtrong man after ſleep, and ſhaking her invincible locks: Methinks I ſee her as an Eagle muing her mighty youth, and kindling her undazl'd eyes at the full mid-day beam; purging and unſcaling her long-abuſed ſight at the fountain it ſelf of heav'nly radiance; while the whole noiſe of timorous and flocking birds, with thoſe alſo that love the twilight, flutter about, amaz'd at what ſhe means, and in thir envious gabble would prognoſticat a year of Sects and Schiſms.

What ſhould ye do then, ſhould ye ſuppreſs all this flowry crop of knowledg and new light ſprung up and yet ſpringing daily in this City? ſhould ye ſet an *Oligarchy* of twenty ingroſſers over it, to bring a famin upon our minds again, when we ſhall know nothing but what is meaſur'd to us by thir buſhel? Believe it, Lords and Commons, they who counſel ye to ſuch a ſuppreſſing, do as good as bid ye ſuppreſs your ſelves; and I will ſoon ſhew how. If it be deſir'd to know the immediat cauſe of all this free writing and free ſpeaking, there cannot be aſſign'd a truer then your own mild, and free, and human government; it is the liberty, Lords and Commons, which your own valorous and happy Counſels have purchaſt us, Liberty which is the nurſe of all great Wits: this is that which hath rarify'd and enlighten'd our ſpirits like the influence of Heav'n; this is that which hath enfranchis'd, enlarg'd and lifted up our apprehenſions degrees above themſelves. Ye cannot make us now leſs capable, leſs knowing, leſs eagerly purſuing of the truth, unleſs ye firſt make your ſelves, that made us ſo, leſs the lovers, leſs the founders of our true liberty. We can grow ignorant again, brutiſh, formal, and ſlaviſh, as ye found us; but you then muſt firſt becom that which ye cannot be, oppreſſive, arbitrary, and tyrannous, as they were from whom ye have free'd us. That our hearts are now more capacious, our thoughts more erected to the ſearch and expectation of greateſt and exacteſt things, is the iſſue of your own vertu propagated in us; ye cannot ſuppreſs that, unleſs ye reinforce an abrogated and mercileſs Law, that Fathers may diſpatch at will thir own Children. And who ſhall then ſtick cloſeſt to ye, and excite others? not he who takes up arms for Cote and Conduct, and his four nobles of Danegelt. Although I diſpraiſe not the defence of juſt immunities, yet love my peace better, if that were all. Give me the liberty to know, to utter, and to argue freely according to conſcience, above all liberties.

What would be beſt advis'd then, if it be found ſo hurtful and ſo unequal to ſuppreſs Opinions for the newnes, or the unſutablenes to a cuſtomary acceptance, will not be my task to ſay; I only ſhall repeat what I have learnt from one of your own honourable number, a right noble and pious Lord, who had he not ſacrific'd his life and fortunes to the Church and Commonwealth, we had not now miſt and bewail'd a worthy and undoubted Patron of this argument. Ye know him I am ſure; yet I for honours ſake, and may it be eternal to him, ſhall name him, the Lord *Brook*. He writing of Epiſcopacy, and by the way treating of Sects and Schiſms, left Ye his Vote, or rather now the laſt Words of his dying Charge, which I know will ever be of dear and honour'd regard with Ye, ſo full of Meeknes and breathing Charity, that next to his laſt Teſtament, who bequeath'd Love and Peace to his Diſciples, I cannot call to mind where I have read or heard words more mild and peaceful. He there exhorts us to hear with patience and humility thoſe, however they be miſcall'd, that deſire to live purely, in ſuch a uſe of God's Ordinances, as the beſt guidance of thir conſcience gives them, and to tolerat them, though in ſome diſconformity to our ſelves. The Book it ſelf will tell us more at large, being publiſht to the World, and dedicated to the Parlament by him who both for his life and for his death deſerves, that what advice he left, be not laid by without peruſal.

And now the time in ſpecial is, by privilege to write and ſpeak what may help to the furder diſcuſſing of matters in agitation. The Temple of *Janus*, with his two *controverſal* faces, might now not unſignificantly be ſet open. And though all the winds of doctrin were let looſe to play upon the earth, ſo Truth be in the field, we do injuriouſly by licenſing and prohibiting to miſdoubt her ſtrength. Let her and Falſhood grapple ; who ever knew Truth put to the wors, in a free and open encounter? Her confuting is the beſt and ſureſt ſuppreſſing. He who hears what praying there is for light and clearer knowledg to be ſent down among us, would think of other matters to be conſtituted beyond the diſciplin of *Geneva*, fram'd and fabric't already to our hands. Yet when the new light which we beg for, ſhines in upon us, there be who envy and oppoſe, if it com not firſt in at thir caſements. What a colluſion is this, whenas we are exhorted by the wiſe man to uſe diligence, *to ſeek for wiſdom as for hidd'n treaſures* early and late, that another Order ſhall enjoyn us, to know nothing but by ſtatute? When a man hath bin labouring the hardeſt labour in the deep mines of Knowledg, hath furniſht out his findings in all thir equipage, drawn forth his reaſons as it were a battel rang'd, ſcatter'd and defeated all objections in his way, calls out his adverſary into the plain, offers him the advantage of wind and ſun, if he pleaſe, only that he may try the matter by dint of argument; for his opponents then to ſculk, to lay ambuſhments, to keep a narrow bridg of licenſing where the challenger ſhould paſs, though it be valour enough in ſouldierſhip, is but weaknes and cowardiſe in the wars of Truth. For who knows not that Truth is ſtrong, next to the Almighty ; ſhe needs no policies, nor ſtratagems, nor licenſings to make her victorious, thoſe are the ſhifts and the defences that error uſes againſt her power : give her but room, and do not bind her when ſhe ſleeps, for then ſhe ſpeaks not true, as the old *Proteus* did, who ſpake Oracles only when he was caught and bound, but then rather ſhe turns her ſelf into all ſhapes, except her own, and perhaps tunes her voice according to the time, as *Micaiah* did before *Ahab*, until ſhe be adjur'd into her own likenes. Yet is it not impoſſible that ſhe may have more ſhapes then one? What elſe is all that rank of things indifferent, wherin Truth may be on this ſide, or on the other, without being unlike her ſelf? What but a vain ſhadow elſe is the abolition of *thoſe ordinances, that hand-writing nail'd to the croſs?* what great purchaſe is this Chriſtian liberty which *Paul* ſo often boaſts of. His doctrin is, that he who eats or eats not, regards a day or regards it not, may do either to the Lord. How many other things might be tolerated in peace, and left to conſcience, had we but charity, and were it not the chief ſtrong hold of our hypocriſie to be ever judging one another? I fear yet this iron yoke of outward conformity hath left a ſlaviſh print upon our necks; the ghoſt of a linen decency yet haunts us. We ſtumble and are impatient at the leaſt dividing of one viſible Congregation from another, though it be not in fundamentals ; and through our forwardnes to ſuppreſs, and our backwardnes to recover any enthral'd piece of truth out of the gripe of cuſtom, we care not to keep truth ſeparated from truth, which is the fierceſt rent and diſunion of all. We do not ſee that while we ſtill affect by all means a rigid external formality, we may as ſoon fall again into a groſs conforming ſtupidity, a ſtark and dead congealment of *wood and hay and ſtubble* forc'd and frozen together, which is more to the ſudden degenerating of a Church then many *ſubdichotomies* of petty ſchiſms. Not that I can think well of every light ſeparation ; or that all in a Church is to be expected *gold and ſilver and precious ſtones :* it is not poſſible for man to ſever the wheat from the tares, the good fiſh from the other frie ; that muſt be the Angels miniſtery at the end of mortal things. Yet if all cannot be of one mind, as who looks they ſhould be? this doubtles is more wholſom, more prudent, and more chriſtian, that many be tolerated, rather then all compel'd. I mean not tolerated Popery, and open Superſtition, which as it extirpats all Religions and civil Supremacies, ſo it ſelf ſhould be extirpat, provided firſt that all charitable and compaſſionat means be us'd to win and regain the weak and the miſled: that alſo which is impious or evil abſolutely either againſt Faith or Manners, no Law can poſſibly permit, that intends not to unlaw it ſelf: but thoſe neighboring differences, or rather indifferences, are what I ſpeak of, whether in ſome point of doctrin or of diſciplin, which though they may be many, yet need not interrupt *the unity of Spirit*, if we could but find among us *the bond of peace*. In the mean while if any one would write, and bring his helpful hand to the ſlow-moving Reformation which we labour under, if Truth have ſpok'n to him before others, or but ſeem'd at leaſt to ſpeak, who hath ſo bejeſuited us that we ſhould trouble that man with asking licence to do ſo worthy a deed; and not conſider this, that if it com to prohibiting, there is not ought more likely to be prohibited then Truth itſelf: whoſe firſt appearance to our eyes, blear'd and dimm'd with prejudice and cuſtom, is more unſightly and unplauſible then many errors, ev'n as the perſon is of many a great man ſlight and contemtible to ſee to. And what do they tell us vainly of new opinions, when this very opinion of thirs, that none muſt be heard but whom they like, is the worſt and neweſt opinion of all others; and is the chief cauſe why ſects and ſchiſms do ſo much abound, and true knowledg is kept at diſtance from us; beſides yet a greater danger which is in it? For when God ſhakes a Kingdom, with ſtrong and healthful commotions, to a general reforming, 'tis not untrue that many Sectaries and falſe Teachers are then buſieſt in ſeducing? but yet more true it is, that God then raiſes to his own work men of rare abilities, and more then common induſtry, not only to look back and reviſe what hath bin taught hertofore, but to gain furder and go on, ſom new enlightn'd ſteps in the diſcovery of Truth. For ſuch is the order of God's enlightning his Church, to diſpenſe and deal out by degrees his beam, ſo as our earthly eyes may beſt ſuſtain it. Neither is God appointed and confin'd, where and out of what place theſe his Choſen ſhall be firſt heard to ſpeak; for he ſees not as man ſees, chooſes not as man chooſes, leſt we ſhould devote our ſelves again to ſet places, and aſſemblies, and outward callings of men; planting our faith one while in the old Convocation-houſe, and another while in the Chappel at *Weſtminſter*; when all the faith and religion that ſhall be there canoniz'd, is not ſufficient without plain convincement, and the charity of patient inſtruction to ſupple the leaſt bruiſe of conſcience, to edifie the meaneſt Chriſtian, who deſires to walk in the Spirit, and not in the letter of human truſt, for all the number of voices that can be there made; no though *Harry* the 7th himſelf there, with all his leige tombs about him, ſhould lend them voices from the dead, to ſwell thir number. And if the men be erroneous who appear to be the leading Schiſmaticks, what withholds us but our ſloth, our ſelf-will, and diſtruſt in the right cauſe, that we do not give them gentle meetings and gentle diſmiſſions, that we debate not and examin the matter throughly with liberal and frequent audience; if not for thir ſakes, yet for our own? ſeeing no man who hath taſted Learning, but will confeſs the many ways of profiting by thoſe who, not contented with ſtale receits, are able to manage and ſet forth new poſitions to the world. And were they but as the duſt and cinders of our feet, ſo long as in that notion they may yet ſerve to poliſh and brighten the armory of Truth, ev'n for that reſpect they were not utterly to be caſt away. But if they be of thoſe whom God hath fitted for the ſpecial uſe of theſe times with eminent and ample gifts, and thoſe perhaps neither among the Prieſts, nor among the Phariſees, and we in the haſte of a precipitant zeal ſhall make no diſtinction, but reſolve to ſtop thir mouths, becauſe we fear they com with new and dangerous opinions, as we commonly fore-judg them ere we underſtand them, no leſs then wo to us, while thinking thus to defend the Goſpel, we are found the perſecutors.

There have bin not a few ſince the beginning of this Parlament, both of the Presbytery and others, who by thir unlicens'd Books to the contempt of an *Imprimatur* firſt broke that triple ice clung about our hearts, and taught the people to ſee day: I hope that none of thoſe were the perſwaders to renew upon us this bondage which they themſelves have wrought ſo much good by contemning. But if neither the check that *Moſes* gave to young *Joſhua*, nor the countermand which our Saviour gave to young *John*, who was ſo ready to prohibit thoſe whom he thought unlicens'd, be not anough to admoniſh our Elders how unacceptable to God thir teſty mood of prohibiting is; if neither thir own remembrance what evil hath abounded in the Church by this lett of licenſing, and what good they themſelves have begun by tranſgreſſing it, be not anough, but that they will perſwade, and execute the moſt ***Dominican*** part of the Inquiſition over us, and are already with one foot in the ſtirrup ſo active at ſuppreſſing, it would be no unequal diſtribution in the firſt place to ſuppreſs the ſuppreſſors themſelves; whom the change of thir condition hath puſt up, more then thir late experience of harder times hath made wiſe.

And as for regulating the Preſs, let no man think to have the honour of adviſing ye better then your ſelves have done in that Order publiſht next before this, that no Book be printed, unleſs the Printers and the Authors name, or at leaſt the Printers be regiſter'd. Thoſe which otherwiſe com forth, if they be found miſchievous and libellous, the fire and the executioner will be the timelieſt and the moſt effectual remedy that mans prevention can uſe. For this ***authentic*** Spaniſh policy of licenſing Books, if I have ſaid ought, will prove the moſt unlicenc'd Book it ſelf within a ſhort while; and was the immediat image of a Star-chamber decree to that purpoſe made in thoſe very times when that Court did the reſt of thoſe her pious works, for which ſhe is now fall'n from the Stars with *Lucifer*. Wherby ye may gueſs what kind of State prudence, what love of the people, what care of Religion, or good manners there was at the contriving, although with ſingular hypocriſie it pretended to bind Books to thir good behaviour. And how it got the upper hand of your precedent Order ſo well conſtituted before, if we may believe thoſe men whoſe profeſſion gives them cauſe to enquire moſt, it may be doubted there was in it the fraud of ſom old *Patentees* and *Monopolizers* in the Trade of Book-ſelling; who under pretence of the poor in thir Company not to be defrauded, and the juſt retaining of each man his ſeveral copy, which God forbid ſhould be gainſaid, brought divers gloſſing colours to the Houſe, which were indeed but colours, and ſerving to no end except it be to exerciſe a ſuperiority over thir neighbours; Men who do not therfore labour in an honeſt profeſſion to which Learning is indetted, that they ſhould be made other mens vaſſals. Another end is thought was aim'd at by ſom of them in procuring by petition this Order, that having power in thir hands, malignant Books might the eaſier ſcape abroad, as the event ſhews. But of theſe *Sophiſms* and *Elenchs* of marchandize I ſkill not: This I know, that errors in a good Government and in a bad are equally almoſt incident; for what Magiſtrate may not be miſ-inform'd, and much the ſooner, if liberty of Printing be reduc'd into the power of a few? but to redreſs willingly and ſpeedily what hath bin err'd, and in higheſt autority to eſteem a plain Advertiſement more then others have done a ſumptuous Bride, is a Vertue (honour'd Lords and Commons) anſwerable to Your higheſt Actions, and wherof none can participat, but greateſt and wiſeſt men.

✓

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**The Second Volume.**
The Contents whereof follow in the next Leaf.

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Amsterdam, MDCXCIV.

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AMSTERDAM, MDCXCIV.

LII

# 'ΕΙΚΟΝΟΚΛΑ'ΣΤΗΣ.

# In Anſwer to a Book Intitl'd, 'ΕΙΚΩ'Ν ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ', The PORTRATURE of his Sacred MAJESTY in his *Solitudes* and *Sufferings*.

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Prov. 28. 15. *As a roaring lyon and a ranging bear, ſo is a wicked ruler over the poor people.*

16. *The Prince that wanteth underſtanding, is alſo a great oppreſſor; but he that hateth covetouſneſſe, ſhall prolong his days.*

17. *A man that doth violence to the blood of any perſon, ſhall fly to the pit, let no man ſtay him.*

*Saluſt. Conjurat. Catilin.*

Regium imperium, quod initio, conſervandæ libertatis, atque augendæ reipub. causâ fuerat, in ſuperbiam, dominationemque ſe convertit.

Regibus boni, quam mali, ſuſpectiores ſunt, ſemperque his aliena virtus formidoloſa eſt.

Quidlibet impunè facere, hoc ſcilicet regium eſt.

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*Publiſhed by Authority.*

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## The Preface.

TO deſcant on the Misfortunes of a Perſon fall'n from ſo high a Dignity, who hath alſo payd his final debt both to Nature and his Faults, is neither of it ſelf a thing commendable, nor the intention of this Diſcourſe: Neither was it fond Ambition, or the vanity to get a Name preſent or with Poſterity, by writing againſt a King. I never was ſo thirſty after Fame, nor ſo deſtitute of other hopes and means better and more certaine to attaine it: for Kings have gain'd glorious Titles from their Favourers by writing againſt private Men, as *Henry* the 8*th* did againſt *Luther*; but no Man ever gain'd much honour by writing againſt a King, as not uſually meeting with that force of Argument in ſuch Courtly *Antagoniſts*, which to convince might add to his Reputation. Kings moſt commonly, though ſtrong in Legions, are but weak at Arguments; as they who ever have accuſtom'd from the Cradle to uſe thir Will only as their right hand, their Reaſon always as thir left. Whence unexpectedly conſtrain'd to that kind of combate, they prove but weak and puny Adverſaries: Neverthelesſ, for their ſakes who through cuſtom, ſimplicity, or want of better teaching, have not more ſeriouſly conſider'd Kings, then in the gaudy Name of Majeſty, and admire them and thir doings as if they breath'd not the ſame breath with other mortal Men, I ſhall make no ſcruple to take up (for it ſeems to be the challenge both of him and all his Party) this Gauntlet, though a King's, in the behalfe of Liberty and the Common-wealth.

And furder, ſince it appears manifeſtly the cunning drift of a factious and defeated Party, to make the ſame advantage of his Book, which they did before of his Regall Name and Authority, and intend it not ſo much the defence of his former Actions, as the promoting of their own future Deſigns; making thereby the Book thir own rather then the Kings, as the benefit now muſt be thir own more then his: now the third time to corrupt and diſorder the minds of weaker Men, by new Suggeſtions and Narrations, either falſly or fallaciouſly repreſenting the ſtate of things to the diſhonour of this preſent Government, and the retarding of a general Peace, ſo needfull to this afflicted

Nation, and ſo nigh obtain'd ; I ſuppoſe it no Injurie to the dead, but a good deed rather to the living, if by better information giv'n them, or which is anough, by onely remembring them the truth of what they themſelves know to be heer miſaffirmed, they may be kept from entring the third time unadviſedly into Warr and Bloodſhed : for as to any moment of ſolidity in the Book it ſelf, ſtuft with naught els but the common grounds of Tyranny and Popery, ſugar'd a little over ; or any need of anſwering, in reſpect of ſtaid and well-principl'd men, I take it on me as a work aſſign'd rather then by me chos'n or affected ; which was the cauſe both of beginning it ſo late, and finiſhing it ſo leaſurely in the midſt of other imploiments and diverſions. And if the late King had thought ſufficient thoſe Anſwers and Defences made for him in his life time, they who on the other ſide accus'd his evill Government, judging that on their behalf anough alſo hath bin reply'd, the heat of this Controverſie was in likelyhood drawing to an end ; and the furder mention of his deeds, not ſo much unfortunate as faulty, had in tenderneſs to his late Sufferings been willingly forborn ; and perhaps for the preſent age might have ſlept with him unrepeated, while his Adverſaries, calm'd and aſſwag'd with the ſucceſs of their Cauſe, had bin the leſs unfavourable to his Memory. But ſince he himſelf, making new appeal to Truth and the World, hath left behind him this Book as the beſt Advocate and Interpreter of his owne Actions, and that his Friends by publiſhing, diſperſing, commending, and almoſt adoring it, ſeem to place therein the chief ſtrength and nerves of thir Cauſe, it would argue doubtleſs in the other Party great deficience and diſtruſt of themſelves, not to meet the force of his Reaſon in any Field whatſoever, the force and equipage of whoſe Arms they have ſo oft'n met victoriouſly. And he who at the Bar ſtood excepting againſt the forme and manner of his Judicature, and complain'd that he was not heard ; neither he nor his Friends ſhall have that cauſe now to find fault ; being mett and debated with in this op'n and monumental Court of his owne erecting ; and not onely heard uttering his whole mind at large, but anſwer'd : which to doe effectually, if it be neceſſary that to his Book nothing the more reſpect be had for being his, they of his own Party can have no juſt reaſon to exclaim. For it were too unreaſonable that he, becauſe dead, ſhould have the liberty in his Booke to ſpeak all evill of the Parliament ; and they, becauſe living, ſhould be expected to have leſs freedom, or any for them, to ſpeak home the plain truth of a full and pertinent Reply : As he, to acquit himſelſe, hath not ſpar'd his Adverſaries to load them with all ſorts of Blame and Accuſation, ſo to him, as in his Book alive, there will be us'd no more Courtſhip then he uſes ; but what is properly his owne guilt, not imputed any more to his evill Counſellors (a Ceremony us'd longer by the Parlament then he himſelf deſir'd) ſhall be layd heer, without Circumlocutions at his owne dore. That they who from the firſt beginning, or but now of late, by what unhappineſs I know not, are ſo much affatuated, not with his Perſon only, but with his palpable Faults, and dote upon his Deformities, may have none to blame but thir owne folly, if they live and dye in ſuch a ſtrook'n blindneſs, as next to that of *Sodom* hath not happ'nd to any ſort of men more groſs or more miſleading.

First then that ſome men (whether this were by him intended or by his Friends) have by policy accompliſh'd after death that revenge upon thir Enemies, which in life they were not able, hath bin oft related. And among other Examples we find that the laſt Will of *Cæſar* being read to the people, and what bounteous Legacies he had bequeath'd them, wrought more in that vulgar audience to the avenging of his death, then all the art he could ever uſe to win thir favor in his life time. And how much thir intent who publiſh'd theſe overlate Apologies and Meditations of the dead King, drives to the ſame end of ſtirring up the people to bring him that Honour, that Affection, and by conſequence that Revenge to his dead Corps, which he himſelſe living could never gain to his Perſon, it appeares both by the conceited Portrature before his Book, drawn out to the full meaſure of a masking Scene, and ſett there to catch Fools and ſilly Gazers, and by thoſe Latin words after the end, *Vota dabunt quæ Bella negarunt* ; intimating, that what hee could not compaſs by War hee ſhould atchieve by his Meditations : For in words which admit of various ſenſe, the libertie is ours to chooſe that Interpretation which may beſt mind us of what our reſtleſs Enemies endeavour, and what we are timely to prevent.

And heer may be well obſerv'd the looſe and negligent curioſity of thoſe who took upon them to adorn the ſetting out of this Book; for though the Picture ſett in Front would martyr him and ſaint him to befoole the people, yet the Latin Motto in the end, which they underſtand not, leaves him as it were a politic Contriver to bring about that Intereſt by faire and plauſible words which the force of Arms deny'd him. But quaint Emblems and Devices begg'd from the olde Pageantry of ſome Twelfe-nights entertainment at *Whitehall*, will do but ill to make a Saint or Martyr: and if the people reſolve to take him ſainted at the rate of ſuch a Canonizing, I ſhall ſuſpect their Calender more then the *Gregorian*. In one thing I muſt commend his openneſs who gave the Title to this Book, εικὼν βασιλικὴ, that is to ſay, The King's Image; and by the Shrine he dreſſes out for him, certainly would have the people come and worſhip him: For which reaſon this Anſwer alſo is intitl'd, *Iconoclaſtes*, the famous Surname of many Greek Emperors, who in thir zeal to the Command of God, after long tradition of Idolatry in the Church, tooke courage and broke all ſuperſtitious Images to pieces. But the people, exorbitant and exceſſive in all thir motions, are prone oftimes not to a religious only, but to a civil kind of Idolatry in idolizing thir Kings; though never more miſtak'n in the object of thir worſhip; heretofore being wont to repute for Saints thoſe faithful and courageous Barons who loſt thir lives in the Field, making glorious War againſt Tyrants for the common Liberty; as *Simon de Momfort*, Earle of *Leiceſter*, againſt *Henry* the Third; *Thomas Plantagenet* Earle of *Lancaſter*, againſt *Edward* the Second. But now with a beſotted and degenerate baſeneſs of Spirit, except ſome few who yet retain in them the old Engliſh Fortitude and love of freedom, and have teſtifi'd it by thir matchleſs deeds, the reſt imbaſtardiz'd from the ancient Nobleneſs of thir Anceſtors, are ready to fall flat and give adoration to the Image and Memory of this Man, who hath offer'd at more cunning fetches to undermine our Liberties, and put Tyranny into an Art, then any Brittiſh King before him: which low dejection and debaſement of mind in the people, I muſt confeſs I cannot willingly aſcribe to the natural diſpoſition of an Engliſhman, but rather to two other Cauſes: firſt to the Prelats and thir fellow-teachers, though of another Name and Sect, whoſe Pulpit-ſtuffe both firſt and laſt, hath bin the Doctrin and perpetuall infuſion of Servility and Wretchedneſs to all their Hearers, and their Lives the type of worldlineſs and hypocriſy, without the leaſt true pattern of Vertue, Righteouſneſs or Selfe-denyall in their whole practice. I attribute it next to the factious Inclination of moſt men divided from the Public by ſeveral ends and humours of their owne. At firſt no Man leſs belov'd, no Man more generally condemn'd then was the King; from the time that it became his Cuſtom to break Parlaments at home, and either wilfully or weakly to betray Proteſtants abroad, to the beginning of theſe Combuſtions. All men inveigh'd againſt him; all men, except Court Vaſſals, oppos'd him and his tyrannicall Proceedings; the Cry was univerſall; and this full Parlament was at firſt unanimous in thir diſlike and proteſtation againſt his evill Government. But when they who ſought themſelves and not the publick, began to doubt that all of them could not by one and the ſame way attain to thir ambitious purpoſes, then was the King, or his Name at leaſt, as a fit property firſt made uſe of, his doings made the beſt of, and by degrees juſtified: which begot him ſuch a Party, as after many wiles and ſtruglings with his inward feares, imboldn'd him at length to ſett up his Standard againſt the Parlament. When as before that time, all his Adherents, conſiſting moſt of diſſolute Swordmen and Suburb-royſters, hardly amounted to the making up of one ragged Regiment, ſtrong enough to aſſault the unarmed Houſe of Commons. After which attempte, ſeconded by a tedious and bloody War on his Subjects, wherein he hath ſo farr exceeded thoſe his arbitrary Violences in time of Peace, they who before hated him for his high Miſgovernment, nay fought againſt him with diſplay'd Banners in the Field, now applaud him and extoll him for the wiſeſt and moſt religious Prince that liv'd. By ſo ſtrange a Method amongſt the mad Multitude is a ſudden Reputation won, of Wiſdom by wilfullneſs and ſubtle ſhifts, of Goodneſs by multiplying evill, of Piety by endeavouring to root out true Religion.

But it is evident that the chief of his Adherents never lov'd him, never honourd either him or his Cauſe, but as they took him to ſet a face upon their own lignant Deſignes, nor bemoan his loſs at all, but the loſs of their own aſpiring hopes; like thoſe captive Women whome the Poet notes in his *Iliad*, to have bewaild the Death of *Patroclus* in outward ſhow, but indeed their own condition.

> Πάτροκλον πρόφασιν, σφῶν δ' ἀυτῶν κήδ' ἑκάστη.
> Hom. Iliad. τ.

And it needs muſt be ridiculous to any Judgement uninthrall'd, that they who in other matters expreſs ſo little fear either of God or Man, ſhould in this one particular outſtripp all Preciſianiſm with their ſcruples and caſes, and fill mens ears continually with the noiſe of their conſcientious Loyaltie and Allegeance to the King, Rebels in the mean while to God in all their actions beſide: much leſs that they whoſe profeſs'd Loyalty and Allegeance led them to direct Armes againſt the King's Perſon, and thought him nothing violated by the Sword of Hoſtility drawn by them againſt him, ſhould now in earneſt think him violated by the unſparing Sword of Juſtice, which undoubtedly ſo much the leſs in vaine ſhe beares among men, by how much greater and in higheſt place the offender. Els Juſtice, whether moral or politicall, were not Juſtice, but a fals Counterfeit of that impartial and Godlike Vertue. The onely griefe is, that the Head was not ſtrook off to the beſt advantage and commodity of them that held it by the Haire: which obſervation, though made by a common Enemie, may for the truth of it heerafter become a Proverb. But as to the Author of theſe Soliloquies, whether it were the late King, as is vulgarly beleev'd, or any ſecret *Coadjutor*, and ſome ſtick not to name him, it can add nothing, nor ſhall take from the weight, if any be, of reaſon which he brings. But Allegations, not Reaſons, are the maine Contents of this Book, and need no more then other contrary Allegations to lay the Queſtion before all Men in an eev'n Ballance; though it were ſuppos'd that the Teſtimony of one Man in his own Cauſe affirming could be of any moment to bring in doubt the Autority of a Parlament denying. But if theſe his faire-ſpok'n words ſhall be heer fairely confronted and laid parallel to his own farr-differing deeds, manifeſt and viſible to the whole Nation, then ſurely we may look on them who notwithſtanding ſhall perſiſt to give to bare words more credit than to op'n deeds, as men whoſe Judgment was not rationally evinc'd and perſwaded, but fatally ſtupifi'd and bewitch'd into ſuch a blind and obſtinate belief: for whoſe Cure it may be doubted, not whether any Charm, though never ſo wiſely murmur'd, but whether any Prayer can be available.

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# I. *Upon the Kings calling this laſt Parlament.*

THAT which the King laies down here as his firſt foundation, and as it were the head ſtone of his whole Structure, that *He call'd this laſt Parlament, not more by others advice, and the neceſſity of his affairs, then by his own chois and inclination*, is to all knowing men ſo apparently not true, that a more unlucky and inauſpicious ſentence, and more betok'ning the downfall of his whole Fabric, hardly could have come into his Mind. For who knows not that the inclination of a Prince is beſt known either by thoſe next about him, and moſt in favor with him, or by the current of his own Actions? Thoſe neereſt to this King, and moſt his Favorites, were Courtiers and Prelates; Men whoſe chief ſtudy was to find out which way the King inclin'd, and to imitate him exactly: How theſe Men ſtood affected to Parlaments cannot be forgott'n. No Man but may remember it was thir continuall exerciſe to diſpute and preach againſt them; and in thir common diſcourſe nothing was more frequent, then that *they hoped the King ſhould now have no need of Parlaments any more.* And this was but the copy which his Paraſites had induſtriouſly taken from his own Words and Actions, who never call'd a Parlament, but to ſupply his neceſſities; and having ſupply'd thoſe, as ſuddenly and ignominiouſly diſſolv'd it, without redreſſing any one greevance of the People: Sometimes chooſing rather to miſs of his Subſidies, or to raiſe them by illegal courſes, then that the People ſhould not ſtill miſs of thir hopes to be reliev'd by Parlaments.

The firſt he broke off at his comming to the Crown, for no other cauſe then to protect the Duke of *Buckingham* againſt them who had accuſed him, beſides other hainous Crimes, of no leſs then poyſoning the deceaſed King his Father. And ſtill the latter breaking was with more affront and indignity put upon the Houſe and her worthieſt Members then the former. Inſomuch that in the fifth yeare of his Raign, in a Proclamation he ſeems offended at the very rumor of a Parlament divulg'd among the people, as if hee had tak'n it for a kind of Slander, that Men ſhould think him that way exorable, much leſs inclin'd: and forbids it as a preſumption to preſcribe him any time for Parlaments; that is to ſay, either by Perſwaſion or Petition, or ſo much as the reporting of ſuch a Rumor: for other manner of preſcribing was at that time not ſuſpected. By which fierce Edict, the people, forbidd'n to complaine, as well as forc'd to ſuffer, began from thenceforth to deſpair of Parlaments. Whereupon ſuch illegal actions, and eſpecially to get vaſt ſumms of Money, were put in practiſe by the King and his new Officers, as Monopolies, compulſive Knighthoods, Cote, Conduct and Ship-mony, the ſeizing not of one *Naboths* Vineyard, but of whole Inheritances, under the pretence of Forreſt, or Crown-Lands; Corruption and Bribery compounded for, with impunities granted for the future, as gave evident proof that the King never meant, nor could it ſtand with the reaſon of his Affairs ever to recall Parlaments: having brought by theſe irregular courſes the peoples Intereſt and his own to ſo direct an oppoſition, that he might foreſee plainely, if nothing but a Parlament could ſave the people, it muſt neceſſarily be his undoing.

Till eight or nine years after, proceeding with a high hand in theſe Enormities, and having the ſecond time levied an injurious War againſt his native Countrie, *Scotland*; and finding all thoſe other ſhifts of raiſing mony, which bore out his firſt Expedition, now to faile him, not of his own *chois and inclination*, as any Child may ſee, but urg'd by ſtrong neceſſities, and the very pangs of State, which his owne violent Proceedings had brought him to, hee calls a Parlament; firſt in *Ireland*, which only was to give him four Subſidies, and ſo to expire; then in *England*, where his firſt demand was but twelve Subſidies, to maintaine a Scotch Warr, condemn'd and abominated by the whole Kingdom; promiſing thir greevances ſhould be conſider'd afterwards. Which when the Parliament, who judg'd that Warr it ſelf one of thir main greevances, made no haſt to grant, not enduring the delay of his impatient will, or els fearing the conditions of thir grant, he breaks off the whole Seſſion, and diſmiſſes them and thir greevances with ſcorn and fruſtration.

Much leſs therefore did hee call this laſt Parlament by his own chois and inclination; but having firſt try'd in vaine all undue ways to procure mony, his Army of thir own accord being beat'n in the North, the Lords petitioning, and the general voice of the People almoſt hiſſing him and his ill-acted regalitie off the Stage, compell'd at length both by his wants, and by his fears, upon meer extremitie he ſummond this laſt Parlament. And how is it poſſible that hee ſhould willingly incline to Parlaments, who never was perceiv'd to call them but for the greedy hope of a whole National Bribe, his Subſidies; and never lov'd, never fulfill'd, never promoted the true end of Parlaments, the redreſs of greevances; but ſtill put them off, and prolong'd them, whether gratify'd or not gratify'd; and was indeed the Author of all thoſe greevances? To ſay therefore that he call'd this Parlament of his own chois and inclination, argues how little truth wee can expect from the ſequel of this Book, which ventures in the very firſt period to affront more then one Nation with an untruth ſo remarkable; and preſumes a more implicit Faith in the people of *England*, then the Pope ever commanded from the Romiſh Laitie; or els a natural ſottiſhneſs fitt to be abus'd and ridd'n? While in the judgement of wiſe Men, by laying the foundation of his defence on the avouchment of that which is ſo manifeſtly untrue, he hath giv'n a worſe foile to his own cauſe, then when his whole Forces were at any time overthrown. They therefore who think ſuch great Service don to the Kings affaires in publiſhing this Book, will find themſelves in the end miſtaken, if ſenſe and right mind, or but any mediocritie of knowledg and remembrance hath not quite forſak'n men.

But to prove his inclination to Parlaments, he affirmes heer, *To have always thought the right way of them moſt ſafe for his Crown, and beſt pleaſing to his People.* What he thought we know not, but that he ever took the contrary way we ſaw; and from his own actions we felt long agoe what hee thought of Parlaments or of pleaſing his People: a ſurer Evidence than what we heare now too late in words.

He alleges, that *the cauſe of forbearing to convene Parlaments was the ſparkes which ſome mens diſtempers there ſtudied to kindle.* They were indeed not temper'd to his temper; for it neither was the Law, nor the rule by which all other tempers were to be try'd; but they were eſteem'd and chos'n for the fitteſt men, in thir ſeverall Counties, to allay and quench thoſe diſtempers which his own inordinate doings had inflam'd. And if that were his refuſing to *convene*, till thoſe men had bin qualifi'd to his temper, that is to ſay, his will, we may eaſily conjecture what hope ther was of Parlaments, had not fear and his inſatiat povertie in the midſt of his exceſſive wealth conſtrain'd him.

*Hee hoped by his freedom and their moderation to prevent miſunderſtandings.* And wherefore not by thir freedom and his moderation? But freedom he thought too high a word for them, and moderation too mean a word for himſelf: this was not the way to prevent miſunderſtandings. He ſtill *feard paſſion and prejudice in other men*; not in himſelf: *and doubted not by the weight of his* own *reaſon to counterpoiſe any Faction*; it being ſo eaſie for him, and ſo frequent, to call his obſtinacy reaſon, and other mens reaſon Faction. Wee in the mean while muſt believe that wiſdom and all reaſon came to him by Title with his Crowne; paſſion, prejudice, and faction came to others by being Subjects.

*He was ſorry to hear with what popular heat Elections were carri'd in many Places.* Sorry rather that Court-Letters and intimations prevail'd no more, to divert, or to deterr the people from thir free Election of thoſe men, whom they thought beſt affected to Religion and thir Countries Libertie, both at that time in danger to be loſt. And ſuch men they were, as by the Kingdom were ſent to adviſe him, not ſent to be cavill'd at, becauſe elected, or to be entertained by him with an undervalue and miſpriſion of their temper, judgement, or affection. In vaine was a Parlament thought fitteſt by the known Laws of our Nation, to adviſe and regulate unruly Kings, if they, inſtead of hearkning to advice, ſhould be permitted to turn it off, and refuſe it by vilifying and traducing thir adviſers, or by accuſing of a popular heat thoſe that lawfully elected them.

*His own and his Childrens intereſt oblig'd him to ſeek, and to preſerve the love and welfare of his Subjects.* Who doubts it? But the ſame intereſt, common to all Kings, was never yet available to make them all ſeek that, which was indeed beſt for themſelves and thir Poſteritie. All men by thir own and thir Childrens intereſt are oblig'd to Honeſtie and Juſtice: but how little that conſideration works in private men, how much leſs in Kings, their deeds declare beſt.

*He intended to oblige both Friends and Enemies, and to exceed their Deſires, did they but pretend to any modeſt and ſober ſenſe*; miſtaking the whole buſineſs of a Parlament. Which mett not to receive from him Obligations, but Juſtice; nor hee to expect from them thir modeſty, but their grave advice, utter'd with freedom in the public cauſe. His talk of modeſty in thir deſires of the common welfare, argues him not much to have underſtood what he had to grant, who miſconceav'd ſo much the nature of what they had to deſire. And for *ſober ſenſe*, the expreſſion was too mean, and recoiles with as much diſhonour upon himſelfe, to be a King where ſober ſenſe could poſſibly be ſo wanting in a Parlament.

*The odium and offences which ſome mens rigour, or remiſſneſs in Church and State had contracted upon his Government, hee reſolved to have expiated with better Laws and Regulations.* And yet the worſt of miſdemeanors committed by the worſt of all his favourites in the hight of thir dominion, whether acts of rigor or remiſſneſs, he hath from time to time continu'd, own'd, and tak'n upon himſelf by public Declarations, as oft'n as the Clergie, or any other of his Inſtruments felt themſelves overburdn'd with the peoples hatred. And who knows not the ſuperſtitious rigor of his Sundays Chappel, and the licentious remiſſneſs of his Sundays Theater; accompanied with that reverend Statute for *Dominical* Jigs and Maypoles, publiſht in his own Name, and deriv'd from the example of his Father *James?* Which teſtifies all that rigor in Superſtition, all that remiſſneſs in Religion to have iſſu'd out originally from his own Houſe, and from his own Autority. Much rather then may thoſe general miſcarriages in State, his proper Sphear, be imputed to no other perſon chiefly than to himſelf. And which of all thoſe oppreſſive Acts or Impoſitions did he ever diſclaime or diſavow, till the fatal aw of this Parlament hung ominouſly over him? Yet heer hee ſmoothly ſeeks to wipe off all the envy of his evill Government upon his Subſtitutes and under Officers; and promiſes, though much too late, what wonders he purpos'd to have don in the reforming of Religion; a work wherein all his undertakings heretofore declare him to have had little or no judgment: Neither could his breeding, or his cours of life acquaint him with a thing ſo ſpiritual. Which may well aſſure us what kind of Reformation we could expect from him; either ſome politic form of an impos'd Religion, or els perpetual vexation and perſecution to all thoſe that comply'd not with ſuch a form. The like amendment he promiſes in State; not a ſtep furder *then his Reaſon and Conſcience told him was fit to bee deſir'd*; wiſhing *hee had kept within thoſe bounds, and not ſuffer'd his own judgment to have bin over-born in ſome things*, of which things one was the Earle of *Straffords* execution. And what ſignifies all this, but that ſtill his reſolution was the ſame to ſet up an arbitrary Government of his own, and that all *Britain* was to be ty'd and chain'd to the conſcience, judgment, and reaſon of one Man; as if thoſe gifts had been only his Peculiar and Prerogative, intail'd upon him with his fortune to be a King? When as doubtleſs no man ſo obſtinate, or ſo much a Tyrant, but profeſſes to be guided by that which he calls his Reaſon and his Judgment, tho never ſo corrupted; and pretends alſo his Conſcience. In the mean while for any Parliament, or the whole Nation to have either reaſon, judgment, or conſcience by this rule, was altogether in vaine, if it thwarted the King's Will; which was eaſie for him to call by any other more plauſible name. And thus we find theſe faire and ſpecious promiſes, made upon the experience of many hard ſufferings, and his moſt mortifi'd retirements, being throughly ſifted, to contain nothing in them much different from his former practices, ſo croſs and ſo averſe to all his Parlaments, and both the Nations of this Iland. What fruits they could in likelyhood have produc'd in his reſtorement is obvious to any prudent foreſight.

And this is the ſubſtance of his firſt Section, till wee come to the devout of it, model'd into the form of a privat Pſalter. Which they who ſo much admire the Arch-Biſhops late Breviary, and many other as good *Manuels* and *Handmaids of Devotion*, the lip-work of every Prelatical Liturgiſt, clapt together, and quilted out of Scripture-phraſe, with as much eaſe, and as little need of Chriſtian diligence or judgment as belongs to the compiling of any ordnary, and ſalable piece of Engliſh Divinity that the Shops value. But he who from ſuch a kind of Pſalmiſtry, or any other verbal Devotion, without the pledge and earneſt of ſutable deeds, can be perſwaded of a zeal and true righteouſneſs in the perſon, hath much yet to learn, and knows not that the deepeſt policy of a Tyrant hath been ever to counterfet Religious. And *Ariſtotle* in his Politics hath mentioned that ſpecial craft among twelve other tyrannical *Sophiſms*. Neither want we examples: *Andronicus Comnenus* the *Byzantine* Emperor, though a moſt cruel Tyrant, is reported by *Nicetas* to have been a conſtant reader of Saint *Pauls* Epiſtles; and by continual ſtudy had ſo incorporated the phraſe and ſtile of that tranſcendent Apoſtle into all his familiar Letters, that the imitation ſeem'd to vie with the original. Yet this availd not to deceave the people of that Empire, who notwithſtanding his Saints vizard, tore him to peeces for his Tyranny. From Stories of this nature both antient and modern which abound, the Poets alſo, and ſom Engliſh have been in this point ſo mindfull of *Decorum*, as to put never more pious words in the mouth of any perſon then of a Tyrant. I ſhall not inſtance an abſtruſe Author, wherein the King might be leſs converſant, but one whom wee well know was the Cloſet Companion of theſe his ſolitudes, *William Shakeſpeare*, who introduces the Perſon of *Richard* the third, ſpeaking in as high a ſtrain of pietie and mortification as is utterd in any paſſage of this Book, and ſometimes to the ſame ſenſe and purpoſe with ſome words in this place; *I intended*, ſaith he, *not onely to oblige my Friends, but mine Enemies.* The like ſaith *Richard*, *Act* 2. *Scen.* 1.

*I do not know that Engliſhman alive,*
*With whom my ſoule is any jott at odds,*
*More then the Infant that is born to night;*
*I thank my God for my humilitie.*

Other ſtuff of this ſort may be read throughout the whole Tragedie, wherein the Poet us'd not much licence in departing from the truth of Hiſtory, which delivers him a deep diſſembler, not of his affections onely, but of Religion.

In praying therefore, and in the outward work of Devotion, this King we ſee hath not at all exceeded the worſt of Kings before him. But herein the worſt of Kings, profeſſing Chriſtianiſm, have by farr exceeded him. They, for ought we know, ſtill pray'd their own, or at leaſt borrowed from fit Authors. But this King, not content with that which, although in a thing holy, is no holy theft, to attribute to his own making other mens whole Prayers, hath as it were unhallow'd and unchriſtn'd the very duty of Prayer it ſelf, by borrowing to a Chriſtian uſe Prayers offerd to a Heathen God. Who would have imagin'd ſo little feare in him of the true all-ſeeing Deitie, ſo little reverence of the Holy Ghoſt, whoſe office is to dictat and preſent our Chriſtian Prayers, ſo little care of truth in his laſt words, or honour to himſelf, or to his Friends, or ſenſe of his afflictions, or of that ſad hour which was upon him, as immediatly before his death to pop into the hand of that grave Biſhop who attended him, as a ſpecial Relique of his Saintly exerciſes, a Prayer ſtol'n word for word from the mouth of a Heathen Woman praying to a Heathen God; and that in no ſerious Book, but in the vain amatorious Poem of Sir *Philip Sidneys Arcadia*; a Book in that kind full of worth and witt, but among religious thoughts and duties not worthy to be nam'd; nor to be read at any time without good caution, much leſs in time of trouble and affliction to be a Chriſtians Prayer-Book? It hardly can be thought upon without ſom laughter, that he who had acted over us ſo ſtately and ſo tragically, ſhould leave the World at laſt with ſuch a ridiculous exit, as to bequeath among his deifying friends that ſtood about him ſuch a piece of mockery to be publiſht by them, as muſt needs cover both his and their heads with ſhame and confuſion. And ſure it was the hand of God that let them fall, and be taken in ſuch a fooliſh Trapp, as hath expos'd them to all deriſion, if for nothing els, to throw contempt and diſgrace in the ſight of all Men upon this his idoliz'd Book, and the whole roſarie of his Prayers; thereby teſtifying how little he accepted them from thoſe who thought no better of the living God than of a Buzzard Idol, that would be ſerv'd and worſhipt with the polluted traſh of Romances and *Arcadias*,

*cadias*, without diſcerning the affront ſo irreligiouſly and ſo boldly offer'd him to his face.

Thus much be ſaid in general to his Prayers, and in ſpecial to that Arcadian Prayer us'd in his Captivity; anough to undeceive us what eſteem we are to ſet upon the reſt.

And thus farr in the whole Chapter we have ſeen and conſider'd, and it cannot but be clear to all men, how and for what ends, what concernments and neceſſities the late King was no way induc'd, but every way conſtrain'd to call this laſt Parliament: yet here in his firſt Prayer he trembles not to avouch as in the ears of God, *That he did it with an upright intention to his Glory, and his peoples Good:* of which dreadful Atteſtation how ſincerely meant, God, to whom it was avow'd, can only judg; and he hath judg'd already, and hath writt'n his impartial Sentence in Characters legible to all Chriſt'ndom; and beſides hath taught us that there be ſome whom he hath giv'n over to deluſion, whoſe very Mind and Conſcience is defil'd, of whom Saint *Paul* to *Titus* makes mention.

## II. *Upon the Earle of Strafford's Death.*

THIS next Chapter is a penitent Confeſſion of the King, and the ſtrangeſt, if it be well weigh'd, that ever was Auricular. For he repents heer of giving his Conſent, though moſt unwillingly, to the moſt ſeaſonable and ſolemn piece of Juſtice that had bin don of many years in the Land: But his ſole Conſcience thought the contrary. And thus was the welfare, the ſafety, and within a little, the unanimous demand of three populous Nations to have attended ſtill on the ſingularity of one Man's opinionated Conſcience; if men had always been ſo tame and ſpiritleſs, and had not unexpectedly found the grace to underſtand, that if his Conſcience were ſo narrow and peculiar to it ſelf, it was not fit his Authority ſhould be ſo ample and univerſal over others: For certainly a private Conſcience ſorts not with a publick Calling, but declares that Perſon rather meant by nature for a private Fortune. And this alſo we may take for truth, that he whoſe Conſcience thinks it ſin to put to death a capital Offendor, will as oft think it meritorious to kill a righteous Perſon. But let us hear what the ſin was that lay ſo ſore upon him; and as his Prayer giv'n to Dr. *Juxton*, teſtifies to the very day of his death, it was his ſigning the Bill of *Straffords* execution: A Man whom all men look'd upon as one of the boldeſt and moſt impetuous Inſtruments that the King had to advance any violent or illegal Deſign. He had rul'd *Ireland* and ſom parts of *England*, in an arbitrary manner; had indeavour'd to ſubvert fundamental Laws, to ſubvert Parlaments, and to incenſe the King againſt them; he had alſo endeavour'd to make Hoſtility between *England* and *Scotland*: He had counſel'd the King to call over that Iriſh Army of Papiſts, which he had cunningly rais'd, to reduce *England*, as appear'd by good Teſtimony then preſent at the Conſultation: For which, and many other Crimes alleg'd and prov'd againſt him in 28 Articles, he was condemn'd of High Treaſon by the Parlament. The Commons by far the greater number caſt him; the Lords after they had bin ſatiſfi'd in a full Diſcourſe by the King's Sollicitor, and the Opinions of many Judges deliver'd in their Houſe, agreed likewiſe to the Sentence of Treaſon. The People univerſally cri'd out for Juſtice. None were his Friends but Courtiers and Clergymen, the worſt at that time, and moſt corrupted ſort of Men; and Court-Ladies, not the beſt of Women; who when they grow to that inſolence as to appear active in State-Affairs, are the certain ſign of a diſſolute, degenerat, and puſillanimous Common-wealth. Laſt of all the King, or rather firſt, for theſe were but his Apes, was not ſatiſfi'd in Conſcience to condemn him of High Treaſon; and declar'd to both Houſes, *That no fears or reſpects whatſoever ſhould make him alter that Reſolution founded upon his Conſcience.* Either then his Reſolution was indeed not founded upon his Conſcience, or his

Conſcience receav'd better information, or els both his Conſcience and this his ſtrong Reſolution ſtrook ſail, notwithſtanding theſe glorious words, to his ſtronger fear; for within a few days after, when the Judges at a privie Counſel, and four of his elected Biſhops had pick'd the thorn out of his Conſcience, he was at length perſwaded to ſigne the Bill for *Strafford's* Execution. And yet perhaps that it wrung his Conſcience to condemn the *Earl* of High Treaſon is not unlikely; not becauſe he thought him guiltleſs of higheſt Treaſon, had half thoſe Crimes bin committed againſt his own privat Intereſt or Perſon, as appear'd plainly by his charge againſt the ſix Members; but becauſe he knew himſelf a Principal in what the *Earl* was but his Acceſſory, and thought nothing Treaſon againſt the Common-wealth, but againſt himſelf only.

Had he really ſcrupl'd to ſentence that for Treaſon which he thought not treaſonable, why did he ſeem reſolv'd by the Judges and the Biſhops? and if by them reſolv'd, how comes the ſcruple heer again? It was not then as he now pretends, *The importunities of ſome, and the fear of many*, which made him ſign, but the ſatisfaction giv'n him by thoſe Judges and ghoſtly Fathers of his own chooſing. Which of him ſhall we believe? for he ſeems not one, but double; either here we muſt not beleeve him profeſſing that his Satisfaction was but ſeemingly receav'd and out of fear, or els we may as well beleeve that the ſcruple was no real ſcruple, as we can beleeve him heer againſt himſelf before, that the ſatisfaction then receiv'd was no real ſatisfaction: of ſuch a variable and fleeting Conſcience what hold can be tak'n? But that indeed it was a facil Conſcience, and could diſſemble ſatisfaction when it pleas'd, his own inſuing Actions declar'd; being ſoon after found to have the chief hand in a moſt deteſted Conſpiracy againſt the Parlament and Kingdom, as by Letters and Examinations of *Percy*, *Goring*, and other Conſpirators came to light; that his intention was to reſcue the Earl of *Strafford*, by ſeizing on the Tower of *London*; to bring up the Engliſh Army out of the North, joyn'd with eight thouſand Iriſh Papiſts rais'd by *Strafford*, and a French Army to be landed at *Portſmouth* againſt the Parlament and thir Friends. For which purpoſe the King, though requeſted by both Houſes to disband thoſe Iriſh Papiſts, refus'd to do it, and kept them ſtill in armes to his own purpoſes. No marvel then, if being as deeply criminous as the Earl himſelf, it ſtung his Conſcience to adjudg to death thoſe miſdeeds whereof himſelf had been the chief Author: no marvel though inſtead of blaming and deteſting his Ambition, his evil Counſel, his violence and oppreſſion of the People, he fall to praiſe his great *Abilities*, and with Scolaſtick Flouriſhes beneath the decencie of a King, compares him to *the Sun*, which in all figurative uſe and ſignificance beares alluſion to a King, not to a Subject: No marvel though he knit Contradictions as cloſe, as words can lie together, *not approving in his judgment*, and yet approving in his ſubſequent reaſon all that *Strafford* did, as *driv'n by the neceſſity of times, and the temper of that people*; for this excuſes all his Miſdemeanors: Laſtly, no marvel that he goes on building many fair and pious Concluſions upon falſe and wicked Premiſes, which deceave the common Reader, not well diſcerning the antipathy of ſuch Connexions: but this is the marvel, and may be the aſtoniſhment of all that have a Conſcience, how he durſt in the ſight of God (and with the ſame words of contrition wherwith *David* repents the murdering of *Uriah*) repent his lawful compliance to that juſt act of not ſaving him, whom he ought to have deliver'd up to ſpeedy puniſhment, though himſelf the guiltier of the two. If the deed were ſo ſinful to have put to death ſo great a Malefactor, it would have tak'n much doutleſs from the heavineſs of his Sin, to have told God in his Confeſſion, how he labour'd, what dark Plots he had contriv'd, into what a League entred, and with what Conſpirators againſt his Parlament and Kingdoms, to have reſcu'd from the claim of Juſtice ſo notable and ſo dear an Inſtrument of Tyranny; which would have bin a Story, no doubt, as pleaſing in the ears of Heav'n, as all theſe equivocal Repentances. For it was fear, and nothing els, which made him fain before both the ſcruple and the ſatisfaction of his Conſcience, that is to ſay, of his mind: his firſt fear, pretended Conſcience, that he might be born with to refuſe ſigning; his latter fear being more urgent, made him find a Conſcience both to ſign, and to be ſatisfy'd. As for Repentance it came not on him till a long time after; when he ſaw *he could have ſuffer'd nothing more though he had deny'd that Bill*. For how could he underſtandingly repent of letting that be Treaſon which the Parlament and whole Nation ſo judg'd? This was that which repented him, to have giv'n up to juſt puniſhment ſo ſtout a Champion of his Deſigns, who might have bin ſo uſeful to him in his following civil Broiles. It was a worldly Repentance, not a conſcientious; or els it was a ſtrange Tyranny which his Conſcience had got over him, to vex him like an evil Spirit for doing one act of Juſtice, and by that means to *fortify his Reſolution* from ever doing ſo any more. That mind muſt needs be irrecoverably deprav'd, which either by chance or importunity, taſting but once of one juſt deed, ſpatters at it and abhors the reliſh ever after. To the Scribes and Phariſees, Wo was denounc'd by our Saviour, for ſtraining at a Gnat and ſwallowing a Camel, though a Gnat were to be ſtrain'd at: But to a Conſcience with whom one good deed is ſo hard to paſs down as to endanger almoſt a choaking, and bad deeds without number, though as big and bulkie as the ruin of three Kingdoms, go down currently without ſtraining, certainly a far greater woe appertains. If his Conſcience were come to that unnatural *Dyſcraſy*, as to digeſt poyſon and to keck at wholeſom food, it was not for the Parlament, or any of his Kingdoms to feed with him any longer. Which to conceal he would perſwade us that the Parlament alſo in their Conſcience eſcap'd not *ſome touches of remorſe* for putting *Strafford* to death, in forbidding it by an *after-act* to be a Precedent for the future. But in a fairer conſtruction, that act impli'd rather a deſire in them to pacifie the King's mind, whom they perceav'd by this means quite alienated; in the mean while not imagining that this after-act ſhould be retorted on them to tie up Juſtice for the time to come upon like occaſion, whether this were made a Precedent or not, no more then the want of ſuch a Precedent, if it had bin wanting, had bin available to hinder this.

But how likely is it that this after-act argu'd in the Parlament thir leaſt repenting for the death of *Strafford*, when it argu'd ſo little in the King himſelf, who notwithſtanding this after-act, which had his own hand and concurrence, if not his own inſtigation, within the ſame year accus'd of High Treaſon no leſs than ſix Members at once for the ſame pretended Crimes which his Conſcience would not yield to think treaſonable in the Earl: So that this his ſuttle Argument to faſt'n a repenting, and by that means a guiltineſs of *Strafford's* death upon the Parlament, concludes upon his own head; and ſhews us plainly that either nothing in his judgment was Treaſon againſt the Common-wealth, but only againſt the King's Perſon; a tyrannical Principle; or that his Conſcience was a perverſe and prevaricating Conſcience, to ſcruple that the Common-wealth ſhould puniſh for treaſonous in one eminent Offender, that which he himſelf ſought ſo vehemently to have puniſht in ſix guiltleſs perſons. If this were *that touch of Conſcience which he bore with greater regrett* then for any other ſin committed in his life, whether it were that proditory Aid ſent to *Rochel* and Religion abroad, or that prodigality of ſhedding blood at home, to a million of his Subjects lives not valu'd in compariſon of one *Strafford*, we may conſider yet at laſt what true ſenſe and feeling could be in that Conſcience, and what fitneſs to be the Maſter-conſcience of three Kingdomes.

But the reaſon why he labours that we ſhould take notice of ſo much *tenderneſs and regret in his Soul* for *having any hand in* Strafford's *death*, is worth the marking e're we conclude: *He hop'd it would be ſome evidence before God and Man to all poſteritie that he was farr from bearing that vaſt load and guilt of blood* layd upon him by others: Which hath the likeneſs of a ſuttle Diſſimulation, bewailing the blood of one Man, his commodious Inſtrument, put to death moſt juſtly, though by him unwillingly, that we might think him too tender to ſhed willingly the blood of thoſe thouſands, whom he counted Rebells. And thus by dipping voluntarily his fingers end, yet with ſhew of great remorſe, in the blood of *Strafford*, whereof all Men cleer him, he thinks to ſcape that Sea of innocent blood wherein his own guilt inevitably hath plung'd him all over. And we may well perceave to what eaſie ſatisfactions and purgations he had inur'd his ſecret Conſcience, who thinks by ſuch weak policies and oſtentations as theſe to gain belief and abſolution from underſtanding Men.

III. *Upon*

## III. *Upon his going to the Houſe of Commons.*

CONcerning his unexcuſable and hoſtile march from the Court to the Houſe of Commons, there needs not much be ſaid; for he confeſſes it to be an act which moſt men whom he calls *his Enemies* cry'd ſhame upon, *indifferent men* grew *jealous of and fearfull, and many of his Friends reſented, as a motion ariſing rather from paſſion then reaſon:* He himſelf in one of his Anſwers to both Houſes made profeſſion to be convinc'd that it was a plaine breach of thir Privilege; yet here like a rotten building newly trimm'd over, he repreſents it ſpeciouſly and fraudulently, to impoſe upon the ſimple Reader; and ſeeks by ſmooth and ſuttle words not here only, but through his whole Book, to make ſome beneficial uſe or other even of his worſt miſcarriages.

*Theſe Men*, ſaith he, meaning his Friends, *knew not the juſt motives and pregnant grounds with which I thought my ſelf furniſhed*; to wit, againſt the five Members whom he came to dragg out of the Houſe. His beſt Friends indeed knew not, nor could ever know his Motives to ſuch a riotous act: and had he himſelfe known any juſt grounds, he was not ignorant how much it might have tended to his juſtifying, had he nam'd them in this place, and not conceal'd them. But to ſuppoſe them real, ſuppoſe them known, what was this to that violation and diſhonour put upon the whole Houſe, whoſe very dore forcibly kept op'n, and all the paſſages neer it he beſett with Swords and Piſtols cockt and menac'd in the hands of about three hundred Swaggerers and Ruffians, who but expected, nay audibly call'd for, the word of Onſet to begin a ſlaughter.

*He had diſcover'd as he thought unlawfull coreſpondencies which they had us'd, and Engagements to imbroile his Kingdomes*, and remembers not his own unlawfull Correſpondencies and Conſpiracies with the Iriſh Army of Papiſts, with the French to land at *Portſmouth*, and his tampring both with the Engliſh and Scotch Army to come up againſt the Parlament: the leaſt of which attempts by whomſoever, was no leſs then manifeſt Treaſon againſt the Common-wealth.

If to demand Juſtice on the five Members were his Plea, for that which they with more reaſon might have demanded Juſtice upon him (I uſe his own Argument) *there needed not ſo rough aſſiſtance.* If hee had *reſolv'd to bear that repuls with patience*, which his Queen by her words to him at his return little thought he would have done, wherefore did he provide againſt it with ſuch an armed and unuſual Force? But his heart ſerv'd him not to undergoe the hazzard that ſuch a deſperat ſcuffle would have brought him to. But wherfore did he goe at all, it behooving him to know there were two Statutes that declar'd he ought firſt to have acquainted the Parlament who were the Accuſers, which he refus'd to doe, though ſtill profeſſing to govern by Law, and ſtill juſtifying his attempts againſt Law: And when he ſaw it was not permitted him to attaint them but by a fair tryal, as was offer'd him from time to time, for want of juſt matter which yet never came to light, he let the buſineſs fall of his own accord; and all thoſe *Pregnancies* and *juſt motives* came to juſt nothing.

*He had no temptation of diſpleaſure or revenge againſt thoſe Men:* None but what he thirſted to execute upon them, for the conſtant oppoſition which they made againſt his tyrannous Proceedings, and the love and reputation which they therfore had among the people.

*He miſt but little to have produc'd Writings under ſome Mens own hands.* But yet he miſt, though their Chambers, Trunks, and Studies were ſeal'd up and ſearcht; yet not found guilty. *Providence would not have it ſo.* Good Providence that curbs the raging of proud Monarchs, as well as of madd Multitudes. *Yet he wanted not ſuch probabilities* (for his pregnant is come now to probable) *as were ſufficient to raiſe jealouſies in any King's heart:* And thus his pregnant *motives* are at laſt prov'd nothing but a Tympany, or a Queen *Maries* Cuſhion; for in any Kings heart, as Kings go now, what ſhadowie conceit or groundleſs toy will not create a Jealouſie?

*That he had deſign'd to aſſault the Houſe of Commons*, taking God to witneſs, he utterly denies; yet in his Anſwer to the City, maintains that *any courſe of vio-*

*lence had bin very juſtifiable.* And we may then gueſs how far it was from his deſign: However it diſcover'd in him an exceſſive eagerneſs to be aveng'd on them that croſs'd him; and that to have his will, he ſtood not to doe things never ſo much below him. What a becomming ſight it was to ſee the King of *England* one while in the Houſe of Commons, by and by in the *Guild-Hall* among the Liveries and Manufactures, proſecuting ſo greedily the track of five or ſix fled Subjects; himſelf not the Solliciter only but the Purſivant, and the Apparitor of his own partial Cauſe. And although in his Anſwers to the Parlament, he hath confeſs'd, firſt that his manner of proſecution was illegal, next *that as he once conceiv'd he had ground anough to accuſe them, ſo at length that he found as good cauſe to deſert any proſecution of them*; yet here he ſeems to reverſe all, and againſt promiſe takes up his old deſerted Accuſation, that he might have ſomething to excuſe himſelf, inſtead of giving due reparation, which he always refus'd to give them whom he had ſo diſhonour'd.

*That I went*, ſaith he of his going to the Houſe of Commons, *attended with ſome Gentlemen*; Gentlemen indeed, the ragged Infantrie of Stewes and Brothels; the ſpawn and ſhipwrack of Taverns and Dicing-Houſes: and then he pleads *it was no unwonted thing for the Majeſty and ſafety of a King to be ſo attended, eſpecially in diſcontented times.* An illuſtrious Majeſtie no doubt, ſo attended; a becomming ſafety for the King of *England*, plac'd in the fidelity of ſuch Guards and Champions: happy times, when Braves and Hackſters, the only contented Members of his Government, were thought the fitteſt and the faithfulleſt to defend his Perſon againſt the diſcontents of a Parlament and all good Men. Were thoſe the choſ'n ones to *preſerve reverence to him*, while he enter'd *unaſſur'd*, and full of ſuſpicions, into his great and faithful Counſel? Let God then and the World judg whether the Cauſe were not in his own guilty and unwarrantable doings: The Houſe of Commons upon ſeveral Examinations of this buiſneſs declar'd it ſufficiently prov'd that the comming of thoſe Souldiers, Papiſts and others with the King, was to take away ſome of thir Members, and in caſe of oppoſition or denyal, to have fall'n upon the Houſe in a hoſtile manner. This the King here denies; adding a fearful Imprecation againſt his own life, *If he purpoſed any violence or oppreſſion againſt the Innocent, then,* ſaith he, *let the Enemie perſecute my Soul, and tred my life to the ground, and lay my Honour in the duſt.* What need then more diſputing? He appeal'd to God's Tribunal, and behold God hath judg'd and done to him in the ſight of all men according to the verdict of his own mouth: To be a warning to all Kings hereafter how they uſe preſumptuouſly the words and proteſtations of *David*, without the ſpirit and conſcience of *David*. And the King's admirers may heer ſee thir madneſs, to miſtake this Book for a monument of his worth and wiſdom, when as indeed it is his *Doomſday Booke*; not like that of *William* the *Norman* his Predeceſſor, but the record and memorial of his Condemnation; and diſcovers whatever hath befal'n him, to have bin haſt'nd on from Divine Juſtice by the raſh and inconſiderat Appeal of his own lips. But what evaſions, what pretences, though never ſo unjuſt and emptie, will he refuſe in matters more unknown, and more involv'd in the miſts and intricacies of State, who, rather then not juſtifie himſelf in a thing ſo generally odious, can flatter his Integritie with ſuch frivolous excuſes againſt the manifeſt diſſent of all men, whether Enemies, Neuters, or Friends. But God and his Judgments have not bin mock'd; and good men may well perceive what a diſtance there was ever like to be between him and his Parlament, and perhaps between him and all amendment, who for one good deed, though but conſented to, askes God forgiveneſs; and from his worſt deeds done, takes occaſion to inſiſt upon his righteouſneſs.

IV. *Upon*

# IV. *Upon the Inſolency of the Tumults.*

WE have here, I muſt confeſs, a neat and well-couch'd invective againſt Tumults, expreſſing a true fear of them in the Author; but yet ſo handſomly compos'd, and withal ſo feelingly, that, to make a Royal compariſon, I believe *Rehoboam*, the Son of *Solomon*, could not have compos'd it better. Yet *Rehoboam* had more cauſe to inveigh againſt them; for they had ſton'd his Tribute-gatherer, and perhaps had as little ſpar'd his own Perſon, had he not with all ſpeed betak'n him to his Charret. But this King hath ſtood the worſt of them in his own Houſe without danger, when his Coach and Horſes, in a panic feare, have bin to ſeek, which argues that the Tumults at *Whitehall* were nothing ſo dangerous as thoſe at *Sechem*.

But the matter here conſiderable is not whether the King, or his Houſhold *Rhetorician* have made a pithy declamation againſt Tumults, but firſt whether theſe were Tumults or not; next if they were, whether the King himſelf did not cauſe them. Let us examin therfore how things at that time ſtood. The King, as before hath bin prov'd, having both call'd this Parlament unwillingly, and as unwillingly from time to time condeſcended to thir ſeveral acts, carrying on a disjoint and privat intereſt of his own, and not enduring to be ſo croſs'd and overſwaid, eſpecially in the executing of his chief and boldeſt Inſtrument, the Deputy of *Ireland*, firſt tempts the Engliſh Army, with no leſs reward than the ſpoil of *London*, to come up and deſtroy the Parlament. That being diſcover'd by ſome of the Officers, who, tho bad enough, yet abhorr'd ſo foul a deed, the King hard'nd in his purpoſe, turns him next to the Scotch Army, and baites his temptation with a richer reward; not only to have the ſacking of *London*, but four Northern Counties to be made Scottiſh, with Jewels of great value to be giv'n in pawn the while. But neither would the Scots, for any promiſe of reward, be bought to ſuch an execrable and odious treachery; but with much honeſty gave notice of the Kings deſign both to the Parlament and City of *London*. The Parlament moreover had intelligence, and the people could not but diſcern that there was a bitter and malignant party grown up now to ſuch a boldneſs, as to give out inſolent and threatning ſpeeches againſt the Parlament it ſelf. Beſides this, the Rebellion in *Ireland* was now broke out; and a Conſpiracy in *Scotland* had been made, while the King was there, againſt ſome chief Members of that Parlament; great numbers here of unknown and ſuſpicious perſons reſorted to the City. The King being return'd from *Scotland*, preſently diſmiſſes that Guard which the Parlament thought neceſſary in the midſt of ſo many dangers to have about them, and puts another Guard in thir place, contrary to the privilege of that high Court, and by ſuch a one commanded, as made them no leſs doubtful of the Guard it ſelf. Which they therfore upon ſome ill effects thereof firſt found, diſcharge; deeming it more ſafe to ſit free, tho without a Guard, in op'n danger, then incloſ'd with a ſuſpected ſafety. The people therfore, leſt thir worthieſt and moſt faithful Patriots, who had expos'd themſelves for the public, and whom they ſaw now left naked, ſhould want aid, or be deſerted in the midſt of theſe dangers, came in multitudes, tho unarm'd, to witneſs their fidelity and readineſs in caſe of any violence offer'd to the Parlament. The King both envying to ſee the peoples love thus devolv'd on another object, and doubting leſt it might utterly diſable him to do with Parlaments as he was wont, ſent a Meſſage into the City forbidding ſuch reſorts. The Parlament alſo both by what was diſcover'd to them, and what they ſaw in a malignant Party (ſome of which had already drawn blood in a Fray or two at the Court Gate, and ev'n at thir own Gate in *Weſtminſter-Hall*) conceaving themſelves to be ſtill in danger where they ſate, ſent a moſt reaſonable and juſt Petition to the King, that a Guard might be allow'd them out of the City, whereof the Kings own *Chamberlain*, the Earl of *Eſſex*, might have command; it being the right of inferiour Courts to make chois of thir own Guard. This the King refuſ'd to do, and why he refuſ'd, the very next day made manifeſt: For on that day it was that he ſallied out from *Whitehall*, with thoſe truſty *Myrmidons*, to block up, or give aſſault to the Houſe of

Commons. He had, beſides all this, begun to fortify his Court, and entertain'd armed Men not a few; who ſtanding at his Palace Gate, revil'd, and with drawn Swords wounded many of the People, as they went by unarm'd, and in a peaceable manner, whereof ſome dy'd. The paſſing by of a multitude, tho neither to St. *George*'s Feaſt, nor to a Tilting, certainly of it ſelf was no Tumult; the expreſſion of thir loyalty and ſtedfaſtneſs to the Parlament, whoſe lives and ſafeties by more than ſlight rumors they doubted to be in danger, was no Tumult. If it grew to be ſo, the cauſe was in the King himſelf and his injurious retinue, who both by hoſtile preparations in the Court, and by actual aſſailing of the People, gave them juſt cauſe to defend themſelves.

Surely thoſe unarmed and petitioning people needed not have been ſo formidable to any, but to ſuch whoſe conſciences miſgave them how ill they had deſerv'd of the people; and firſt began to injure them, becauſe they juſtly fear'd it from them; and then aſcribe that to popular Tumult, which was occaſion'd by thir own provoking.

And that the King was ſo emphatical and elaborat on this Theam againſt Tumults, and expreſs'd with ſuch a vehemence his hatred of them, will redound leſs perhaps than he was aware to the commendation of his Government. For beſides that in good Governments they happ'n ſeldomeſt, and riſe not without cauſe, if they prove extreme and pernicious, they were never counted ſo to Monarchy, but to Monarchical Tyranny; and extremes one with another are at moſt antipathy. If then the King ſo extremely ſtood in fear of Tumults, the inference will endanger him to be the other extreme. Thus far the occaſion of this diſcours againſt Tumults; now to the diſcourſe it ſelf, voluble anough, and full of ſentence, but that, for the moſt part, either ſpecious rather than ſolid, or to his cauſe nothing pertinent.

*He never thought any thing more to preſage the miſchiefs that enſued, than thoſe Tumults.* Then was his foreſight but ſhort, and much miſtak'n. Thoſe Tumults were but the mild effects of an evil and injurious reign; not ſigns of miſchiefs to come, but ſeeking relief for miſchiefs paſt: thoſe ſigns were to be read more apparent in his rage and purpos'd revenge of thoſe free expoſtulations and clamors of the people againſt his lawleſs Government. *Not any thing*, ſaith he, *portends more God's diſpleaſure againſt a Nation than when he ſuffers the clamours of the Vulgar to paſs all bounds of Law and reverence to Autority.* It portends rather his diſpleaſure againſt a tyrannous King, whoſe proud Throne he intends to overturn by that contemptible Vulgar; the ſad cries and oppreſſions of whom his Royaltie regarded not. As for that ſupplicating people, they did no hurt either to Law or Autority, but ſtood for it rather in the Parlament againſt whom they fear'd would violate it.

*That they invaded the Honour and Freedom of the two Houſes*, is his own officious accuſation, not ſeconded by the Parlament, who had they ſeen cauſe, were themſelves beſt able to complain. And if they *ſhook and menac'd* any, they were ſuch as had more relation to the Court than to the Commonwealth; Enemies, not Patrons of the people. But if their petitioning unarmed were an invaſion of both Houſes, what was his entrance into the Houſe of Commons, beſetting it with armed men? In what condition then was the honour and freedom of that Houſe?

*They forebore not rude deportments, contemptuous words and actions to himſelf and his Court.*

It was more wonder, having heard what treacherous hoſtility he had deſign'd againſt the City and his whole Kingdom, that they forbore to handle him as people in thir rage have handl'd Tyrants heretofore for leſs offences.

*They were not a ſhort Ague, but a fierce quotidian Fever.* He indeed may beſt ſay it, who moſt felt it; for the ſhaking was within him, and it ſhook him by his own deſcription *worſe than a Storm, worſe than an Earthquake*; *Belſhazzars* Palſy. Had not worſe fears, terrors, and envies made within him that commotion, how could a multitude of his Subjects, armd with no other weapon then Petitions, have ſhak'n all his joints with ſuch a terrible Ague? Yet that the Parlament ſhould entertain the leaſt fear of bad intentions from him or his party, he endures not; but would perſwade us that *men ſcare themſelves and others without cauſe:* for he thought fear would be to them a kind of Armor, and his deſign was, if poſſible, to diſarm all, eſpecially of a wiſe fear and ſuſpicion; for that he knew would find weapons.

He goes on therfore with vehemence to repeat the miſchiefs done by theſe Tumults. *They firſt petitioned, then protected; dictate next, and laſtly overaw the Parlament. They remov'd obſtructions, they purg'd the Houſes, caſt out rotten members.* If there were a man of iron, ſuch as *Talus*, by our Poet *Spencer*, is feign'd to be the page of Juſtice, who with his iron Flail could do all this, and expeditiouſly, without thoſe deceitful forms and circumſtances of Law, worſe than ceremonies in Religion; I ſay God ſend it done, whether by one *Talus*, or by a thouſand.

*But they ſubdu'd the men of conſcience in Parlament, back'd and abetted all ſeditious and ſchiſmatical Propoſals againſt Government eccleſiaſtical and civil.*

Now we may perceive the root of his hatred whence it ſprings. It was not the King's grace or princely goodnes, but this iron Flail, the People, that drove the Biſhops out of thir Baronies, out of thir Cathedrals, out of the Lords Houſe, out of thir Copes and Surplices, and all thoſe Papiſtical innovations, threw down the High-Commiſſion and Star-chamber, gave us a Triennial Parlament, and what we moſt deſir'd; in revenge whereof he now ſo bitterly inveighs againſt them: theſe are thoſe ſeditious and ſchiſmatical Propoſals then by him condeſcended to as acts of Grace, now of another name; which declares him, touching matters of Church and State, to have been no other man in the deepeſt of his Solitude, than he was before at the higheſt of his Sovranty.

But this was not the worſt of theſe Tumults, they plaid the haſty *Midwives*, and *would not ſtay the ripening, but went ſtraight to ripping up, and forcibly cut out abortive Votes.*

They would not ſtay perhaps the Spaniſh demurring, and putting off ſuch wholſom acts and counſels, as the politic Cabinet at *Whitehall* had no mind to. But all this is complain'd here as done to the Parlament, and yet we heard not the Parlament at that time complain of any violence from the people, but from him. Wherefore intrudes he to plead the cauſe of Parlament againſt the people, while the Parlament was pleading thir own cauſe againſt him, and againſt him were forced to ſeek refuge of the people? 'Tis plain then that thoſe confluxes and reſorts interrupted not the Parlament, nor by them were thought tumultuous, but by him only and his Court Faction.

*But what good man had not rather want any thing he moſt deſired for the public good, than attain it by ſuch unlawful and irreligious means?* as much as to ſay, Had not rather ſit ſtill, and let his Country be tyranniz'd, than that the people, finding no other remedy, ſhould ſtand up like Men, and demand thir Rights and Liberties. This is the artificialeſt piece of fineneſs to perſwade Men to be Slaves, that the wit of Court could have invented. But hear how much better the Moral of this Leſſon would befit the Teacher: What good man had not rather want a boundleſs and arbitrary power, and thoſe fine Flowers of the Crown, call'd Prerogatives, then for them to uſe force and perpetual vexation to his faithful Subjects, nay to wade for them through Blood and civil War? So that this and the whole bundle of thoſe following ſentences may be apply'd better to the convincement of his own violent courſes, than of thoſe pretended Tumults.

*Who were the chief Demagogues to ſend for thoſe Tumults, ſome alive are not ignorant.* Setting aſide the affrightment of this Goblin word; for the King by his leave, cannot coin Engliſh, as he could Mony, to be current (and 'tis believ'd this wording was above his known Stile and Orthography, and accuſes the whole compoſure to be conſcious of ſome other Author) yet if the People *were ſent for, embold'nd and directed* by thoſe *Demagogues*, who, ſaving his Greek, were good Patriots, and by his own confeſſion *Men of ſome repute for Parts and Piety*, it helps well to aſſure us there was both urgent cauſe, and the leſs danger of thir coming.

*Complaints were made, yet no redreſs could be obtain'd.* The Parlament alſo complain'd of what danger they ſate in from another party, and demanded of him a Guard, but it was not granted. What marvel then if it chear'd them to ſee ſome ſtore of thir Friends, and in the Roman, not the pettifogging ſenſe, thir Clients ſo neer about them; a defence due by nature both from whom it was offer'd, and to whom, as due as to thir Parents; tho the Court ſtorm'd and fretted to ſee ſuch honour giv'n to them, who were then beſt Fathers

thers of the Common-wealth. And both the Parlament and People complain'd, and demanded Juſtice for thoſe aſſaults, if not Murders done at his own doors by that crew of Rufflers; but he, inſtead of doing Juſtice on them, juſtifi'd and abetted them in what they did, as in his public Anſwer to a Petition from the City may be read. Neither is it ſlightly to be paſs'd over, that in the very place where Blood was firſt drawn in this Cauſe, as the beginning of all that follow'd, there was his own Blood ſhed by the Executioner: According to that ſentence of Divine Juſtice, *In the place where Dogs lick'd the Blood of* Naboth, *ſhall Dogs lick thy Blood, ev'n thine.*

From hence he takes occaſion to excuſe that improvident and fatal error of his abſenting from the Parlament. *When he found that no Declaration of the Biſhops could take place againſt thoſe Tumults.* Was that worth his conſidering, that fooliſh and ſelf-undoing Declaration of twelve Cypher Biſhops, who were immediately appeacht of Treaſon for that audacious Declaring? The Biſhops peradventure were now and then pull'd by the Rochets, and deſerv'd another kind of pulling; but what amounted this to *the fear of his own Perſon in the Streets?* Did he not the very next day after his irruption into the Houſe of Commons, than which nothing had more exaſperated the people, go in his Coach unguarded into the City? Did he receive the leaſt affront, much leſs violence in any of the Streets, but rather humble demeanors and ſupplications? Hence may be gather'd, that however in his own guiltineſs he might have juſtly fear'd, yet that he knew the people ſo full of aw and reverence to his Perſon, as to dare commit himſelf ſingle among the thickeſt of them, at a time when he had moſt provok'd them. Beſides in *Scotland* they had handled the Biſhops in a more robuſtious manner; *Edinborough* had bin full of Tumults, two Armies from thence had entred *England* againſt him: yet after all this he was not fearful, but very forward to take ſo long a Journey to *Edinborough*; which argues firſt, as did alſo his rendition afterward to the Scotch Army, that to *England* he continu'd ſtill, as he was indeed, a ſtranger, and full of diffidence; to the Scots only a native King, in his confidence, tho not in his dealing towards them. It ſhews us next beyond doubting, that all this his fear of Tumults was but a meer pretence and occaſion tak'n of his reſolved abſence from the Parlament for ſome other end not difficult to be gueſs'd. And thoſe inſtances wherein valour is not to be queſtion'd for not *ſcuffling with the Sea, or an undiſciplind Rabble*, are but ſubſervient to carry on the ſolemn jeſt of his fearing Tumults; if they diſcover not withal the true reaſon why he departed, only to turn his ſlaſhing at the Court Gate to ſlaughtering *in the Field*; his diſorderly bickering to an orderly invading; which was nothing els but a more orderly diſorder.

*Some ſuſpected and affirm'd that he meditated a War, when he went firſt from Whitehall.* And they were not the worſt heads that did ſo, nor did *any of his former acts weak'n him* to that, as he alledges for himſelf; or if they had, they cleer him only for the time of paſſing them, not for whatever thoughts might come after into his mind. Former actions of improvidence or fear, not with him unuſual, cannot abſolve him of all after-meditations.

He goes on proteſting his *no intention to have left Whitehall*, had theſe horrid Tumults giv'n him but *fair Quarter*, as if he himſelf, his Wife and Children had been in peril. But to this anough hath bin anſwer'd.

*Had this Parlament, as it was in its firſt Election*, namely with the Lord and Baron Biſhops, *ſate full and free*, he doubts not but all had gon well. What warrant is this of his to us? whoſe not doubting was all good mens greateſt doubt.

*He was reſolv'd to hear Reaſon, and to conſent ſo far as he could comprehend.* A hopeful reſolution: what if his reaſon were found by oft experience to comprehend nothing beyond his own advantages, was this a reaſon fit to be intruſted with the common good of three Nations?

*But*, ſaith he, *as Swine are to Gardens, ſo are Tumults to Parlaments.* This the Parlament, had they found it ſo, could beſt have told us. In the mean while who knows not that one great Hog may do as much miſchief in a Garden as many little Swine? *He was ſometimes prone to think, that had he call'd this laſt Parlament to any other place in* England, *the ſad conſequences might have bin prevented.* But change of Air changes not the mind. Was not his firſt Parlament at *Oxford* diſſolv'd after two Subſidies giv'n him, and no Juſtice receiv'd? Was not his laſt in the ſame place, where they ſate with as much freedom, as much quiet from Tumults as they could deſire, a Parlament, both in his account and their own, conſiſting of all his Friends, that fled after him, and ſuffer'd for him, and yet by him nicknam'd, and caſhiered for a *Mungril Parlament, that vext his Queen with their baſe and mutinous motions?* as his Cabinet-letter tells us. Whereby the World may ſee plainly, that no ſhifting of place, no ſifting of Members to his own mind, no number, no paucity, no freedom from Tumults could ever bring his arbitrary wilfulneſs, and tyrannical Deſigns to brook the leaſt ſhape or ſimilitude, the leaſt counterfet of a Parlament.

Finally, inſtead of praying for his people as a good King ſhould do, he prays to be deliver'd from them, as *from wild Beaſts, Inundations, and raging Seas, that had overborn all Loyalty, Modeſty, Laws, Juſtice, and Religion.* God ſave the People from ſuch Interceſſors.

## V. *Upon the Bill for Triennial Parlaments, and for ſetling this,* &c.

THE Bill for Triennial Parlaments was doubtleſs a good Bill, and the other for ſetling this was at that time very expedient; and in the Kings own words no more then what the World *was fully confirm'd he might in Juſtice, Reaſon, Honour, and Conſcience grant them*; for to that end he affirms to have don it.

But whereas he attributes the paſſing of them to his own act of Grace and Willingneſs, as his manner is to make Vertues of his neceſſities, and giving to himſelf all the praiſe, heaps ingratitude upon the Parlament, a little memory will ſet the clean contrary before us; that for thoſe beneficial Acts we ow what we ow to the Parlament; but to his granting them neither praiſe nor thanks. The firſt Bill granted much leſs than two former Statutes yet in force by *Edward* the third; that a Parlament ſhould be call'd every year, or ofter, if need were: nay from a far antienter Law-Book call'd the *Mirror*, it is affirm'd in a late Treatiſe call'd *Rights of the Kingdom*, that Parlaments by our old Laws ought twice a year to be at *London*. The ſecond was ſo neceſſary that nothing in the power of man more ſeem'd to be the ſtay and ſupport of all things from that ſteep ruin to which he had nigh brought them, then that Act obtain'd. He had by his ill Stewardſhip, and, to ſay no worſe, the needleſs raiſing of two Armies intended for a civil War, begger'd both himſelf and the Public; and beſides had left us upon the ſcore of his needy Enemies for what it coſt them in thir own defence againſt him. To diſingage him and the Kingdom great ſums were to be borrow'd, which would never have bin lent, nor could ever be repaid, had the King chanced to diſſolve this Parlament as heretofore. The Errors alſo of his Government had brought the Kingdom to ſuch extremes, as were incapable of all recovery without the abſolute continuance of this Parlament. It had bin els in vain to go about the ſetling of ſo great diſtempers, if he, who firſt caus'd the Malady, might, when he pleas'd, reject the Remedy. Notwithſtanding all which, that he granted both theſe Acts unwillingly, and as a meer paſſive Inſtrument, was then viſible ev'n to moſt of thoſe men who now will ſee nothing.

At paſſing of the former Act he himſelf conceal'd not his unwillingneſs; and teſtifying a general diſlike of thir actions, which they then proceeded in with great approbation of the whole Kingdom, he told them with a maſterly Brow, that *by this Act he had oblig'd them above what they had deſerv'd*, and gave a piece of Juſtice to the Common-wealth three times ſhort of his Predeceſſors, as if he had bin giving ſom boon, or begg'd office to a ſort of his deſertleſs Grooms.

That he paſs'd the latter Act againſt his will, no man in reaſon can hold it queſtionable. For if the *February* before he made ſo dainty, and were ſo loth to beſtow a Parlament once in three years upon the Nation, becauſe this had ſo oppos'd his courſes, was it likely that the *May* following he ſhould beſtow willingly on this Parlament an indiſſoluble ſitting, when they had offended him much more by cutting ſhort and impeaching of High Treaſon his chief Favourites? It was his fear then, not his favour, which drew from him that Act, leſt the Parlament, incens'd by his Conſpiracies againſt them, about the ſame time diſcover'd, ſhould with the People have reſented too hainouſly thoſe his doings, if to the ſuſpicion of their danger from him he had alſo added the denial of this only means to ſecure themſelves.

From theſe Acts therfore in which he glories, and wherewith ſo oft he upbraids the Parlament, he cannot juſtly expect to reap ought but diſhonour and diſpraiſe; as being both unwillingly granted, and the one granting much leſs then was before allow'd by Statute, the other being a teſtimony of his violent and lawleſs Cuſtom, not only to break Privileges, but whole Parlaments; from which Enormity they were conſtrain'd to bind him firſt of all his Predeceſſors; never any before him having giv'n like cauſes of diſtruſt and jealouſie to his People. As for this Parlament, how far he was from being advis'd by them, as he ought, let his own words expreſs.

He taxes them with *undoing what they found well done:* and yet knows they undid nothing in the Church but Lord Biſhops, Liturgies, Ceremonies, High Commiſſion, judg'd worthy by all true Proteſtants to be thrown out of the Church. They undid nothing in the State but irregular and grinding Courts, the main grievances to be remov'd; and if theſe were the things which in his opinion they found well done, we may again from hence be inform'd with what unwillingneſs he remov'd them; and that thoſe gracious Acts wherof ſo frequently he makes mention, may be engliſh'd more properly Acts of fear and diſſimulation againſt his mind and conſcience.

The Bill preventing diſſolution of this Parlament he calls *An unparallel'd Act, out of the extreme confidence that his Subjects would not make ill uſe of it.* But was it not a greater confidence of the People to put into one Man's hand ſo great a Power, till he abus'd it, as to ſummon and diſſolve Parlaments? He would be thankt for truſting them, and ought to thank them rather for truſting him: the truſt iſſuing firſt from them, not from him.

And that it was a meer truſt, and not his Prerogative, to call and diſſolve Parlaments at his pleaſure; and that Parlaments were not to be diſſolv'd, till all Petitions were heard, all Greevances redreſt, is not only the aſſertion of this Parlament, but of our antient Law-books, which averr it to be an unwritt'n Law of common Right, ſo ingrav'n in the Hearts of our Anceſtors, and by them ſo conſtantly enjoy'd and claim'd, as that it needed not enrouling. And if the Scots in thir Declaration could charge the King with breach of their Laws for breaking up that Parlament without their conſent, while matters of greateſt moment were depending; it were unreaſonable to imagin that the Wiſdom of *England* ſhould be ſo wanting to it ſelf through all ages, as not to provide by ſome known Law, writt'n or unwritt'n, againſt the not calling, or the arbitrary diſſolving of Parlaments; or that they who ordain'd thir ſummoning twice a year, or as oft as need requir'd, did not tacitely enact alſo, that as neceſſity of affaires call'd them, ſo the ſame neceſſity ſhould keep them undiſſolv'd till that were fully ſatisfi'd. Were it not for that, Parlaments, and all the fruit and benefit we receave by having them, would turn ſoon to meer abuſion. It appears then that if this Bill of not diſſolving were an unparallel'd Act, it was a known and common Right which our Anceſtors under other Kings enjoy'd as firmly as if it had bin grav'n in Marble; and that the infringement of this King firſt brought it into a writt'n Act: Who now boaſts that as a great favour done us, which his own leſs fidelity then was in former Kings, conſtrain'd us only of an old undoubted Right, to make a new writt'n Act. But what needed writt'n Acts, when as antiently it was eſteem'd part of his Crown-Oath not to diſſolve Parlaments till all Grievances were conſider'd? whereupon the old *Modi of Parlament*, calls it flat Perjury, if he diſſolve them before, as I find cited in a Book mention'd at the beginning of this Chapter, to which and other Law-tractats I refer the more Lawyerlie mooting of this point, which is neither my element, nor my proper work heer; ſince the Book which I have to anſwer pretends to reaſon not to autorities and quotations: and I hold reaſon to be the beſt Arbitrator, and the Law of Law it ſelf.

'Tis true, that *good Subjects think it not juſt that the King's condition ſhould be worſe by bettering theirs.* But then the King muſt not be at ſuch a diſtance from the people in judging what is better and what worſe; which might have bin agreed, *had he known* (for his own words condemn him) *as well with moderation to uſe, as with earneſtneſs to deſire his own advantages.*

*A continual Parlament he thought would keep the Common-wealth in tune.* Judg, Common-wealth, what proofs he gave that this boaſted profeſſion was ever in his thought.

*Some*, ſaith he, *gave out that I repented me of that ſetling Act.* His own actions gave it out beyond all ſuppoſition; for doubtleſs it repented him to have eſtabliſh'd that by Law, which he went about ſo ſoon after to abrogate by the Sword.

He calls thoſe Acts which he confeſſes *tended to thir good, not more Princely then friendly Contributions:* As if to do his duty were of courteſie, and the diſcharge of his truſt a parcel of his liberality; ſo nigh loſt in his eſteem was the birthright of our Liberties, that to give them back again upon demand ſtood at the mercy of his *Contribution.*

*He doubts not but the affections of his People will compenſate his ſufferings for thoſe acts of confidence:* And imputes his ſufferings to a contrary Cauſe. Not his confidence but *his diſtruſt* was that which brought him to thoſe ſufferings, from the time that he forſook his Parlament; and truſted them ne're the ſooner for what he tells *of thir pietie and religious ſtrictneſs*, but rather hated them as Puritans, whom he always ſought to extirpate.

He would have it beleev'd, that *to bind his hands by theſe Acts argu'd a very ſhort foreſight of things, and extreme fatuitie of mind in him*, if he had meant a War. If we ſhould conclude ſo, that were not the only Argument: neither did it argue that he meant Peace; knowing that what he granted for the preſent out of fear, he might as ſoon repeal by force, watching his time; and deprive them the fruit of thoſe Acts, if his own deſigns wherin he put his truſt took effect.

Yet he complains, *That the Tumults threatn'd to abuſe all Acts of Grace and turn them into wantonneſs.* I would they had turn'd his wantonneſs into the grace of not abuſing Scripture. Was this becoming ſuch a Saint as they would make him, to adulterate thoſe ſacred words from the grace of God to the acts of his own grace? *Herod* was eat'n up of Worms for ſuffering others to compare his voice to the voice of God; but the Borrower of this Phraſe gives much more cauſe of jealouſie, that he lik'n'd his own acts of grace to the acts of God's Grace.

From profaneneſs he ſcarce comes off with perfet ſenſe. *I was not then in a capacity to make War*, therefore *I intended not. I was not in a capacity*, therefore *I could not have giv'n my Enemies greater advantage then by ſo unprincely inconſtancy to have ſcatter'd them by Arms, whom but lately I had ſettl'd by Parlament.* What place could there be for his inconſtancy to do that thing wherto he was in no capacity? Otherwiſe his inconſtancy was not ſo unwonted, or ſo nice but that it would have eaſily found pretences to ſcatter thoſe in revenge whom he ſettl'd in fear.

*It had bin a courſe full of ſin as well as of hazard and diſhonour.* True; but if thoſe Conſiderations withheld him not from other actions of like nature, how can we believe they were of ſtrength ſufficient to withhold him from this? And that they withheld him not, the event ſoon taught us.

*His letting ſome men go up to the Pinacle of the Temple, was a temptation to them to caſt him down headlong.* In this *Simily* we have himſelf compar'd to *Chriſt*, the Parlament to the *Devil*, and his giving them that Act of ſetling, to his letting them go up to the *Pinacle of the Temple.* A tottring and giddy Act rather then a ſetling. This was goodly uſe made of Scripture in his Solitudes: But it was no Pinacle of the Temple, it was a Pinacle of *Nebuchadnezzar's* Palace from whence he and Monarchy fell headlong together.

He would have others ſee that *All the Kingdoms of the World are not worth gaining by ways of ſin which hazard the Soul*; and hath himſelf left nothing unhazarded to keep three. He concludes with ſentences that rightly ſcand, make not ſo much for him as againſt him, and confeſſes that *the Act of ſettling was no ſin of his Will*; and we eaſily believe him, for it hath bin clearly prov'd a ſin of his unwillingneſs.

With his Oriſons I meddle not, for he appeals to a high Audit. This yet may be noted, that at his Prayers he had before him the ſad preſage of his ill ſucceſs, *As of a dark and dangerous Storm, which never admitted his return to the Port from whence he ſet out.* Yet his Prayer-Book no ſooner ſhut, but other hopes flatter'd him; and thir flattering was his deſtruction.

## VI. *Upon his Retirement from* Weſtminſter.

THE Simily wherwith he begins I was about to have found fault with, as in a garb ſomwhat more poetical then for a Statiſt: but meeting with many ſtrains of like dreſs in other of his Eſſaies, and him hearing reported a more diligent reader of Poets, then of Politicians, I begun to think that the whole Book might perhaps be intended a piece of Poetrie. The words are good, the fiction ſmooth and cleanly; there wanted only Rime, and that they ſay is beſtow'd upon it lately. But to the Argument.

*I ſtay'd at* White-Hall *till I was driv'n away by ſhame more than fear.* I retract not what I thought of the fiction, yet heer I muſt confeſs it lies too op'n. In his Meſſages and Declarations, nay in the whole Chapter next but one before this, he affirms that *The danger wherein his Wife, his Children, and his own Perſon* were by thoſe Tumults, was the main cauſe that drove him from *White-Hall*, and appeals to God as witneſs: he affirms here that it was *ſhame more then fear*. And *Digby*, who knew his mind as well as any, tells his new-liſted Guard, *That the principal cauſe of his Majeſties going thence, was to ſave them from being trod in the dirt.* From whence we may diſcern what falſe and frivolous excuſes are avow'd for truth, either in thoſe Declarations, or in this penitential Book. Our Forefathers were of that courage and ſeverity of zeal to Juſtice and their native Liberty, againſt the proud contempt and miſrule of thir Kings, that when *Richard* the Second departed but from a Committee of Lords who ſate preparing matter for the Parlament, not yet aſſembl'd, to the removal of his evil Counſellors, they firſt vanquiſh'd and put to flight *Robert de Vere* his chief Favourite; and then coming up to *London* with a huge Army, requir'd the King then withdrawn for fear, but no furder off then the *Tower*, to come to *Weſtminſter*. Which he refuſing, they told him flatly that unleſs he came they would chooſe another. So high a Crime it was accounted then for Kings to abſent themſelves, not from a Parlament, which none ever durſt, but from any meeting of his Peers and Counſellors which did but tend towards a Parlament. Much leſs would they have ſuffer'd that a King for ſuch trivial and various pretences, one while for fear of Tumults, another while *for ſhame to ſee them*, ſhould leave his Regal Station, and the whole Kingdom bleeding to death of thoſe wounds which his own unskilful and pervers Government had inflicted.

*Shame* then it was that drove him from the Parlament, but the ſhame of what? was it the ſhame of his manifold errors and miſdeeds, and to ſee how weakly he had plai'd the King? No; *But to ſee the barbarous rudeneſs of thoſe Tumults to demand any thing.* We have ſtarred here another, and I believe the trueſt, cauſe of his deſerting the Parlament. The worſt and ſtrangeſt of that *Any-thing* which the people then demanded, was but the unlording of Biſhops, and expelling them the Houſe, and the reducing of Church-Diſcipline to a conformity with other Proteſtant Churches; this was the *Barbariſm* of thoſe Tumults: and that he might avoid the granting of thoſe honeſt and pious demands, as well demanded by the Parlament as the People, for this very cauſe more then for fear, by his own confeſſion here, he left the City; and in a moſt tempeſtuous ſeaſon forſook the Helm and Steerage of the Common-wealth. This was that terrible *Any-thing* from which his *Conſcience* and his *Reaſon* choſe to run rather then not deny. To be importun'd the removing of evil Counſellors, and other grievances in Church and State, was to him *an* *intolerable oppreſſion.* If the Peoples demanding were ſo burd'nſome to him, what was his denial and delay of Juſtice to them?

But as the demands of his People were to him a burd'n and oppreſſion, ſo was the advice of his Parlament eſteem'd a bondage; *Whoſe agreeing Votes*, as he affirms, *were not by any Law or Reaſon concluſive to his Judgment.* For the Law, it ordains a Parlament to adviſe him in his great Affairs; but if it ordain alſo that the ſingle judgment of a King ſhall out-ballance all the wiſdom of his Parlament, it ordains that which fruſtrats the end of its own ordaining. For where the King's judgment may diſſent to the deſtruction, as it may happ'n, both of himſelf and the Kingdom, there Advice, and no furder, is a moſt inſufficient and fruſtraneous means to be provided by Law in caſes of ſo high concernment. It being therfore moſt unlike a Law, to ordain a remedy ſo ſlender and unlawlike, to be the utmoſt means of all publick ſafety or prevention, as Advice is, which may at any time be rejected by the ſole judgment of one man, the King, and ſo unlike the Law of *England*, which Lawyers ſay is the quinteſſence of Reaſon; we may conclude that the King's negative voice was never any Law, but an abſurd and reaſonleſs Cuſtom, begott'n and grown up either from the flattery of baſeſt times, or the uſurpation of immoderate Princes. Thus much to the Law of it, by a better evidence then Rowles and Records, Reaſon.

But is it poſſible he ſhould pretend alſo to Reaſon, that the judgment of one Man, not as a wiſe or good Man, but as a King, and oft times a wilful, proud, and wicked King, ſhould outweigh the prudence and all the vertue of an elected Parlament? What an abuſive thing it were then to ſummon Parlaments, that by the major part of voices greateſt matters may be there debated and reſolv'd, when as one voice after that ſhall daſh all thir Reſolutions?

He attempts to give a reaſon why it ſhould, *Becauſe the whole Parlament repreſents not him in any kind.* But mark how little he advances; for if the Parlament repreſent the whole Kingdom, as is ſure anough they do, then doth the King repreſent only himſelf; and if a King without his Kingdom be in a civil ſenſe nothing, then without or againſt the Repreſentative of his whole Kingdom, he himſelf repreſents nothing, and by conſequence his judgment and his negative is as good as nothing; and though we ſhould allow him to be ſomething, yet not equal or comparable to the whole Kingdom, and ſo neither to them that repreſent it.

Yet here he maintains, *To be no furder bound to agree with the Votes of both Houſes, then he ſees them to agree with the will of God, with his juſt Rights as a King, and the general good of his People.* As to the freedom of his agreeing or not agreeing, limited with due bounds, no man reprehends it; this is the Queſtion here, or the Miracle rather, why his only not agreeing ſhould lay a negative bar and inhibition upon that which is agreed to by a whole Parlament, though never ſo conducing to the publick good or ſafety. To know the will of God better then his whole Kingdom, whence ſhould he have it? Certainly Court-breeding and his perpetual converſation with Flatterers was but a bad School. To judg of his own Rights could not belong to him, who had no right by Law in any Court to judg of ſo much as Felony or Treaſon, being held a party in both theſe caſes, much more in this; and his Rights however ſhould give place to the general good, for which end all his Rights were giv'n him. Laſtly to ſuppoſe a clearer inſight and diſcerning of the general good, allotted to his own ſingular judgment, then to the Parlament and all the People, and from that ſelf-opinion of diſcerning to deny them that good which they, being all Freemen, ſeek earneſtly and call for, is an arrogance and iniquity beyond imagination rude and unreaſonable; they undoubtedly having moſt autoritie to judg of the public good, who for that purpoſe are choſ'n out and ſent by the People to adviſe him. And if it may be in him to ſee oft *the major part of them not in the right*, had it not bin more his modeſtie to have doubted thir ſeeing him more oft'n in the wrong?

He paſſes to another reaſon of his denials, *Becauſe of ſome mens hydropic unſatiableneſs, and thirſt of asking, the more they drank, whom no fountain of Regal bountie was able to overcome.* A compariſon more properly beſtow'd on thoſe that came to guzzle in his Wine-cellar, then on a freeborn People that came to claim in Parlament thir Rights and Liberties, which a King ought therefore to grant, becauſe of right demanded; not to deny them for fear his bounty ſhould be exhauſt, which in theſe demands (to continue the ſame Metaphor) was not ſo much as broach'd; it being his duty, not his bounty to grant theſe things.

Putting off the Courtier, he now puts on the Philoſopher, and ſententiouſly diſputes to this effect, *That reaſon ought to be us'd to men, force and terror to Beaſts; that he deſerves to be a Slave who captivates the rational ſoveranty of his Soul, and liberty of his Will to compulſion; that he would not forfeit that freedom which cannot be deni'd him as a King, becauſe it belongs to him as a Man and a Chriſtian, though to preſerve his Kingdom; but rather dye enjoying the Empire of his Soul, then live in ſuch a vaſſalage, as not to uſe his reaſon and conſcience to like or diſlike as a King.* Which words of themſelves, as far as they are ſenſe, good and philoſophical, yet in the mouth of him who to engroſs this common liberty to himſelf, would tred down all other men into the condition of Slaves and Beaſts, they quite loſe their commendation. He confeſſes a rational ſoverantie of Soul, and freedom of Will in every man, and yet with an implicit repugnancy would have his reaſon the ſoveran of that ſoveranty, and would captivate and make uſeleſs that natural freedom of will in all other men but himſelf. But them that yeeld him this obedience he ſo well rewards, as to pronounce them worthy to be Slaves. They who have loſt all to be his Subjects, may ſtoop and take up the reward. What that freedom is, which *cannot be denied him as a King, becauſe it belongs to him as a Man and a Chriſtian*, I underſtand not. If it be his Negative Voice, it concludes all men who have not ſuch a Negative as his againſt a whole Parlament, to be neither Men nor Chriſtians: and what was he himſelf then all this while, that we denied it him as a King? Will he ſay that he injoy'd within himſelf the leſs freedom for that? Might not he, both as a Man and as a Chriſtian, have raignd within himſelf in full ſovranty of ſoul, no man repining, but that his outward and imperious Will muſt invade the civil Liberties of a Nation? Did we therfore not permit him to uſe his reaſon or his conſcience, not permitting him to bereave us the uſe of ours? And might not he have enjoy'd both as a King, governing us as Free-men by what Laws we our ſelves would be govern'd? It was not the inward uſe of his reaſon and his conſcience that would content him, but to uſe them both as a Law over all his Subjects, *in whatever he declar'd as a King to like or diſlike.* Which uſe of reaſon, moſt reaſonleſs and unconſcionable, is the utmoſt that any Tyrant ever pretended over his Vaſſals.

In all wiſe Nations the Legiſlative Power, and the judicial execution of that Power, have bin moſt commonly diſtinct, and in ſeveral hands; but yet the former ſupreme, the other ſubordinat. If then the King be only ſet up to execute the Law, which is indeed the higheſt of his Office, he ought no more to make or forbid the making of any Law agreed upon in Parlament, then other inferior Judges, who are his Deputies. Neither can he more reject a Law offerd him by the Commons, then he can new make a Law which they reject. And yet the more to credit and uphold his cauſe, he would ſeem to have Philoſophy on his ſide, ſtraining her wiſe dictates to unphiloſophical purpoſes. But when Kings come ſo low, as to fawn upon Philoſophy, which before they neither valu'd nor underſtood, 'tis a ſign that fails not, they are then put to their laſt Trump. And Philoſophy as well requites them, by not ſuffering her gold'n ſayings either to become their lips, or to be us'd as masks and colours of injurious and violent deeds. So that what they preſume to borrow from her ſage and vertuous Rules, like the Riddle of *Sphinx* not underſtood, breaks the neck of thir own cauſe.

But now again to Politicks: *He cannot think the Majeſty of the Crown of* England *to be bound by any Coronation Oath in a blind and brutiſh formality, to conſent to whatever its Subjects in Parlament ſhall require* What Tyrant could preſume to ſay more, when he meant to kick down all Law, Government, and bond of Oath? But why he ſo deſires to abſolve himſelf the Oath of his Coronation would be worth the knowing. It cannot but be yielded that the Oath which binds him to performance of his Truſt, ought in reaſon to contain the ſum of what his chief Truſt and Office is. But if it neither do enjoin nor mention to him, as a part of his duty, the making or the marring of any Law, or ſcrap of Law, but requires only his aſſent to thoſe Laws which the People have already choſ'n, or ſhall chooſe (for ſo both the Latin of that Oath, and the old Engliſh, and all reaſon admits, that the People ſhould not loſe under a new King

what

what freedom they had before) then that Negative Voice ſo contended for, to deny the paſſing of any Law which the Commons chooſe, is both againſt the Oath of his Coronation, and his Kingly Office. And if the King may deny to paſs what the Parlament hath chos'n to be a Law, then doth the King make himſelf ſuperiour to his whole Kingdom; which not only the general Maxims of Policy gainſay, but ev'n our own ſtanding Laws, as hath bin cited to him in Remonſtrances heertofore, that *the King hath two Superiors, the Law, and his Court of Parlament.* But this he counts to be a blind and brutiſh formality, whether it be Law, or Oath, or his Duty, and thinks to turn it off with wholeſom words and phraſes, which he then firſt learnt of the honeſt People, when they were ſo oft'n compell'd to uſe them againſt thoſe more truly blind and brutiſh formalities thruſt upon us by his own command.

As for his inſtance, in caſe *He and the Houſe of Peers attempted to enjoyne the Houſe of Commons*, it bears no equalitie; for he and the Peers repreſent but themſelves, the Commons are the whole Kingdom.

Thus he concludes *his Oath to be fully diſcharg'd in governing by Laws already made*, as being not bound to paſs any new, *if his Reaſon bids him deny.* And ſo may infinite miſchiefs grow, and a whole Nation be ruin'd, while our general good and ſafety ſhall depend upon the privat and overweening Reaſon of one obſtinat Man, who againſt all the Kingdom, if he liſt, will interpret both the Law, and his Oath of Coronation by the tenor of his own Will. Which he himſelf confeſſes to be an arbitrary power, yet doubts not in his Argument to imply, as if he thought it more fit the Parlament ſhould be ſubject to his Will, then he to their Advice, a man neither by nature nor by nurture wiſe. How is it poſſible that he in whom ſuch Principles as theſe were ſo deep rooted, could ever, tho reſtor'd again, have raign'd otherwiſe then tyrannically?

He objects, *That Force was but a ſlaviſh Method to diſpel his Error.* But how oft'n ſhall it be anſwer'd him, that no force was us'd to diſpel the error out of his head, but to drive it from off our necks? for his error was imperious, and would command all other men to renounce their own reaſon and underſtanding, till they periſh'd under the injunction of his all-ruling error.

He alleges the uprightneſs of his intentions to excuſe his poſſible failings; a Poſition fals both in Law and Divinity: Yea contrary to his own better principles, who affirms in the twelfth Chapter, that *The goodneſs of a mans intention will not excuſe the ſcandal and contagion of his example.* His not knowing, through the corruption of Flattery and Court-principles, what he ought to have known, will not excuſe his not doing what he ought to have don; no more than the ſmall skill of him who undertakes to be a *Pilot* will excuſe him to be miſled by any wandring Star miſtak'n for the Pole. But let his intentions be never ſo upright, what is that to us? What anſwer for the reaſon and the National Rights which God hath giv'n us, if having Parlaments, and Laws, and the power of making more to avoid miſchief, we ſuffer one mans blind intentions to lead us all with our eyes op'n to manifeſt deſtruction?

And if Arguments prevail not with ſuch a one, Force is well us'd; not *to carry on the weakneſs of our Counſels, or to convince his Error*, as he ſurmiſes, but to acquit and reſcue our own Reaſon, our own Conſciences from the force and prohibition laid by his uſurping error upon our Liberties and Underſtandings.

*Never thing pleas'd him more, then when his judgment concur'd with theirs.* That was to the applauſe of his own judgment, and would as well have pleas'd any ſelf-conceited man.

*Yea in many things he choſe rather to deny himſelf then them.* That is to ſay in trifles. For *of his own Intereſts* and perſonal Rights he conceaves himſelf *Maſter*. To part with, if he pleaſe, not to conteſt for, againſt the Kingdom which is greater then he, whoſe Rights are all ſubordinat to the Kingdoms good: And *in what concerns Truth, Juſtice, the right of Church, or his Crown, no man ſhall gain his conſent againſt his mind.* What can be left then for a Parlament, but to ſit like Images, while he ſtill thus either with incomparable arrogance aſſumes to himſelf the beſt ability of judging for other men what is Truth, Juſtice, Goodneſs, what his own or the Churches right, or with unſufferable Tyranny reſtrains all men from the enjoyment of any good, which his judgment, though erroneous, thinks not fit to grant them; notwithſtanding that the Law and his Coronal Oath requires his undeniable aſſent to what Laws the Parlament agree upon.

*He had rather wear a Crown of Thorns with our Saviour.* Many would be all one with our Saviour, whom our Saviour will not know. They who govern ill thoſe Kingdoms which they had a right to, have to our Saviours Crown of Thorns no right at all. Thorns they may find anow of their own gathering, and their own twiſting; for Thorns and Snares, ſaith *Solomon*, are in the way of the froward: but to wear them, as our Saviour wore them, is not giv'n to them that ſuffer by thir own demerits. Nor is a Crown of Gold his due, who cannot firſt wear *a Crown of Lead*; not only for the weight of that great Office, but for the compliance which it ought to have with them who are to counſel him, which heer he terms in ſcorn *An imbaſed flexibleneſs to the various and oft contrary dictates of any Factions*, meaning his Parlament; for the queſtion hath bin all this while between them two. And to his Parlament, though a numerous and choiſe Aſſembly, of whom the Land thought wiſeſt, he imputes, rather then to himſelf, *want of reaſon, neglect of the Public, intereſt of Parties, and particularitie of private will and paſſion*; but with what modeſty or likelihood of truth, it will be weariſon to repeat ſo oft'n.

He concludes with a ſentence fair in ſeeming, but fallacious. For if the conſcience be ill edifi'd, the reſolution may more befit a fooliſh then a Chriſtian King, to prefer a ſelf-will'd conſcience before a Kingdoms good; eſpecially in the denial of that which Law and his Regal Office by Oath bids him grant to his Parlament and whole Kingdom rightfully demanding. For we may obſerve him throughout the diſcours to aſſert his Negative power againſt the whole Kingdom; now under the ſpecious Plea of his conſcience and his reaſon, but heretofore in a lowder note; *Without us, or againſt our conſent, the Votes of either or of both Houſes together, muſt not, cannot, ſhall not. Declar. May* 4. 1642.

With theſe and the like deceavable Doctrines he levens alſo his Prayer.

## VII. *Upon the Queens departure.*

TO this Argument we ſhall ſoon have ſaid; for what concerns it us to hear a Husband divulge his Hoſhould privacies, extolling to others the vertues of his Wife? an infirmity not ſeldom incident to thoſe who have leaſt cauſe. But how good ſhe was a Wife, was to himſelf, and be it left to his own fancy; how bad a Subject is not much diſputed. And being ſuch, it need be made no wonder, tho ſhe left a Proteſtant Kingdom with as little honour as her Mother left a Popiſh.

That this *is the firſt example of any Proteſtant Subjects that have tak'n up Arms againſt thir King a Proteſtant*, can be to Proteſtants no diſhonour; when it ſhall be heard that he firſt levied War on them, and to the intereſt of Papiſts more then of Proteſtants. He might have giv'n yet the precedence of making War upon him to the Subjects of his own Nation, who had twice oppos'd him in the op'n Field, long ere the Engliſh found it neceſſary to do the like. And how groundleſs, how diſſembled is that fear, leſt ſhe, who for ſo many years had bin averſe from the Religion of her Husband, and every year more and more, before theſe diſturbances broke out, ſhould for them be now the more alienated from that to which we never heard ſhe was inclin'd? But if the fear of her Delinquency, and that Juſtice which the Proteſtants demanded on her, was any cauſe of her alienating the more, to have gain'd her by indirect means had been no advantage to Religion, much leſs then was the detriment to looſe her furder off. It had bin happy if his own actions had not giv'n cauſe of more ſcandal to the Proteſtants, then what they did againſt her could juſtly ſcandalize any Papiſt.

Them who accus'd her, well anough known to be the Parlament, he cenſures for *Men yet to ſeek thir Religion, whether Doctrine, Diſcipline, or good manners*; the reſt he ſooths with the name of true Engliſh Proteſtants, a meer ſciſmatical name, yet he ſo great an enemy of Sciſm.

He aſcribes *rudeneſs and barbarity, worſe then Indian,* to the Engliſh Parlament; and *all vertue* to his Wife, in ſtrains that come almoſt to Sonnetting: How fit to govern men, undervaluing and aſperſing the great Council of his Kingdom, in compariſon of one Woman. Examples are not far to ſeek how great miſchief and diſhonour hath befall'n to Nations under the Government of effeminate and uxorious Magiſtrates, who being themſelves govern'd and overſwaid at home under a feminine Uſurpation, cannot but be far ſhort of ſpirit and autority without dores to govern a whole Nation.

*Her tarrying here he could not think ſafe among them who were ſhaking hands with Allegeance, to lay faſter hold on Religion*; and taxes them of a duty rather then a crime, it being juſt to obey God rather then Man, and impoſſible to ſerve two Maſters. I would they had quite ſhak'n off what they ſtood ſhaking hands with; the fault was in thir courage, not in thir cauſe.

In his Prayer he praies that *the diſloyalty of his Proteſtant Subjects may not be a hindrance to her love of the true Religion*; and never prays, that the diſſoluteneſs of his Court, the ſcandals of his Clergy, the unſoundneſs of his own Judgment, the lukewarmneſs of his Life, his Letter of compliance to the Pope, his permitting Agents at *Rome*, and the Pope's *Nuntio* here, may not be found in the ſight of God far greater hindrances to her converſion.

But this had bin a ſuttle Prayer indeed, and well pray'd, though as duly as a *Pater-noſter*, if it could have charm'd us to ſit ſtill and have Religion and our Liberties one by one ſnatch'd from us, for fear leſt riſing to defend our ſelves, we ſhould fright the Queen, a ſtiff Papiſt, from turning Proteſtant. As if the way to make his Queen a Proteſtant, had bin to make his Subjects more then half-way Papiſts.

He prays next *that his conſtancy may be an antidote againſt the poyſon of other mens example.* His conſtancy in what? Not in Religion, for it is op'nly known that her Religion wrought more upon him, then his Religion upon her; and his op'n favouring of Papiſts, and his hatred of them call'd Puritans, made moſt men ſuſpect ſhe had quite perverted him. But what is it that the blindneſs of hypocriſy dares not do? It dares pray, and thinks to hide that from the eyes of God, which it cannot hide from the op'n view of man.

## VIII. *Upon his repulſe at* Hull, *and the fate of the* Hothams.

HULL, a Town of great ſtrength and opportunitie both to Sea and Land-Affairs, was at that time the Magazin of all thoſe Arms which the King had bought with mony moſt illegally extorted from his Subjects of *England*, to uſe in a cauſeleſs and moſt unjuſt Civil War againſt his Subjects of *Scotland*. The King in high diſcontent and anger had left the Parlament, and was gone toward the *North*, the Queen into *Holland*, where ſhe pawn'd and ſet to ſail the Crown-Jewels (a crime heretofore counted treaſonable in Kings) and to what intent theſe ſums were rais'd, the Parlament was not ignorant. His going northward in ſo high a chaſe, they doubted was to poſſeſs himſelf of that ſtrength, which the ſtorehouſe and ſituation of *Hull* might add ſuddenly to his malignant Party. Having firſt therefore in many Petitions earneſtly pray'd him to diſpoſe and ſettle, with conſent of both Houſes, the military Power in truſty hands, and he as oft refuſing, they were neceſſitated by the turbulence and danger of thoſe times to put the Kingdom by thir own autority into a poſture of defence; and very timely ſent Sir *John Hotham*, a Member of the Houſe, and Knight of that County, to take *Hull* into his cuſtody, and ſome of the Train'd-bands to his aſſiſtance: Neither had the King before that time omitted to attempt the ſame, firſt by Colonel *Legg*, one of thoſe who were imploy'd to bring the Army up againſt the Parlament, then by the Earl of *Newcaſtle* under a diſguiſe. And Letters of the Lord *Digby* were intercepted, wherein was wiſht that the King would declare himſelf, and retire to ſome ſafe place; other information came from abroad, that *Hull* was the place deſign'd for ſome new enterpriſe.

But theſe Attempts not ſucceeding, and that Town being now in cuſtody of the Parlament, he ſends a Meſſage to them, that he had firmly reſolv'd to go in Perſon into *Ireland*, to chaſtiſe thoſe wicked Rebels (for theſe and worſe words he then gave them) and that toward this work he intended forthwith to raiſe by his Commiſſions, in the Counties near *Weſtcheſter*, a Guard for his own Perſon conſiſting of 2000 foot, and 200 horſe, that ſhould be arm'd from his Magazine at *Hull*. On the other ſide, the Parlament, forſeeing the King's drift, about the ſame time ſend him a Petition, that they might have leave for neceſſary cauſes to remove the Magazin of *Hull* to the Tower of *London*; to which the King returns his denial; and ſoon after going to *Hull*, attended with about 400 horſe, requires the Governour to deliver him up the Town; whereof the Governour beſought humbly to be excus'd, till he could ſend notice to the Parlament who had entruſted him; wherat the King much incens'd, proclaims him Traitor before the Town Walls, and gives immediate order to ſtop all Paſſages between him and the Parlament. Yet he himſelf diſpatches poſt after poſt to demand juſtice as upon a Traitor, uſing a ſtrange iniquity to require Juſtice upon him whom he then waylaid and debarr'd from his appearance. The Parlament no ſooner underſtood what had paſs'd, but they declare that Sir *John Hotham* had done no more then was his duty, and was therfore no Traitor.

This relation being moſt true, proves that which is affirm'd here to be moſt falſe; ſeing the Parlament, whom he accounts his *greateſt Enemies*, had *more confidence to abet and own* what Sir *John Hotham* had done, then the King had confidence to let him anſwer in his own behalf.

To ſpeak of his patience, and in that ſolemn manner, he might better have forborn; *God knows*, ſaith he, *it affected me more with ſorrow for others then with anger for my ſelf; nor did the affront trouble me ſo much as their ſin.* This is read, I doubt not, and beleev'd: and as there is ſome uſe of every thing, ſo is there of this Book, were it but to ſhew us, what a miſerable, credulous, deluded thing that creature is, which is call'd the vulgar; who notwithſtanding what they might know, will beleeve ſuch vain-glories as theſe. Did not that choleric and vengeful act of proclaiming him Traitor before due proceſs of Law, having bin convinc'd ſo late before of his illegality with the five Members, declare his anger to be incens'd? doth not his own relation confeſs as much? and his ſecond Meſſage left him fuming three days after, and in plain words teſtifies *his impatience of delay* till *Hotham* be ſeverely puniſh'd, for that which he there terms an inſupportable affront.

Surely if his ſorrow for Sir *John Hotham's* ſin were greater then his anger for the affront, it was an exceeding great ſorrow indeed, and wondrous charitable. But if it ſtirr'd him ſo vehemently to have Sir *John Hotham* puniſht, and not at all that we hear to have him repent, it had a ſtrange operation to be call'd a ſorrow for his ſin. He who would perſwade us of his ſorrow for the ſins of other men, as they are ſins, not as they are ſin'd againſt himſelf, muſt give us firſt ſome teſtimony of a ſorrow for his own ſins, and next for ſuch ſins of other men as canot be ſuppos'd a direct injury to himſelf. But ſuch compunction in the King no man hath yet obſerv'd; and till then, his ſorrow for Sir *John Hotham's* ſin will be call'd no other then the reſentment of his repulſe; and his labour to have the ſinner only puniſh'd, will be call'd by a right name, his revenge.

And *the hand of that cloud which caſt all ſoon after into darkneſs and diſorder*, was his own hand. For aſſembling the Inhabitants of *Yorkſhire*, and other Counties, horſe and foot, firſt under colour of a new Guard to his Perſon, ſoon after, being ſuppli'd with Ammunition from *Holland*, bought with the Crown-Jewels, he begins an op'n War by laying Seige to *Hull*: which Town was not his own, but the Kingdom's; and the Arms there, public Arms, bought with the publick Mony, or not his own. Yet had they bin his own by as good right as the privat Houſe and Arms of any man are his own; to uſe either of them in a way not privat, but ſuſpitious to the Common-wealth, no Law permits. But the King had no proprietie at all either in *Hull* or in the Magazin: ſo that the following *Maxims* which he cites *of bold and diſloyal Undertakers* may belong more juſtly to whom he leaſt meant them. After this he again relapſes into the praiſe of his patience at *Hull*, and by his overtalking of it, ſeems to doubt either

ther his own conſcience, or the hardneſs of other mens belief. To me the more he praiſes it in himſelf, the more he ſeems to ſuſpect that in very deed it was not in him, and that the lookers on ſo likewiſe thought.

Thus much of what he ſuffer'd by *Hotham*, and with what patience; now of what *Hotham* ſuffer'd, as he judges, for oppoſing him: *He could not but obſerve how God not long after pleaded and aveng'd his cauſe.* Moſt men are too apt, and commonly the worſt of men, ſo to interpret and expound the judgments of God, and all other events of providence or chance, as makes moſt to the juſtifying of thir own cauſe, though never ſo evil; and attribute all to the particular favour of God towards them. Thus when *Saul* heard that *David* was in *Keilah*, *God*, ſaith he, *hath delivered him up into my hands, for he is ſhut in.* But how far that King was deceav'd in his thought that God was favouring to his cauſe, that ſtory unfolds; and how little reaſon this King had to impute the death of *Hotham* to God's avengement of his repulſe at *Hull*, may eaſily be ſeen. For while *Hotham* continu'd faithful to his truſt, no man more ſafe, more ſucceſsful, more in reputation then he: But from the time he firſt ſought to make his peace with the King, and to betray into his hands that Town, into which before he had deny'd him entrance, nothing proſper'd with him. Certainly had God purpos'd him ſuch an end for his oppoſition to the King, he would not have deferr'd to puniſh him till then, when of an Enemy he was chang'd to be the King's Friend, nor have made his repentance and amendment the occaſion of his ruin. How much more likely is it, ſince he fell into the act of diſloyalty to his charge, that the judgment of God concurr'd with the puniſhment of man, and juſtly cut him off for revolting to the King? To give the World an example, that glorious deeds done to ambitious ends, find reward anſwerable, not to thir outward ſeeming, but to thir inward ambition. In the mean while what thanks he had from the King for revolting to his cauſe, and what good opinion for dying in his ſervice, they who have ventur'd like him, or intend, may here take notice.

He proceeds to declare, not only in general wherfore God's Judgment was upon *Hotham*, but undertakes by fanſies, and alluſions to give a criticiſm upon every particular: *That his head was divided from his Body, becauſe his heart was divided from the King; two heads cut off in one family for affronting the head of the Common-wealth; the eldeſt ſon being infected with the ſin of the Father, againſt the Father of his Countrie.* Theſe petty gloſſes and conceits on the high and ſecret Judgments of God, beſides the boldneſs of unwarrantable commenting, are ſo weak and ſhallow, and ſo like the quibbl's of a Court-Sermon, that we may ſafely reck'n them either fetcht from ſuch a pattern, or that the hand of ſome houſhold Preiſt foiſted them in, leſt the World ſhould forget how much he was the Diſciple of thoſe Cymbal Doctors. But that Argument by which the Author would commend them to us, diſcredits them the more: For if they be ſo *obvious to every fancy*, the more likely to be erroneous, and to miſconceive the mind of thoſe high ſecrecies, whereof they preſume to determin. For God judges not by human fancy.

But however God judg'd *Hotham*, yet he had the King's pity: but mark the reaſon how prepoſterous; ſo far he had his pity, *as he thought he at firſt acted more againſt the light of his conſcience then many other men in the ſame cauſe.* Queſtionleſs they who act againſt conſcience, whether at the Bar of human, or divine Juſtice, are pitied leaſt of all. Theſe are the common grounds and verdicts of Nature, whereof when he who hath the judging of a whole Nation, is found deſtitute under ſuch a Governour, that Nation muſt needs be miſerable.

By the way he jerks at *ſome mens reforming to models of Religion, and that they think all is gold of Pietie that doth but gliſter with a ſhew of Zeal.* We know his meaning, and apprehend how little hope there could be of him from ſuch language as this: But are ſure that the pietie of his prelatick Model gliſter'd more upon the Poſts and Pillars which thir zeal and fervencie gilded over, then in the true works of ſpiritual edification.

*He is ſory that* Hotham *felt the juſtice of others, and fell not rather into the hands of his mercy.* But to clear that, he ſhould have ſhewn us what mercy he had ever us'd to ſuch as fell into his hands before, rather then what mercy he intended to ſuch as never could come to ask it. Whatever mercy one man might have expected, 'tis too well known the whole Nation found none; though they beſought it oft'n, and ſo humbly, but had bin ſwallow'd up in blood and ruin, to ſet his private will above the Parlament, had not his ſtrength fail'd him. *Yet clemency he counts a debt, which he ought pay to thoſe that crave it; ſince we pay not any thing to God for his Mercy but Prayers and Praiſes.* By this reaſon we ought as freely to pay all things to all men; for of all that we receive from God, what do we pay for, more then prayers and praiſes? we look'd for the diſcharge of his Office, the payment of his Duty to the Kingdom, and are paid Court-paiment with empty ſentences that have the ſound of gravity, but the ſignificance of nothing pertinent.

Yet again after his mercy paſt and granted, he returns back to give ſentence upon *Hotham*; and whom he tells us he would ſo fain have ſav'd alive, him he never leaves killing with a repeated Condemnation, though dead long ſince. It was ill that ſome body ſtood not neer to whiſper him, that a reiterating Judg is worſe then a tormentor. *He pities him, he rejoices not, he pities him* again; but ſtill is ſure to brand him at the tail of his pity with ſome ignominious mark, either of ambition or diſloyaltie. And with a kind of cenſorious pity aggravates rather then leſs'ns or conceals the fault: To pity thus is to triumph.

He aſſumes to foreknow, that *after times will diſpute, whether* Hotham *were more infamous at* Hull, *or at* Tower-hill. What knew he of after times, who while he ſits judging and cenſuring without end, the fate of that unhappy Father and his Son at *Tower-hill*, knew not that the like fate attended him before his own Palace-Gate; and as little knew whether after times do not reſerve a greater infamy upon his own Life and Raign.

He ſays but over again in his Prayer, what his Sermon hath preacht; How acceptably to thoſe in Heav'n we leave to be decided by that precept which forbids *vain Repetitions.* Sure anough it lies as heavie as he can lay it upon the head of poor *Hotham.*

Needs he will faſt'n upon God a peece of revenge as done for his ſake; and takes it for a favour, before he know it was intended him: which in his cloſet had bin excuſable, but in a writt'n and publiſh'd Prayer too preſumptuous. *Eccleſiaſtes* hath a right name for ſuch kind of Sacrifices.

Going on he prays thus, *Let not thy Juſtice prevent the objects and opportunities of my Mercy.* To folly, or to blaſphemy, or to both ſhall we impute this? Shall the Juſtice of God give place, and ſerve to glorifie the Mercies of a Man? All other Men who know what they ask, deſire of God that thir doings may tend to his glory; but in this prayer God is requir'd that his Juſtice would forbear to prevent, and as good have ſaid to intrench upon the glory a Man's Mercy. If God forbear his Juſtice, it muſt be ſure to the magnifying of his own Mercy: But here a mortal man takes the boldneſs to ask that glory out of his hand. It may be doubted now by them who underſtand Religion, whether the King were more unfortunate in this his Prayer, or *Hotham* in thoſe his ſufferings.

## IX. *Upon the liſting and raiſing Armies, &c.*

IT were an endleſs work to walk ſide by ſide with the verboſity of this Chapter; only to what already hath not bin ſpok'n, convenient Anſwer ſhall be giv'n. He begins again with Tumults; all demonſtration of the Peoples Love and Loyalty to the Parlament was Tumult; thir petitioning, Tumult; thir defenſive Armies were but *liſted Tumults*; and will take no notice that thoſe about him, thoſe in a time of Peace liſted into his own Houſe, were the beginners of all theſe Tumults; abuſing and aſſaulting not only ſuch as came peaceably to the Parlament at *London*, but thoſe that came petitioning to the King himſelf at *York*. Neither did they abſtain from doing violence and outrage to the Meſſengers ſent from Parlament; he himſelf either count'nancing or conniving at them.

He ſuppoſes that *His receſs gave us confidence that he might be conquer'd.* Other men ſuppoſe both that and all things els, who knew him neither by nature warlike, nor experienc'd, nor fortunate; ſo far was any Man that diſcern'd aught from eſteeming him unconquerable; yet ſuch are readieſt to imbroil others.

*But he had a Soul invincible.* What praiſe is that? The Stomach of a Child is oftimes invincible to all correction. The unteachable man hath a ſoul to all reaſon and good advice invincible; and he who is intractable, he whom nothing can perſwade, may boaſt himſelf invincible; when as in ſome things to be overcome is more honeſt and laudable then to conquer.

He labours to have it thought that *his fearing God more than Man* was the ground of his ſufferings; but he ſhould have known that a good principle not rightly underſtood may prove as hurtful as a bad, and his fear of God may be as faulty as a blind zeal. He pretended to fear God more than the Parlament, who never urg'd him to do otherwiſe; he ſhould alſo have fear'd God more then he did his Courtiers, and the Biſhops who drew him, as they pleas'd, to things inconſiſtent with the fear of God. Thus boaſted *Saul* to have *perform'd the Commandment of God*, and ſtood in it againſt *Samuel*; but it was found at length that he had fear'd the People more then God, in ſaving thoſe fat Oxen for the worſhip of God which were appointed for deſtruction. Not much unlike, if not much wors was that fact of his, who for fear to diſpleaſe his Court and mungrel Clergy, with the diſſoluteſt of the People, upheld in the Church of God, while his power laſted, thoſe Beaſts of *Amalec*, the Prelats, againſt the advice of his Parlament and the example of all Reformation; in this more unexcuſable then *Saul*, that *Saul* was at length convinc'd, he to the hour of death fix'd in his fals perſwaſion, and ſooths himſelf in the flattering peace of an erroneous and obdurat conſcience; ſinging to his ſoul vain Pſalms of exultation, as if the Parlament had aſſail'd his reaſon with the force of Arms, and not he on the contrary their reaſon with his Arms, which hath been prov'd already, and ſhall be more hereafter.

He twits them with *his Acts of Grace*; proud, and unſelf-knowing words in the mouth of any King who affects not to be a God, and ſuch as ought to be as odious in the ears of a free Nation. For if they were unjuſt acts, why did he grant them as of grace? If juſt, it was not of his grace, but of his duty and his Oath to grant them.

*A glorious King he would* be, though *by his ſufferings*: But that can never be to him whoſe ſufferings are his own doings. He fains *a hard chois* put upon him *either to kill his Subjects, or be kill'd.* Yet never was King leſs in danger of any violence from his Subjects, till he unſheath'd his Sword againſt them; nay long after that time, when he had ſpilt the blood of thouſands, they had ſtill his Perſon in a fooliſh veneration.

He complains, *That civil War muſt be the fruits of his ſeventeeen years raigning with ſuch a meaſure of Juſtice, Peace, Plenty, and Religion, as all Nations either admir'd or envi'd.* For the Juſtice we had, let the Councel Table, Star-chamber, High Commiſſion ſpeak the praiſe of it; not forgetting the unprincely uſage, and, as far as might be, the aboliſhing of Parlaments, the diſplacing of honeſt Judges, the ſale of Offices, Bribery and Exaction, not found out to be puniſh'd, but to be ſhar'd in with impunity for the time to come. Who can number the Extortions, the Oppreſſions, the public Robberies and Rapines committed on the Subject both by Sea and Land under various pretences? Thir poſſeſſions alſo tak'n from them, one while as Forreſt-Land, another while a Crown-Land; nor were thir Goods exempted, no not the Bullion in the Mint; Piracy was become a project own'd and authoriz'd againſt the Subject.

For the peace we had, what peace was that which drew out the Engliſh to a needleſs and diſhonourable Voyage againſt the *Spaniard* at *Cales*? Or that which lent our ſhipping to a treacherous and Antichriſtian War againſt the poor Proteſtants of *Rochel* our ſuppliants? What peace was that which fell to rob the French by Sea, to the imbarring of all our Merchants in that Kingdom? which brought forth that unbleſt expedition to the Iſle of *Rhee*, doubtful whether more calamitous in the ſucceſs or in the deſign, betraying all the flower of our military Youth and beſt Commanders to a ſhameful ſurpriſal and execution. This was the peace we had, and the peace we gave, whether to friends or to foes abroad. And if at home any peace were intended us, what meant thoſe billeted Souldiers in all parts of the Kingdom, and the deſign of German Horſe to ſubdue us in our peaceful Houſes?

For our Religion, where was there a more ignorant, profane, and vitious Clergy, learned in nothing but the antiquitie of thir Pride, thir Covetouſneſs and Superſtition? whoſe unſincere and levenous Doctrine, corrupting the people, firſt taught them looſneſs, then bondage; looſning them from all ſound knowledg and ſtrictneſs of life, the more to fit them for the bondage of Tyranny and Superſtition. So that what was left us for other Nations not to pity rather than admire or envy all thoſe ſeventeen years, no wiſe man could ſee. For wealth and plenty in a Land where Juſtice raigns not, is no argument of a flouriſhing State, but of a neerneſs rather to ruin or commotion.

Theſe were not *ſome miſcarriages* only of a Government, *which might eſcape*, but a univerſal diſtemper, and reducement of Law to arbitrary Power; not through the evil councels of *ſome men*, but through the conſtant cours and practice of all that were in higheſt favour: whoſe worſt actions he frequently avow'd and took upon himſelf, and whoſe Perſons when he could no longer protect, he eſteem'd and favour'd to the end; but never otherwiſe then by conſtraint, yielded any of them to due Puniſhment; thereby manifeſting that what they did was by his own Autority and Approbation.

Yet heer he asks *Whoſe innocent Blood he hath ſhed, what Widows or Orphans tears can witneſs againſt him?* After the ſuſpected poyſoning of his Father, not inquir'd into, but ſmother'd up, and him protected and advanc'd to the very half of his Kingdom, who was accus'd in Parlament to be the Author of the fact, after ſo many Years of cruel War on his People in three Kingdoms. Whence the Author of *Truths manifeſt*, a *Scotchman*, not unacquainted with affairs, poſitively affirms, *That there hath more Chriſtian Blood been ſhed by the Commiſſion, approbation, and connivance of King* Charles *and his Father* James *in the latter end of thir raign, then in the Ten Roman Perſecutions.* Not to ſpeak of thoſe many Whippings, Pillories, and other corporal inflictions wherewith his raign alſo before this War was not unbloodie; ſome have dy'd in Priſon under cruel reſtraint, others in Baniſhment, whoſe lives were ſhortn'd through the rigour of that Perſecution wherewith ſo many years he infeſted the true Church. And thoſe ſix Members all men judg'd to have eſcap'd no leſs then capital danger; whom he ſo greedily purſuing into the Houſe of Commons, had not there the forbearance to conceal how much it troubl'd him, *That the Birds were flown.* If ſom Vultur in the Mountains could have op'nd his Beak intelligibly and ſpoke, what fitter words could he have utter'd at the loſs of his Prey? The Tyrant *Nero*, though not yet deſerving that name, ſet his hand ſo unwillingly to the execution of a condemn'd Perſon, as to wiſh *He had not known Letters.* Certainly for a King himſelf to charge his Subjects with High Treaſon, and ſo vehemently to proſecute them in his own cauſe, as to do the Office of a Searcher, argu'd in him no great averſation from ſhedding blood, were it but *to ſatisfie his anger*, and that revenge was no unpleaſing morſel to him, whereof he himſelf thought not much to be ſo diligently his own Caterer. But we inſiſt rather upon what was actual then what was probable.

He now falls to examin the cauſes of this War, as a difficulty which he had long *ſtudied* to find out. *It was not*, ſaith he, *my withdrawing from* Whitehall; *for no account in reaſon could be giv'n of thoſe Tumults, where an orderly Guard was granted.* But if it be a moſt certain truth that the Parlament could never yet obtain of him any Guard fit to be confided in, then by his own confeſſion ſome account of thoſe pretended Tumults *may in reaſon be giv'n*; and both concerning them and the Guards anough hath bin ſaid alreadie.

*Whom did he protect againſt the Juſtice of Parlament?* Whom did he not to his utmoſt power? Endeavouring to have reſcu'd *Strafford* from their Juſtice, tho with the deſtruction of them and the City; to that end expreſly commanding the admittance of new Soldiers into the Tower, rais'd by *Suckling* and other Conſpirators, under pretence for the *Portugall*; not to repeat his other Plot of bringing up the two Armies. But what can be diſputed with ſuch a King, in whoſe mouth and opinion the Parlament it ſelf was never but a *Faction*, and thir Juſtice no Juſtice, but *The dictates and overſwaying Inſolence of Tumults and Rabbles?* and under that excuſe avouches himſelf openly the general Patron of moſt notorious Delinquents, and approves thir flight out of the Land, whoſe crimes were ſuch, as that the juſteſt and the faireſt trial would have ſooneſt condemn'd them to death. But did not *Catiline* plead in like manner againſt the *Roman* Senat, and the injuſtice of thir trial, and the juſtice of his flight from *Rome*? *Ceſar* alſo, then hatching Tyranny, injected the ſame ſcrupulous demurs to ſtop the ſentence of death in full and free Senat decreed on *Lentulus* and *Cethegus*, two of *Catilines* accomplices, which were renew'd and urg'd for *Strafford*. He voutſafes to the reformation, by both Kingdoms intended, no better name then *Innovation and ruin both in Church and State*. And what we would have learnt ſo gladly of him in other paſſages before, to know wherein, he tells us now of his own accord. The expelling Biſhops out of the Houſe of Peers, this was *ruin to the State*; the *removing* them *root and branch*, this was *ruin to the Church*. How happy could this Nation be in ſuch a Governour who counted that thir ruin, which they thought thir deliverance; the ruin both of Church and State, which was the recovery and the ſaving of them both?

To the paſſing of thoſe Bills againſt Biſhops, how is it likely that the Houſe of Peers gave ſo hardly thir conſent, which they gave ſo eaſily before to the attaching them of High Treaſon, 12 at once, only for proteſting that the Parlament could not act without them? Surely if thir rights and privileges were thought ſo undoubted in that Houſe, as is heer maintain'd; then was that Proteſtation, being meant and intended in the name of thir whole ſpiritual Order, no Treaſon; and ſo that Houſe it ſelf will becom liable to a juſt conſtruction either of injuſtice in them for ſo conſenting, or of uſurpation, repreſenting none but themſelves, to expect that their voting or not voting ſhould obſtruct the Commons: Who not for *five repulſes of the Lords*, no not for fifty, were to deſiſt from what in the name of the whole Kingdom they demanded, ſo long as thoſe Lords were none of our Lords. And for the Bill againſt root and branch, tho it paſs'd not in both Houſes till many of the Lords and ſome few of the Commons, either intic'd away by the King, or overaw'd by the ſence of thir own Malignancy, not prevailing, deſerted the Parlament, and made a fair riddance of themſelves; that was no warrant for them who remain'd faithful, being far the greater number, to lay aſide that Bill of root and branch, till the return of thir fugitives; a Bill ſo neceſſary and ſo much deſir'd by themſelves as by the People.

This was the *partiality*, this degrading of the Biſhops, a thing ſo wholſom in the State, and ſo Orthodoxal in the Church both ancient and reformed, which the King rather then aſſent to, *will either hazard both his own and the Kingdoms ruin*, by our juſt defence againſt his force of arms; or *proſtrate our conſciences in a blind obedience to himſelf, and thoſe men, whoſe ſuperſtition, zealous* or unzealous, would inforce upon us an Antichriſtian tyranny in the Church, neither *Primitive, Apoſtolical*, nor more *anciently univerſal*, then ſom other manifeſt corruptions.

But *he was bound, beſides his judgment, by a moſt ſtrict and undiſpenſable Oath to preſerve that Order and the rights of the Church*. If he mean the Oath of his Coronation, and that the letter of that Oath admit not to be interpreted either by equity, reformation, or better knowledg, then was the King bound by that Oath to grant the Clergie all thoſe Cuſtoms, Franchiſes, and Canonical Privileges granted to them by *Edward* the Confeſſor; and ſo might one day, under pretence of that Oath, and his conſcience, have brought us all again to Popery. But had he ſo well remembred as he ought, the words to which he ſwore, he might have found himſelf no otherwiſe oblig'd there, then *according to the Laws of God, and true profeſſion of the Goſpel*. For if thoſe following words, *Eſtabliſh'd in this Kingdom*, be ſet there to limit and lay preſcription on the Laws of God and truth of the Goſpel by mans eſtabliſhment, nothing can be more abſurd or more injurious to Religion. So that however the German Emperors or other Kings have levied all thoſe Wars on thir Proteſtant Subjects under the colour of a blind and literal obſervance to an Oath, yet this King had leaſt pretence of all. Nor is it to be imagin'd, if what ſhall be eſtabliſh'd come in queſtion, but that the Parlament ſhould overſway the King, and not he the Parlament. And by all Law and Reaſon that which the Parlament will not, is no more eſtabliſh'd in this Kingdom, neither is the King bound by Oath to uphold it as a thing eſtabliſh'd.

*Had he gratifi'd*, he thinks, *Antiepiſcopal Faction with his conſent, and ſacrific'd the Church-government and Revenues to the fury of their covetouſneſs*, &c. an Army had not bin rais'd. Whereas it was the fury of his own hatred to the profeſſors of true Religion which firſt incited him to perſecute them with the Sword of War, when Whips, Pillories, Exiles, and Impris'nments were not thought ſufficient. To colour which he cannot find wherewithal but that ſtale pretence of *Charles* the fifth, and other Popiſh Kings, that the Proteſtants had only an intent to lay hands on the Church revenues, a thing never in the thoughts of this Parlament, till exhauſted by his endleſs War upon them, thir neceſſity ſeis'd on that for the Commonwealth, which the luxury of Prelats had abus'd before to a common miſchief.

His conſent to the unlording of Biſhops (for to that he himſelf conſented, and at *Canterbury* the chief ſeat of their pride, ſo God would have it) *was from his firm perſwaſion of thir contentedneſs to ſuffer a preſent diminution of their rights.* Can any man, reading this, not diſcern the pure mockery of a Royal conſent, to delude us only for *the preſent*, meaning, it ſeems, when time ſhould ſerve to revoke all? By this reckning his conſents and his denials come all to one paſs: and we may hence perceave the wiſdom and the integrity of thoſe Votes which voted his Conceſſions at the Ile of *Wight* for grounds of a laſting Peace. This he alleges, this controverſie about Biſhops, *to be the true ſtate* of that difference between him and the Parlament. For he held Epiſcopacy *both very Sacred and Divine.* With this judgment, and for this cauſe he withdrew from the Parlament, and confeſſes that ſome men knew *he was like to bring again the ſame judgment which he carried with him.* A fair and unexpected juſtification from his own mouth afforded to the Parlament, who notwithſtanding what they knew of his obſtinat mind, omitted not to uſe all thoſe means, and that patience to have gain'd him.

As for Delinquents, *he allows them to be but the neceſſary conſequences of his and their withdrawing and defending.* A pretty ſhift to mince the name of a delinquent into a neceſſary conſequent: what is a Traitor, but the neceſſary conſequence of his Treaſon? what a Rebel, but of his Rebellion? From this conceit he would infer a *pretext* only in the Parlament *to fetch in delinquents*, as if there had indeed bin no ſuch cauſe, but all the delinquency in *London* Tumults. Which is the overworn theme, and ſtuffing of all his diſcourſes.

This he thrice repeats to be the true ſtate and reaſon of all that War and Devaſtation in the Land; and that *of all the Treaties and Propoſitions* offerd him, he was reſolv'd *never to grant the aboliſhing of Epiſcopal, or the eſtabliſhment of Presbyterian Government.* I would demand now of the *Scots* and Covnanters (for ſo I call them as miſobſervers of the Cov'nant) how they will reconcile *the preſervation of Religion and their Liberties, and the bringing of delinquents to condign puniſhment*, with the *freedom, honour, and ſafety* of this vow'd reſolution here, that eſteems all the Zeal of thir proſtituted Cov'nant no better then *a noiſe and ſhew of pietie, a heat for reformation, filling them with prejudice, and obſtructing all equality and clearneſs of judgment in them.* With theſe principles who knows but that at length he might have come to take the Cov'nant, as others whom they brotherly admit have don before him? and then all, no doubt, had gon well, and ended in a happy peace.

His prayer is moſt of it borrow'd out of *David*; but what if it be anſwerd him as the *Jews*, who truſted in *Moſes*, were anſwer'd by our *Saviour*; There is one that accuſeth you, ev'n *David*, whom you miſapply.

He tells God *that his Enemies are many*, but tells the people, when it ſerves his turn, they are but *a faction of ſome few, prevailing over the major part of both Houſes.*

*God knows he had no paſſion, deſign or preparation to imbroyle his Kingdom in a civil War.* True; for he thought his Kingdom to be *Iſſachar*, a *ſtrong Aſs that* would have *couch'd down between two burd'ns*, the one of prelatical ſuperſtition, the other of civil tyrannie: but what paſſion and deſign, what cloſe and op'n preparation he had made to ſubdue us to both theſe by terror and preventive force, all the Nation knows.

*The confidence of ſome men had almoſt perſwaded him to ſuſpect his own innocence.* As the words of Saint *Paul* had almoſt perſwaded *Agrippa* to be a Chriſtian. But Almoſt in the work of repentance is as good as Not at all.

*God*, ſaith he, *will find out bloody and deceitful men, many of whom have not liv'd out half thir days.* It behov'd him to have been more cautious how he tempted Gods finding out of blood and deceit, till his own years had bin furder ſpent, or that he had enjoy'd longer *the fruits of his* own *violent Counſels.*

But inſtead of warineſs he adds another temptation, charging God *to know that the chief deſign of this War was either to deſtroy his Perſon, or to force his Judgment.* And thus his prayer from the evil practice of unjuſt accuſing men to God, ariſes to the hideous raſhneſs of accuſing God before men, to know that for truth, which all men know to be moſt fals.

He prays *That God would forgive the People, for they know not what they do.* It is an eaſie matter to ſay over what our Saviour ſaid; but how he lov'd the People, other Arguments then affected Sayings muſt demonſtrate. He who ſo oft hath preſum'd raſhly to appeal to the knowledg and teſtimony of God in things ſo evidently untrue, may be doubted what belief or eſteem he had of his forgiveneſs, either to himſelf, or thoſe for whom he would ſo fain that men ſhould hear he pray'd.

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## X. *Upon their ſeizing the Magazins, Forts, &c.*

TO put the matter ſooneſt out of controverſy who was the firſt beginner of this Civil War, ſince the beginning of all War may be diſcern'd not only by the firſt act of Hoſtilitie, but by the Counſels and Preparations foregoing, it ſhall evidently appear that the King was ſtill formoſt in all theſe. No King had ever at his firſt coming to the Crown more love and acclamation from a people; never any people found worſe requital of thir loyalty and good affection: Firſt by his extraordinary fear and miſtruſt that thir Liberties and Rights were the impairing and diminiſhing of his Regal Power, the true Original of Tyranny: next by his hatred to all thoſe who were eſteem'd religious; doubting that thir Principles too much aſſerted Libertie. This was quickly ſeen by the vehemence, and the cauſes alleg'd of his perſecuting, the other by his frequent and opprobrious diſſolution of Parlaments; after he had demanded more money of them, and they to obtain thir rights had granted him, then would have bought the *Turk* out of *Morea*, and ſet free all the Greeks. But when he ſought to extort from us, by way of Tribute, that which had bin offer'd him conditionally in Parlament, as by a free People, and that thoſe Extortions were now conſum'd and waſted by the luxurie of his Court, he began then (for ſtill the more he did wrong, the more he fear'd) before any Tumult or Inſurrection of the People, to take counſel how he might totally ſubdue them to his own will. Then was the deſign of German Horſe, and Souldiers billeted in all parts; the Pulpits reſounded with no other Doctrine then that which gave all Propertie to the King, and Paſſive Obedience to the Subject. After which innumerable formes and ſhapes of new Exactions and Exacters overſpread the Land: Nor was it anough to be impoveriſh'd, unleſs we were diſarm'd. Our Train'd-Bands, which are the truſtieſt and moſt proper ſtrength of a free Nation, had thir Arms in divers Counties tak'n from them; other Ammunition by deſign was ingroſs'd and kept in the Tower, not to be bought without a Licence, and at a high rate.

Thus far, and many other ways were his Counſels and Preparations beforehand with us, either to a Civil War, if it ſhould happ'n, or to ſubdue us without a War, which is all one, until the raiſing of his two Armies againſt the Scots, and the latter of them rais'd to the moſt perfidious breaking of a ſolemn Pacification.

After the beginning of this Parlament, whom he ſaw ſo reſolute and unanimous to releeve the Common-wealth, and that the Earl of *Strafford* was condemn'd to die, other of his evil Counſellors impeach'd and impriſon'd, to ſhew there wanted not evil Counſel within himſelf ſufficient to begin a War upon his Subjects, though no way by them provok'd, he ſends an Agent with Letters to the King of *Denmark* requiring aid againſt the Parlament, endeavours to bring up both Armies, firſt the Engliſh, with whom 8000 Iriſh Papiſts rais'd by *Strafford*, and a *French* Army were to join; then the *Scots* at *Newcaſtle*, whom he thought to have encourag'd by telling them what mony and horſe he was to have from *Denmark*. I mention not the *Iriſh* Conſpiracie till due place. Theſe and many other were his Counſels toward a Civil War. His Preparations, after thoſe two Armies were diſmiſs'd, could not ſuddenly be too op'n: Nevertheleſs there were 8000 *Iriſh* Papiſts which he refus'd to diſband, though intreated by both Houſes, firſt for reaſons beſt known to himſelf, next under pretence of lending them to the *Spaniard*; and ſo kept them undiſbanded ed till very near the month wherein that Rebellion broke forth. He was alſo raiſing Forces in *London*, pretendedly to ſerve the *Portugal*, but with intent to ſeize the Tower. Into which diverſe Cannoneers were by him ſent; the Court was fortifi'd with Ammunition and Souldiers new liſted, follow'd the King from *London*, and appear'd at *Kingſton* ſome hundreds of horſe in a warlike manner, with Waggons of Ammunition after them; the Queen in *Holland* was buying more; the Inhabitants of *Yorkſhire* and other Counties were call'd to Arms, and actual Forces rais'd, while the Parlament were yet petitioning in peace.

As to the Act of Hoſtilitie, though not much material in whom firſt it began after ſuch Counſels and Preparations diſcover'd, and ſo far advanc'd by the King, yet in that act alſo he will be found to have had precedency, if not at *London* by the aſſault of his armed Court upon the naked People, and his attempt upon the Houſe of Commons, yet certainly at *Hull*, firſt by his cloſe Practices on that Town, next by his Seige. Thus whether Councels, Preparations, or Acts of Hoſtilitie be conſidered, it appears with evidence anough, though much more might be ſaid, that the King is truly charg'd to be the firſt beginner of theſe Civil Wars. To which may be added as a cloſe, that in the Iſle of *Wight* he charg'd it upon himſelf at the publick Treaty, and acquitted the Parlament.

But as for the ſecuring of *Hull* and the publick ſtores therin, and in other places, it was no *ſurpriſal of his Strength*; the cuſtody whereof by Autority of Parlament was committed into hands moſt fit and moſt reſponſible for ſuch a truſt. It were a folly beyond ridiculous, to count our ſelves a free Nation, if the King, not in Parlament, but in his own Perſon, and againſt them, might appropriate to himſelf the ſtrength of a whole Nation as his proper goods. What the Laws of the Land are, a Parlament ſhould know beſt, having both the life and death of Laws in thir lawgiving Power: And the Law of *England* is, at beſt, but the reaſon of Parlament. The Parlament therefore, taking into thir hands that wherof moſt properly they ought to have the keeping, committed no ſurpriſal. If they prevented him, that argu'd not at all either *his innocency or unpreparedneſs*, but thir timely foreſight to uſe prevention.

But what needed that? *They knew his chiefeſt Arms left him were thoſe only which the antient Chriſtians were wont to uſe againſt thir Perſecuters, Prayers and Tears.* O ſacred reverence of God, reſpect and ſhame of men, whither were ye fled when theſe hypocriſies were utter'd? Was the Kingdom then at all that coſt of Blood to remove from him none but Prayers and Tears? What were thoſe thouſands of blaſpheming Cavaliers about him, whoſe mouths let fly Oaths and Curſes by the volley; were thoſe the Prayers? and thoſe Carouſes drunk to the confuſion of all things good or holy, did thoſe miniſter the Tears? Were they Prayers and Tears that were liſted at *York*, muſter'd on *Heworth* Moore, and laid Seige to *Hull* for the guard of his Perſon? Were Prayers and Tears at ſo high a rate in *Holland*, that nothing could purchaſe them but the Crown-Jewels? yet they in *Holland* (ſuch word was ſent us) ſold them for Guns, Carabins, Mortar-peeces, Cannons, and other deadly Inſtruments of War, which when they came to *York*, were all no doubt by the merit of ſome great Saint ſuddenly transform'd into Prayers and Tears; and being divided into Regiments and Brigades, were the only Arms that miſchiev'd us in all thoſe Battels and Incounters.

Theſe were his chief Arms, whatever we muſt call them, and yet ſuch Arms as they who fought for the Common-wealth have by the help of better Prayers vanquiſh'd and brought to nothing.

He bewails his want of the Militia, *not ſo much in reference to his own protection as the peoples, whoſe many and ſore oppreſſions greeve him.* Never conſidering how ill for ſeventeen years together he had protected them, and that theſe miſeries of the people are ſtill his own handy work, having ſmitt'n them like a forked Arrow ſo ſore into the Kingdom's ſides, as not to be drawn out and cur'd without the inciſion of more fleſh.

He tells us that *what he wants in the hands of Power* he has in *the wings of Faith and Prayer*. But they who made no reckning of thoſe Wings while they had that power in thir hands, may eaſily miſtake the Wings of Faith for the Wings of Preſumption, and ſo fall headlong.

We meet next with a compariſon, how apt let them judg that have travell'd to *Mecca* *That the Parlament have hung the Majeſtie of Kingſhip in an airy imagination of Regality, between the Privileges of both Houſes, like the Tomb of Mahomet.* He knew not that he was prophecying the death and burial of a Turkiſh Tyranny, that ſpurn'd down thoſe Laws which gave it life and being, ſo long as it endur'd to be a regulated Monarchy.

He counts it an injury *not to have the ſole power in himſelf to help or hurt any*; and that the *Militia which he holds to be his undoubted Right, ſhould be diſpos'd as the Parlament thinks fit:* And yet confeſſes that if he had it in his actual diſpoſing, he would defend thoſe whom he calls *his good Subjects from thoſe mens violence and fraud, who would perſwade the World that none but Wolves are fit to be truſted with the cuſtody of the Shepherd and his Flock.* Surely if we may gueſs whom he means here, by knowing whom he hath ever moſt oppos'd in this Controverſie, we may then aſſure our ſelvs that by violence and fraud he means that which the Parlament hath done in ſetling the Militia, and thoſe the Wolves, into whoſe hands it was by them intruſted: which draws a clear confeſſion from his own mouth, that if the Parlament had left him ſole power of the *Militia*, he would have us'd it to the deſtruction of them and thir Friends.

As for ſole power of the *Militia* which he claims as a Right no leſs undoubted then the Crown, it hath bin oft anough told him, that he hath no more autority over the Sword then over the Law; over the Law he hath none, either to eſtabliſh or to abrogate, to interpret, or to execute, but only by his Courts and in his Courts, whereof the Parlament is higheſt: no more therefore hath he power of the *Militia* which is the Sword, either to uſe or to diſpoſe, but with conſent of Parlament; give him but that, and as good give him all our Laws and Liberties. For if the power of the Sword were any where ſeparate and undepending from the power of Law, which is originally ſeated in the higheſt Court, then were that power of the Sword higher then the power of Law, and being at one man's diſpoſal, might when he pleas'd controul the Law, and enſlave us. Such power as this did the King in op'n terms challenge to have over us, and brought thouſands to help him win it; ſo much more good at fighting then at underſtanding, as to perſwade themſelves that they fought then for the Subjects Liberties.

He is contented, becauſe he knows no other remedy, to reſign this power *for his own time, but not for his ſucceſſors:* So diligent and careful he is that we ſhould be ſlaves, if not to him, yet to his Poſterity, and fain would leave us the Legacy of another War about it. But the Parlament have done well to remove that queſtion: whom, as his manner is to dignify with ſome good name or other, he calls now a *many-headed Hydra of Government, full of factious diſtractions, and not more eyes then mouths.* Yet ſurely not more mouths, or not ſo wide as the diſſolute rabble of all his Courtiers had, both Hees and Shees, if ther were any Males among them.

He would prove that to govern by Parlament hath *a Monſtroſitie rather then Perfection*; and grounds his Argument upon two or three eminent Abſurdities: Firſt by placing Councel in the Senſes, next by turning the Senſes out of the head, and in lieu therof placing Power *ſupreme* above ſenſe and reaſon; which be now the greater Monſtroſities? Furder to diſpute what kind of Government is beſt, would be a long Theme; it ſufficeth that his reaſons here for Monarchy are found weak and inconſiderable.

He bodes much *horror and bad influence after his ecclips.* He ſpeaks his wiſhes; but they who by weighing prudently things paſt, foreſee things to come, the beſt Divination, may hope rather all good ſucceſs and happineſs, by removing that darkneſs which the miſtie cloud of his Prerogative made between us and a peaceful Reformation, which is our true Sun-light, and not he, though he would be tak'n for our Sun it ſelf. And wherefore ſhould we not hope to be govern'd more happily without a King, when as all our miſerie and trouble hath bin either by a King, or by our neceſſary vindication and defence againſt him.

He would be thought *inforc'd to Perjurie* by having granted the Militia, by which his Oath bound him to protect the people. If he can be perjur'd in granting that, why doth he refuſe for no other cauſe the aboliſhing of Epiſcopacy?

But never was any Oath ſo blind as to ſwear him to protect Delinquents againſt Juſtice, but to protect all the people in that order, and by thoſe hands which the Parlament ſhould adviſe him to, and the protected confide in; and not under the ſhew of protection to hold a violent and incommunicable Sword over us as readie to be let fall upon our own necks, as upon our Enemies; nor to make our own Hands and Weapons fight againſt our own Liberties.

By his parting with the *Militia* he takes to himſelf much praiſe of his *aſſurance in God's protection*; and to the Parlament imputes the fear *of not daring to adventure the injuſtice of their actions upon any other way of ſafety.* But wherfore came not this aſſurance of God's protection to him, till the *Militia* was wrung out of his hand? it ſhould ſeem by his holding it ſo faſt, that his own Actions and Intentions had no leſs of injuſtice in them, then what he charges upon others, whom he terms *Chaldeans, Sabeans, and the Devil himſelf.* But *Job* us'd no ſuch *Militia* againſt thoſe Enemies, nor ſuch a Magazin as was at *Hull*, which this King ſo contended for, and made War upon us, that he might have wherwithal to make War againſt us.

He concludes, that *although they take all from him, yet can they not obſtruct his way to Heav'n.* It was no handſome occaſion, by faining obſtructions where they are not, to tell us whither he was going: he ſhould have ſhut the door, and pray'd in ſecret, not here in the High Street. Private Prayers in publick, ask ſomething of whom they ask not, and that ſhall be thir reward.

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# XI. *Upon the Nineteen Propoſitions*, &c.

OF the nineteen Propoſitions he names none in particular, neither ſhall the Anſwer: But he inſiſts upon the old Plea of *his Conſcience, Honour and Reaſon*; uſing the plauſibility of large and indefinite words, to defend himſelf at ſuch a diſtance as may hinder the eye of common Judgment from all diſtinct view and examination of his reaſoning. *He would buy the peace of his People at any rate, ſave only the parting with his Conſcience and Honour.* Yet ſhews not how it can happ'n that the Peace of a People, if otherwiſe to be bought at any rate, ſhould be inconſiſtent or at variance with the Conſcience and Honour of a King. Till then we may receave it for a better ſentence, that nothing ſhould be more agreeable to the Conſcience and Honour of a King, then to preſerve his Subjects in peace, eſpecially from Civil War.

And which of the Propoſitions were *obtruded on him with the point of the Sword*, till he firſt with the point of the Sword thruſt from him both the Propoſitions and the Propounders? He never reck'ns thoſe violent and mercileſs Obtruſions, which for almoſt twenty years he had bin forcing upon tender Conſciences by all ſorts of Perſecution, till through the multitude of them that were to ſuffer, it could be no more call'd a Perſecution, but a plain War. From which when firſt the Scots, then the Engliſh were conſtrain'd to defend themſelves, this thir juſt defence is that which he calls here, *Thir making War upon his Soul.*

He grudges that *ſo many things are requir'd of him, and nothing offer'd him in requital of thoſe favours which he had granted.* What could ſatiate the deſires of this Man, who being King of *England*, and Maſter of almoſt two Millions yearly, was ſtill in want; and thoſe acts of Juſtice which he was to do in duty, counts done as favours, and ſuch favours as were not done without the avaritious hope of other rewards beſides ſupreme Honour, and the conſtant Revenue of his place?

*This Honour*, he ſaith, *they did him to put him on the giving part.* And ſpake truer then he intended, it being meerly for honours ſake that they did ſo; not that it belong'd to him of right: For what can he give to a Parlament, who receaves all he hath from the People, and for the Peoples good? Yet now he brings his own conditional Rights to conteſt, and be preferr'd before the Peoples good; and yet unleſs it be in order to thir good, he hath no rights at all; raigning by the Laws of the Land, not by his own; which Laws are in the hands of Parlament to change or abrogate as they ſhall ſee beſt for the Common-wealth; ev'n to the taking away of Kingſhip it ſelf, when it grows too maſterful and burd'nſome. For every Common-wealth is in general defin'd, a Societie ſufficient of it ſelf in all things conducible to well being and commodious life. Any of which requiſit things, if it cannot have without the gift or favour of a ſingle Perſon, or without leave of his private reaſon or his conſcience, it cannot be thought ſufficient of it ſelf, and by conſequence no Commonwealth, nor free; but a multitude of Vaſſals in the poſſeſſion and domain of one abſolute Lord, and wholly obnoxious to his will. If the King have power to give or deny any thing to his Parlament, he muſt do it either as a Perſon ſeveral from them, or as one greater; neither of which will be allow'd him: not to be conſider'd ſeverally from them; for as the King of *England* can do no wrong, ſo neither can he do right but in his Courts and by his Courts; and what is legally done in them, ſhall be deem'd the King's Aſſent, though he as a ſeveral Perſon ſhall judg or endeavour the contrary; ſo that indeed without his Courts, or againſt them, he is no King. If therfore he obtrude upon us any publick miſchief, or withhold from us any general good, which is wrong in the higheſt degree, he muſt do it as a Tyrant, not as a King of *England*, by the known Maxims of our Law. Neither can he, as one greater, give aught to the Parlament which is not in thir own power, but he muſt be greater alſo then the Kingdom which they repreſent: ſo that to honour him with the giving part was a meer civility, and may be well term'd the Courteſie of *England*, not the King's due.

But the *incommunicable Jewel of his Conſcience* he will not give, *but reſerve to himſelf.* It ſeems that his Conſcience was none of the Crown-Jewels; for thoſe we know were in *Holland*, not incommunicable to buy Arms againſt Subjects. Being therefore but a private Jewel, he could not have done a greater pleaſure to the Kingdom then by reſerving it to himſelf. But he, contrary to what is here profeſs'd, would have his Conſcience not an incommunicable, but a univerſal Conſcience, the whole Kingdom's Conſcience. Thus what he ſeems to fear leſt we ſhould raviſh from him is our chief complaint that he obtruded upon us; we never forc'd him to part with his Conſcience, but it was he that would have forc'd us to part with ours.

Some things he taxes them to have offer'd him, *which while he had the maſtery of his Reaſon, he would never conſent to.* Very likely; but had his reaſon maſter'd him as it ought, and not bin maſter'd long ago by his ſenſe and humour (as the breeding of moſt Kings hath bin ever ſenſual and moſt humour'd) perhaps he would have made no difficulty. Mean while at what a fine paſs is the Kingdom, that muſt depend in greateſt Exigencies upon the fantaſie of a King's Reaſon, be he wiſe or fool, who arrogantly ſhall anſwer all the Wiſdom of the Land, that what they offer ſeems to him unreaſonable?

He prefers his *love of Truth* before his love of the People. His love of Truth would have led him to the ſearch of Truth, and have taught him not to lean ſo much upon his own underſtanding. He met at firſt with Doctrines of unaccountable Prerogative; in them he reſted, becauſe they pleas'd him; they therfore pleas'd him becauſe they gave him all: and this he calls his love of Truth, and prefers it before love of his peoples peace.

Some things they propos'd *which would have wounded the inward peace of his Conſcience.* The more our evil hap, that three Kingdoms ſhould be thus peſter'd with one Conſcience; who chiefly ſcrupl'd to grant us that which the Parlament advis'd him to, as the chief means of our publick welfare and Reformation. Theſe ſcruples to many perhaps ſeem pretended, to others, upon as good grounds, may ſeem real; and that it was the juſt judgment of God, that he who was ſo cruel and ſo remorceleſs to other mens Conſciences, ſhould have a Conſcience within him as cruel to himſelf; conſtraining him, as he conſtrain'd others, and inſnaring him ſuch ways and counſels as were certain to be his deſtruction.

*Other things though he could approve, yet in honour and policy he thought fit to deny, leſt he ſhould ſeem to dare deny nothing.* By this means he will be ſure, what with Reaſon, Conſcience, Honour, Policy, or Puntilios, to be found never unfurniſht of a denial: Whether it were his envy not to be overbounteous, or that the ſubmiſſneſs of our asking ſtirr'd up in him a certain pleaſure of denying. Good Princes have thought it thir chief happineſs to be always granting; if good things, for the things ſake; if things indifferent for the peoples, ſake, while this man ſits calculating varietie of excuſes how he may grant leaſt, as if his whole ſtrength and royaltie were plac'd in a meer negative.

Of one Propoſition eſpecially he laments him much, that they would bind him *to a general and implicit conſent for whatever they deſir'd.* Which though I find not among the nineteen, yet undoubtedly the Oath of his Coronation binds him to no leſs; neither is he at all by his Office to interpoſe againſt a Parlament in the making or not making of any Law; but to take that for juſt and good legally which is there decreed, and to ſee it executed accordingly. Nor was he ſet over us to vie wiſdom with his Parlament, but to be guided by them: *any of whom poſſibly* may as far excel him in the gift of wiſdom, as he them in place and dignitie. But much neerer is it to impoſſibilitie that any King alone ſhould be wiſer then all his Councel; ſure anough it was not he, though no King ever before him ſo much contended to have it thought ſo. And if the Parlament ſo thought not, but deſir'd him to follow their advice and deliberation in things of public concernment, he accounts it the ſame propoſition, as if *Sampſon* had bin mov'd *to the putting out his eyes, that the Philiſtins might abuſe him.* And thus out of an unwiſe or pretended fear leſt others ſhould make a ſcorn of him for yielding to his Parlament, he regards not to give cauſe of worſe ſuſpition that he made a ſcorn of his regal Oath.

But *to exclude him from all power of denial ſeems an arrogance*; in the Parlament he means: what in him then to deny againſt the Parlament? None at all by what he argues: For, *by petitioning, they confeſs their inferioritie, and that obliges them to reſt, if not ſatisfi'd, yet quieted with ſuch an Anſwer as the will and reaſon of their Superior thinks fit to give.* Firſt petitioning, in better Engliſh, is no more then requeſting or requiring; and men require not favours only, but their due, and that not only from Superiors, but from Equals, and Inferiors alſo. The nobleſt Romans, when they ſtood for that which was a kind of regal honour, the Conſulſhip, were wont in a ſubmiſſive manner to go about, and beg that higheſt dignity of the meaneſt *Plebeians*, naming them man by man; which in their tongue was call'd *Petitio conſulatus.* And the Parlament of *England* petition'd the King, not becauſe all of them were inferior to him, but becauſe he was ſuperior to any one of them, which they did of civil cuſtom, and for faſhions ſake more then of duty; for by plain Law cited before the Parlament is his Superior.

But what Law in any trial or diſpute enjoyns a Free-man to reſt quieted, though not ſatisfied with the will and reaſon of his ſuperior? It were a mad Law that would ſubject reaſon to ſuperioritie of place. And if our higheſt conſultations and purpos'd Laws muſt be terminated by the Kings will, then is the will of one man our Law, and no ſuttletie of diſpute can redeem the Parlament and Nation from being Slaves: neither can any Tyrant require more then that his will or reaſon, though not ſatisfying, ſhould yet be reſted in, and determin all things. We may conclude therefore that when the Parlament petition'd the King, it was but meerly form, let it be as *fooliſh and abſurd* as he pleaſes. It cannot certainly be ſo abſurd as what he requires, that the Parlament ſhould confine thir own and all the Kingdoms reaſon to the will of one man, becauſe it was his hap to ſucceed his Father. For neither God nor the Laws have ſubjected us to his will, nor ſet his reaſon to be our Sovran above Law (which muſt needs be, if he can ſtrangle it in the birth) but ſet his perſon over us in the ſovran execution of ſuch Laws as the Parlament eſtabliſh. The Parlament therefore without any uſurpation hath had it alwaies in thir power to limit and confine the exorbitancie of Kings, whether they call it thir will, thir reaſon, or thir conſcience.

But this above all was never expected, nor is to be endur'd, that a King, who is bound by Law and Oath to follow the advice of his Parlament, ſhould be permitted to except againſt them as *young Stateſmen*, and proudly to ſuſpend his following thir advice, *until his ſeven years experience had ſhewn him how well they could govern themſelves.* Doubtleſs the Law never ſuppos'd ſo great an arrogance could be in one man; that he whoſe ſeventeen years unexperience had almoſt ruin'd all, ſhould ſit another ſeven years Schoolmaſter, to tutor thoſe who were ſent by the whole Realm to be his Counſelors and Teachers. And with what modeſty can he pretend to be a Stateſman himſelf, who with his Fathers Kingcraft and his own did never that of his own accord which was not directly oppoſit to his profeſſed Intereſt both at home and abroad; diſcontenting and alienating his Subjects at home, weakning and deſerting his Confederats abroad, and with them the common cauſe of Religion? So that the whole courſe of his raign, by an example of his own furniſhing, hath reſembled *Phaeton* more than *Phebus*, and forc'd the Parlament to drive like *Jehu*; which *Omen* tak'n from his own mouth God hath not diverted.

And he on the other ſide might have remembred that the Parlament ſit in that body, not *as his Subjects*, but as his Superiors, call'd, not by him, but by the Law; not only twice every year, but as oft as great affairs require, *to be his Counſellors and Dictators*, tho he ſtomac it; nor to be diſſolv'd at his pleaſure, but when all greevances be firſt remov'd, all Petitions heard and anſwer'd. This is not only Reaſon, but the known Law of the Land.

*When he heard that Propoſitions would be ſent him*, he ſate conjecturing what they would propound; and becauſe they propounded what he expected not, he takes that to be a warrant for his denying them. But what did he expect? he expected that the Parlament would reinforce *ſome old Laws*. But if thoſe Laws were not a ſufficient remedy to all greevances, nay were found to be greevances themſelves, when did we loſe that other part of our freedom to eſtabliſh new? He thought *ſome injuries don by himſelf and others to the Commonwealth were to be repair'd*. But how could that be, while he the chief offender took upon him to be ſole Judg both of the injury and the reparation? *He ſtaid till the advantage of his Crown conſider'd might induce him to condeſcend to the Peoples good.* Whenas the Crown it ſelf with all thoſe advantages were therfore giv'n him, that the peoples good ſhould be firſt conſider'd; not bargain'd for, and bought by inches with the bribe of more *offertures* and advantages to his Crown. He look'd *for moderate deſires of due Reformation*; as if any ſuch deſires could be immoderate. He look'd for ſuch a Reformation *both in Church and State, as might preſerve* the roots of every greevance and abuſe in both ſtill growing (which he calls *the foundation and eſſentials*) and would have only the excreſcencies of Evil prun'd away for the preſent, as was plotted before, that they might grow faſt anough between Triennial Parlaments to hinder them by work anough beſides from ever ſtriking at the root. He alleges, *They ſhould have had regard to the Laws in force, to the wiſdom and pietie of former Parlaments, to the ancient and univerſal practiſe of Chriſtian Churches.* As if they who come with full autority to redreſs public greevances, which oftimes are Laws themſelves, were to have thir hands bound by Laws in force, or the ſuppoſition of more pietie and wiſdom in thir Anceſtors, or the practice of Churches heretofore, whoſe Fathers, notwithſtanding all theſe pretences, made as vaſt alterations to free themſelves from antient Popery. For all antiquity that adds or varies from the Scripture is no more warranted to our ſafe imitation, then what was don the Age before at *Trent*. Nor was there need to have deſpair'd of what could be eſtabliſh'd in lieu of what was to be annull'd, having before his eyes the Government of ſo many Churches beyond the Seas; whoſe pregnant and ſolid reaſons wrought ſo with the Parlament, as to deſire a uniformity rather with all other Proteſtants, then to be a Schiſm divided from them under a conclave of thirty Biſhops, and a crew of irreligious Prieſts that gap'd for the ſame preferment.

And whereas he blames thoſe Propoſitions for not containing what they ought, what did they mention, but to vindicate and *reſtore the Rights of Parlament invaded* by Cabin Councils, the Courts of *Juſtice obſtructed, and the Government* of Church innovated and corrupted? All theſe things he might eaſily have obſerv'd in them, which he affirms he could not find: but found *thoſe demanding* in Parlament who were *lookt upon before as factious in the State, and ſciſmatical in the Church; and demanding not only Tolerations for themſelves in thir vanity, novelty, and confuſion, but alſo an extirpation of that Government whoſe Rights they had a mind to invade.* Was this man ever likely to be adviſ'd, who with ſuch a prejudice and diſeſteem ſets himſelf againſt his choſ'n and appointed Counſelers; likely ever to admit of Reformation, who cenſures all the Government of other Proteſtant Churches as bad as any Papiſt could have cenſur'd them? And what King had ever his whole Kingdom in ſuch contempt, ſo to wrong and diſhonour the free elections of his people, as to judg them whom the Nation thought worthieſt to ſit with him in Parlament, few els but ſuch as were *puniſhable by* *the Laws:* yet knowing that time was, when to be a Proteſtant, to be a Chriſtian was by Law as puniſhable as to be a Traitor, and that our Saviour himſelf coming to reform his Church, was accus'd of an intent to invade *Ceſars* right, as good a right as the prelat Biſhops ever had; the one being got by force, the other by ſpiritual uſurpation, and both by force upheld.

He admires and falls into an extaſie that the Parlament ſhould ſend him ſuch a *horrid Propoſition*, as the removal of Epiſcopacy. But expect from him in an extaſie no other reaſons of his admiration then the dream and tautology of what he hath ſo oft repeated, Law, Antiquitie, Anceſtors, Proſperity, and the like, which will be therfore not worth a ſecond anſwer, but may paſs with his own compariſon, *into the common ſewer* of other Popiſh arguments.

*Had the two Houſes ſu'd out their Liverie from the wardſhip of Tumults*, he could ſooner have believ'd them. It concern'd them firſt to ſue out thir Liverie from the unjuſt Wardſhip of his encroaching Prerogative. And had he alſo redeem'd his overdated minority from a Pupilage under Biſhops, he would much leſs have miſtruſted his Parlament; and never would have ſet ſo baſe a character upon them, as to count them no better then the Vaſſals of certain nameleſs men, whom he charges to be ſuch as *hunt after Faction with their Hounds the Tumults.* And yet the Biſhops could have told him, that *Nimrod*, the firſt that hunted after faction, is reputed by antient Tradition the firſt that founded Monarchy; whence it appears that to hunt after Faction is more properly the Kings Game, and thoſe Hounds, which he calls the Vulgar, have bin oft'n hollow'd to from Court, of whom the mungrel ſort have bin entic'd; the reſt have not loſt their ſcent, but underſtood aright that the Parlament had *that part to act* which he had fail'd in; that *truſt to diſcharge*, which he had brok'n; that *eſtate and honour to preſerve*, which was far beyond his, the eſtate and honour of the Commonwealth, which he had imbezl'd.

Yet ſo far doth ſelf-opinion or fals principles delude and tranſport him, as to think *the concurrence of his reaſon* to the Votes of Parlament, not only political, but natural, *and as neceſſary to the begetting*, or bringing forth of any one *compleat act of public wiſdom as the Suns influence is neceſſary to all natures productions.* So that the Parlament, it ſeems, is but a Female, and without his procreative Reaſon can produce no Law: Wiſdom, it ſeems, to a King is natural, to a Parlament not natural, but by conjunction with the King: yet he profeſſes to hold his Kingly right by Law; and if no Law could be made but by the great Councel of a Nation, which we now term a Parlament, then certainly it was a Parlament that firſt created Kings; and not only made Laws before a King was in being, but thoſe Laws eſpecially whereby he holds his Crown. He ought then to have ſo thought of a Parlament, if he count it not Male, as of his Mother, which to civil being created both him and the Royaltie he wore. And if it hath bin antiently interpreted the preſaging ſign of a future Tyrant, but to dream of copulation with his Mother, what can it be leſs then actual Tyranny to affirm waking, that the Parlament, which is his Mother, can neither conceive or bring forth *any autoritative Act* without his maſculine coition? Nay that his Reaſon is as celeſtial and life-giving to the Parlament, as the Sun's influence is to the Earth: What other notions but theſe, or ſuch like, could ſwell up *Caligula* to think himſelf a God?

But to be rid of theſe mortifying Propoſitions, he leaves tyrannical evaſion unaſſaid; firſt *that they are not the joint and free deſires of both Houſes, or the major part*; next, *that the chois of many Members was carried on by Faction.* The former of theſe is already diſcover'd to be an old device put firſt in practice by *Charles* the fifth, ſince Reformation: Who when the Proteſtants of *Germany* for thir own defence join'd themſelves in League, in his Declarations and Remonſtrances laid the fault only upon ſome few (for it was dangerous to take notice of too many Enemies) and accuſed them that under colour of Religion they had a purpoſe to invade his and the Churches right; by which policy he deceav'd many of the German Cities, and kept them divided from that League, until they ſaw themſelves brought into a ſnare. That other Cavil againſt the peoples chois puts us in mind rather what the Court was wont to do, and how to tamper with Elections: neither was there at that time any Faction more potent, or more likely to do ſuch a buſineſs then they themſelves who complain moſt.

But *he muſt chew ſuch Morſels, as Propoſitions, e're he let them down.* So let him; but if the Kingdom ſhall taſte nothing but after his chewing, what does he make of the Kingdom but a great Baby? *The ſtraitneſs of his Conſcience will not give him leave to ſwallow down ſuch Camels of ſacrilege and injuſtice as others do.* This is the Phariſee up and down, *I am not as other men are.* But what Camels of injuſtice he could devour, all his three Realms were witneſs, which was the cauſe that they almoſt periſh'd for want of Parlaments. And he that will be unjuſt to man, will be ſacrilegious to God; and to bereave a Chriſtian Conſcience of libertie for no other reaſon then the narrowneſs of his own Conſcience, is the moſt unjuſt meaſure to man, and the worſt ſacrilege to God. That other, which he calls Sacrilege, of taking from the Clergy that ſuperfluous Wealth, which antiquitie as old as *Conſtantine*, from the credit of a divine Viſion, counted *poyſon in the Church*, hath bin ever moſt oppoſ'd by men whoſe righteouſneſs in other matters hath bin leaſt obſerv'd. He concludes, as his manner is, with high commendation of his own *unbiaſ'd rectitude*, and believs nothing to be in them that diſſent from him, but Faction, Innovation, and particular Deſigns. Of theſe Repetitions I find no end, no not in his Prayer; which being founded upon deceitful Principl's, and a fond hope that God will bleſs him in thoſe *his Errors*, which he calls *honeſt*, finds a fit anſwer of St. *James*, *Ye ask and receave not, becauſe ye ask amiſs.* As for the truth and ſinceritie which he praies may be always found in thoſe his Declarations to the people, the contrariety of his own actions will bear eternal witneſs, how little careful or ſolicitous he was, what he promiſ'd or what he utter'd there.

## XII. *Upon the Rebellion in* Ireland.

THE Rebellion and horrid Maſſacre of Engliſh Proteſtants in *Ireland*, to the number of 154000 by their own computation, although *ſo ſudden and ſo violent*, as at firſt to amaze all men that were not acceſſory; yet from whom, and from what counſels it firſt ſprung, neither was, nor could be poſſibly ſo ſecret, as the Contrivers therof, blinded with vain hope, or the deſpair that other Plots would ſucceed, ſuppoſ'd: For it cannot be imaginable that the Iriſh, guided by ſo many ſuttle and *Italian* heads of the Romiſh Party, ſhould ſo far have loſt the uſe of reaſon, and indeed of common ſenſe, as not ſupported with other ſtrength then thir own, to begin a War ſo deſperate and irreconcilable againſt both *England* and *Scotland* at once. All other Nations, from whom they could expect aid, were buſied to the utmoſt of thir own moſt neceſſary Concernments. It remains then that either ſome autoritie, or ſome great aſſiſtance promiſ'd them from *England*, was that wheron they chiefly truſted. And as it is not difficult to diſcern from what inducing Cauſe this Inſurrection firſt aroſe, ſo neither was it *hard at firſt to have apply'd* ſome effectual *Remedy*, though not prevention. But the aſſurance which they had in private, that no remedy ſhould be apply'd, was, it ſeems, one of the chief reaſons that drew on thir undertaking.

Seeing then the main incitement and autority for this Rebellion muſt be needs deriv'd from *England*, it will be next inquir'd who was the prime Author. The King here denounces a Malediction temporal and eternal, not ſimply to the Author, but to the *malitious Author* of this bloodſhed; and by that limitation may exempt, not himſelf only, but perhaps the Iriſh Rebels themſelves, who never will confeſs to God or Man that any blood was ſhed by them malitiouſly; but either in the Catholick Cauſe, or common Liberty, or ſome other ſpecious Plea, which the Conſcience from grounds both good and evil uſually ſuggeſts to it ſelf, thereby thinking to elude the direct force of that imputation which lies upon them.

Yet he acknowledges *it fell out as a moſt unhappy advantage of ſome mens malice againſt him:* but indeed of moſt mens juſt ſuſpicion, by finding in it no ſuch wide departure or diſagreement from the ſcope of his former Counſels and Proceedings. And that he himſelf was the Author of that Rebellion, he denies both here and elſewhere, with many Imprecations, but no ſolid evidence: What on the other ſide againſt his denial hath bin affirm'd in three Kingdoms, being here briefly ſet in view, the Reader may ſo judg as he finds cauſe.

This is moſt certain, that the King was ever friendly to the Iriſh Papiſts, and in his third year, againſt the plain advice of Parlament, like a kind of Pope, ſold them many Indulgencies for mony; and upon all occaſions advancing the Popiſh Party, and negotiating under-hand by Prieſts, who were made his Agents, ingag'd the Iriſh Papiſts in a War againſt the Scotch Proteſtants. To that end he furniſh'd them, and had them train'd in Arms, and kept them up the only Army in his three Kingdoms, till the very burſt of that Rebellion. The Summer before that diſmal *October*, a Committy of moſt active Papiſts, all ſince in the head of that Rebellion, were in great favour at *White-Hall*; and admitted to many private Conſultations with the King and Queen. And to make it evident that no mean matters were the ſubject of thoſe Conferences, at their requeſt he gave away his peculiar right to more then five Iriſh Counties, for the payment of an inconſiderable Rent. They departed not home till within two months before the Rebellion; and were either from the firſt breaking out, or ſoon after, found to be the chief Rebels themſelves. But what ſhould move the King, beſides his own inclination to Popery, and the prevalence of his Queen over him, to hold ſuch frequent and cloſe meetings with a Committy of Iriſh Papiſts in his own Houſe, while the Parlament of *England* ſate unadvis'd with, is declar'd by a Scotch Author, and of it ſelf is clear anough. The Parlament at the beginning of that Summer, having put *Strafford* to death, impriſon'd others his chief Favourites, and driv'n the reſt to fly; the King, who had in vain tempted both the Scotch and the Engliſh Army to come up againſt the Parlament and City, finding no compliance anſwerable to his hope from the Proteſtant Armies, betakes himſelf laſt to the Iriſh, who had in readineſs an Army of eight thouſand Papiſts, and a Committy here of the ſame Religion. And with them who thought the time now come to do eminent ſervice for the Church of *Rome* againſt a Puritan Parlament, he concludes that ſo ſoon as both Armies in *England* ſhould be disbanded, the Iriſh ſhould appear in Arms, maſter all the Proteſtants, and help the King againſt his Parlament. And we need not doubt that thoſe five Counties were giv'n to the Iriſh for other reaſon then the four Northern Counties had bin a little before offer'd to the Scots. The King in *Auguſt* takes a journey into *Scotland*; and overtaking the Scotch Army then on thir way home, attempts the ſecond time to pervert them, but without ſucceſs. No ſooner come into *Scotland*, but he laies a Plot, ſo ſaith the Scotch Author, to remove out of the way ſuch of the Nobility there, as were moſt likely to withſtand, or not to furder his deſigns. This being diſcover'd, he ſends from his ſide one *Dillon* a Papiſt Lord, ſoon after a chief Rebel, with Letters into *Ireland*; and diſpatches a Commiſſion under the Great Seal of *Scotland* at that time in his own cuſtody, commanding that they ſhould forthwith, as had bin formerly agreed, cauſe all the Iriſh to riſe in Arms. Who no ſooner had receiv'd ſuch command, but obey'd; and began in Maſſacre, for they knew no other way to make ſure the Proteſtants, which was commanded them expreſly; and the way, it ſeems, left to thir diſcretion. He who hath a mind to read the Commiſſion it ſelf, and ſound reaſon added why it was not likely to be forg'd, beſides the atteſtation of ſo many Iriſh themſelves, may have recourſe to a Book, Intitl'd, *The Myſterie of Iniquity*.

After the Rebellion brok'n out, which in words only he deteſted, but under-hand favour'd and promoted by all the offices of friendſhip, correſpondence, and what poſſible aid he could afford them, the particulars whereof are too many to be inſerted here, I ſuppoſe no underſtanding man could longer doubt who was *Author or Inſtigator* of that Rebellion. If there be who yet doubt, I refer them eſpecially to that Declaration of *July* 1643. concerning this matter. Againſt which Teſtimonies, Likelyhoods, Evidences, and apparent Actions of his own, being ſo abundant, the bare denyal of one man, though with imprecation, cannot in any reaſon countervail.

As for the Commiſſion granted them, he thinks to evade that by retorting, that *ſome in* England *fight againſt him*, and yet *pretend his autority*. But though a Parlament by the known Laws may affirm juſtly to have the King's Autority inſeparable from that Court, though divided from his Perſon, it is not credible that the Iriſh Rebels who ſo much tender'd his Perſon above his Autoritie, and were by him ſo well receav'd at *Oxford*, would be ſo far from all humanitie, as to ſlander him with a particular Commiſſion, ſign'd and ſent them by his own hand.

And of his good affection to the Rebels, this Chapter it ſelf is not without witneſs. He holds them leſs in fault then the *Scots*, as from whom they might *alledg* to have fetcht *thir imitation*; making no difference between men that roſe neceſſarily to defend themſelves, which no Proteſtant Doctrin ever diſallow'd, againſt them who threat'nd War, and thoſe who began a voluntary and cauſleſs Rebellion with the Maſſacre of ſo many thouſands who never meant them harm.

He falls next to flaſhes, and a multitude of words, in all which is contain'd no more, then what might be the Plea of any guiltieſt Offender: He was not the Author, becauſe *he hath the greateſt ſhare of loſs and diſhonour by what is committed.* Who is there that offends God, or his Neighbour, on whom the greateſt ſhare of loſs and diſhonour lights not in the end? But in the act of doing evil, men uſe not to conſider the event of thir evil doing; or if they do, have then no power to curb the ſway of thir own wickedneſs: ſo that the greateſt ſhare of loſs and diſhonour to happ'n upon themſelves, is no argument that they were not guilty. This other is as weak, that *a King's Intereſt* above that of any other man, *lies chiefly in the common Welfare of his Subjects*; therfore no King will do aught againſt the common welfare. For by this evaſion any Tyrant might as well purge himſelf from the guilt of raiſing Troubles or Commotions among the people, becauſe undoubtedly his chief Intereſt lies in thir ſitting ſtill.

I ſaid but now that ev'n this Chapter, if nothing els, might ſuffice to diſcover his good affection to the Rebels; which in this that follows too notoriouſly appears; imputing this Inſurrection to *the prepoſterous Rigor, and unreaſonable Severitie, the covetous zeal and uncharitable Fury of ſome men* (theſe *ſome men* by his continual paraphraſe are meant the Parlament;) and laſtly, *to the fear of utter extirpation.* If the whole Iriſhry of Rebels had fee'd ſome Advocate to ſpeak partially and ſophiſtically in thir defence, he could have hardly dazl'd better: Yet nevertheleſs would have prov'd himſelf no other then a plauſible Deceiver. And perhaps thoſe fained Terrors and Jealouſies were either by the King himſelf, or the Popiſh Prieſts which were ſent by him, put into the head of that inquiſitive People, on ſet purpoſe to engage them. For who had power *to oppreſs* them, or to relieve them being oppreſt, but the King or his immediat Deputy? This rather ſhould have made them riſe againſt the King then againſt the Parlament. Who threat'nd or ever thought of thir extirpation, till they themſelves had begun it to the Engliſh? As for *prepoſterous Rigour, covetous Zeal, and uncharitable Fury*; they had more reaſon to ſuſpect thoſe Evils firſt from his own commands, whom they ſaw uſing daily no *greater argument* to prove *the truth* of his Religion then by *enduring no other but his own* Prelatical; and to force it upon others, made Epiſcopal, Ceremonial, and Common-Prayer-Book Wars. But the Papiſts underſtood him better then by the outſide; and knew that thoſe Wars were thir Wars. Although if the Common-wealth ſhould be afraid to ſuppreſs op'n Idolatry, leſt the Papiſts thereupon ſhould grow deſperate, this were to let them grow and become our Perſecuters, while we neglected what we might have done Evangelically, to be thir Reformers: Or to do, as his Father *James* did, who inſtead of taking heart and putting confidence in God by ſuch a deliverance as from the Powder Plot, though it went not off, yet with the meer conceit of it, as ſome obſerve, was hit into ſuch a *hectic* trembling between Proteſtant and Papiſt all his life after, as that he never durſt from that time do otherwiſe then equivocate or collogue with the Pope and his adherents.

He would be thought to commiſerate the ſad effects of that Rebellion, and to lament that *the tears and blood ſpilt there did not quench the ſparks of our civil* diſcord here. But who began theſe diſſentions? and what can be more op'nly known then thoſe retardings and delaies which by himſelf were continually deviſ'd, to hinder and put back the relief of thoſe diſtreſſed Proteſtants, whom he ſeems here to compaſſionate? The particulars are too well known to be recited, and too many.

But *he offer'd to go himſelf in perſon upon that expedition*; and reck'ns up many ſurmiſes why he thinks they would not ſuffer him. But mentions not that by his underdealing to debauch Armies here at home; and by his ſecret Intercours with the chief Rebels, long e're that time every where known, he had brought the Parlament into ſo juſt a diffidence of him, as that they durſt not leave the publick Arms to his diſpoſal, much leſs an Army to his conduct.

He concludes, *That next the ſin of thoſe who began that Rebellion, thirs muſt needs be who hinder'd the ſuppreſſing, or diverted the aids.* But judgment raſhly giv'n ofttimes involves the Judg himſelf. He finds fault with thoſe *who threat'nd all extremity to the Rebels*, and pleads much that mercy ſhould be ſhown them. It ſeems he found himſelf not ſo much concern'd as thoſe who had loſt Fathers, Brothers, Wives and Children by thir crueltie; whom in juſtice to retaliate, is not as he ſuppoſes *unevangelical*, ſo long as Magiſtracy and War is not laid down under the Goſpel. If this his Sermon of affected mercy were not too Phariſaical, how could he permit himſelf to cauſe the ſlaughter of ſo many thouſands here in *England* for mere Prerogatives, the Toys and Gewgaws of his Crown, for Copes and Surplices, the Trinkets of his Prieſts, and not perceave his own zeal, while he taxes others to be moſt prepoſterous and unevangelical? Neither is there the ſame cauſe to deſtroy a whole City for the raviſhing of a Siſter, not done out of Villany, and recompence offer'd by Marriage; nor the ſame caſe for thoſe Diſciples to ſummon fire from Heav'n upon the whole City where they were deny'd lodging; and for a Nation by juſt War and execution to ſlay whole Families of them who ſo barbarouſly had ſlain whole Families before. Did not all *Iſrael* do as much againſt the *Benjamits* for one Rape committed by a few, and defended by the whole Tribe? and did they not the ſame to *Jabeſh-Gilead* for not aſſiſting them in that revenge? I ſpeak not this, that ſuch meaſure ſhould be meted rigorouſly to all the Iriſh, or as remembring that the Parlament ever ſo decreed, but to ſhew that this his Homily hath more of craft and affectation in it, then of ſound Doctrine.

But it was happy that his going into *Ireland* was not conſented to; for either he had certainly turn'd his intended Forces againſt the Parlament it ſelf, or not gon at all; or had he gon, what work he would have made there, his own following words declare.

*He would have puniſht ſome*, no queſtion; for ſome perhaps who were of leaſt uſe, muſt of neceſſity have bin ſacrific'd to his reputation, *and the convenience of his affairs.* Others he *would have diſarm'd*, that is to ſay in his own time; but *all of them he would have protected from the fury of thoſe that would have drown'd them, if they had refus'd to ſwim down the popular ſtream.* Theſe expreſſions are too oft'n met, and too well underſtood for any man to doubt his meaning. By the *fury of thoſe*, he means no other then the Juſtice of Parlament, to whom yet he had committed the whole buſineſs. Thoſe who would have refus'd to ſwim down the popular ſtream, our conſtant key tells us to be Papiſts, Prelates, and thir Faction: theſe by his own confeſſion here, he would have protected againſt his Puritan Parlament: And by this who ſees not that he and the Iriſh Rebels had but one aim, one and the ſame drift, and would have forthwith join'd in one body againſt us?

He goes on ſtill in his tenderneſs of the Iriſh Rebels, fearing leſt *our zeal ſhould be more greedy to kill the Bear for his skin then for any harm he hath done.* This either juſtifies the Rebels to have done no harm at all, or infers his opinion that the Parlament is more bloody and rapacious in the proſecution of thir Juſtice, then thoſe Rebels were in the execution of thir barbarous Crueltie. Let men doubt now and diſpute to whom the King was a Friend moſt, to his Engliſh Parlament, or to his Iriſh Rebels.

With whom, that we may yet ſee furder how much he was thir Friend, after that the Parlament had brought them every where either to Famin, or a low condition, he to give them all the reſpit and advantages they could deſire, without advice of Parlament, to whom he himſelf had committed the managing of that War, makes a Ceſſation; in pretence to relieve the Proteſtants, *overborn there with numbers*, but as the event prov'd, to ſupport the Papiſts, by diverting and drawing over the Engliſh Army there, to his own ſervice here againſt the Parlament. For that the Proteſtants were then on the winning hand, it muſt needs be plain; who notwithſtanding the miſs of thoſe Forces, which at thir landing here maſter'd without difficulty great part of *Wales* and *Cheſhire*, yet made

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a ſhift to keep their own in *Ireland.* But the plot of this Iriſh Truce is in good part diſcover'd in that Declaration of *September 30th*, 1643. And if the Proteſtants were but *handfuls* there, as he calls them, why did he ſtop and waylay both by Land and Sea, to his utmoſt power, thoſe Proviſions and Supplies which were ſent by the Parlament? How were ſo many *handfuls* call'd over, as for a while ſtood him in no ſmall ſtead, and againſt our main Forces here in *England?*

Since therefore all the reaſons that can be giv'n of this Ceſſation appear ſo fals and frivolous, it may be juſtly fear'd that the deſign it ſelf was moſt wicked and pernicious. What remains then? He *appeals to God*, and is caſt; lik'ning his puniſhments to *Job's* trials, before he ſaw them to have *Job's* ending. He cannot ſtand *to make prolix Apologies.* Then ſurely thoſe long Pamphlets ſet out for Declarations and Remonſtrances in his name, were none of his; and how they ſhould be his indeed, being ſo repugnant to the whole courſe of his Actions, augments the difficulty.

But he uſurps a common ſaying, *That it is Kingly to do well and hear ill.* That may be ſometimes true: but far more frequently to do ill and hear well; ſo great is the multitude of Flatterers, and them that deifie the name of King.

Yet not content with theſe neighbours, we have him ſtill a perpetual Preacher of his own vertues, and of that eſpecially, which who knows not to be *Patience* perforce?

He *believes it will at laſt appear that they who firſt began to embroil his other Kingdoms, are alſo guilty of the blood of* Ireland. And we beleeve ſo too; for now the Ceſſation is become a Peace by publiſh'd Articles, and Commiſſion to bring them over againſt *England*, firſt only ten thouſand by the Earl of *Glamorgan*, next all of them, if poſſible, under *Ormond*, which was the laſt of all his Tranſactions done as a publick Perſon. And no wonder; for he lookt upon the blood ſpilt, whether of Subjects or of Rebels, with an indifferent eye, *as exhauſted out of his own veins*; without diſtinguiſhing, as he ought, which was good blood and which corrupt; the not letting out wherof endangers the whole body.

And what the Doctrin is, ye may perceave alſo by the Prayer, which after a ſhort ejaculation for the *poor Proteſtants*, prays at large for the Iriſh Rebels, that God would not give them over, or *thir Children, to the covetouſneſs, cruelty, fierce and curſed anger* of the Parlament.

He finiſhes with a deliberat and ſolemn Curſe *upon himſelf and his Father's Houſe.* Which how far God hath alreadie brought to paſs, is to the end that men by ſo eminent an example ſhould learn to tremble at his judgments, and not play with Imprecations.

## XIII. *Upon the calling in of the* Scots, *and their coming.*

IT muſt needs ſeem ſtrange to Men who accuſtom themſelves to ponder and contemplate things in thir firſt original and inſtitution, that Kings, who as all other Officers of the Publick, were at firſt choſ'n and inſtall'd only by conſent and ſuffrage of the People, to govern them as Freemen by Laws of thir own framing, and to be, in conſideration of that dignity and riches beſtow'd upon them, the entruſted Servants of the Common-wealth, ſhould notwithſtanding grow up to that diſhoneſt encroachment, as to eſteem themſelves Maſters both of that great Truſt which they ſerve, and of the People that betruſted them: counting what they ought to do, both in diſcharge of thir publick duty, and for the great reward of Honour and Revenue which they receave, as done all of meer grace and favour; as if thir power over us were by nature, and from themſelves, or that God had ſold us into thir hands. This ignorance or wilful miſtake of the whole matter, had tak'n ſo deep root in the imagination of this King, that whether to the Engliſh or to the Scot, mentioning what acts of his Regal Office, though God knows how unwillingly he had paſs'd, he calls them, as in other places, Acts of grace and bounty; ſo heer *ſpecial obligations, favours, to gratifie active ſpirits, and the deſires of that party.* Words not only ſounding Pride and Lordly Uſurpation, but Injuſtice, Partiality and Corruption. For to the Iriſh he ſo far condeſcended, as firſt to tolerat in privat, then to cov'nant op'nly the tolerating of Popery: So far to the Scots, as to remove Biſhops, eſtabliſh Presbytery, and the *Militia* in their own hands; *preferring, as ſome thought, the deſires of* Scotland *before his own Intereſt and Honour.* But being once on this ſide *Tweed,* his reaſon, his conſcience, and his honour became ſo ſtraitn'd with a kind of falſe Virginity, that to the Engliſh neither one nor other of the ſame demands could be granted, wherewith the Scots were gratifi'd; as if our air and climat on a ſudden had chang'd the property and the nature both of Conſcience, Honour, and Reaſon, or that he found none ſo fit as Engliſh to be the ſubjects of his arbitrary power. *Ireland* was as *Ephraim,* the ſtrength of his head, *Scotland* as *Judah,* was his Lawgiver; but over *England,* as over *Edom,* he meant to caſt his Shoo, and yet ſo many ſober Engliſh men not ſufficiently awake to conſider this, like men inchanted with the *Circœan* cup of ſervitude, will not be held back from running thir own heads into the Yoke of Bondage.

The ſum of his diſcours is againſt *ſetling of Religion by violent means*; which whether it were the Scots deſign upon *England,* they are beſt able to clear themſelves. But this of all may ſeem ſtrangeſt, that the King, who, while it was permitted him, never did thing more eagerly then to moleſt and perſecute the conſciences of moſt religious men; he who had made a War, and loſt all rather then not uphold a Hierarchie of perſecuting Biſhops, ſhould have the confidence heer to profeſs himſelf ſo much an Enemy of thoſe that force the conſcience. For was it not he, who upon the Engliſh obtruded new Ceremonies, upon the Scots a new Liturgie, and with his Sword went about to engrave a bloody *Rubric* on thir backs? Did he not forbid and hinder all effectual ſearch of Truth; nay, like a beſieging Enemy, ſtop all her paſſages both by word and writing? Yet heer can talk of *fair and equal diſputations:* Where notwithſtanding, if all ſubmit not to his judgment, as not being *rationally convicted,* they muſt ſubmit (and he conceals it not) to his *penaltie,* as counted *obſtinate.* But what if he himſelf and thoſe his *learned Churchmen* were the convicted or the obſtinat part long ago, ſhould Reformation ſuffer them to ſit lording over the Church in thir fat Biſhopricks and Pluralities, like the great Whore that ſitteth upon many Waters, till they would voutſafe to be diſputed out? Or ſhould we ſit diſputing, while they ſate plotting and perſecuting? Thoſe Clergimen were not *to be driv'n into the fold like Sheep,* as his Simily runs, but to be driv'n out of the Fold like Wolves or Theeves, where they ſate *fleecing* thoſe Flocks which they never fed.

He beleeves *that Presbytery, though prov'd to be the only Inſtitution of Jeſus Chriſt, were not by the Sword to be ſet up without his conſent*; which is contrary both to the Doctrin, and the known practice of all Proteſtant Churches, if his Sword threat'n thoſe who of thir own accord imbrace it.

And although *Chriſt* and his Apoſtles being to civil affairs but privat men, contended not with Magiſtrats, yet when Magiſtrats themſelves, and eſpecially Parlaments, who have greateſt right to diſpoſe of the civil Sword, com to know Religion, they ought in conſcience to defend all thoſe who receave it willingly againſt the violence of any King or Tyrant whatſoever. Neither is it therfore true, *That Chriſtianity is planted or watred with Chriſtian Blood*; for there is a large difference between forcing men by the Sword to turn *Presbyterians,* and defending thoſe who willingly are ſo from a furious inroad of bloody Biſhops arm'd with the *Militia* of a King thir Pupil. And if *covetouſneſs and ambition be an argument that Presbytery hath not much of Chriſt,* it argues more ſtrongly againſt Epiſcopacy; which from the time of her firſt mounting to an order above the Presbyters, had no other Parents then Covetouſneſs and Ambition. And thoſe *Sects, Schiſms, and Hereſies,* which he ſpeaks of, *if they get but ſtrength and numbers,* need no other *pattern* then Epiſcopacy and himſelf, to *ſet up their ways by the like method of violence.* Nor is there any thing that hath more marks of Schiſm and Sectariſm then Engliſh Epiſcopacy; whether we look at Apoſtolick times, or at reformed Churches; for the *univerſal way of Church-government before,* may as ſoon lead us into groſs error, as thir univerſally corrupted Doctrin. And

Government, by reaſon of ambition, was liklieſt to be corrupted much the ſooner of the two. However nothing can be to us catholic or univerſal in Religion, but what the Scripture teaches; whatſoever without Scripture pleads to be univerſal in the Church, in being univerſal is but the more Sciſmatical. Much leſs can *particular Laws and Conſtitutions* impart to the Church of *England* any power of conſiſtory or tribunal above other Churches, to be the ſole Judg of what is Sect or Sciſm, as with much rigour, and without Scripture they took upon them. Yet theſe the King reſolves heer to defend and maintain to his laſt, pretending, after all thoſe conferences offer'd, or had with him, *not to ſee more rational and religious motives then Souldiers carry in thir Knapſacks*; with one thus reſolv'd it was but folly to ſtand diſputing.

He imagins *his own judicious zeal to be moſt concern'd in his tuition of the Church.* So thought *Saul* when he preſum'd to offer Sacrifice, for which he loſt his Kingdom; ſo thought *Uzziah* when he went into the Temple, but was thruſt out with a Leproſie for his opion'd zeal, which he thought *judicious.* It is not the part of a King, becauſe he ought to defend the Church, therfore to ſet himſelf ſupreme head over the Church, or to meddle with Ecclesial Government, or to defend the Church otherwiſe then the Church would be defended; for ſuch defence is bondage: nor to defend abuſes, and ſtop all Reformation under the name of *New moulds fanci'd and faſhion'd to privat deſigns.* The holy things of Church are in the power of other keys then were deliver'd to his keeping. Chriſtian libertie, purchas'd with the death of our Redeemer, and eſtabliſh'd by the ſending of his free Spirit to inhabit in us, is not now to depend upon the doubtful conſent of any earthly Monarch; nor to be again fetter'd with a preſumptuous negative voice, tyrannical to the Parlament, but much more tyrannical to the Church of God; which was compell'd to implore the aid of Parlament, to remove his force and heavy hands from off our conſciences, who therfore complains now of that moſt juſt defenſive force, becauſe only it remov'd his violence and perſecution. If this be a violation to his conſcience, that it was hindred by the Parlament from violating the more tender conſciences of ſo many thouſand good Chriſtians, let the uſurping conſcience of all Tyrants be ever ſo violated.

He wonders, Fox wonder, how we could ſo much *diſtruſt God's aſſiſtance*, as to call in the Proteſtant aid of our Brethren in *Scotland*: why then did he, if his truſt were in God and the juſtice of his Cauſe, not ſcruple to ſollicit and invite earneſtly the aſſiſtance both of Papiſts and of Iriſh Rebels? If the Scots were by us at length ſent home, they were not call'd in to ſtay heer always; neither was it for the peoples eaſe to feed ſo many Legions longer then thir help was needful.

*The Government of thir Kirk we deſpis'd not*, but thir impoſing of that Government upon us; not Presbytery but Arch-Presbytery, *Claſſical, Provincial, and Dioceſan* Presbytery, claiming to it ſelf a Lordly Power and Superintendency both over Flocks and Paſtors, over Perſons and Congregations no way thir own. But theſe debates in his judgment would have bin ended better *by the beſt Divines in Chriſt'ndom in a full and free Synod.* A moſt improbable way, and ſuch as never yet was us'd, at leaſt with good ſucceſs, by any Proteſtant Kingdom or State ſince the Reformation: Every true Church having wherewithal from Heaven, and the aſſiſting Spirit of Chriſt implor'd to be complete and perfect within it ſelf. And the whole Nation is not eaſily to be thought ſo raw, and ſo perpetually a novice after all this light, as to need the help and direction of other Nations, more then what they write in public of thir opinion, in a matter ſo familiar as Church-Government.

In fine, he accuſes *Pietie* with the want of *Loyalty*, and *Religion* with the breach of *Allegeance*, as if God and he were one Maſter, whoſe commands were ſo oft'n contrary to the commands of God. He would perſwade the Scots that thir *chief Intereſt conſiſts in thir fidelity to the Crown.* But true policy will teach them to find a ſafer intereſt in the common friendſhip of *England*, then in the ruins of one ejected Family.

XIV.

# XIV. *Upon the Cov'nant.*

UPON this theme his diſcourſe is long, his matter little but repetition, and therfore ſoon anſwerd. Firſt after an abuſive and ſtrange apprehenſion of Cov'nants, as if Men *pawn'd thir ſouls* to them with whom they cov'nant, he digreſſes to plead for Biſhops; firſt from the antiquitie of thir *poſſeſſion heer, ſince the firſt plantation of Chriſtianity in this Iland*, next from *a univerſal preſcription ſince the Apoſtles till this laſt Centurie.* But what avails the moſt Primitive Antiquity againſt the plain ſenſe of Scripture? which if the laſt Centurie have beſt follow'd, it ought in our eſteem to be the firſt. And yet it hath bin oft'n prov'd by Learned Men from the Writings and Epiſtles of moſt antient Chriſtians, that Epiſcopacy crept not up into an order above the Presbyters, till many years after that the Apoſtles were deceas'd.

He next *is unſatisfi'd with the Cov'nant*, not only for *ſome paſſages in it referring to himſelf*, as he ſuppoſes, *with very dubious and dangerous limitations*, but for binding men *by Oath and Cov'nant* to the Reformation of Church-Diſcipline. Firſt thoſe limitations were not more dangerous to him then he to our Libertie and Religion; next, that which was there vow'd to caſt out of the Church an Antichriſtian Hierarchy which God had not planted, but ambition and corruption had brought in, and fosterd to the Churches great damage and oppreſſion, was no point of *controverſie* to be argu'd without end, but a thing of *cleer moral neceſſity* to be forthwith don. Neither was the *Cov'nant ſuperfluous*, though *former engagements both religious and legal bound us before:* But was the practice of all Churches heertofore intending Reformation. All *Iſrael*, though bound anough before by the Law of *Moſes to all neceſſary duties*; yet with *Aſa* thir King enter'd into a new Cov'nant at the beginning of a Reformation: And the *Jews* after Captivity, without conſent demanded of that King who was thir Maſter, took ſolemn Oath to walk in the Commandments of God. All Proteſtant Churches have don the like, notwithſtanding former engagements to thir ſeveral Duties. And although his aim were to ſow variance between *the Proteſtation and the Cov'nant*, to reconcile them is not difficult. The Proteſtation was but one ſtep, extending only to the Doctrin of the Church of *England*, as it was diſtinct from Church-Diſcipline; the Cov'nant went furder, as it pleas'd God to diſpenſe his light by degrees, and comprehended Church-Government: Former with latter ſteps in the progreſs of well-doing need not reconcilement. Nevertheleſs he breaks through to his concluſion, *That all honeſt and wiſe men ever thought themſelves ſufficiently bound by former ties of Religion*; leaving *Aſa*, *Ezra*, and the whole Church of God in ſundry Ages to ſhift for *honeſtie* and wiſdom from ſom other then his teſtimonie. And although *after-contracts abſolve not* till the former be made void, yet he firſt having don that, our duty returns back, which to him was neither *moral nor eternal*, but conditional.

Willing to perſwade himſelf that many *good men* took the Cov'nant, either unwarily or out of fear, he ſeems to have beſtow'd ſom thoughts how theſe *good men* following his advice may keep the Cov'nant and not keep it. The firſt evaſion is, preſuming *that the chief end of cov'nanting in ſuch mens intentions was to preſerve Religion in purity, and the Kingdoms peace.* But the Cov'nant will more truly inform them that purity of Religion and the Kingdoms peace was not then in ſtate to be preſerv'd, but to be reſtor'd; and therfore binds them not to a preſervation of what was, but to a Reformation of what was evil, what was traditional and *dangerous*, whether *novelty* or *antiquity*, in Church or State. To do this claſhes with *no former Oath* lawfully ſworn either to God or the King, and rightly underſtood.

In general he brands all *ſuch confederations by League and Cov'nant, as the common rode us'd in all factions Perturbations of State and Church.* This kind of language reflects with the ſame ignominy upon all the Proteſtant Reformations that have bin ſince *Luther*; and ſo indeed doth his whole Book, repleniſh'd throughout with hardly other words or arguments, then Papiſts, and eſpecially Popiſh Kings, have us'd heertofore againſt thir Proteſtant Subjects; whom he would perſwade to be *every man his own Pope, and to abſolve himſelf of thoſe ties*, by the ſuggeſtion of fals or equivocal interpretations too oft repeated to be now anſwer'd.

The Parlament, he ſaith, *made thir Cov'nant like Manna, agreeable to every mans Palat.* This is another of his gloſſes upon the Cov'nant; he is content to let it be *Manna*, but his drift is that men ſhould loath it, or at leaſt expound it by thir own *reliſh*, and *latitude of ſenſe*; wherein leſt any one of the ſimpler ſort ſhould fail to be his crafts-maſter, he furniſhes him with two or three laxative, he terms them *general clauſes, which may ſerve ſomwhat to releeve them* againſt the Covnant tak'n: intimating, as if *what were lawful and according to the word of God*, were no otherwiſe ſo, then as every man fanci'd to himſelf. From ſuch learned explications and reſolutions as theſe upon the Cov'nant, what marvel if no Royaliſt or Malignant refuſe to take it, as having learnt from theſe Princely inſtructions his many *Salvo's, cautions, and reſervations*, how to be a Covnanter and Anticovnanter, how at once to be a Scot, and an Iriſh Rebel.

He returns again to diſallow of *that Reformation which the Cov'nant* vows, *as being the partial advice of a few Divines.* But matters of this moment, as they were not to be decided there by thoſe Divines, ſo neither are they to be determin'd heer by Eſſays and curtal Aphoriſms, but by ſolid proofs of Scripture.

The reſt of his diſcourſe he ſpends, highly accuſing the Parlament, *that the main Reformation by* them *intended, was to rob the Church*, and much applauding himſelf both for *his forwardneſs* to all due Reformation, and his averſneſs from all ſuch kind of *Sacrilege*. All which, with his glorious title of the *Churches Defender*, we leave him to make good by *Pharaoh's Divinity*, if he pleaſe, for to *Joſeph's Pietie* it will be a task unſutable. As for *the parity and poverty of Miniſters*, which he takes to be of ſo ſad *conſequence*, the Scripture reck'ns them for two ſpecial Legacies left by our Saviour to his Diſciples; under which two Primitive Nurſes, for ſuch they were indeed, the Church of God more truly flouriſht then ever after, ſince the time that Imparitie and Church-revenue ruſhing in, corrupted and beleper'd all the Clergie with a worſe infection then *Gehazi's*; ſome one of whoſe Tribe, rather then a King, I ſhould take to be compiler of that unſalted and Simonical Praier annex'd: Although the Praier it ſelf ſtrongly prays againſt them. For never ſuch holy things as he means were *giv'n* to more *Swine, nor the Churches bread* more to *Dogs*, then when it fed ambitious, irreligious and dumb Prelats.

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# XV. *Upon the many Jealouſies, &c.*

TO wipe off jealouſies and ſcandals, the beſt way had bin by clear Actions, or till Actions could be clear'd, by evident reaſons; but meer words we are too well acquainted with. Had *his honour and reputation bin dearer to him* then the luſt of raigning, how could the Parlament of either Nation have laid ſo oft'n at his dore the breach of Words, Promiſes, Acts, Oaths, and Execrations, as they do avowedly in many of thir Petitions and Addreſſes to him? thither I remit the Reader. And who can believe that whole Parlaments, elected by the People from all parts of the Land, ſhould meet in one mind and reſolution not to adviſe him, but to conſpire againſt him in a wors powder plot then *Cateſbies, to blow up*, as he terms it, *the peoples affection towards him, and batter down their Loyalty by the Engins of foul aſperſions:* Waterworks rather then Engins to batter with, yet thoſe aſperſions were rais'd from the foulneſs of his own actions. Whereof to purge himſelf, he uſes no other argument then a general and ſo oft'n iterated commendation of himſelf; and thinks that Court holy-water hath the virtue of expiation, at leaſt with the ſilly people. To whom he familiarly imputes ſin where none is, to ſeem liberal of his *forgiveneſs* where none is ask'd or needed.

What ways he hath tak'n toward the proſperitie of his people, which he would ſeem *ſo earneſtly to deſire*, if we do but once call to mind, it will be anough to teach us, looking on the ſmooth inſinuations heer, that Tyrants are not more flatterd by thir Slaves, then forc'd to flatter others whom they fear.

For the peoples *tranquillitie he would willingly be the Jona*; but leſt he ſhould be tak'n at his word, pretends to foreſee within ken two imaginarie *winds* never heard of in the Compaſs, which threaten, if he be caſt overboard, *to increaſe the Storm*; but that Controverſy divine lot hath ended.

*He had rather not rule, then that his people ſhould be ruin'd*; and yet above theſe twenty years hath bin ruining the people about the niceties of his ruling. He is accurat *to put a difference between the plague of malice*, and *the ague of miſtakes, the itch of noveltie, and the leproſie of diſloyaltie.* But had he as well known how to diſtinguiſh between the venerable gray hairs of antient Religion, and the old ſcurff of Superſtition, between the wholſom heat of well governing, and the feverous rage of tyrannizing, his judgment in State-phyſic had bin of more autoritie.

Much he propheſies, *that the credit of thoſe men who have caſt black ſcandals on him ſhall ere long be quite blaſted by the ſame furnace of popular obloquy, wherein they ſought to caſt his name and honour.* I believe not that a Romiſh gilded Portrature gives better Oracle then a Babyloniſh gold'n Image could do, to tell us truly who heated that Furnace of obloquy, or who deſerves to be thrown in, *Nebuchadnezzar* or the three Kingdoms. It *gave him great cauſe to ſuſpect his own Innocence*, that he was oppos'd by *ſo many who profeſt ſingular pietie.* But this qualm was ſoon over, and he concluded rather to ſuſpect their Religion then his own innocence, affirming that *many with him were both learned and religious above the ordinary ſize.* But if his great Seal without the Parlament were not ſufficient to create Lords, his Parole muſt needs be far more unable to create learned and religious men; and who ſhall authorize his unlearned judgment to point them out?

He gueſſes that *many well-minded men were by popular Preachers urg'd to oppoſe him.* But the oppoſition undoubtedly proceeded and continues from heads far wiſer, and ſpirits of a nobler ſtrain; thoſe Prieſt-led *Herodians* with thir blind guides are in the Ditch already; travelling, as they thought, to *Sion*, but moor'd in the Ile of *Wight*.

He thanks God *for his conſtancy to the Proteſtant Religion both abroad and at home.* Abroad, his Letter to the Pope; at home, his Innovations in the Church will ſpeak his conſtancy in Religion what it was, without furder credit to this vain boaſt.

His *uſing the aſſiſtance of ſome Papiſts*, as the cauſe might be, could not hurt his Religion; but in the ſetling of Proteſtantiſm thir aid was both unſeemly and ſuſpicious, and inferr'd that the greateſt part of Proteſtants were againſt him and his obtruded ſettlement.

But this is ſtrange indeed, that he ſhould appear now teaching the Parlament what no man, till this was read, thought ever he had learnt, *that difference of perſwaſion in religious matters may fall out where there is the ſameneſs of Allegeance and Subjection.* If he thought ſo from the beginning, wherfore was there ſuch compulſion us'd to the Puritans of *England*, and the whole Realm of *Scotland* about conforming to a Liturgie? Wherfore no Biſhop no King? Wherfore Epiſcopacie more agreeable to Monarchie, if different perſwaſions in Religion may agree in one Duty and Allegeance? Thus do Court-Maxims like Court-Minions riſe or fall as the King pleaſes.

Not to tax him for want of Elegance as a Courtier in writing *Oglio* for *Olla* the Spaniſh word, it might be well affirm'd that there was a greater *Medley* and diſproportioning of Religions to mix Papiſts with Proteſtants in a religious cauſe, then to entertain all thoſe diverſifi'd Sects, who yet were all Proteſtants, one Religion, though many Opinions.

Neither was it *any ſhame to Proteſtants*, that he a *declar'd* Papiſt, if his own Letter to the Pope, not yet renounc'd, bely him not, found ſo few Proteſtants of his Religion, as enforc'd him to call in both the counſel and the aid of Papiſts to help eſtabliſh Proteſtancy, who were led on, not *by the ſenſe of thir allegeance*, but by the hope of his Apoſtacy to *Rome*, from diſputing to warring, his owe voluntary and firſt appeal.

His hearkning to evil Counſelors, charg'd upon him ſo oft'n by the Parlament, he puts off as *a device of thoſe men who were ſo eager to give him better counſel.* That *thoſe men* were the Parlament, and that he thought to have us'd the counſel of none but thoſe, as a King, is already known. What their civility laid upon evil Counſellors, he himſelf moſt commonly own'd; but the event of thoſe evil Counſels, *the Enormities, the Confuſions, the Miſeries,* he transfers from the guilt of his own civil broils to the juſt reſiſtance made by Parlament; and imputes what miſcarriages of his they could not yet remove for his oppoſing, as if they were ſome new miſdemeanors of their bringing in, and not the inveterate diſeaſes of his own bad Government; which with a diſeaſe as bad, he falls again to magnifie and commend: and may all thoſe who would be govern'd by his *Retractions and Conceſſions,* rather then by Laws of Parlament, admire his ſelf-*Encomiums*, and be flatter'd with that *Crown of patience* to which he cunningly exhorted them, that his Monarchial foot might have the ſetting it upon thir heads.

That truſt which the Parlament faithfully diſcharg'd in the aſſerting of our Liberties, he calls *another artifice to withdraw the people from him to thir deſigns.* What piece of Juſtice could they have demanded for the People, which the jealouſie of a King might not have miſcall'd a deſign to diſparage his Government, and to ingratiate themſelves? To be more juſt, religious, wiſe, or magnanimous then the common ſort, ſtirs up in a Tyrant both fear and envy; and ſtraight he cries out Popularitie, which in his account is little leſs then Treaſon. The ſum is, they thought to regulate and limit his Negative voice, and ſhare with him in the *Militia,* both or either of which he could not poſſibly hold without conſent of the people, and not be abſolutely a Tyrant. He profeſſes *to deſire no other liberty then what he envies not his Subjects according to Law*; yet fought with might and main againſt his Subjects to have a ſole power over them in his hand, both againſt and beyond Law. As for the Philoſophical Libertie which in vain he talks of, we may conclude him very ill train'd up in thoſe free notions, who to civil Libertie was ſo injurious.

He calls the Conſcience *God's ſoveragntie,* why then doth he conteſt with God about that ſupreme title? why did he *lay reſtraint,* and force enlargements upon our Conſciences in things for which we were to anſwer God only and the Church? God bids us *be ſubject for Conſcience ſake,* that is as to a Magiſtrate, and in the Laws; not uſurping over ſpiritual things, as *Lucifer* beyond his ſphere.

Finally having laid the fault of theſe Commotions, not upon his own miſgovernment, but upon *the ambition of others, the neceſſity of ſome mens fortune, and thirſt after noveltie,* he bodes himſelf *much honour and reputation, that like the Sun ſhall riſe and recover it ſelf to ſuch a ſplendour, as Owls, Batts, and ſuch fatal Birds ſhall be unable to bear.* Poets indeed uſe to vapor much after this manner. But to bad Kings, who without cauſe expect future glory from thir actions, it happ'ns as to bad Poets, who ſit and ſtarve themſelves with a deluſive hope to win Immortality by thir bad lines. For though men ought not to *ſpeak evil of Dignities* which are juſt, yet nothing hinders us to ſpeak evil, as oft as it is the truth, of thoſe who in thir Dignities do evil; thus did our Saviour himſelf, *John* the Baptiſt, and *Stev'n* the Martyr. And thoſe *black vails* of his own miſdeeds he might be ſure would ever keep *his face from ſhining,* till he could *refute evil ſpeaking with well doing,* which grace he ſeems here to pray for; and his Prayer doubtleſs as it was pray'd, ſo it was heard. But ev'n his Prayer is ſo ambitious of Prerogative, that it dares ask away the Prerogative of Chriſt himſelf, *To become the head ſtone of the Corner.*

# XVI. *Upon the Ordinance againſt the Common-prayer-Book.*

WHAT to think of Liturgies, both the ſenſe of Scripture, and Apoſtolical Practice would have taught him better, then his human reaſonings and conjectures: Nevertheleſs what weight they have, let us conſider. If it be *no news to have all Innovations uſher'd in with the name of Reformation*, ſure it is leſs news to have all reformation cenſur'd and oppos'd under the name of innovation; *by thoſe* who being exalted in high place above thir merit, fear all change though of things *never ſo* ill or ſo *unwiſely ſettl'd. So hardly can the* dotage of thoſe that dwell upon Antiquitie *allow* preſent *times any ſhare of godlineſs or wiſdom.*

The removing of Liturgie he traduces to be done only as a *thing plauſible to the People*; whoſe rejection of it he lik'ns, with ſmall reverence, to the *crucifying* of our Saviour; next that it was done *to pleaſe thoſe men who gloried in thir extemporary vein*, meaning the Miniſters. For whom it will be beſt to anſwer, as was anſwer'd for the man born blind, *They are of age, let them ſpeak for themſelves*; not how they came blind, but whether it were Liturgie that held them tongue-ti'd.

*For the matter contain'd in that Book*, we need no better witneſs then King *Edward* the ſixth, who to the Corniſh Rebels confeſſes it was no other then the old Maſs-Book done into Engliſh, all but ſome few words that were expung'd. And by this argument which King *Edward* ſo promptly had to uſe againſt that irreligious Rabble, we may be aſſur'd it was the carnal fear of thoſe Divines and Politicians that modell'd the Liturgie no furder off from the old Maſs, leſt by too great an alteration they ſhould incenſe the People, and be deſtitute of the ſame ſhifts to fly to which they had taught the young King.

*For the manner of uſing ſet forms, there is no doubt but that wholeſome* matter, and good deſires rightly conceav'd in the heart, wholeſome words will follow of themſelves. Neither can any true Chriſtian find a reaſon why Liturgie ſhould be at all admitted, a Preſcription not impos'd or practis'd by thoſe firſt Founders of the Church, who alone had that autority: Without whoſe precept or example, how conſtantly the Prieſt puts on his Gown and Surplice, ſo conſtantly doth his Prayer put on a ſervile yoak of Liturgie. This is evident, that they *who uſe no ſet forms of Prayer*, have words from thir affections; while others are to ſeek affections fit and proportionable to a certain doſe of prepar'd words; which as they are not rigorouſly forbid to any man's private infirmity, ſo to impriſon and confine by force, into a Pinfold of ſet words, thoſe two moſt unimpriſonable things, our Prayers, and that Divine Spirit of utterance that moves them, is a tyranny that would have longer hands then thoſe Giants who threat'nd bondage to Heav'n. What *we may do* in the ſame form of words is not ſo much the queſtion, as whether Liturgie may be forc'd, as he forc'd it. It is true that we *pray to the ſame God*, muſt we therefore always uſe the ſame words? Let us then uſe but one word, becauſe we pray to one God. *We profeſs the ſame truths*, but the Liturgie comprehends not all truths: *we read the ſame Scriptures*; but never read that all thoſe ſacred expreſſions, all benefit and uſe of Scripture, as to publick Prayer, ſhould be deny'd us, except what was barrel'd up in a Common-prayer-Book with many mixtures of thir own, and which is worſe, without ſalt. But ſuppoſe them ſavoury words and unmix'd, ſuppoſe them *Manna* it ſelf, yet if they ſhall be hoarded up and enjoin'd us, while God every morning rains down new expreſſions into our hearts; inſtead of being fit to uſe, they will be found like reſerv'd *Manna, rather to breed Worms and ſtink. We have the ſame duties upon us, and feel the ſame wants*; yet not always the ſame, nor at all times alike; but with varietie of Circumſtances, which ask varietie of words: Wherof God hath given us plenty; not to uſe ſo copiouſly upon all other occaſions, and ſo niggardly to him alone in our devotions. As if Chriſtians were now in a worſe famin of words fit for Prayer, then was of food at the Seige of *Jeruſalem*,

*lem,* when perhaps the Prieſts being to remove the ſhew-bread, as was accuſtom'd, were compell'd every Sabbath day, for want of other Loves, to bring again ſtill the ſame. If *the Lord's Prayer* had bin the *warrant or the pattern of ſet Liturgies*, as is here affirm'd, why was neither that Prayer, nor any other ſet form ever after us'd, or ſo much as mention'd by the Apoſtles, much leſs commended to our uſe? Why was thir care wanting in a thing ſo uſeful to the Church? ſo full of danger and contention to be left undon by them to other mens penning, of whoſe autority we could not be ſo certain? Why was this forgott'n by them, who declare that they have reveal'd to us the whole Counſel of God; who as he left our affections to be guided by his ſanctifying Spirit, ſo did he likewiſe our words to be put into us without our premeditation; not only thoſe cautious words to be us'd before Gentiles and Tyrants, but much more thoſe filial words, of which we have ſo frequent uſe in our acceſs with freedom of ſpeech to the Throne of Grace. Which to lay aſide for other outward dictates of men, were to injure him and his perfet Gift, who is the Spirit and the giver of our abilitie to pray; as if his miniſtration were incomplete, and that to whom he gave affections, he did not alſo afford utterance to make his Gift of Prayer a perfet Gift.

And although the Gift were only natural, yet voluntary Prayers *are leſs ſubject to formal and ſuperficial tempers then ſet forms*: For in thoſe, at leaſt for words and matter, he who prays muſt conſult firſt with his heart; which in likelihood may ſtir up his affections; in theſe having both words and matter ready made to his lips, which is anough to make up the outward act of Prayer, his affections grow lazy, and come not up eaſily at the call of words not thir own; the Prayer alſo having leſs intercourſe and ſimpathy with a heart wherin it was not conceav'd, ſaves it ſelf the labour of ſo long a journy downward, and flying up in haſte on the ſpecious wings of formalitie, if it fall not back again headlong, inſtead of a prayer which was expected, preſents God with a ſet of ſtale and empty words.

No doubt but *oſtentation and formalitie* may taint the beſt duties; we are not therfore to leave duties for no duties, and to turn Prayer into a kind of lurry. Cannot unpremeditated babling be rebuk'd, and reſtrain'd in whom we find they are, but the Spirit of God muſt be forbidd'n in all men? But it is the cuſtom of bad men and Hypocrites to take advantage at the leaſt abuſe of good things, that under that covert they may remove the goodneſs of thoſe things, rather then the abuſe. And how unknowingly, how weakly is the uſing of ſet forms attributed here to *conſtancy*, as if it were conſtancie in the Cuckoo to be always in the ſame liturgie.

Much leſs can it be lawful that an Engliſht Maſs-Book, compos'd, for ought we know, by men neither *learned*, nor *godly*, *ſhould juſtle out*, or at any time *deprive* us the exerciſe of that heavenly Gift, which God by ſpecial promiſe pours out dailie upon his Church, that is to ſay, the ſpirit of Prayer. Wherof to help thoſe many infirmities, which he reck'ns up, *Rudeneſs*, *Impertinencie*, *Flatneſs*, and the like, we have a remedy of God's finding out, which is not Liturgie, but his own free Spirit. Though we know not what to pray as we ought, yet he with ſighs unutterable by any words, much leſs by a ſtinted Liturgie dwelling in us, makes interceſſion for us according to the mind and will of God both in private, and in the performance of all Eccleſiaſtical Duties. For it is his promiſe alſo, that where two or three gather'd together in his name ſhall agree to ask him any thing, it ſhall be granted; for he is there in the midſt of them. If then antient Churches to remedy the infirmities of Prayer, or rather the infections of Arian and Pelagian Hereſies, neglecting that ordain'd and promis'd help of the Spirit, betook them almoſt four hundred years after Chriſt to Liturgie thir own invention, we are not to imitate them; nor to diſtruſt God in the removal of that Truant help to our Devotion, which by him never was appointed. And what is ſaid of Liturgie is ſaid alſo of Directory, if it be impos'd: although to forbid the Service-Book there be much more reaſon, as being of it ſelf ſuperſtitious, offenſive, and indeed, though Engliſht, yet ſtill the Maſs-Book: and publick places ought to be provided of ſuch as need not the help of Liturgies or Directories continually, but are ſupported with miniſterial Gifts anſwerable to thir calling.

Laſtly, that the Common-prayer-Book was rejected becauſe it *pray'd ſo oft for him*, he had no reaſon to object: for what large and laborious Prayers were made for him in the Pulpits, if he never heard, 'tis doubtful they were never heard in Heav'n. We might now have expected that his own following Prayer ſhould add much credit to ſet Forms; but on the contrary we find the ſame imperfections in it, as in moſt before, which he lays here upon extemporal. Nor doth he ask of God to be directed whether Liturgies be lawful, but preſumes, and in a manner would perſwade him that they be ſo; praying *that the Church and he may never want them.* What could be pray'd worſe extempore?

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## XVII. *Of the differences in point of Church-Government.*

THE Government of Church by Biſhops hath bin ſo fully prov'd from the Scriptures to be vitious and uſurp'd, that whether *out of Piety or Policy* maintain'd, it is not much material: For Pietie grounded upon error, can no more juſtifie King *Charles*, then it did Queen *Mary* in the ſight of God or Man. This however muſt not be let paſs without a ſerious Obſervation; God having ſo diſpos'd the Author in this Chapter as to confeſs and diſcover more of Myſterie and combination between Tyranny and fals Religion, then from any other hand would have bin credible. Here we may ſee the very dark roots of them both turn'd up, and how they twine and interweave one another in the Earth, though above ground ſhooting up in two ſever'd Branches. We may have learnt both from ſacred Story, and times of Reformation, that the Kings of this World have both ever hated, and inſtinctively fear'd the Church of God. Whether it be for that thir Doctrin ſeems much to favour two things to them ſo dreadful, Liberty and Equality, or becauſe they are the Children of that Kingdom, which, as antient Propheſies have foretold, ſhall in the end break to pieces and diſſolve all thir great Power and Dominion. And thoſe Kings and Potentates who have ſtrove moſt to rid themſelves of this fear, by cutting off or ſuppreſſing the true Church, have drawn upon themſelves the occaſion of thir own ruin, while they thought with moſt policy to prevent it. Thus *Pharaoh* when once he began to fear and wax jealous of the Iſraelites, leſt they ſhould multiply and fight againſt him, and that his fear ſtirr'd him up to afflict and keep them under, as the only remedy of what he feard, ſoon found that the evil which before ſlept, came ſuddenly upon him, by the prepoſterous way he took to prevent it. Paſſing by examples between, and not ſhutting wilfully our eyes, we may ſee the like ſtory brought to paſs in our own Land. This King more then any before him, except perhaps his Father, from his firſt entrance to the Crown, harbouring in his mind a ſtrange fear and ſuſpicion of Men moſt religious, and thir Doctrin, which in his own language he here acknowledges, terming *it the ſeditious exorbitancie* of Miniſters tongues, and doubting *leſt they*, as he not chriſtianly expreſſes it, *ſhould with the Keys of Heav'n let out Peace and Loyaltie from the peoples hearts:* though they never preacht or attempted aught that might juſtly raiſe in him ſuch thoughts, he could not reſt or think himſelf ſecure, ſo long as they remain'd in any of his three Kingdoms unrooted out. But outwardly profeſſing the ſame Religion with them, he could not preſently uſe violence as *Pharaoh* did, and that courſe had with others before but ill ſucceeded. He chooſes therfore a more myſtical way, a newer Method of Antichriſtian Fraud, to the Church more dangerous: and like to *Balack* the Son of *Zippor*, againſt a Nation of Prophets thinks it beſt to hire other eſteemed Prophets, and to undermine and wear out the true Church by a fals Eccleſiaſtical Policy. To this drift he found the Government of Biſhops moſt ſerviceable; an Order in the Church, as by men firſt corrupted, ſo mutually corrupting them who receave it, both in judgment and manners. He by conferring Biſhopricks and and great Livings on whom he thought moſt pliant to his will, againſt the known Canons and univerſal practice of the antient Church, wherby thoſe elections were the peoples right, ſought, as he confeſſes, to have *greateſt influence upon the Church-men.* They on the other ſide finding themſelves in a high Dignity, neither founded by Scripture, nor allow'd by Reformation, nor ſupported by any ſpiritual Gift or Grace of thir own, knew it thir beſt cours to have dependance only upon him: and wrought his fancy by degrees to that degenerate and unkingly perſwaſion of *no Biſhop, no King.* Whenas on the contrary all Prelates in thir own ſuttle ſenſe are of another mind; according to that of *Pius* the fourth, remember'd in the Hiſtory of *Trent*, that Biſhops then grow to be moſt vigorous and potent, when Princes happ'n to be moſt weak and impotent. Thus when both Intereſts of Tyrannie and Epiſcopacie were incorporate into each other, the King whoſe principal ſafety and eſtabliſhment conſiſted in the righteous execution of his civil power, and not in Biſhops and thir wicked Counſels, fatally driv'n on, ſet himſelf to the removal of thoſe men whoſe Doctrin and deſire of Church-Diſcipline he ſo fear'd would be the undoing of his Monarchie. And becauſe no temporal Law could touch the innocence of thir lives, he begins with the perſecution of thir Conſciences, laying ſcandals before them; and makes that the argument to inflict his unjuſt penalties both on thir Bodies and Eſtates. In this War againſt the Church if he hath ſped ſo, as other haughty Monarchs whom God heretofore hath hard'nd to the like enterprize, we ought to look up with praiſes and thankſgiving to the Author of our deliverance, to whom Victory and Power, Majeſtie, Honour and Dominion belongs for ever.

In the mean while from his own words we may perceave eaſily that the ſpecial motives which he had to endear and deprave his judgment to the favouring and utmoſt defending of Epiſcopacy, are ſuch as here we repreſent them: and how unwillingly, and with what mental reſervation he condeſcended againſt his Intereſt to remove it out of the Peers houſe, hath bin ſhown already. The reaſons, which he affirms wrought ſo much upon his judgment, ſhall be ſo far anſwer'd as they be urg'd.

*Scripture* he pretends, but produces none, and next the *conſtant practice of all Chriſtian Churches, till of late years tumult, faction, pride, and covetouſneſs, invented new models under the Title of Chriſt's Government.* Could any Papiſt have ſpoke more ſcandalouſly againſt all Reformation? Well may the Parlament and beſt affected People now be troubl'd at his calumnies and reproaches, ſince he binds them in the ſame bundle with all other the reformed Churches; who alſo may now furder ſee, beſides thir own bitter experience, what a cordial and well-meaning helper they had of him abroad, and how true to the Proteſtant Cauſe.

As for *Hiſtories* to prove Biſhops, the Bible, if we mean not to run into Errors, Vanities, and Uncertainties, muſt be our only Hiſtory. Which informs us that the Apoſtles were not properly Biſhops; next, that Biſhops were not ſucceſſors of Apoſtles, in the function of Apoſtleſhip: And that if they were Apoſtles, they could not be preciſely Biſhops; if Biſhops, they could not be Apoſtles; this being univerſal, extraordinary, and immediate from God; that being an ordinarie, fixt, and particular charge and continual inſpection over a certain Flock. And although an *ignorance and deviation* of the antient Churches afterward, may with as much *reaſon and charitie* be ſuppos'd as *ſudden* in point of Prelaty, as in other manifeſt corruptions, yet that *no example ſince the firſt age for* 1500 *years can be produc'd of any ſetled Church, wherin were many Miniſters and Congregations, which had not ſome Biſhops above them*; the Eccleſiaſtical Story, to which he appeals for want of Scripture, proves clearly to be a falſe and overconfident aſſertion. *Sozomenus*, who wrote above twelve hundred years ago, in his ſeventh Book relates from his own knowledg, that in the Churches of *Cyprus* and *Arabia* (places neer to *Jeruſalem*, and with the firſt frequented by Apoſtles) they had Biſhops in every Village; and what could thoſe be more then Presbyters? The like he tells of other Nations; and that Epiſcopal Churches in thoſe daies did not condemn them. I add that many Weſtern Churches, eminent for thir Faith and good Works, and ſettl'd above four hundred years ago in *France*, in *Piemont* and *Bohemia*, have both taught and practis'd the ſame Doctrine, and not admitted of Epiſcopacy among them. And if we may believe what the Papiſts themſelves have writt'n of theſe Churches which they call *Waldenſes*, I find it in a Book writt'n almoſt four hundred years ſince, and ſet forth in the *Bohemian* Hiſtory, that thoſe Churches in *Piemont* have held the ſame Doctrin and Government, ſince the time that *Conſtantine* with his miſchievous donations poyſon'd *Sylveſter* and the whole Church. Others affirm they have ſo continu'd there ſince the Apoſtles: and *Theodorus Belvederenſis* in his relation of them, confeſſeth that thoſe Hereſies, as he names them, were from the firſt times of Chriſtianity in that place. For the reſt I refer me to that famous teſtimony of *Jerom*, who upon that very place which he cites here, the Epiſtle to *Titus*, declares op'nly that Biſhop and Presbyter were one and the ſame thing, till by the inſtigation of Satan partialities grew up in the Church, and that Biſhops rather by cuſtom then any ordainment of Chriſt, were exalted above Presbyters: whoſe interpretation we truſt ſhall be receav'd before this intricate ſtuff tattl'd heer of *Timothy* and *Titus*, and I know not whom thir Succeſſors, far beyond Court Element, and as far beneath true edification. Theſe are his *fair grounds both from Scripture-canons and Eccleſiaſtical examples*; how undivinelike writt'n, and how like a worldly Goſpeller that underſtands nothing of theſe matters, poſterity no doubt will be able to judg, and will but little regard what he calls *Apoſtolical*, who in his Letter to the Pope calls Apoſtolical the Roman Religion.

Nor let him think to plead, that therfore *it was not policy of State*, or obſtinacy in him which upheld Epiſcopacy, becauſe the injuries and loſſes which he ſuſtain'd by ſo doing were to him *more conſiderable* then Epiſcopacy it ſelf; for all this might *Pharaoh* have had to ſay in his excuſe of detaining the *Iſraelites*, that his own and his Kingdoms ſafety, ſo much endanger'd by his denial, was to him more deer then all their building labours could be worth to *Ægypt*. But whom God hard'ns them alſo he blinds.

He indeavours to make good Epiſcopacy not only in *Religion, but from the nature of all civil Government, where Parity breeds confuſion and faction*. But of faction and confuſion, to take no other then his own teſtimony, where hath more bin ever bred then under the imparity of his own Monarchial Government? Of which to make at this time longer diſpute, and from civil conſtitutions and human conceits to debate and queſtion the convenience of Divine Ordinations, is neither wiſdom nor ſobriety: and to confound *Moſaic Prieſthood* with Evangelic Presbytery againſt expreſs Inſtitution, is as far from warrantable. As little to purpoſe is it that we ſhould ſtand polling the reformed Churches, whether they *equalize* in number *thoſe of his three Kingdoms*, of whom ſo lately the far greater part, what they have long deſir'd to do, have now quite thrown off Epiſcopacy.

Neither may we count it the Language or Religion of a Proteſtant ſo to vilifie the beſt reformed Churches (for none of them but Lutherans retain Biſhops) as to fear more the *ſcandalizing* of Papiſts, becauſe more numerous, then of our Proteſtant Brethren, becauſe a *handful*. It will not be worth the while to ſay what *Sciſmatics or Heretics* have had no Biſhops; yet leſt he ſhould be tak'n for a great Reader, he who prompted him, if he were a Doctor, might have rememberd the foremention'd place in *Sozomenus*; which affirms that beſides the *Cyprians and Arabians* who were counted Orthodoxal, the *Novatians* alſo, and *Montaniſts* in *Phrygia* had no other Biſhops then ſuch as were in every Village: and what Presbyter hath a narrower Dioceſs? As for the *Aërians* we know of no Heretical opinion juſtly father'd upon them, but that they held Biſhops and Presbyters to be the ſame. Which he in this place not obſcurely ſeems to hold a Hereſie in all the reformed Churches; with whom why the Church of *England* deſir'd conformity, he can find no reaſon with all his *charity, but the coming in of the Scots Army*; Such a high eſteem he had of the Engliſh.

He tempts the Clergie to return back again to Biſhops, from the fear of *tenuity and contempt*, and the aſſurance of better *thriving under the favour of Princes*; againſt which temptations if the Clergie cannot arm themſelves with thir own ſpiritual armour, they are indeed as *poor a Carkaſs* as he terms them.

Of ſecular Honours and great Revenues added to the dignity of Prelats, ſince the ſubject of that queſtion is now remov'd, we need not ſpend time: But this perhaps will never be unſeaſonable to bear in mind out of *Chryſoſtom*, that when Miniſters came to have Lands, Houſes, Farms, Coaches, Horſes, and the like Lumber, then Religion brought forth riches in the Church, and the Daughter devour'd the Mother.

But if his judgment in Epiſcopacy may be judg'd by the goodly chois he made of Biſhops, we need not much amuſe our ſelves with the conſideration of thoſe evils which, by his foretelling, will *neceſſarily follow* their pulling down, until he prove that the Apoſtles, having no certain Dioceſs or appointed place of reſidence, were properly *Biſhops over thoſe Presbyters whom they ordain'd, or Churches they planted*; wherein oftimes thir labours were both joint and promiſcuous: Or that the Apoſtolic power muſt *neceſſarily deſcend to Biſhops, the uſe and end* of either function being ſo different. And how the Church hath flouriſht under Epiſcopacy, let the multitude of thir ancient and groſs errors teſtifie, and the words of ſome learnedeſt and moſt zealous Biſhops among them; *Nazianzen* in a devout paſſion wiſhing Prelaty had never bin; *Baſil* terming them the Slaves of Slaves; Saint *Martin* the Enemies of Saints, and confeſſing that after he was made a Biſhop, he found much of that grace decay in him which he had before.

Concerning his *Coronation Oath*, what it was, and how far it bound him, already hath bin ſpok'n. This we may take for certain, that he was never ſworn to his own particular conſcience and reaſon, but to our conditions as a free people; which requir'd him to give us ſuch Laws as our ſelves ſhould chooſe. This the Scots could bring him to, and would not be baffled with the pretence of a Coronation Oath, after that Epiſcopacy had for many years bin ſetl'd there. Which conceſſion of his to them, and not to us, he ſeeks heer to put off with evaſions that are ridiculous. And to omit no ſhifts, he alleges that the Presbyterian manners gave him no encouragement to like their *modes* of Government. If that were ſo, yet certainly thoſe men are in moſt likelihood neerer to Amendment, who ſeek a ſtricter Church-Diſcipline then that of Epiſcopacy, under which the moſt of them learnt their manners. If eſtimation were to be made of God's Law by their manners, who leaving *Ægypt*, receav'd it in the Wilderneſs, it could reap from ſuch an inference as this, nothing but rejection and diſeſteem.

For the Prayer wherewith he cloſes, it had bin good ſome ſafe Liturgie, which he ſo commends, had rather bin in his way; it would perhaps in ſome meaſure have perform'd the end for which they ſay Liturgie was firſt invented, and have hinder'd him both heer, and at other times, from turning his notorious errors into his Prayers.

# XVIII. *Upon the* Uxbridg *Treaty*, &c.

IF *the way of Treaties be look'd upon* in general, *as a retiring* from beſtial force to human reaſon, his firſt Aphoriſm heer is in part deceav'd. For men may treat like Beaſts as well as fight. If ſom fighting were not manlike, then either fortitude were no vertue, or no fortitude in fighting: And as Politicians ofttimes through dilatory purpoſes and emulations handle the matter, there hath bin no where found more beſtialitie then in treating; which hath no more commendation in it, then from fighting to come to undermining, from violence to craft, and when they can no longer do as Lions, to do as Foxes.

The ſincereſt end of treating after War once proclaim'd, is either to part with more, or to demand leſs than was at firſt fought for, rather then to hazard more lives, or worſe miſchiefs. What the Parlament in that point were willing to have don, when firſt after the War begun, they petition'd him at *Colebrook* to voutſafe a Treaty, is unknown. For after he had tak'n God to witneſs of his continual readineſs to treat, or to offer Treaties to the avoiding of bloodſhed, taking the advantage of a Miſt, the fitteſt weather for deceit and treachery, he follows at the heels thoſe Meſſengers of Peace with a train of covert War; and with a bloody ſurpriſe falls on our ſecure Forces which lay quartering at *Brentford* in the thoughts and expectation of a Treaty. And although in them who make a trade of War, and againſt a natural Enemy, ſuch an onſet might in the rigor of martial Law have bin excus'd, while Arms were not yet by agreement ſuſpended, yet by a King, who ſeem'd ſo heartily to accept

cept of treating, and profeſſes heer, *He never wanted either deſire or diſpoſition to it*, profeſſes *to have greater confidence in his Reaſon then in his Sword, and as a Chriſtian to ſeek Peace and enſue it*, ſuch bloody and deceitful advantages would have bin forborn one day at leaſt, if not much longer; in whom there had not bin a thirſt rather then a deteſtation of civil War and Blood.

In the midſt of a ſecond Treaty not long after, ſought by the Parlament, and after much ado obtain'd with him at *Oxford*, what ſuttle and unpeaceable deſigns he then had in chace, his own Letters diſcover'd: What attemps of treacherous hoſtility ſucceſsful and unſucceſsful he made againſt *Briſtow*, *Scarborow*, and other places, the Proceedings of that Treaty will ſoon put us in mind; and how he was ſo far from granting more of reaſon after ſo much of blood, that he deny'd then to grant what before he had offerd; making no other uſe of Treaties pretending Peace, then to gain advantages that might enable him to continue War. What marvel then if *he thought it no diminution of himſelf*, as oft as he ſaw his time, *to be importunate for Treaties*, when he ſought them only, as by the upſhot appeard, *to get opportunities?*

But he infers, as if the Parlament would have compell'd him *to part with* ſomthing of *his honour as a King*. What honour could he have, or call his, joyn'd, not only with the offence or diſturbance, but with the bondage and deſtruction of three Nations? wherof though he be careleſs and improvident, yet the Parlament, by our Laws and Freedom, ought to judg, and uſe prevention; our Laws els were but Cobweb Laws. And what were all his moſt rightful honours, but the peoples gift, and the inveſtment of that Luſtre, Majeſty, and Honour, which for the publick good, and no otherwiſe, redounds from a whole Nation into one perſon? So far is any honour from being his to a common miſchief and calamity. Yet ſtill he talks on equal terms with the grand Repreſentative of that people, for whoſe ſake he was a King, as if the general welfare and his ſubſervient Rights were of equal moment or conſideration. His aim indeed hath ever bin to magnifie and exalt his borrow'd Rights and Prerogatives above the Parlament and Kingdom of whom he holds them. But when a King ſets himſelf to bandy againſt the higheſt Court and reſidence of his Regal Autority, he then, in the ſingle perſon of a Man, fights againſt his own Majeſty and Kingſhip, and then indeed ſets the firſt hand to his own depoſing.

*The Treaty at* Uxbridg, he ſaith, *gave the faireſt hopes of a happy compoſure*; faireſt indeed, if his inſtructions to bribe our Commiſſioners with the promiſe of *Security*, *Rewards*, and *Places*, were fair: What other hopes it gave no man can tell. There being but three main heads whereon to be treated; *Ireland*, Epiſcopacy, and the Militia; the firſt was anticipated and foreſtall'd by a Peace at any rate to be haſt'nd with the Iriſh Rebels, ere the Treaty could begin, that he might pretend his word and honour paſt againſt *the ſpecious and popular arguments* (he calls them no better) which the Parlament would urge upon him for the continuance of that juſt War. Epiſcopacy he bids the Queen be confident he will never quit; which informs us by what Patronage it ſtood: And the Sword he reſolves to clutch as faſt, as if God with his own hand had put it into his. This was the *moderation which he brought*; this was *as far as Reaſon, Honour, Conſcience*, and the Queen; who was his Regent in all theſe, *would give him leave*. Laſtly for *compoſure*, inſtead of *happy*, how miſerable it was more likely to have bin, wiſe men could then judg; when the Engliſh, during Treaty, were call'd Rebels, the Iriſh, good and catholic Subjects; and the Parlament before hand, though for faſhions call'd a Parlament, yet by a Jeſuitical ſlight not acknowledg'd though call'd ſo; but privatly in the Council Books inroll'd no Parlament: that if accommodation had ſucceeded, upon what terms ſoever, ſuch a deviliſh fraud was prepar'd, that the King in his own eſteem had bin abſolv'd from all performance, as having treated with Rebels, and no Parlament; and they on the other ſide inſtead of an expected happines, had bin brought under the Hatchet. Then no doubt *War had ended*, that Maſſacre and Tyranny might begin. Theſe *Jealouſies*, however *rais'd*, let all men ſee whether they be diminiſh'd or *allayd*, by the Letters of his own Cabinet op'nd. And yet the breach of this Treaty is laid all upon the Parlament and their Commiſſioners, with odious Names of *Pertinacy*, *hatred of Peace*, *Faction*, *and Covetouſneſs*, nay his own Brat *Superſtition* is laid to their charge; notwithſtanding his heer profeſs'd reſolution to continue both *the Order*, *Maintenance*, *and Authority* of Prelats, as a Truth of God.

And who *were moſt to blame in the unſucceſsfulneſs of that Treaty*, his appeal is to God's deciſion; *beleeving* to be *very excuſable* at that Tribunal. But if ever man *gloried in an unflexible ſtifneſs*, he came not behind any: and that *grand Maxim*, always to put ſomthing into his Treaties, which might give *colour* to refuſe all that was in other things granted, and to make them *ſignifie nothing*, was his own principal Maxim and particular inſtructions to his Commiſſioners. Yet all, by his own verdit, muſt be conſterd *Reaſon* in the King, and *depraved temper* in the Parlament.

That the *higheſt Tide of ſucceſs*, with theſe principles and deſigns, *ſet him not above a Treaty*, no great wonder. But that his *loweſt Ebb* could not be *lower then a Fight*, was a preſumption that ruin'd him.

He preſag'd the future *unſucceſsfulneſs of Treaties by the unwillingneſs of ſom men to treat*; and could not ſee what was preſent, that thir unwillingneſs had good cauſe to proceed from the continual experience of his own obſtinacy and breach of word.

His Prayer therefore of *forgiveneſs* to the guilty of *that Treaties breaking*, he had good reaſon to ſay heartily over, as including no man in that guilt ſooner then himſelf.

As for that Proteſtation following in his Praier, *How oft have I entreated for Peace, but when I ſpeak therof they make them ready to War*; unleſs he thought himſelf ſtill in that perfidious miſt between *Colebrook* and *Houndſlow*, and thought that miſt could hide him from the eye of Heav'n as well as of Man, after ſuch a bloody recompence giv'n to our firſt offers of Peace, how could this in the ſight of Heav'n without horrours of conſcience be utter'd?

# XIX. *Upon the various events of the War.*

IT is no new or unwonted thing for bad men to claim as much part in God as his beſt ſervants, to uſurp and imitate thir words, and appropriate to themſelves thoſe properties which belong only to the good and righteous. This not only in Scripture is familiarly to be found, but heer alſo in this Chapter of *Apocrypha*. He tells us much, why *it pleas'd God* to ſend him Victory or Loſs (although what in ſo doing was the intent of God, he might be much miſtak'n as to his own particular) but we are yet to learn what real good uſe he made thereof in his practice.

Thoſe numbers which he grew to *from ſmall beginnings*, were not ſuch as out of love came to protect him, for none approv'd his actions as a King, except Courtiers and Prelats, but were ſuch as fled to be protected by him from the fear of that Reformation which the pravity of thir lives would not bear. Such a Snowball he might eaſily gather by rowling through thoſe cold and dark provinces of ignorance and leudneſs, where on a ſudden he became ſo numerous. He imputes that to God's *protection*, which, to them who perſiſt in a bad cauſe, is either his long-ſuffering, or his hard'ning; and that to wholeſom *chaſtiſement*, which were the gradual beginnings of a ſevere puniſhment. For if neither God nor nature put civil power in the hands of any whomſoever, but to a lawful end, and commands our obedience to the autority of Law only, not to the tyrannical force of any perſon; and if the Laws of our Land have plac'd the Sword in no mans ſingle hand, ſo much as to unſheath againſt a foren enemie, much leſs upon the native people, but have plac'd it in that elective body of the Parlament, to whom the making, repealing, judging, and interpreting of Law it ſelf was alſo committed, as was fitteſt, ſo long as we intended to be a free Nation, and not the Slaves of one mans will, then was the King himſelf diſobedient and rebellious to that Law by which he raign'd; and by autority of Parlament to raiſe arms againſt him in defence of Law and Libertie, we do not only *think*, but beleeve and know was juſtifiable both *by the Word of God, the Laws of the Land, and all* lawful *Oaths*; and they who ſided with him fought againſt all theſe.

*The ſame Allegations* which he uſes for himſelf and his Party, may as well fit any Tyrant in the World: for let the Parlament be call'd a Faction when the King pleaſes, and that no Law muſt be made or chang'd either civil or religious, becauſe no Law will content *all ſides*, then muſt be made or chang'd no Law at all but what a Tyrant, be he Proteſtant or Papiſt, thinks fit. Which tyrannous Aſſertion forc'd upon us by the Sword, he who fights againſt, and dies fighting, if his other ſins overweigh not, dies a *Martyr* undoubtedly both of the Faith and of the Common-wealth: and I hold it not as the opinion, but as the full belief and perſwaſion of far holier and wiſer Men then *Paraſitick Preachers*. Who, without their dinner-Doctrin, know that neither *King, Law, Civil Oaths, or Religion*, was ever *eſtabliſh'd* without the Parlament: and thir power is the ſame to abrogate as to eſtabliſh: neither is any thing to be thought *eſtabliſh'd*, which that Houſe declares to be aboliſht. Where the Parlament ſits, there inſeparably ſits the King, there the Laws, there our Oaths, and whatſoever can be civil in Religion. They who fought for the Parlament, in the trueſt ſenſe fought for all theſe; who fought for the King divided from his Parlament, fought for the ſhadow of a King againſt all theſe; and for things that were not, as if they were *eſtabliſht*. It were a thing monſtrouſly abſurd and contradictory to give the Parlament a Legiſlative Power, and then to upbraid them for tranſgreſſing old Eſtabliſhments.

But the King and his Party having loſt in this Quarrel thir Heav'n upon Earth, begin to make great reck'ning of *Eternal Life*, and at an eaſy rate *in forma Pauperis* canonize one another into Heav'n; he them in his Book, they him in the Portrature before his Book: but as was ſaid before, Stage-work will not do it, much leſs *the juſtneſs of thir Cauſe*, wherein moſt frequently they dy'd *in a brutiſh fierceneſs*, with Oaths and other damning words in thir mouths; as if ſuch had bin *all the Oaths* they fought for: which undoubtedly ſent them full ſail on another Voyage then to Heav'n. In the mean while they to whom God gave victory, never brought to the King at *Oxford* the ſtate of thir *Conſciences*, that he ſhould preſume without confeſſion, more then a Pope preſumes, to tell abroad what *conflicts and accuſations* men, whom he never ſpoke with, have *in their own thoughts*. We never read of any Engliſh King but one that was a Confeſſor, and his name was *Edward*; yet ſure it paſs'd his skill to know thoughts, as this King takes upon him. But they who will not ſtick to ſlander mens inward Conſciences, which they can neither ſee nor know, much leſs will care to ſlander outward Actions, which they pretend to ſee, though with ſenſes never ſo vitiated.

To judg of *his condition conquer'd*, and the manner of *dying* on that ſide, by the *ſober men* that *choſe* it, would be his ſmall advantage: it being moſt notorious, that they who were hotteſt in his Cauſe, the moſt of them were men oftner drunk, then by thir good will ſober, and very many of them ſo fought and ſo dy'd.

And that *the Conſcience* of any man ſhould grow *ſuſpicious*, or *be now convicted* by any *Pretentions* in the Parlament, which are now prov'd *fals, and unintended*, there can be no juſt cauſe. For neither did they ever pretend to eſtabliſh his Throne without our Liberty and Religion, nor Religion without the Word of God, nor to judg of Laws by thir being *eſtabliſht*, but to eſtabliſh them by thir being good and neceſſary.

He tells the World *he oft'n pray'd that all on his ſide might be as faithful to God and thir own Souls, as to him*. But Kings above all other men have in thir hands not to pray only, but to do. To make that Prayer effectual, he ſhould have govern'd as well as pray'd. To pray and not to govern is for a Monk and not a King. Till then he might be well aſſur'd they were more *faithful* to thir luſt and rapine then to him.

In the wonted predication of his own vertues he goes on to tell us, that to *conquer he never deſir'd, but only to reſtore the Laws and Liberties of his People*. It had bin happy then he had known at laſt, that by force to reſtore Laws abrogated by the Legiſlative Parlament, is to conquer abſolutely both them and Law it ſelf. And for our Liberties, none ever oppreſs'd them more, both in Peace and War; firſt like a maſter by his arbitrary power, next as an Enemy by hoſtile invaſion.

And if his beſt friends fear'd him, and *be himſelf in the temptation of an abſolute Conqueſt*, it was not only pious but friendly in the Parlament, both to fear him and reſiſt him; ſince their not yielding, was the only means to keep him out of that *temptation* wherin he doubted his own ſtrength.

He takes himſelf to be *guilty in this War of nothing* els, *but of confirming the power of ſome men:* Thus all along he ſignifies the Parlament, whom to have ſettl'd by an act he counts to be his only guiltineſs. So well he knew that to continue a Parlament, was to raiſe a War againſt himſelf; what were his Actions then and his Government the while? For never was it heard in all our Story, that Parlaments made War on thir Kings, but on thir Tyrants; whoſe *modeſty and gratitude* was more wanting to the Parlament, then theirs to any of ſuch Kings.

What he *yielded* was his fear; what he *deny'd* was his obſtinacy. *Had he yielded more*, fear might perchance have ſav'd him; had he granted *leſs*, his obſtinacy had perhaps the ſooner deliver'd us.

*To review the occaſions of this War*, will be to them never *too late*, who would be warn'd by his example from the like evils: but *to wiſh only a happy concluſion*, will never expiate the fault of his *unhappy beginnings*. 'Tis true, on our ſide the ſins of our lives not ſeldom fought againſt us: but on thir ſide, beſides thoſe, the grand ſin of thir Cauſe.

How can it be otherwiſe, when *he deſires* here moſt unreaſonably, and indeed ſacrilegiouſly, that we ſhould be *ſubject to him*, though not *furder*, yet as far as *all of us may be ſubject to God*, to whom this expreſſion leaves no precedency? He who *deſires* from men as much obedience and ſubjection, as we may all pay to God, deſires not leſs then to be a God; a Sacrilege far wors then medling with the Biſhops Lands, as he eſteems it.

His Prayer is a good Prayer and a glorious; but glorying is not good, if it know not that a little leven levens the whole lump. It ſhould have purg'd out the leven of untruth in telling God that the *blood of his Subjects by him ſhed* was *in his juſt and neceſſary defence*. Yet this is remarkable; God hath here ſo order'd his Prayer, that as his own lips acquitted the Parlament, not long before his death, of all the blood ſpilt in this War, ſo now his Prayer unwittingly draws it upon himſelf. For God *imputes* not to any man the blood he ſpills in a juſt cauſe; and no man ever begg'd his *not imputing* of that which he in his juſtice could not impute: So that now whether purpoſely, or unawares, he hath confeſs'd both to God and Man the blood-guiltineſs of all this War to lie upon his own head.

## XX. *Upon the Reformation of the times.*

THIS Chapter cannot punctually be anſwer'd without more repetitions then now can be excuſable: Which perhaps have already bin more humour'd then was needful. As it preſents us with nothing new, ſo with his exceptions againſt Reformation pitifully old and tatter'd with continual uſing; not only in his Book, but in the words and writings of every Papiſt and Popiſh King. On the Scene he thruſts out firſt an Antimaſque of two bugbears, *Noveltie* and *Perturbation*; that the ill looks and noiſe of thoſe two may as long as poſſible drive off all endeavours of a Reformation. Thus ſought Pope *Adrian*, by repreſenting the like vain terrors, to divert and diſſipate the zeal of thoſe reforming Princes of the age before in *Germany*. And if we credit *Latimer's* Sermons, our Papiſts here in *England* pleaded the ſame dangers and inconveniencies againſt that which was reform'd by *Edward* the ſixth. Wheras if thoſe fears had bin available, Chriſtianity it ſelf had never bin receav'd. Which Chriſt foretold us, would not be admitted without the cenſure of Noveltie and many great Commotions. Theſe therefore are not to deter us.

He grants Reformation to be *a good work*, and confeſſes *what the indulgence of times and corruption of manners might have deprav'd.* So did the fore-mention'd Pope, and our Granſire Papiſts in this Realm. Yet all of them agree in one ſong with this here, that *they are ſorry to ſee ſo little regard had to Laws eſtabliſht, and the Religion ſettl'd.*

*Popular compliance, diſſolution of all order and government in the Church, Schiſms, Opinions, Undecencies, Confuſions, ſacrilegious Invaſions, contempt of the Clergie and thir Liturgie, diminution of Princes*; all theſe complaints are to be read in the Meſſages and Speeches almoſt of every Legat from the Pope to thoſe States and Cities which began Reformation. From whence he either learnt the ſame pretences, or had them naturally in him from the ſame ſpirit. Neither was there ever ſo ſincere a Reformation that hath eſcap'd theſe clamours.

He offer'd a *Synod or Convocation rightly choſen.* So offer'd all thoſe Popiſh Kings heretofore; a cours the moſt unſatisfactory, as matters have bin long carried, and found by experience in the Church liable to the greateſt fraud and packing; no ſolution, or redreſs of evil, but an increaſe rather; deteſted therefore by *Nazianzen*, and ſome other of the Fathers. And let it be produc'd, what good hath bin done by Synods from the firſt times of Reformation.

Not to juſtifie what Enormities the Vulgar may commit in the rudeneſs of thir zeal, we need but only inſtance how he bemoans *the pulling down of Croſſes* and other ſuperſtitious Monuments, as the effect *of a popular and deceitful Reformation.* How little this ſavours of a Proteſtant, is too eaſily perceav'd.

What he charges in defect of *Piety, Charity, and Morality*, hath bin alſo charg'd by Papiſts upon the beſt reformed Churches: not as if they the Accuſers were not tenfold more to be accus'd, but out of thir Malignity to all endeavour of amendment; as we know who accus'd to God the ſincerity of *Job*; an accuſation of all others the moſt eaſie, when as there lives not any mortal man ſo excellent, who in theſe things is not always deficient. But the infirmities of beſt men, and the ſcandals of mixt Hypocrites in all times of reforming, whoſe bold intruſion covets to be ever ſeen in things moſt ſacred as they are moſt ſpecious, can lay no juſt blemiſh upon the integritie of others, much leſs upon the purpoſe of Reformation it ſelf. Neither can the evil doings of ſome be the excuſe of our delaying or deſerting that duty to the Church, which for no reſpect of times or carnal policies can be at any time unſeaſonable.

He tells with great ſhew of piety what kind of Perſons *publick Reformers* ought to be, and what they ought to do. 'Tis ſtrange that in above twenty years, the Church growing ſtill wors and wors under him, he could neither be as he bids others be, nor do as he pretends here ſo well to know; nay, which is worſt of all, after the greateſt part of his Reign ſpent in neither knowing nor doing aught toward a Reformation either in Church or State, ſhould ſpend the reſidue in hindring thoſe by a ſeven years War, whom it concern'd with his conſent or without it to do thir parts in that great performance.

'Tis true that the *method of reforming* may well ſubſiſt without *perturbation of the State*; but that it falls out otherwiſe for the moſt part, is the plain Text of Scripture. And if by his own rule he had allow'd us *to fear God firſt*, and the King in due order, our Allegiance might have ſtill follow'd our Religion in a fit ſubordination. But if *Chriſt's Kingdom* be tak'n for the true Diſcipline of the Church, and by *his Kingdom* be meant the violence he us'd againſt it, and to uphold an Antichriſtian Hierarchie, then ſure anough it is, that Chriſt's Kingdom could *not be ſet up* without *pulling down his*: And they were beſt Chriſtians who were leaſt ſubject to him. *Chriſt's Government*, out of queſtion meaning it Prelatical, he thought would *confirm his*: and this was that which *overthrew it*.

He profeſſes *to own his Kingdom from Chriſt, and to deſire to rule for his glory, and the Churches good.* The Pope and the King of *Spain* profeſs every where as much; and both his practice and all his reaſonings, all his enmitie againſt the true Church we ſee hath bin the ſame with thirs, ſince the time that in his Letter to the Pope he aſſur'd them both of his full compliance. *But evil beginnings never bring forth good concluſions:* they are his own words, and he ratifi'd them by his own ending. To the Pope he ingag'd himſelf to hazard life and eſtate for the Roman Religion, whether in complement he did it, or in earneſt; and God, who ſtood neerer then he for complementing minded, writ down thoſe words; that according to his reſolution, ſo it ſhould come to paſs. He prays againſt *his Hypocriſie and Phariſaical Waſhings*, a Prayer to him moſt pertinent, but choaks it ſtraight with other words which pray him deeper into his old Errors and Deluſions.

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## XXI. *Upon his Letters tak'n and divulged.*

THE King's Letters taken at the Battel of *Naſeby*, being of greateſt importance to let the people ſee what Faith there was in all his Promiſes and ſolemn Proteſtations, were tranſmitted to publick view by ſpecial Order of Parlament. They diſcover'd his good affection to the Papiſts and Iriſh Rebels, the ſtrict intelligence he held, the pernicious and diſhonourable Peace he made with them, not ſollicited but rather ſolliciting, which by all invocations that were holy he had in publick abjur'd. They reveal'd his endeavours to bring in forren Forces, Iriſh, French, Dutch, Lorrainers, and our old Invaders the Danes upon us, beſides his ſuttleties and myſterious arts in treating: to ſum up all, they ſhew'd him govern'd by a Woman. All which, though ſuſpected vehemently before, and from good grounds beleev'd, yet by him and his adherents peremptorily deny'd, were by the op'ning of that Cabinet viſible to all men under his own hand.

The Parlament therfore, to clear themſelves of aſperſing him without cauſe, and that the people might no longer be abus'd and cajol'd, as they call it, by Falſities and Court-impudence, in matters of ſo high concernment, to let them know on what terms thir duty ſtood, and the Kingdom's peace, conceav'd it moſt expedient and neceſſary that thoſe Leters ſhould be made publick. This the King affirms was by them done without *honour and civilitie*: words, which if they contain not in them, as in the language of a Courtier moſt commonly they do not, more of ſubſtance and realitie then Complement, Ceremony, Court-fauning and diſſembling, enter not I ſuppoſe furder then the ear into any wiſe man's conſideration. Matters were not then between the Parlament and a King thir enemie in that ſtate of trifling, as to obſerve thoſe ſuperficial Vanities. But if honour and civilitie mean, as they did of old, diſcretion, honeſty, prudence, and plain truth, it will be then maintain'd againſt any Sect of thoſe *Cabaliſts*, that the Parlament in doing what they did with thoſe Letters, could ſuffer in thir honour and civilitie no diminution. The reaſons are alreadie heard.

And that it is with none more familiar then with Kings to tranſgreſs the bounds of all honour and civility, there ſhould not want examples good ſtore, if brevity would permit; in point of Letters this one ſhall ſuffice. The *Dutcheſs* of *Burgundie* and Heir of *Duke Charles*, had promis'd to her Subjects that ſhe intended no otherwiſe to govern, then by advice of the three Eſtates; but to *Lewis* the French King had writt'n Letters, that ſhe had reſolv'd to commit wholly the managing of her affairs to four Perſons, whom ſhe nam'd. The three Eſtates not doubting the ſincerity of her Princely word, ſend Embaſſadors to *Lewis*, who then beſeig'd *Arras* belonging to the Dukes of *Burgundy*. The King taking hold of this occaſion to ſet them at diviſion among themſelves, queſtion'd thir Credence; which when they offer'd to produce with thir Inſtructions, he not only ſhews them the privat Letter of thir Dutcheſs, but gives it them to carry home, wherwith to affront her; which they did, ſhe denying it ſtoutly, till they ſpreading it before her face in a full Aſſembly, convicted her of an open lie. Which although *Commines* the Hiſtorian much blames, as a deed too harſh and diſhonourable in them who were Subjects, and not at War with thir Princeſs, yet to his Maſter *Lewis*, who firſt divulg'd thoſe Letters, to the op'n ſhaming of that young Governeſs, he imputes no incivilitie or diſhonour at all, although betraying a certain confidence repoſ'd by that Letter in his Royal Secrecie.

With much more reaſon then may Letters not intercepted only, but won in battle from an Enemie, be made public to the beſt advantages of them that win them, to the diſcovery of ſuch important truth or falſhood. Was it not more diſhonourable in himſelf to fain ſuſpicions and jealouſies, which we firſt found among thoſe Letters, touching the chaſtitie of his Mother, thereby to gain aſſiſtance from the King of *Denmark*, as in vindication of his Siſter? The Damſel of *Burgundie* at ſight of her own Letter was ſoon blank, and more ingenuous then to ſtand outfacing; but this man whom nothing will convince, thinks by talking world without end to make good his integrity and fair dealing, contradicted by his own Hand and Seal. They who can pick nothing out of them but phraſes, ſhall be counted *Bees*: they that diſcern furder both there and heer, that *conſtancy to his Wife* is ſet in place before Laws and Religion, are in his naturalities no better then *Spiders*.

He would work the people to a perſwaſion, that *if he be miſerable, they cannot be happy.* What ſhould hinder them? Were they all born Twins of *Hippocrates* with him and his fortune, one birth one burial? It were a Nation miſerable indeed, not worth the name of a Nation, but a race of Idiots, whoſe happineſs and welfare depended upon one Man. The happineſs of a Nation conſiſts in true Religion, Piety, Juſtice, Prudence, Temperance, Fortitude, and the contempt of Avarice and Ambition. They in whomſoever theſe vertues dwell eminently, need not Kings to make them happy, but are the Architects of thir own happineſs; and whether to themſelves or others are not leſs then Kings. But in him which of theſe vertues were to be found, that might extend to the making happy, or the well-governing of ſo much as his own houſhold, which was the moſt licentious and ill-govern'd in the whole Land?

But the op'ning of his Letters was deſign'd by the Parlament to make *all Reconciliation deſperate.* Are the lives of ſo many good and faithful men that dy'd for the freedom of thir Country, to be ſo ſlighted, as to be forgott'n in a ſtupid reconcilement without Juſtice don them? What he fears not by War and Slaughter, ſhould we fear *to make deſperate* by op'ning his Letters? Which fact he would parallel with *Chams* revealing of his Father's nakedneſs: When he at that time could be no way eſteem'd *the Father of his Countrie* but the Deſtroyer; nor had he ever before merited that former title.

*He thanks God he cannot only bear this with patience, but with charity forgive the* doers. Is not this meer mockery, to thank God for what he can do, but will not? For is it patience to impute *Barbariſm and Inhumanity* to the op'ning of an Enemies Letter, or is it Charity to clothe them with curſes in his Prayer, whom he hath forgiv'n in his Diſcours? In which Prayer to ſhew how readily he can return good for evil to the Parlament, and that if they take away his Coat, he can let them have his Cloak alſo; for the diſmantling of his Letters he wiſhes *they may be cover'd with the Cloak of Confuſion.* Which I ſuppoſe they do reſign with much willingneſs, both Livery, Badg, and Cognizance, to them who choſe rather to be his Servants and Vaſſals, then to ſtand againſt him for the Liberty of thir Country.

# XXII. *Upon his going to the Scots.*

THE Kings coming in, whether to the Scots or Engliſh, deſerv'd no thanks: For *neceſſity was his Counſellor*; and that he hated them both alike, his expreſſions every where manifeſt. Som ſay his purpoſe was to have come to *London*, till hearing how ſtrictly it was proclaim'd that no man ſhould conceal him, he diverted his courſe. But that had bin a frivolous excuſe: and beſides, he himſelf rehearſing the conſultations had before he took his journey, ſhews us cleerly that he was determin'd to adventure *upon thir Loyalty who firſt began his troubles*. And that the Scots had notice of it before, hath bin long ſince brought to light. What prudence there could be in it, no man can imagin; Malice there might be by raiſing new jealouſies to divide Friends. For beſides his diffidence of the Engliſh, it was no ſmall diſhonour that he put upon them, when rather than yield himſelf to the Parlament of *England*, he yielded to a hireling Army of Scots in *England*, paid for their ſervice heer, not in Scotch coyn, but in Engliſh Silver; nay who from the firſt beginning of theſe troubles, what with brotherly aſſiſtance, and what with monthly pay, have defended thir own Liberty and Conſciences at our charge. However it was a hazardous and raſh journey taken *to reſolve riddles in mens Loyalty*, who had more reaſon to miſtruſt the riddle of ſuch a diſguiſed yeelding; and to put himſelf in thir hands whoſe Loyalty was a Riddle to him, was not the cours to be reſolv'd of it, but to tempt it. *What Providence deni'd to Force*, he thought *it might grant* to Fraud, which he ſtiles *Prudence*: But Providence was not cozen'd with diſguiſes, neither outward nor inward.

To have known *his greateſt danger in his ſuppoſed ſafety, and his greateſt ſafety in his ſuppoſed danger*, was to him a fatal riddle never yet reſolv'd; wherein rather to have imploy'd his main skill had been much more to his preſervation.

Had he *known when the Game was loſt*, it might have ſav'd much *conteſt*; but the way *to give over fairly* was not to ſlip out of op'n War into a new diſguiſe. He lays down his Arms, but not his Wiles; nor all his Arms; for in obſtinacy he comes no leſs arm'd then ever, *Cap a pè*. And what were they but wiles, continually to move for Treaties, and yet to perſiſt the ſame man, and to *fortifie his mind* before hand, ſtill purpoſing to grant no more then what ſeem'd good to that violent and lawleſs Triumvirate within him, under the falſifi'd names of his Reaſon, Honour, and Conſcience, the old circulating dance of his ſhifts and evaſions?

*The words of a King*, as they are *full of power*, in the autority and ſtrength of Law, ſo like *Sampſon* without the ſtrength of that *Nazarites* lock, they have no more power in them then the words of another Man.

He adores Reaſon as *Domitian* did *Minerva*, and calls her the *Divineſt power*, thereby to intimate as if at reaſoning, as at his own weapon, no man were ſo able as himſelf. Might we be ſo happy as to know where theſe monuments of his Reaſon may be ſeen; for in his actions and his writing they appear as thinly as could be expected from the meaneſt parts, bred up in the midſt of ſo many ways extraordinary to know ſomthing. He who reads his talk, would think he had left *Oxford* not without mature deliberation: Yet his Prayer confeſſes that *he knew not what to do*. Thus is verifi'd that Pſalm; *he poureth contempt upon Princes, and cauſeth them to wander in the Wilderneſs where there is no way*, Pſal. 107.

## XXIII. *Upon the Scots delivering the King to the Engliſh.*

THAT the Scots in *England* ſhould *ſell thir King*, as he himſelf here aſfirms, and for a *price ſo much above that*, which the covetouſneſs of *Judas* was contented with to ſell *our Saviour*, is ſo foul an infamy and diſhonour caſt upon them, as befits none to vindicate but themſelves. And it were but friendly Counſel to wiſh them beware the Son, who comes among them with a firm belief that they ſold his Father. The reſt of this Chapter he ſacrifices to the echo of his Conſcience, out-babling Creeds and Ave's, glorying in his reſolute obſtinacy, and as it were triumphing how *evident it is now* that *not evil Counſellors*, but he himſelf hath been the Author of all our Troubles. Herein only we ſhall diſagree to the Worlds end, while he who ſought ſo manifeſtly to have annihilated all our Laws and Liberties, hath the confidence to perſwade us that he hath *fought* and *ſuffer'd* all this while in thir defence.

But he who neither by his own Letters and Commiſſions under Hand and Seal, nor by his own actions held as in a Mirror before his face, will be convinc'd to ſee his faults, can much leſs be won upon by any force of words, neither he, nor any that take after him; who in that reſpect are no more to be diſputed with then they who deny principles. No queſtion then, but the Parlament did wiſely in thir decree at laſt, to make no more Addreſſes. For how unalterable his will was, that would have bin our Lord, how uttterly averſe from the Parlament and Reformation during his confinement, we may behold in this Capter. But to be ever anſwering fruitleſs Repetitions, I ſhould become liable to anſwer for the ſame my ſelf. He borrows *Davids* Pſalms, as he charges the *Aſſembly of Divines* in his twentieth Diſcourſe, *To have ſet forth old Catechiſms and Confeſſions of Faith new dreſt*. Had he borrow'd *Davids* heart, it had bin much the holier theſt. For ſuch kind of borrowing as this, if it be not better'd by the borrower, among good Authors is accounted *Plagiarie*. However, this was more tolerable then *Pamela's* Praier ſtol'n out of Sir *Philip*.

## XXIV. *Upon the denying him the attendance of his Chaplains.*

A CHAPLAIN is a thing ſo diminutive and inconſiderable, that how he ſhould come heer among matters of ſo great concernment to take ſuch room up in the Diſcourſes of a Prince, if it be not wonder'd, is to be ſmil'd at. Certainly by me ſo mean an Argument ſhall not be writt'n; but I ſhall huddle him, as he does Prayers. The Scripture owns no ſuch order, no ſuch function in the Church; and the Church not owning them, they are left, for ought I know, to ſuch a furder examining as the Sons of *Sceva* the Jew met with; Biſhops or Presbyters we know, and Deacons we know, but what are Chaplains? In State perhaps they may be liſted among the upper ſerving-men of ſome great houſhold, and be admitted to ſom ſuch place, as may ſtile them the Sewers, or the Yeomen Uſhers of Devotion, where the Maſter is too reſtie, or too rich to ſay his own Prayers, or to bleſs his own Table. Wherfore ſhould the Parlament then take ſuch implements of the Court Cupbord into thir conſideration? They knew them to have been the main corrupters at the Kings elbow; they knew the King to have bin always thir moſt attentive Scholar and Imitator, and of a Child to have ſuckt from them and thir Cloſet-work all his impotent Principles of Tyrannie and Superſtition. While therfore they had any hope left of his reclaiming, theſe ſowers of Malignant Tares they kept aſunder from him, and ſent to him ſuch of the Miniſters and other zealous Perſons as they thought were beſt able to inſtruct him, and to convert him. What could Religion her ſelf have don more to the ſaving of a Soul? But when they found him paſt Cure, and that he to himſelf was grown the moſt evil Counſeler of all, they deny'd him not his Chaplains, as many as were fitting, and ſom of them attended him, or els were at his call to the very laſt. Yet heer he makes more Lamentation for the want of his Chaplains, then ſuperſtitious *Micah* did to the *Danites*, who had tak'n away his houſhold Prieſt: *Te have tak'n away my Gods which I made, and the Prieſt, and what have I more?* And perhaps the whole Story of *Micah* might ſquare not unfitly to this Argument: *Now know I,* ſaith he, *that the Lord will do me good, ſeeing I have a Levite to my Prieſt.* *Micah* had as great a care that his Prieſt ſhould be Moſaical, as the King had that his ſhould be *Apoſtolical*; yet both in errour touching thir Prieſts. Houſhold and privat Oriſons were not to be officiated by Prieſts; for neither did public Prayer appertain only to thir office. Kings heertofore, *David*, *Salomon*, and *Jehoſophat*, who might not touch the Prieſthood, yet might pray in public, yea in the Temple, while the Prieſts themſelves ſtood and heard. What aild this King then, that he could not chew his own Mattins without the Prieſts *Ore tenus?* Yet it is like he could not pray at home, who can heer publiſh a whole Prayer-book of his own, and ſignifies in ſome part of this Chapter almoſt as good a mind to be a Prieſt himſelf, as *Micah* had to let his Son be. There was doubtleſs therfore ſome other matter in it which made him ſo deſirous to have his Chaplains about him, who were not only the contrivers, but very oft the inſtruments alſo of his deſigns.

The Miniſters which were ſent him no marvel he indur'd not; for they preacht repentance to him: the others gave him eaſie confeſſion, eaſie abſolution, nay *ſtrengthn'd his hands, and hard'nd his heart*, by applauding him in his wilful ways. To them he was an *Ahab*, to theſe a *Conſtantine*; it muſt follow then that they to him were as unwelcome as *Eliah* was to *Ahab*, theſe as deer and pleaſing as *Amaziah* the Prieſt of *Bethel* was to *Jeroboam*. Theſe had learnt well the leſſon that would pleaſe; *Propheſie not againſt* Bethel, *for it is the Kings Chappel, the Kings Court*; and had taught the King to ſay of thoſe Miniſters which the Parlament had ſent, Amos *hath conſpir'd againſt me, the Land is not able to bear all his words.*

Returning to our firſt Parallel, this King lookt upon his Prelats, *as Orphans under the ſacrilegious eyes of many rapacious Reformers:* and there was as great fear of Sacrilege between *Micah* and his Mother, till with thir holy treaſure, about the loſs whereof there was ſuch a curſing, they made a grav'n and a molt'n *Image*, and got a Prieſt of thir own. To let go his criticizing about the *ſound of Prayers, imperious, rude, or paſſionat* modes of his own deviſing, we are in danger to fall again upon the flats and ſhallows of Liturgie. Which if I ſhould repeat again, would turn my anſwers into *Reſponſories*, and beget another Liturgie, having too much of one already.

This only I ſhall add, that if the heart, as he alleges, cannot ſafely *join with another mans extemporal ſufficiency*, becauſe we know not ſo exactly what they mean to ſay, then thoſe public Prayers made in the Temple by thoſe forenamed Kings, and by the Apoſtles in the Congregation, and by the ancient Chriſtians for above three hundred years before Liturgies came in, were with the people made in vain.

After he hath acknowledg'd that Kings heertofore pray'd without Chaplains, ev'n publicly in the Temple it ſelf, and that every *privat Beleever is inveſted with a royal Prieſthood*; yet like one that reliſht not what he *taſted of the heav'nly gift, and the good word of God*, whoſe name he ſo confidently takes into his mouth, he frames to himſelf impertinent and vain reaſons why he ſhould rather pray by the officiating mouth of a Cloſet-Chaplain. *Thir Prayers*, ſaith he, *are more prevalent, they flow from minds more enlightn'd, from affections leſs diſtracted.* Admit this true, which is not, this might be ſomthing ſaid as to thir prayers for him, but what avails it to thir praying with him? If his own mind *be incumbred with ſecular affairs*, what helps it his particular prayer, tho the mind of his Chaplain be not wandring, either after new preferment, or his dinner? The fervencie of one man in prayer cannot ſupererogate for the coldneſs of another; neither can *his ſpiritual defects* in that duty be made out in the acceptance of God by another mans abilities. Let him endeavour to have more light in himſelf, and not to walk by another mans Lamp, but to get Oyle into his own. Let him caſt from him, as in a Chriſtian warfare, that ſecular incumbrance which either diſtracts or overloads him; his load els will never be the leſs heavie, becauſe another mans is light. Thus theſe pious flouriſhes and colours examin'd throughly, are like the Apples of *Aſphaltis*, appearing goodly to the ſudden eye, but look well upon them, or at leaſt but touch them, and they turn into Cinders.

In his Prayer he remembers what *voices of joy and gladneſs* there were in his Chappel, *God's Houſe*, in his opinion, between the Singing-men and the Organs; and this was *unity of ſpirit in the bond of peace*; the vanity, ſuperſtition, and miſdevotion of which place, was a ſcandal far and neer: Wherin ſo many things were ſung, and pray'd in thoſe Songs which were not underſtood: and yet he who makes a difficulty how the people can join thir hearts to extemporal Prayers, though diſtinctly heard and underſtood, makes no queſtion how they ſhould join thir hearts in unitie to ſongs not underſtood.

I beleeve that God is no more mov'd with a prayer elaborately pen'd, then men truly charitable, are mov'd with the pen'd ſpeech of a Beggar.

Finally, O ye Miniſters, read here what work he makes among your Gally-pots, your *Balms* and *Cordials*; and not only your *ſweet Sippets* in Widows Houſes, but the huge gobbets wherwith he charges you, to have devour'd houſes and all; the *houſes of your Brethren, your King, and your God.* Cry him up for a Saint in your Pulpits, while he cries you down for Atheiſts into Hell.

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# XXV. *Upon his penitential Meditations and Vows at* Holmby.

IT is not hard for any man who hath a Bible in his hands, to borrow good words and holy ſayings in abundance; but to make them his own, is a work of grace only from above. He borrows here many penitential Verſes out of *David's* Pſalms. So did many among thoſe Iſraelites, who had revolted from the true Worſhip of God, *invent to themſelves inſtruments of muſick like David*, and probably Pſalms alſo like his, and yet the Profet *Amos* complains heavily againſt them. But to prove how ſhort this is of true repentance, I will recite the penitence of others, who have repented, in words not borrow'd, but thir own, and yet by the doom of Scripture it ſelf are judg'd reprobates.

*Cain* ſaid *unto the Lord, My Iniquity is greater then I can bear: behold thou haſt driv'n me this day from the face of the earth, and from thy face ſhall I be hid.*

*And when* Eſau *heard the words of his Father, he cry'd with an exceeding bitter cry, and ſaid, Bleſs me, ev'n me alſo O my Father*; yet *found no place of repentance, though he ſought it carefully with tears*, Heb. 12.

And *Pharaoh* ſaid to *Moſes*; *The Lord is righteous, I and my people are wicked; I have ſin'd againſt the Lord your God, and againſt you.*

And *Balaam* ſaid, *Let me die the death of the righteous, and let my laſt end be like his.*

And *Saul* ſaid to *Samuel*, *I have ſin'd, for I have tranſgreſs'd the commandment of the Lord; yet honour me now I pray thee before the Elders of my People.*

*And when* Ahab *heard the words of* Eliah, *he rent his cloaths, and put ſackcloth upon his fleſh, and faſted, and lay in ſackcloth, and went ſoftly.*

*Jehoram* alſo *rent his cloaths, and the people look'd, and behold he had ſackcloth upon his fleſh*; yet in the very act of his humiliation he could ſay, *God do ſo, and more alſo to me, if the head of* Eliſhah *ſhall ſtand on him this day.*

Therfore *ſaith the Lord, They have not cry'd unto me with thir heart, when they howl'd upon thir beds. They return, but not to the Moſt High.* Hoſea 7.

And *Judas* ſaid, *I have ſin'd in that I have betray'd innocent blood.*

And *Simon Magus* ſaid, *Pray ye to the Lord for me that none of theſe things come upon me.*

All theſe took the pains both to confeſs and to repent in thir own words, and many of them in thir own tears, not in *David's*. But tranſported with the vain oſtentation of imitating *David's* language, not his life, obſerve how he brings a curſe upon himſelf and his Father's houſe (God ſo diſpoſing it) by his uſurp'd and ill-imitated Prayer, *Let thy anger I beſeech thee be againſt me and my Father's houſe ; as for theſe Sheep what have they done.* For if *David* indeed ſin'd in numbring the people, of which fault he in earneſt made that confeſſion, and acquitted the whole people from the guilt of that ſin ; then doth this King, uſing the ſame words, bear witneſs againſt himſelf to be the guilty Perſon, and either in his Soul and Conſcience here acquits the Parlament and the People, or els abuſes the words of *David*, and diſſembles groſly ev'n to the face of God ; which is apparent in the very next line ; wherein he accuſes ev'n the Church it ſelf to God, as if ſhe were *the Churches Enemie*, for having overcome his Tyranny by the powerful and miraculous might of God's manifeſt arm : For to other ſtrength in the midſt of our diviſions and diſorders, who can attribute our Victories ? Thus had this miſerable man no worſe enemies to ſollicit and mature his own deſtruction, from the haſtn'd ſentence of divine Juſtice, then the obdurate curſes which proceeded againſt himſelf out of his own mouth.

Hitherto his Meditations, now his Vows, which as the Vows of Hypocrites uſe to be, are moſt commonly abſurd, and ſome wicked. *Jacob* vow'd that God ſhould be his God, if he granted him but what was neceſſary to perform that Vow, life and ſubſiſtence : but the obedience profer'd here is nothing ſo cheap. He who took ſo hainouſly to be offer'd nineteen Propoſitions from the Parlament, capitulates here with God almoſt in as many Articles.

*If he will continue that light*, or rather that darkneſs, of the Goſpel, which is among his Prelates, ſettle thir Luxuries, and make them gorgeous Biſhops ;

If he will *reſtore* the grievances and miſchiefs of thoſe obſolet and Popiſh Laws, which the Parlament without his conſent hath abrogated, and will ſuffer Juſtice to be executed according to his ſenſe ;

*If he will ſuppreſs the many Schiſms in Church*, to contradict himſelf in that which he hath foretold muſt and ſhall come to paſs, and will remove Reformation as the greateſt Schiſm of all, and Factions in the State, by which he means in every leaf the Parlament ;

If he will *reſtore him* to his Negative voice and the Militia, as much as to ſay, to arbitrary Power, which he wrongfully avers to be the *right of his Predeceſſors* ;

*If he will turn the hearts of his people* to thir old Cathedral and Parochial ſervice in the Liturgie, and their Paſſive Obedience to the King ;

*If he will quench* the Army, and withdraw our Forces from withſtanding the Piracy of *Rupert*, and the plotted Iriſh Invaſion ;

*If he will bleſs him with the freedom* of Biſhops again in the Houſe of Peers, and of fugitive Delinquents in the Houſe of Commons, *and deliver the honour of Parlament* into his hands, from the moſt natural and due protection of the people, that entruſted them with the dangerous enterprize of being faithful to thir Country againſt the rage and malice of his tyrannous oppoſition ;

*If he will keep him from that great offence* of following the counſel of his Parlament, and *enacting* what they adviſe him to, which in all reaſon, and by the known Law and Oath of his Coronation he ought to do, and not to call that *Sacrilege* which Neceſſity through the continuance of his own Civil War hath compell'd them to ; Neceſſity, which made *David* eat the Shew-bread, made *Ezekiah* take all the Silver which was found in God's Houſe, and cut off the Gold which overlaid thoſe dores and pillars, and give it to *Senacherib* ; Neceſſitie, which ofttimes made the Primitive Church to ſell her ſacred Utenſils, ev'n to the Communion-Chalice ;

*If he will reſtore him to a capacity of glorifying him by doing* that both in Church and State, which muſt needs diſhonour and pollute his Name ;

*If he will bring him again with peace, honour and ſafety to his chief City*, without repenting, without ſatisfying for the blood ſpilt, only for a few politick Conceſſions which are as good as nothing ;

*If he will put again the Sword into his hand, to puniſh* thoſe that have deliver'd us, and to *protect* Delinquents againſt the Juſtice of Parlament ;

Then, if it be poſſible to reconcile Contradictions, he will praiſe him by diſpleaſing him, and ſerve him by diſſerving him.

*His glory*, in the gaudy Copes and painted Windows, Miters, Rochets, Altars, and the chanted Service-Book, *ſhall be dearer to him* then the eſtabliſhing his *Crown* in righteouſneſs, and the ſpiritual power of Religion.

*He will pardon thoſe that have offended him in particular*, but there ſhall want no ſuttle ways to be ev'n with them upon another ſcore of thir ſuppos'd Offences againſt the Common-wealth; whereby he may at once affect the glory of a ſeeming juſtice, and deſtroy them pleaſantly, while he fains to forgive them as to his own particular, and outwardly bewails them.

Theſe are the conditions of his treating with God, to whom he bates nothing of what he ſtood upon with the Parlament: as if Commiſſions of Array could deal with him alſo. But of all theſe conditions, as it is now evident in our eyes, God accepted none, but that final Petition which he ſo oft, no doubt but by the ſecret judgment of God, importunes againſt his own head; praying God, *That his mercies might be ſo toward him, as his reſolutions of truth and peace were toward his people.* It follows then, God having cut him off without granting any of theſe mercies, that his reſolutions were as fained, as his Vows are fruſtrate.

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# XXVI. *Upon the Armies ſurpriſal of the King at* Holmby.

TO give account to Royaliſts what was done with thir vanquiſht King, yielded up into our hands, is not to be expected from them whom God hath made his Conquerors. And for Brethren to debate and rip up thir falling out in the ear of a common enemy, thereby making him the Judg, or at leaſt the well-pleas'd auditor of thir diſagreement, is neither wiſe nor comely. To the King therfore, were he living, or to his Party yet remaining, as to this action, there belongs no anſwer. Emulations, all men know are incident among military men, and are, if they exceed not, pardonable. But ſome of the former Army, eminent anough for thir own martial deeds, and prevalent in the Houſe of Commons, touch'd with envy to be ſo far outdone by a new model which they contemn'd, took advantage of Presbyterian and Independent Names, and the virulence of ſome Miniſters, to raiſe diſturbance. And the War being then ended, thought ſlightly to have diſcarded them, who had faithfully done the work, without thir due pay, and the reward of thir invincible valour. But they who had the Sword yet in thir hands, diſdaining to be made the firſt objects of ingratitude and oppreſſion, after all that expence of thir blood for Juſtice and the common Liberty, ſeiz'd upon the King thir Priſoner, whom nothing but thir matchleſs deeds had brought ſo low as to ſurrender up his Perſon: though he, to ſtir up new diſcord, choſe rather to give up himſelf a captive to his own Country-men who leſs had won him. This in likelihood might have grown to ſome height of miſchief; partly through the ſtrife which was kindling between our elder and our younger Warriors, but chiefly through the ſeditious tongues of ſome falſe Miniſters, more zealous againſt Sciſms, then againſt thir own Simony and Pluralities, or watchful of the common Enemy, whoſe ſuttle inſinuations had got ſo far in among them, as with all diligence to blow the coles. But it pleas'd God not to embroil and put to confuſion his whole people for the perverſneſs of a few. The growth of our diſſention was either prevented, or ſoon quieted; the Enemy ſoon deceav'd of his rejoicing, and the King eſpecially diſappointed of not the meaneſt morſel that his hope preſented him, to ruin us by our diviſion. And being now ſo nigh the end, we may the better be at leaſure to ſtay a while, and hear him commenting upon his own Captivity.

He ſaith of his ſurpriſal, that it was a *motion eccentrick and irregular*. What then? his own alluſion, from the Celeſtial bodies, puts us in mind that irregular motions may be neceſſary on earth ſometimes as well as conſtantly in Heaven. That is not always beſt which is moſt regular to writt'n Law. Great Worthies heretofore by diſobeying Law, ofttimes have ſav'd the Common-wealth: and the Law afterward by firm Decree hath approv'd that planetary motion, that unblamable exorbitancy in them.

He means no good to either Independent or Presbyterian, and yet his parable, like that of *Balaam*, is overrul'd to portend them good, far beſide his intention. *Thoſe twins* that ſtrove *enclos'd in the womb* of *Rebeccah*, were the ſeed of *Abraham*; the younger undoubtedly gain'd the heavnly Birthright; the elder though ſupplanted in his Similie, ſhall yet no queſtion find a better portion then *Eſau* found, and far above his uncircumcis'd Prelates.

He cenſures, and in cenſuring ſeems to hope *it will be an ill Omen* that they *who build* Jeruſalem *divide thir tongues and hands.* But his hope fail'd him with his example; for that there were diviſions both of tongues and hands at the building of *Jeruſalem*, the Story would have certifi'd him; and yet the work proſper'd: and if God will, ſo may this, notwithſtanding all the craft and malignant wiles of *Sanballat* and *Tobiah*, adding what fuel they can to our diſſentions; or the indignity of his compariſon, that lik'ns us to thoſe ſeditious *Zelots* whoſe *inteſtine fury* brought deſtruction to the laſt *Jeruſalem.*

It being now no more in his hand to be reveng'd on his oppoſers, he ſeeks to ſatiate his fanſie with the imagination of ſome revenge upon them from above; and like one who in a drowth obſerves the Skie, ſits and watches when any thing will drop, that might ſolace him with the likeneſs of a Puniſhment from Heav'n upon us: which he ſtrait expounds how he pleaſes. No evil can befal the Parlament or City, but he poſitively interprets it a judgment upon them for his ſake; as if the very manuſcript of God's Judgments had bin deliver'd to his cuſtody and expoſition. But his reading declares it well to be a fals copy which he uſes; diſpenſing oft'n to his own bad deeds and ſucceſſes the teſtimony of Divine Favour, and to the good deeds and ſucceſſes of other men, Divine Wrath and Vengeance. But to counterfet the hand of God is the boldeſt of all Forgery: And he who without warrant, but his own fantaſtick ſurmiſe, takes upon him perpetually to unfold the ſecret and unſearchable Myſteries of high Providence, is likely for the moſt part to miſtake and ſlander them; and approaches to the madneſs of thoſe reprobate thoughts, that would wreſt the Sword of Juſtice out of God's own hand, and imploy it more juſtly in his own conceit. It was a ſmall thing to contend with the Parlament about the ſole power of the Militia, when we ſee him doing little leſs then laying hands on the weapons of God himſelf, which are his judgments, to weild and manage them by the ſway and bent of his own frail Cogitations. Therefore *they that by Tumults firſt occaſion'd the raiſing of Armies*, in his doom *muſt* needs *be chaſtn'd by thir own Army for new Tumults.*

Firſt note here his confeſſion, that thoſe Tumults were the firſt occaſion of raiſing Armies, and by conſequence that he himſelf rais'd them firſt againſt thoſe ſuppoſed Tumults. But who occaſion'd thoſe Tumults, or who made them ſo, being at firſt nothing more then the unarmed and peaceable concourſe of people, hath bin diſcuſt already. And that thoſe pretended Tumults were chaſtiz'd by thir own Army for new Tumults, is not prov'd by a Game at tic-tack with words; *Tumults and Armies, Armies and Tumults*, but ſeems more like the method of a Juſtice irrational then divine.

If the City were chaſt'nd by the Army for new Tumults, the reaſon is by himſelf ſet down evident and immediate, *thir new Tumults.* With what ſenſe can it be referr'd then to another far-fetch'd and imaginary cauſe that happn'd ſo many years before, and in his ſuppoſition only as a cauſe? *Manlius* defended the Capitol and the Romans from thir enemies the *Gauls*: *Manlius* for ſedition afterward was by the Romans thrown headlong from the Capitol, therefore *Manlius* was puniſh'd by divine Juſtice for defending the Capitol, becauſe in that place puniſh'd for ſedition, and by thoſe whom he defended. This is his Logick upon Divine Juſtice; and was the ſame before upon the death of Sir *John Hotham.* And here again, *ſuch as were content to ſee him driv'n away by unſuppreſſed Tumults, are now forc'd to fly to an Army.* Was this a judgment? was it not a mercy rather that they had a noble and victorious Army ſo near at hand to fly to?

From God's Juſtice he comes down to *Man's Juſtice.* Thoſe few of both Houſes *who at firſt withdrew with him* from the vain pretence of Tumults, *were counted Deſertors*; therſore thoſe many muſt be alſo Deſertors who withdrew afterwards from real Tumults: as if it were the place that made a Parlament, and not the end and cauſe. Becauſe it is deny'd thoſe were Tumults from which the King made ſhew of being driv'n, is it therſore of neceſſity impli'd, that there could be never any Tumults for the future? If ſome men fly in craft, may not other men have cauſe to fly in earneſt? But mark the difference between thir flight and his; they ſoon return'd in ſafety to thir places, he not till after many years, and then a Captive to receive his puniſhment. So that thir flying, whether the cauſe be conſider'd or the event, or both, neither juſtifi'd him, nor *condemn'd themſelves.*

But he will needs have *vengeance to purſue and overtake them*; though to bring it in, it coſt him an inconvenient and obnoxious compariſon, *As the Mice and Rats overtook a German Biſhop.* I would our Mice and Rats had bin as orthodoxal here, and had ſo purſu'd all his Biſhops out of *England*; then vermin had rid away vermin, which now hath loſt the lives of too many thouſand honeſt men to do.

*He cannot but obſerve this Divine Juſtice yet with ſorrow and pity.* But ſorrow and pity in a weak and overmaſter'd Enemy, is lookt upon no otherwiſe then as the Aſhes of his revenge burnt out upon it ſelf; or as the damp of a cool'd fury when we ſay it gives. But in this manner to ſit ſpelling and obſerving Divine Juſtice upon every accident and ſlight diſturbance that may happ'n humanly to the affairs of Men, is but another fragment of his brok'n revenge; and yet the ſhrewdeſt and the cunningeſt Obloquie that can be thrown upon thir Actions. For if he can perſwade men that the Parlament and thir cauſe is purſu'd with Divine Vengeance, he hath attain'd his end, to make all men forſake them, and think the worſt that can be thought of them.

Nor is he only content to ſuborn Divine Juſtice in his cenſure of what is paſt, but he aſſumes the perſon of Chriſt himſelf to prognoſticate over us what he wiſhes would come. So little is any thing or perſon ſacred from him, no not in Heav'n, which he will not uſe, and put on, if it may ſerve him plauſibly to wreck his ſpleen, or eaſe his mind upon the Parlament. Although if ever *fatal blindneſs* did both *attend and puniſh* wilfulneſs, if ever any *enjoi'd not comforts* for *neglecting counſel belonging to thir peace*, it was in none more evidently brought to paſs then in himſelf: and his Predictions againſt the Parlament and thir Adherents have for the moſt part bin verify'd upon his own head, and upon his chief Counſellors.

He concludes with high praiſes of the Army. But praiſes in an Enemy are ſuperfluous, or ſmell of craft; and the Army ſhall not need his praiſes, nor the Parlament fare worſe for his accuſing prayers that follow. Wherin as his Charity can be no way comparable to that of Chriſt, ſo neither can his aſſurance that they whom he ſeems to pray for, in doing what they did againſt him, *knew not what they did.* It was but arrogance therfore, and not charity, to lay ſuch ignorance to others in the ſight of God, till he himſelf had bin infallible, like him whoſe peculiar words he overweeningly aſſumes.

# XXVII. *Intitl'd to the Prince of Wales.*

WHAT the King wrote to his Son, as a Father, concerns not us; what he wrote to him as a King of *England*, concerns not him; God and the Parlament having now otherwiſe diſpos'd of *England*. But becauſe I ſee it done with ſome artifice and labour, to poſſeſs the people that they might amend thir preſent condition, by his or by his Son's reſtorement, I ſhall ſhew point by point, that although the King had bin reinſtall'd to his deſire, or that his Son admitted, ſhould obſerve exactly all his Father's Precepts, yet that this would be ſo far from conducing to our happineſs, either as a *remedy to the preſent diſtempers, or a prevention of the like to come*, that it would inevitably throw us back again into all our paſt and fulfill'd miſeries; would force us to fight over again all our tedious Wars, and put us to another fatal ſtruggling for Libertie and Life, more dubious then the former. In which as our ſucceſs hath bin no other then our cauſe; ſo it will be evident to all poſteritie, that his *miſfortunes* were the meer conſequence of his perverſe *Judgment*.

Firſt he argues from *the experience of thoſe troubles* which both he and his Son have had, to the improvement of thir *piety and patience:* and by the way bears witneſs in his own words, that the corrupt education of his youth, which was but glanc'd at only in ſome former paſſages of this Anſwer, was a thing neither of mean conſideration, nor untruly charg'd upon him or his Son: himſelf confeſſing here that *Court-delights are prone either to root up all true vertue and honour, or to be contented only with ſome leavs and withering formalities of them, without any real fruits tending to the publick good:* Which preſents him ſtill in his own words another *Rehoboam*, *ſoft'nd* by a far worſe Court then *Salomon's, and ſo corrupted* by *flatteries*, which he affirms to be *unſeparable*, to the overturning of all *peace*, and the loſs of his own Honour and Kingdoms. That he came therefore thus bred up and nurtur'd to the Throne, far worſe then *Rehoboam*, unleſs he be of thoſe who equaliz'd his Father to King *Salomon*, we have here his own confeſſion. And how voluptuouſly, how idely raigning in the hands of other men, he either tyranniz'd or trifl'd away thoſe ſeventeen years of peace, without care or thought, as if to be a King had bin nothing elſe in his apprehenſion, but to eat and drink, and have his will, and take his pleaſure; though there be who can relate his domeſtick life to the exactneſs of a diary, there ſhall be here no mention made. This yet we might have then foreſeen, that he who ſpent his leiſure ſo remiſly and ſo corruptly to his own pleaſing, would one day or other be worſe buſied and imploy'd to our ſorrow. And that he acted in good earneſt what *Rehoboam* did but threat'n, to make his little finger heavier than his Father's loins, and to whip us with his two-twiſted Scorpions, both temporal and ſpiritual Tyranny, all his Kingdoms have felt. What good uſe he made afterward of his adverſitie, both his impenitence and obſtinacy to the end (for he was no *Manaſſeh*) and the ſequel of theſe his meditated reſolutions, abundantly expreſs; retaining, commending, teaching to his Son all thoſe putrid and pernicious documents both of State and of Religion, inſtill'd by wicked Doctors, and receiv'd by him as in a Veſſel nothing better ſeaſon'd, which were the firſt occaſion both of his own and all our miſeries. And if he in the beſt maturity of his years and underſtanding made no better uſe to himſelf or others of his ſo long and manifold afflictions, either looking up to God, or looking down upon the reaſon of his own affairs, there can be no probability that his Son, bred up, not in the ſoft effeminacies of Court only, but in the rugged and more boiſtrous licence of undiſciplin'd Camps and Gariſons, for years unable to reflect with judgment upon his own condition, and thus ill inſtructed by his Father, ſhould give his mind to walk by any other rules then theſe bequeath'd him as on the death-bed of his Father, and as the choiſeſt of all that experience, which his moſt ſerious obſervation and retirement in good or evil days, had taught him. *David* indeed by ſuffering without juſt cauſe, learnt that meekneſs and that wiſdom by adverſity, which made him much the fitter man to raign. But they who ſuffer as Oppreſſors, Tyrants, violaters of Law, and perſecuters of Reformation, without appearance of repenting, if they once get hold again of that dignity and power which they had loſt, are but whetted and inrag'd by what they ſuffer'd, againſt thoſe whom they look upon as them that caus'd thir ſuffrings.

How he hath bin *ſubject to the ſcepter of God's Word and Spirit*, though acknowledg'd to be the *beſt Government*, and what his *diſpenſation of civil power* hath bin, with what *Juſtice*, and what *honour to the public Peace*, it is but looking back upon the whole catalogue of his deeds, and that will be ſufficient to remember us. *The Cup of Gods Phyſic*, as he calls it, what alteration it wrought in him to a firm *healthfulneſs* from any ſurfet or exceſs whereof the people generally thought him ſick, if any man would go about to prove, we have his own teſtimony following heer, that it wrought none at all.

Firſt, he hath the ſame fix'd opinion and eſteem of his old *Epheſian* Goddeſs, call'd the *Church of* England, as he had ever, and charges ſtrictly his Son after him to perſevere in that Anti-Papal Sciſm (for it is not much better) as that *which will be neceſſary both for his Soul's and the Kingdoms peace.* But if this can be any foundation of the Kingdoms peace, which was the firſt cauſe of our diſtractions, let common ſenſe be Judg. It is a rule and principle worthy to be known by Chriſtians, that no Scripture, no nor ſo much as any ancient Creed, binds our Faith, or our obedience to any Church whatſoever, denominated by a particular name; far leſs, if it be diſtinguiſht by a ſeveral Government from that which is indeed catholic. No man was ever bid be ſubject to the Church of *Corinth*, *Rome*, or *Aſia*, but to the Church without addition, as it held faithful to the rules of Scripture, and the Government eſtabliſht in all places by the Apoſtles; which at firſt was univerſally the ſame in all Churches and Congregations; not differing or diſtinguiſht by the diverſity of Countries, Territories, or civil bounds. That Church that from the name of a diſtinct place takes autority to ſet up a diſtinct Faith or Government, is a Schiſm and Faction, not a Church. It were an injury to condemn the Papiſt of abſurdity and contradiction for adhering to his Catholic Romiſh Religion, if we, for the pleaſure of a King and his politic conſiderations, ſhall adhere to a Catholic Engliſh.

But ſuppoſe the Church of *England* were as it ought to be, how is it to us the ſafer by being ſo nam'd and eſtabliſht, whenas that very name and eſtabliſhment, by his contriving or approbation, ſerv'd for nothing els but to delude us and amuſe us, while the Church of *England* was almoſt chang'd into the Church of *Rome?* Which as every man knows in general to be true, ſo the particular Treaties and Tranſactions tending to that concluſion are at large diſcover'd in a Book intitl'd the *Engliſh Pope*. But when the people, diſcerning theſe abuſes, began to call for Reformation, in order to which the Parlament demanded of the King to uneſtabliſh that Prelatical Government, which without Scripture had uſurpt over us, ſtrait, as *Pharaoh* accus'd of Idleneſs the *Iſraelites* that ſought leave to go and ſacrifice to God, he lays faction to thir charge. And that we may not hope to have ever any thing reform'd in the Church either by him or his Son, he forewarns him, *That the Devil of Rebellion doth moſt commonly turn himſelf into an Angel of Reformation*; and ſays anough to make him hate it, as the worſt of evils, and the bane of his Crown; nay he counſels him to *let nothing ſeem little or deſpicable to him, ſo as not ſpeedily and effectually to ſuppreſs Errors and Sciſms.* Wherby we may perceave plainly that our conſciences were deſtin'd to the ſame ſervitude and perſecution, if not wors then before, whether under him, or if it ſhould ſo happ'n, under his Son; who count all Proteſtant Churches erroneous and ſciſmatical, which are not Epiſcopal. His next precept is concerning our civil Liberties, which by his ſole voice and predominant will muſt be circumſcrib'd, and not permitted to extend a hands breadth furder then his interpretation of *the Laws already ſettl'd.* And although all human Laws are but the offspring of that frailty, that fallibility and imperfection which was in thir Authors, whereby many Laws in the change of ignorant and obſcure Ages, may be found both ſcandalous and full of greevance to thir Poſterity that made them, and no Law is furder good then mutable upon juſt occaſion; yet if the removing of an old Law, or the making of a new would ſave the Kingdom, we ſhall not have it unleſs his arbitrary voice will ſo far ſlack'n the ſtiff curb of his Prerogative, as to grant it us; who are as free born to make our own Laws, as our Fathers were who made theſe we have. Where are then the Engliſh Liberties which we boaſt to have bin left us by our

Progenitors? To that he anſwers, that *Our Liberties conſiſt in the enjoyment of the fruits of our Induſtry, and the benefit of thoſe Laws to which we our ſelves have conſented.* Firſt, for the injoyment of thoſe fruits which our induſtry and labours have made our own upon our own, what privilege is that above what the *Turks, Jews*, and *Moors* enjoy under the Turkiſh Monarchy? For without that kind of Juſtice, which is alſo in *Argiers*, among Theeves and Pirats between themſelves, no kind of Government, no Societie, juſt or unjuſt, could ſtand; no combination or conſpiracy could ſtick together. Which he alſo acknowledges in theſe words: *That if the Crown upon his head be ſo heavy as to oppreſs the whole body, the weakneſs of inferiour members cannot return any thing of ſtrength, honour, or ſafety to the head; but that a neceſſary debilitation* muſt follow. So that this Liberty of the Subject concerns himſelf and the ſubſiſtence of his own regal power in the firſt place, and before the conſideration of any right belonging to the Subject. We expect therfore ſomthing more that muſt diſtinguiſh free Government from ſlaviſh. But inſtead of that, this King, though ever talking and proteſting as ſmooth as now, ſuffer'd it in his own hearing to be preacht and pleaded without controul or check, by them whom he moſt favour'd and upheld, that the Subject had no property of his own Goods, but that all was the Kings right.

Next, for the *benefit of theſe Laws to which we our ſelves have conſented*, we never had it under him; for not to ſpeak of Laws ill executed, when the Parlament, and in them the People, have conſented to divers Laws, and according to our ancient Rights, demanded them, he took upon him to have a Negative will, as the tranſcendent and ultimate Law above all our Laws; and to rule us forcibly by Laws to which we our ſelves did not conſent, but complain'd of. Thus theſe two heads, wherein the utmoſt of his allowance heer will give our Liberties leave to conſiſt, the one of them ſhall be ſo far only made good to us, as may ſupport his own Intereſt and Crown from *ruin* or *debilitation*; and ſo far Turkiſh Vaſſals enjoy as much liberty under *Mahomet* and the Grand Signior: the other we neither yet have enjoy'd under him, nor were ever like to do under the Tyranny of a Negative voice, which he claims above the unanimous conſent and power of a whole Nation virtually in the Parlament.

In which Negative voice to have bin caſt by the doom of War, and put to death by thoſe who vanquiſht him in thir own defence, he reck'ns to himſelf more then a Negative *Martyrdom*. But Martyrs bear witneſs to the truth, not to themſelves. If I bear witneſs of my ſelf, ſaith *Chriſt*, my witneſs is not true. He who writes himſelf *Martyr* by his own inſcription, is like an ill Painter, who by writing on the ſhapeleſs Picture which he hath drawn, is fain to tell paſſengers what ſhape it is; which els no man could imagin: no more then how a Martyrdom can belong to him, who therfore dies for his Religion becauſe it is *eſtabliſht*. Certainly if *Agrippa* had turn'd Chriſtian, as he was once turning, and had put to death Scribes and Phariſees for obſerving the Law of *Moſes*, and refuſing Chriſtianitie, they had di'd a truer Martyrdom. For thoſe Laws were eſtabliſht by God and *Moſes*, theſe by no warrantable authors of Religion, whoſe Laws in all other beſt reformed Churches are rejected. And if to die for an eſtabliſhment of Religion be Martyrdom, then Romiſh Prieſts executed for that which had ſo many hundred years bin eſtabliſht in this Land, are no wors Martyrs then he. Laſtly, if to die for *the teſtimony of his own conſcience* be anough to make him Martyr, what Heretic dying for direct Blaſphemie, as ſom have don conſtantly, may not boaſt a Martyrdom? As for the conſtitution or repeal of civil Laws, that power lying only in the Parlament, which he by the very Law of his Coronation was to grant them, not to debar them, nor to preſerve a leſſer Law with the contempt and violation of a greater, it will conclude him not ſo much as in a civil and metaphorical ſenſe to have di'd a Martyr of our Laws, but a plain Tranſgreſſor of them. And ſhould the Parlament, endu'd with Legiſlative power, make our Laws, and be after to diſpute them piece-meal with the reaſon, conſcience, humour, paſſion, fanſie, folly, obſtinacy, or other ends of one man, whoſe ſole word and will ſhall baffle and unmake what all the wiſdom of a Parlament hath been deliberatly framing, what a ridiculous and contemptible thing a Parlament would ſoon be, and what a baſe unworthy Nation we, who boaſt our freedom, and ſend them with the manifeſt peril of thir lives to preſerve it, they who are not mark'd by deſtiny for Slaves, may apprehend. In this ſervile condition to have kept us ſtill under hatches, he both reſolves heer to the laſt, and ſo inſtructs his Son.

As to thoſe offer'd condeſcentions of *charitable connivence or toleration*, if we conſider what went before, and what follows, they moulder into nothing. For what with not ſuffering *ever ſo little* to *ſeem a deſpicable* ſciſm, without effectual ſuppreſſion, as he warn'd him before, and what with *no oppoſition of Law, Government, or eſtabliſht Religion* to be permitted, which is his following proviſo, and wholly within his own conſtruction, what a miſerable and ſuſpected toleration, under Spies and haunting Promooters we ſhould enjoy, is apparent. Beſides that it is ſo far beneath the honour of a Parlament and free Nation to beg and ſupplicate the Godſhip of one frail man, for the bare and ſimple toleration of what they all conſent to be moſt juſt, pious, and beſt pleaſing to God, while that which is erroneous, unjuſt and miſcheivous in the Church or State, ſhall by him alone againſt them all be kept up and eſtabliſht, and they cenſur'd the while for a *covetous, ambitious, and ſacrilegious Faction.*

Another bait to allure the people, is the charge he laies upon his Son to be tender of them. Which if we ſhould beleeve in part, becauſe they are his Herd, his Cattel, the Stock upon his ground, as he accounts them, whom to waſt and deſtroy would undo himſelf, yet the inducement which he brings to move him renders the motion it ſelf ſomthing ſuſpicious. For if Princes *need no Palliations*, as he tells his Son, wherfore is it that he himſelf hath ſo oft'n us'd them? Princes, of all other men, have not more change of Rayment in thir Wardrobes, then variety of Shifts and *Palliations* in thir ſolemn actings and pretences to the People.

To try next if he can inſnare the prime men of thoſe who have oppos'd him, whom, more truly then his meaning was, he calls the *Patrons and Vindicators of the People*, he gives out *Indemnity*, and offers *Acts of oblivion*. But they who with a good conſcience and upright heart did thir civil duties in the ſight of God, and in thir ſeveral places, to reſiſt Tyranny and the violence of Superſtition banded both againſt them, he may be ſure will never ſeek to be forgiv'n that, which may be juſtly attributed to thir immortal praiſe; nor will aſſent ever to the guilty blotting out of thoſe actions before men, by which thir Faith aſſures them they chiefly ſtand approv'd, and are had in remembrance before the throne of God.

He exhorts his Son *not to ſtudy revenge*. But how far he, or at leaſt they about him intend to follow that exhortation, was ſeen lately at the *Hague*, and by what attempts were likewiſe made in other places. How implacable they would be, it will be wiſdom and our ſafety to beleeve rather, and prevent, then to make trial. And it will concern the multitude, tho courted heer, to take heed how they ſeek to hide or colour thir own fickleneſs and inſtability with a bad repentance of thir well-doing, and thir fidelity to the better cauſe, to which at firſt ſo cheerfully and conſcientiouſly they joyn'd themſelves.

He returns again to extol *the Church of England*, and again requires his Son by the joint autority of *a Father and a King*, *not to let his heart receive the leaſt check or diſaffection againſt it*. And not without cauſe, for by that means having ſole influence upon the Clergy, and they upon the people, *after long ſearch and many diſputes*, he could not poſſibly find a more compendious and politic way to uphold and ſettle Tyranny, then by ſubduing firſt the Conſciences of vulgar men with the inſenſible poyſon of thir ſlaviſh Doctrin: for then the body and beſotted mind without much reluctancy was likelieſt to admit the Yoke.

He commends alſo *Parlaments held with freedom and with honour*. But I would ask how that can be, while he only muſt be the ſole free Perſon in that number? and would have the power with his unaccountable denial to diſhonour them by rejecting all thir counſels, to confine thir Law-giving power, which is the Foundation of our freedom, and to change at his pleaſure the very name of a Parlament into the name of a Faction.

The concluſion therfore muſt needs be quite contrary to what he concludes; that nothing can be more *unhappy*, more diſhonourable, more unſafe *for all*, then when a wiſe, *grave, and honourable Parlament* ſhall have labour'd, debated, argu'd, conſulted, and as he himſelf ſpeaks, *contributed* for the public good *all thir Counſels in common*, to be then fruſtrated, diſappointed, deny'd and repuls'd by the ſingle whiff of a Negative, from the mouth of one wilful man; nay to be blaſted, to be ſtruck as mute and motionleſs as a Parlament of Tapeſtrie in the Hangings; or els after all thir pains and trouble to be diſſolv'd, and caſt away like ſo many Naughts in Arithmetick, unleſs it be to turn the O of thir inſignificance into a lamentation with the people who had ſo vainly ſent them. For this is not *to enact all things by public conſent*, as he would have us be perſwaded, this is to enact nothing but by the privat conſent and leave of one not negative Tyrant; this is miſchief without remedy, a ſtifling and obſtructing evil that hath no vent, no outlet, no paſſage through: Grant him this, and the Parlament hath no more freedom, then if it ſate in his Nooſe, which when he pleaſes to draw together with one twitch of his Negative, ſhall throttle a whole Nation, to the wiſh of *Caligula*, in one neck. This with the power of Militia in his own hands over our bodies and eſtates, and the Prelats to enthral our conſciences either by fraud or force, is the ſum of that happineſs and liberty we were to look for, whether in his own reſtitution, or in theſe precepts giv'n to his Son. Which unavoidably would have ſet us in the ſame ſtate of miſery wherein we were before; and have either compell'd us to ſubmit like bond-ſlaves, or put us back to a ſecond wandring over that horrid Wilderneſs of diſtraction and civil ſlaughter, which, not without the ſtrong and miraculous hand of God aſſiſting us, we have meaſur'd out, and ſurviv'd. And who knows, if we make ſo ſlight of this incomparable deliverance which God hath beſtow'd upon us, but that we ſhall like thoſe fooliſh *Iſraelites*, who depos'd God and *Samuel* to ſet up a King, *cry out* one day *becauſe of our King*, which we have bin mad upon, and then God, as he foretold them, will no more deliver us?

There remains now but little more of his diſcours, wherof yet to take a ſhort view will not be amiſs. His words make ſemblance as if he were magnanimouſly exerciſing himſelf, and ſo teaching his Son *to want as well as to wear a Crown*; and would ſeem to account it *not worth taking up or enjoying upon ſordid, diſhonourable, and irreligious terms*; and yet to his very laſt did nothing more induſtriouſly then ſtrive to take up and enjoy again his ſequeſterd Crown upon the moſt ſordid, diſloyal, diſhonourable, and irreligious terms, not of making peace only, but of joining and incorporating with the murdrous Iriſh, formerly by himſelf declar'd againſt, for *wicked and deteſtable Rebels, odious to God and all good Men.* And who but thoſe Rebels now are the chief ſtrength and confidence of his Son; while the Presbyter Scot that woes and ſollicits him, is neglected and put off, as if no terms were to him him ſordid, irreligious and diſhonourable, but the Scotiſh and Presbyterian.

He bids his Son *keep to the true principles of piety, vertue, and honour, and he ſhall never want a Kingdom.* And I ſay, People of *England*, keep ye to thoſe principles, ye ſhall never want a King. Nay after ſuch a fair deliverance as this, with ſo much fortitude and valour ſhewn againſt a Tyrant, that people that ſhould ſeek a King, claiming what this Man claims, would ſhew themſelves to be by nature Slaves and arrant Beaſts, not fit for that Liberty which they cri'd out and bellow'd for, but fitter to be led back again into thir old bondage, like a ſort of clamouring and fighting brutes broke looſe, that know not how to uſe or poſſeſs the liberty which they fought for.

The laſt ſentence whereon he ſeems to venture the whole waight of all his former reaſons and argumentations, *That Religion to thir God, and loyalty to thir King cannot be parted, without the ſin and infelicity of a People*, is contrary to the plain teaching of Chriſt, that *no man can ſerve two Maſters*, but if he hold to the one, he muſt reject and forſake the other. If God then, and earthly Kings be for the moſt part not ſeveral only, but oppoſite Maſters, it will as oft happ'n, that they who will ſerve thir King muſt forſake thir God, and they who will ſerve God muſt forſake thir King; which then will neither be thir ſin nor thir infelicity, but thir wiſdom, thir piety, and thir true happineſs, as to be deluded by theſe unſound and ſuttle oſtentations here, would be thir miſery.

# XXVIII. *Intitl'd Meditations upon Death.*

IT might be well thought by him who reads no furder then the Title of this laſt Eſſay, that it requir'd no anſwer. For all other human things are diſputed, and will be variouſly thought of to the World's end. But this buſineſs of Death is a plain caſe, and admits no controverſy: In that center all Opinions meet. Nevertheleſs, ſince out of thoſe few mortifying hours that ſhould have bin intireſt to themſelves, and moſt at peace from all paſſion and diſquiet, he can afford ſpare time to inveigh bitterly againſt that Juſtice which was don upon him, it will be needful to ſay ſomthing in defence of thoſe Proceedings; tho briefly, in regard ſo much on this Subject hath been writt'n lately.

It happn'd once, as we find in *Eſdras* and *Joſephus*, Authors not leſs believ'd then any under ſacred, to be a great and ſolemn debate in the Court of *Darius*, what thing was to be counted ſtrongeſt of all other. He that could reſolve this in reward of his excelling wiſdom, ſhould be clad in Purple, drink in Gold, ſleep on a Bed of Gold, and ſit next to *Darius*. None but they doubtleſs who were reputed wiſe, had the Queſtion propounded to them: Who after ſome reſpit giv'n them by the King to conſider, in full Aſſembly of all his Lords and graveſt Counſellors, return'd ſeverally what they thought. The firſt held that Wine was ſtrongeſt; another that the King was ſtrongeſt. But *Zorobabel* Prince of the Captive Jews, and Heir to the Crown of *Judah*, being one of them, prov'd Women to be ſtronger then the King, for that he himſelf had ſeen a Concubin take his Crown from off his head to ſet it upon her own: And others beſides him have lately ſeen the like Feat done, and not in jeſt. Yet he prov'd on, and it was ſo yeilded by the King himſelf, and all his Sages, that neither Wine, nor Women, nor the King, but Truth, of all other things was the ſtrongeſt. For me, though neither ask'd, nor in a Nation that gives ſuch rewards to wiſdom, I ſhall pronounce my ſentence ſomwhat different from *Zorobabel*; and ſhall defend, that either Truth and Juſtice are all one, for Truth is but Juſtice in our knowledg, and Juſtice is but Truth in our practiſe; and he indeed ſo explains himſelf in ſaying that with Truth is no accepting of Perſons, which is the property of Juſtice: or els, if there be any odds, that Juſtice, though not ſtronger then Truth, yet by her office is to put forth and exhibit more ſtrength in the affairs of mankind. For Truth is properly no more then Contemplation; and her utmoſt efficiency is but teaching: but Juſtice in her very eſſence is all ſtrength and activity; and hath a Sword put into her hand, to uſe againſt all violence and oppreſſion on the earth. She it is moſt truly, who accepts no Perſon, and exempts none from the ſeverity of her ſtroke. She never ſuffers injury to prevail, but when falſhood firſt prevails over Truth; and that alſo is a kind of Juſtice done on them who are ſo deluded. Though wicked Kings and Tyrants counterfet her Sword, as ſome did that Buckler, fabl'd to fall from Heav'n into the Capitol, yet ſhe communicates her power to none but ſuch as like her ſelf are juſt, or at leaſt will do juſtice. For it were extream partialitie and injuſtice, the flat denial and overthrow of her ſelf, to put her own authentick Sword into the hand of an unjuſt and wicked Man, or ſo far to accept and exalt one mortal Perſon above his equals, that he alone ſhall have the puniſhing of all other men tranſgreſſing, and not receive like puniſhment from men, when he himſelf ſhall be found the higheſt Tranſgreſſor.

We may conclude therfore, that Juſtice, above all other things, is and ought to be the ſtrongeſt: She is the Strength, the Kingdom, the Power, and Majeſtie of all Ages. Truth her ſelf would ſubſcribe to this, though *Darius* and all the Monarchs of the World ſhould deny. And if by ſentence thus writt'n, it were my happineſs to ſet free the minds of Engliſh men from longing to return poorly under that Captivity of Kings, from which the ſtrength and ſupream Sword of Juſtice hath deliver'd them, I ſhall have done a work not much inferior to that of *Zorobabel*: who by well praiſing and extolling the force of Truth, in that contemplative ſtrength conquer'd *Darius*; and freed his Country and the people of God from the Captivity of *Babylon*. Which I ſhall yet not deſpair to do, if they in this Land whoſe minds are yet Captive, be but as ingenuous to acknowledg the ſtrength and ſupremacie of Juſtice, as that Heathen King was to confeſs the ſtrength of Truth: or let them but as he did, grant that, and they will ſoon perceave that Truth reſigns all her outward ſtrength to Juſtice: Juſtice therfore muſt needs be ſtrongeſt, both in her own and in the ſtrength of Truth. But if a King may do among men whatſoever is his will and pleaſure, and notwithſtanding be unaccountable to men, then contrary to this magnifi'd wiſdom of *Zorobabel*, neither Truth nor Juſtice, but the King is ſtrongeſt of all other things: which that Perſian Monarch himſelf in the midſt of all his pride and glory durſt not aſſume.

Let us ſee therfore what this King hath to affirm, why the ſentence of Juſtice and the weight of that Sword which ſhe delivers into the hands of men, ſhould be more partial to him offending, then to all others of human race. Firſt he pleads that *no Law of God or Man gives to Subjects any power of judicature without or againſt him.* Which aſſertion ſhall be prov'd in every part to be moſt untrue. The firſt expreſs Law of God giv'n to mankind, was that to *Noah*, as a Law in general to all the ſons of men. And by that moſt antient and univerſal Law, *Whoſoever ſheddeth man's blood, by man ſhall his blood be ſhed*; we find here no exception. If a King therfore do this, to a King, and that by men alſo, the ſame ſhall be done. This in the Law of *Moſes*, which came next, ſeveral times is repeated, and in one place remarkably, *Numb.* 35. *Ye ſhall take no ſatisfaction for the life of a murderer, but he ſhall ſurely be put to death: the Land cannot be cleanſed of the blood that is ſhed therein*, but by the blood of him that ſhed it. This is ſo ſpok'n as that which concern'd all *Iſrael*, not one man alone, to ſee perform'd; and if no ſatisfaction were to be tak'n, then certainly no exception. Nay the King, when they ſhould ſet up any, was to obſerve the whole Law, and not only to ſee it don, but to *do it*; *that his heart might not be lifted up above his Brethren*, to dream of vain and reaſonleſs Prerogatives or Exemptions, wherby the Law it ſelf muſt needs be founded in unrighteouſneſs.

And were that true, which is moſt falſe, that all Kings are the Lords Anointed, it were yet abſurd to think that the Anointment of God ſhould be as it were a charm againſt Law; and give them privilege who puniſh others, to ſin themſelves unpuniſhably. The high Prieſt was the Lord's Anointed as well as any King, and with the ſame conſecrated oil: yet *Salomon* had put to death *Abiather*, had it not bin for other reſpects then that anointment. If God himſelf ſay to Kings, *Touch not mine anointed*, meaning his choſ'n people, as is evident in that Pſalm, yet no man will argue thence, that he protects them from Civil Laws if they offend; then certainly, though *David* as a private Man, and in his own cauſe, fear'd to lift his hand againſt the Lord's Anointed, much leſs can this forbid the Law, or diſarm Juſtice from having legal power againſt any King. No other ſupream Magiſtrate, in what kind of Government ſoever, laies claim to any ſuch enormous Privilege; wherfore then ſhould any King who is but one kind of Magiſtrate, and ſet over the People for no other end then they?

Next in order of time to the Laws of *Moſes*, are thoſe of Chriſt, who declares profeſſedly his Judicature to be ſpiritual, abſtract from civil managements, and therfore leaves all Nations to thir own particular Laws, and way of Government. Yet becauſe the Church hath a kind of Juriſdiction within her own bounds, and that alſo, though in proceſs of time much corrupted and plainly turn'd into a corporal Judicature, yet much approv'd by this King, it will be firm anough and valid againſt him, if Subjects, by the Laws of Church alſo, be *inveſted with a power of judicature* both without and againſt thir King, though pretending, and by them acknowledg'd *next and immediately under Chriſt ſupream Head and Governour*. *Theodoſius* the Emperor having made a ſlaughter of the *Theſſalonians* for ſedition, but too cruelly, was excommunicated to his face by Saint *Ambroſe*, who was his ſubject; and Excommunion is the utmoſt of Eccleſiaſtical Judicature, a ſpiritual putting to death. But this, ye will ſay, was only an example. Read then the Story, and it will appear, both that *Ambroſe* avouch'd it for the Law of God, and *Theodoſius* confeſt it of his own accord to be ſo; *and that the Law of God was not to be made void in him, for any reverence to his Imperial Power.* From hence, not to be tedious, I ſhall paſs into our own Land of *Brittain*; and ſhow that Subjects here have exercis'd the utmoſt of ſpiritual Judicature, and more then ſpiritual againſt thir Kings, his Predeceſſours. *Vortiger* for committing inceſt with his Daughter, was by Saint *German*, at that time his Subject, curs'd and condemn'd in a Britiſh Council about the year 448; and thereupon ſoon after was depos'd. *Mauricus* a King in *Wales* for breach of Oath, and the murder of *Cynetus*, was excommunicated and curſt, with all his Offspring, by *Oudoceus* Biſhop of *Landaff* in full Synod, about the year 560; and not reſtor'd till he had repented. *Morcant* another King in *Wales* having ſlain *Frioc* his Unkle, was fain to come in Perſon, and receave judgment from the ſame Biſhop and his Clergie; who upon his penitence acquitted him, for no other cauſe then leſt the Kingdom ſhould be deſtitute of a Succeſſor in the Royal Line. Theſe Examples are of the Primitive, Britiſh, and Epiſcopal Church; long e're they had any Commerce or Communion with the Church of *Rome*. What power afterward of depoſing Kings, and ſo conſequently of putting them to death, was aſſum'd and practis'd by the Canon Law, I omit as a thing generally known. Certainly if whole Councils of the Romiſh Church have in the midſt of thir dimneſs diſcern'd ſo much of truth, as to decree at *Conſtance*, and at *Baſil*, and many of them to avouch at *Trent* alſo, that a Council is above the Pope, and may judg him, though by them not deny'd to be the Vicar of Chriſt, we in our clearer light may be aſham'd not to diſcern furder, that a Parlament is by all equity and right above a King, and may judg him, whoſe reaſons and pretenſions to hold of God only, as his immediate Vicegerent, we know how far fetch'd they are, and inſufficient.

As for the Laws of man, it would ask a volume to repeat all that might be in this point againſt him from all Antiquity. In *Greece*, *Oreſtes* the Son of *Agamemnon*, and by ſucceſſion King of *Argos*, was in that Country judg'd and condemn'd to death for killing his Mother: whence eſcaping, he was judg'd again, though a ſtranger, before the great Council of *Areopagus* in *Athens*. And this memorable act of Judicature, was the firſt that brought the Juſtice of that grave Senate into fame and high eſtimation over all *Greece* for many ages after. And in the ſame City Tyrants were to undergo legal ſentence by the Laws of *Solon*. The Kings of *Sparta*, though deſcended lineally from *Hercules* eſteem'd a God among them, were oft'n judg'd, and ſometimes put to death by the moſt juſt and renowned Laws of *Lycurgus*; who, though a King, thought it moſt unequal to bind his Subjects by any Law, to which he bound not himſelf. In *Rome* the Laws made by *Valerius Publicola*, and what the Senate decreed againſt *Nero*, that he ſhould be judg'd and puniſh'd according to the Laws of thir Anceſtors, and what in like manner was decreed againſt other Emperors, is vulgarly known. And that the Civil Law warrants like power of Judicature to Subjects againſt Tyrants, is writt'n clearly by the beſt and famouſeſt Civilians. For if it was decreed by *Theodoſius*, and ſtands yet firm in the Code of *Juſtinian*, that the Law is above the Emperor, then certainly the Emperor being under Law, the Law may judg him, and if judg him, may puniſh him proving tyrannous: how els is the Law above him, or to what purpoſe? Theſe are neceſſary deductions; and thereafter hath bin don in all Ages and Kingdoms, oftner then to be here recited.

But what need we any furder ſearch after the Laws of other Lands, for that which is ſo fully and ſo plainly ſet down lawful in our own? Where antient Books tell us, *Bracton*, *Fleta*, and others, that the King is under Law, and inferiour to his Court of Parlament; that although his place *to do Juſtice* be higheſt, yet that he ſtands as liable *to receave Juſtice*, as the meaneſt of his Kingdom. Nay *Alfred* the moſt worthy King, and by ſome accounted firſt abſolute Monarch of the Saxons here, ſo ordain'd; as is cited out of an antient Law-book call'd the *Mirror*; in *Rights of the Kingdom, p.* 31. where it is complain'd on, *as the ſovran abuſe of all*, that *the King ſhould be deem'd above the Law, whereas he ought be ſubject to it by his Oath.* Of which Oath antiently it was the laſt cauſe, that the King *ſhould be as liable, and obedient to ſuffer right, as others of his people.* And indeed it were but fond and ſenſleſs, that the King ſhould be accountable to every petty Suit in leſſer Courts, as we all know he was, and not be ſubject to the Judicature of Parlament in the main matters of our common ſafety or deſtruction; that he ſhould be anſwerable in the ordinary cours of Law for any wrong done to a private Perſon, and not anſwerable in Court of Parlament for deſtroying the whole Kingdom. By all this, and much more that might be added as in an argument overcopious rather then barren, we ſee it manifeſt that all Laws both of God and Man are made without exemption of any perſon whomſoever; and that if Kings preſume to overtop the Law by which they raign for the publick good, they are by Law to be reduc'd into order; and that can no way be more juſtly, then by thoſe who exalted them to that high place. For who ſhould better underſtand thir own Laws, and when they are tranſgreſt, then they who are govern'd by them, and whoſe conſent firſt made them? And who can have more right to take knowledg of things done within a free Nation then they within themſelves?

Thoſe objected Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy we ſwore, not to his Perſon, but as it was inveſted with his Autority; and his Autority was by the People firſt giv'n him conditionally, in Law, and under Law, and under Oath alſo for the Kingdom's good, and not otherwiſe: the Oaths then were interchang'd, and mutual; ſtood and fell together; he ſwore fidelity to his truſt; not as a deluding Ceremony, but as a real condition of their admitting him for King; and the Conqueror himſelf ſwore it ofter then at his Crowning: they ſwore Homage and Fealty to his Perſon in that truſt. There was no reaſon why the Kingdom ſhould be furder bound by Oaths to him, then he by his Coronation Oath to us, which he hath every way brok'n: and having brok'n, the antient Crown Oath of *Alfred* above-mention'd, conceals not his Penalty.

As for the Cov'nant, if that be meant, certainly no diſcreet Perſon can imagin it ſhould bind us to him in any ſtricter ſenſe then thoſe Oaths formerly. The acts of Hoſtility which we receiv'd from him, were no ſuch dear obligements that we ſhould owe him more fealty and defence for being our Enemy, then we could before when we took him only for a King. They were accus'd by him and his Party to pretend Liberty and Reformation, but to have no other end then to make themſelves great, and to deſtroy the King's Perſon and Autority. For which reaſon they added that third Article, teſtifying to the World, that as they were reſolv'd to endeavour firſt a Reformation in the Church, to extirpate Prelacy, to preſerve the Rights of Parlament, and the Liberties of the Kingdom, ſo they intended, ſo far as it might conſiſt with the preſervation and defence of theſe, to preſerve the King's Perſon and Autority; but not otherwiſe. As far as this comes to, they covnant and ſwear in the ſixth Article to preſerve and defend the Perſons and Autority of one another, and all thoſe that enter into that League; ſo that this Covnant gives no unlimitable exemption to the King's Perſon, but gives to all as much defence and preſervation as to him, and to him as much as to thir own Perſons, and no more; that is to ſay, in order and ſubordination to thoſe main ends for which we live and are a Nation of Men join'd in ſociety either chriſtian, or at leaſt humane. But if the Covnant were made abſolute, to preſerve and defend any one whomſoever, without reſpect had, either to the true Religion, or thoſe other ſuperiour things to be defended and preſerv'd however, it cannot then be doubted, but that the Covnant was rather a moſt fooliſh, haſty, and unlawful Vow, then a deliberate and well-weigh'd Covnant; ſwearing us into labyrinths and repugnances, no way to be ſolv'd or reconcil'd, and therefore no way to be kept: as firſt offending againſt the Law of God, to vow the abſolute preſervation, defence, and maintaining of one Man, though in his ſins and offences never ſo great and hainous againſt God or his Neighbour; and to except a Perſon from Juſtice, whereas his Law excepts none. Secondly, it offends againſt the Law of this Nation, wherein, as hath bin prov'd, Kings in receiving Juſtice, and undergoing due trial, are not differenc'd from the meaneſt Subject. Laſtly, it contradicts and offends againſt the Covnant it ſelf, which vows in the fourth Article to bring to op'n trial and condign puniſhment all thoſe that ſhall be found guilty of ſuch Crimes and Delinquencies, wherof the King by his own Letters and other undeniable Teſtimonies not brought to light till afterward, was found and convicted to be the chief actor in what they thought him at the time of taking that Covnant, to be overrul'd only by evil Counſellers; and thoſe, or whomſoever they ſhould diſcover to be principal, they vow'd to try, *either by thir own ſupream Judicatories*, for ſo ev'n then they call'd them, *or by others having power from them to that effect*. So that to have brought the King to condign Puniſhment hath not broke the Covnant, but it would have broke the

Covnant to have ſav'd him from thoſe Judicatories, which both Nations declar'd in that Covnant to be *ſupreme* againſt any perſon whatſoever. And if the Covnant ſwore otherwiſe to preſerve him then in the preſervation of true Religion and our Liberties, againſt which he fought, if not in Arms, yet in Reſolution to his dying day, and now after death ſtill fights againſt in this his Book, the Covnant was better brok'n, then he ſav'd. And God hath teſtifi'd by all popitious and evident ſigns, wherby in theſe latter times he is wont to teſtifie what pleaſes him, that ſuch a ſolemn and for many ages unexampl'd act of due puniſhment, was no *mockery of Juſtice*, but a moſt grateful and well-pleaſing Sacrifice. Neither was it *to cover thir perjury* as he accuſes, but to uncover his perjury to the Oath of his Coronation.

The reſt of his diſcourſe quite forgets the Title; and turns his Meditations upon death into obloquie and bitter vehemence againſt his *Judges and Accuſers*; imitating therein, not our Saviour, but his Grandmother *Mary* Queen of Scots, as alſo in the moſt of his other ſcruples, exceptions and evaſions; and from whom he ſeems to have learnt, as it were by heart, or els by kind, that which is thought by his admirers to be the moſt vertuous, moſt manly, moſt chriſtian, and moſt martyr-like both of his words and ſpeeches here, and of his anſwers and behaviour at his Trial.

*It is a ſad fate*, he ſaith, *to have his Enemies both Accuſers, Parties, and Judges.* Sad indeed, but no ſufficient Plea to acquit him from being ſo judg'd. For what Malefactor might not ſomtimes plead the like? If his own crimes have made all men his Enemies, who els can judg him? They of the Powder-plot againſt his Father might as well have pleaded the ſame. Nay at the Reſurrection it may as well be pleaded, that the Saints who then ſhall judg the Word, are *both Enemies, Judges, Parties, and Accuſers.*

So much he thinks to abound in his own defence, that he undertakes an unmeaſurable task; to beſpeak *the ſingular care and protection of God over all Kings*, as *being the greateſt Patrons of Law, Juſtice, Order, and Religion on earth.* But what Patrons they be, God in the Scripture oft anough hath expreſt; and the earth it ſelf hath too long groan'd under the burd'n of thir injuſtice, diſorder, and irreligion. Therfore *to bind thir Kings in chains, and thir Nobles with links of Iron*, is an honour belonging to his Saints; not to build *Babel*, which was *Nimrod's* work, the firſt King, *and the beginning of his Kingdom was Babel*, but to deſtroy it, eſpecially that ſpiritual *Babel*: and firſt to overcome thoſe European Kings, which receive thir power, not from God, but from the beaſt; and are counted no better then his ten horns. *Theſe ſhall hate the great Whore*, and yet *ſhall give thir Kingdoms to the Beaſt that carries her*; *they ſhall commit Fornication with her*, and yet *ſhall burn her with fire*, and yet *ſhall lament the fall of Babylon*, where they fornicated with her.

Thus ſhall they be to and fro, doubtful and ambiguous in all thir doings, until at laſt, *joining thir Armies with the Beaſt*, whoſe power firſt rais'd them, they ſhall periſh with him by the *King of Kings* againſt whom they have rebell'd; and *the Fowls ſhall eat thir Fleſh.* This is thir doom writt'n, and the utmoſt that we find concerning them in theſe latter days; which we have much more cauſe to beleeve, then his unwarranted Revelation here, propheſying what ſhall follow after his death, with the ſpirit of Enmity, not of Saint *John*.

He would fain bring us out of conceit with the good *ſucceſs* which God hath voutſaf'd us. We meaſure not our cauſe by our ſucceſs, but our ſucceſs by our cauſe. Yet certainly in a good Cauſe ſucceſs is a good confirmation; for God hath promis'd it to good men almoſt in every leaf of Scripture. If it argue not for us, we are ſure it argues not againſt us; but as much or more for us, then ill ſucceſs argues for them; for to the wicked God hath denounc'd ill ſucceſs in all that they take in hand.

He hopes much of thoſe *ſofter tempers*, as he calls them, and *leſs advantag'd by his ruin, that thir Conſciences do already* gripe them. 'Tis true, there be a ſort of moodie, hot-braind, and always unedify'd Conſciences; apt to engage thir Leaders into great and dangerous affairs paſt retirement, and then upon a ſudden qualm and ſwimming of thir Conſcience, to betray them baſely in the midſt of what was chiefly undertak'n for thir ſakes. Let ſuch men never meet with any faithful Parlament to hazard for them; never with any noble Spirit to conduct and lead them out, but let them live and die in ſervile Condition and thir ſcrupulous queaſineſs, if no inſtruction will confirm them. Others there be in whoſe Conſciences the loſs of gain, and thoſe advantages they hop'd for, hath ſprung a ſudden leak. Theſe are they that cry out the Covnant brok'n, and to keep it better ſlide back into neutrality, or join actually with Incendiaries and Malignants. But God hath eminently begun to puniſh thoſe, firſt in *Scotland*, then in *Ulſter*, who have provok'd him with the moſt hateful kind of mockerie, to break his Covnant under pretence of ſtricteſt keeping it; and hath ſubjected them to thoſe Malignants, with whom they ſcrupl'd not to be aſſociates. In God therefore we ſhall not fear what thir fals fraternity can do againſt us.

He ſeeks again with cunning words to turn our ſucceſs into our ſin. But might call to mind that the Scripture ſpeaks of thoſe alſo, who *when God ſlew them, then ſought him*; yet did but *flatter him with thir mouth, and ly'd to him with thir tongues*; *for thir heart was not right with him.* And there was one who in the time of his affliction treſpaſs'd more againſt God; *This was that King Ahaz.*

He glories much in the forgivneſs of his Enemies; ſo did his Grandmother at her death. Wiſe men would ſooner have beleev'd him had he not ſo oft'n told us ſo. But he hopes to erect *the Trophies of his Charity over us.* And Trophies of Charity no doubt will be as *glorious* as Trumpets before the Alms of Hypocrites; and more eſpecially the Trophies of ſuch an aſpiring Charitie as offers in his Prayer to ſhare victory with God's *compaſſion*, which is over all his Works. Such Prayers as theſe may perhaps catch the people, as was intended: but how they pleaſe God, is to be much doubted, though pray'd in ſecret, much leſs writt'n to be divulg'd. Which perhaps may gain him after death a ſhort, contemptible, and ſoon fading reward; not what he aims at, to ſtir the conſtancy and ſolid firmneſs of any wiſe Man, or to unſettle the conſcience of any knowing Chriſtian, if he could ever aim at a thing ſo hopeleſs, and above the genius of his *Cleric* Elocution, but to catch the worthleſs approbation of an inconſtant, irrational, and Image-doting rabble. The reſt, whom perhaps ignorance without malice, or ſome error, leſs then fatal, hath for the time miſled on this ſide Sorcery or Obduration, may find the grace and good guidance to bethink themſelves and recover.

# *ADVERTISEMENTS.*

WHereas in page 450. preceding, the Author mentions a Prayer commonly believ'd to be pen'd by K. *Charles* I. which as ſuch was deliver'd by himſelf to Dr. *Juxon* then Biſhop of *London*, and as well twice printed among his Works in *Folio*, as in the ſecond Edition of *Eikon Baſilike* by Mr. *Royſton*; but plainly appears to have been ſtoln, without any conſiderable variation, from the mouth of *Pamela*, an imaginary Lady, to a Heathen Deity, in Sir *Philip Sidney*'s *Arcadia*: it is judg'd not improper, for the ſatisfaction of the Curious, to add here both the ſaid Prayers ſet parallel to one another, that this piece of Royal Plagiariſm, or (to be more charitable) of his Chaplain's Prieſtcraft may evidently appear to all the World.

The Prayer of K. *Charles*, ſtil'd *A Prayer in time of Captivity.* K *Charles*'s Works, pag. 93. Edit. 1687.

*O Powerful, O Eternal God, to whom nothing is ſo great that it may reſiſt, or ſo ſmall that it is contemned; look upon my miſery with thine eye of Mercy, and let thine infinite Power vouchſafe to limit out ſome proportion of Deliverance unto me, as to thee ſhall ſeem moſt convenient: Let not Injury, O Lord, triumph over me, and let my Fault by thy Hand be corrected; and make not my unjuſt Enemies the Miniſters of thy Juſtice. But yet, my God, if in thy Wiſdom this be the apteſt Chaſtiſement for my unexcuſable Tranſgreſſions; if this ungrateful Bondage be fitteſt for my over-high Deſires; if the Pride of my (not enough humble) Heart be thus to be broken, O Lord, I yield unto thy Will, and cheerfully embrace what Sorrow thou wilt have me ſuffer; only thus much let me crave of thee (let my craving, O Lord, be accepted of, ſince it even proceeds from Thee) that by thy Goodneſs which is thy ſelf, thou wilt ſuffer ſome Beam of thy Majeſty ſo to ſhine in my Mind, that I, who in my greateſt Afflictions acknowledg it my nobleſt Title to be thy Creature, may ſtill depend confidently on Thee. Let Calamity be the Exerciſe, but not the Overthrow of my Vertue; O let not their prevailing Power be to my Deſtruction; and if it be thy Will that they more and more vex me with Puniſhment, yet, O Lord, never let their Wickedneſs have ſuch a hand but that I may ſtill carry a pure Mind and ſtedfaſt Reſolution ever to ſerve thee without Fear or Preſumption, yet with that humble confidence, which may beſt pleaſe thee; ſo that at the laſt I may come to thy eternal Kingdom, through the Merits of thy Son our alone Saviour,* Jeſus Chriſt. *Amen.*

*The Prayer of* Pamela, *being under Impriſonment, to a Heathen Deity.* Arcadia, pag. 248. Edit. 1674.

O All-ſeeing Light, and eternal Life of all things, to whom nothing is either ſo great that it may reſiſt, or ſo ſmall that it is contemned; look upon my Miſery with thine eye of Mercy, and let thine infinite Power vouchſafe to limit out ſome proportion of deliverance unto me, as to thee ſhall ſeem moſt convenient: Let not Injury, O Lord, triumph over me, and let my Faults by thy hand be corrected; and make not mine unjuſt Enemy the Miniſter of thy Juſtice. But yet, my God, if in thy Wiſdom this be the apteſt Chaſtiſement for my unexcuſable Folly; if this low Bondage be fitteſt for my over-high Deſires; if the Pride of my not-enough humble Heart be thus to be broken, O Lord, I yield unto thy Will, and joyfully embrace what ſorrow thou wilt have me ſuffer; only thus much let me crave of thee (let my craving, O Lord, be accepted of thee, ſince even that proceeds from thee) let me crave even by the nobleſt Title which in my greateſt Affliction I may give my ſelf, that I am thy Creature, and by thy Goodneſs, which is thy ſelf, that thou wilt ſuffer ſome Beam of thy Majeſty to ſhine into my Mind, that it may ſtill depend confidently on thee. Let Calamity be the Exerciſe, but not the overthrow of my Vertue; let their power prevail, but prevail not to Deſtruction; let my greatneſs be their Prey: Let my Pain be the ſweetneſs of their Revenge; Let them (if ſo it ſeem good unto thee) vex me with more and more Puniſhment; but, O Lord, let never their Wickedneſs have ſuch a hand, but that I may carry a pure Mind in a pure Body. *And pauſing a while*; And O moſt gracious Lord, *ſaid ſhe*, whatever becomes of me, preſerve the vertuous *Muſidorus.*

IN pag. 485. beforegoing, our Author charges K. *Charles* I. with a Commiſſion under the Great Seal of *Scotland*, impowering the *Popiſh Iriſh*, as was before agreed between them, to riſe in arms, and to ſeize not only all defenſible Places, but likewiſe the Eſtates and Perſons of all the *Engliſh Proteſtants* in *Ireland*. Thoſe Barbarians (the method being left to their Diſcretion) thought they could not better ſecure the *Engliſh* than by cutting their throats, which they inhumanly perform'd in cold blood, to almoſt the number of two hundred thouſand Souls. Whoever would, beſides the Confeſſion of the Rebels themſelves, ſee further Reaſons to believe the ſaid *Commiſſion* Genuin (for in this Affair we determin nothing) may peruſe the *Iriſh Remonſtrance*, and Dr. *Jones*'s Book, both publiſh'd by Authority of Parliament; and alſo a Piece entitl'd, *The Myſtery of Iniquity*, p. 35, 36. printed in 1643. likewiſe *Viccar*'s Chronicle, Part 3. p. 70. wherein this Commiſſion is inſerted at large, as it is here ſubjoin'd.

CHARLES by the grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, *&c. To all our Catholique Subjects within our Kingdom of* Ireland, *Greeting: Know ye that We for the ſafeguard and preſervation of our Perſon, have been enforced to make our abode and reſidence in our Kingdom of* Scotland *for a long ſeaſon, occaſioned by reaſon of the obſtinat and diſobedient carriage of our Parliament in* England *againſt Us; who have not only preſumed to take upon them the Government and diſpoſing of thoſe Princely Rights and Prerogatives that have juſtly deſcended upon Us from our Predeceſſors both Kings and Queens of the ſaid Kingdom, for many hundred years paſt, but alſo have poſſeſſed themſelves of the whole Strength of the ſaid Kingdom, in appointing Governours, Commanders, and Officers in all parts and places therein, at their own wills and pleaſures, without Our conſent, whereby we are deprived of Our Soveraignty, and left naked without defence. And for as much as we are (in our ſelf) very ſenſible that theſe ſtorms blow aloft, and are very likely to be carried by the vehemencie of the* * *Proteſtant Partie into our Kingdom of* Ireland, *and endanger our Regal Power and Authoritie there alſo: Know ye therefore that We repoſing much care and truſt in your duties and obedience, which we have for many years paſt found; Do hereby give unto you full power and autoritie to aſſemble and meet together with all the ſpeed and diligence that a buſineſs of ſo great conſequence doth require, and to adviſe and conſult together by ſufficient and diſcreet numbers at all times, days, and places which you ſhall in your judgments hold moſt convenient and material, for the ordering, ſetling, and effecting of this great work (mentioned and directed unto you in Our Letters) And to uſe all politick ways and means poſſible to poſſeſs your ſelves (for Our uſe and ſafety) of all the Forts, Caſtles, and places of ſtrength and defence within the ſaid Kingdom (except the Places, Perſons, and Eſtates of our loyal and loving Subjects the* Scots:) *And alſo to arreſt and ſeize the Goods, Eſtates, and Perſons of all the* Engliſh Proteſtants *within the ſaid Kingdom to Our uſe. And in your care and ſpeedy performance of this Our will and pleaſure, We ſhall perceive your wonted Duty and Allegiance unto us, which We ſhall accept and reward in due time.*

* *Puritan* in another Copy.

Witneſs Our ſelf at *Edenbrough* the firſt day of *October* in the ſeventeenth year of our Raign.

FOR a clearer ground, That the Commiſſion to the Iriſh Papiſts is genuin (which here we take not upon us to prove) it is further confirmed by King *Charles* the Second's Letter to the Iriſh Council, *1663*, in favour of the Marqueſs of *Antrim*, in which he declares in expreſs terms that the Marqueſs *was innocent from any malice or rebellious purpoſe againſt the Crown*, and that his Tranſactions *with the Iriſh Rebels was by the Inſtructions of his Royal Father, and for his Service*; and that his ſaid Father *was well pleas'd with what the Marqueſs did after he had done it, and approv'd the ſame.* Notwithſtanding this ſurpriſing Letter eight Articles were undeniably prov'd againſt the Marqueſs; and we prefix them here to the Letter, for the more eaſy determining which of the three is moſt Innocent or Guilty, King *Charles* I. his Son, or the Marqueſs.

1. *That the Marqueſs of* Antrim *was to have a hand in ſurprizing the Caſtle of* Dublin, *in the year* 1641.
2. *That he was of the Rebels party before the* 15th *of* September, 1643. *which was made appear by his hourly and frequent intercourſe with* Renny O Moore, *and many others; being himſelf the moſt notorious of the ſaid Rebels.*
3. *That he entred into the Roman-Catholick-Confederacy before the Peace in* 1643.
4. *That he conſtantly adhered to the* Nuntio's *Party, in oppoſition to his Majeſties Authority.*
5. *That he ſate from time to time in the Supream Council of* Kilkenny.
6. *That he ſigned that execrable Oath of Aſſociation.*
7. *That he was Commiſſionated, and acted as Lieutenant General, from the ſaid Aſſembly at* Kilkenny.
8. *That he declared, by ſeveral Letters of his own penning, himſelf in Conjunction with* Owen Ro Oneale, *and a conſtant Oppoſer to the ſeveral Peaces made by the Lord Lieutenant with the* Iriſh.

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## *King* Charles *the Second's Letter.*

*CHARLES* R.

“Right truſty and well-beloved Couſins and Counſellors, &c. We greet you well. How far we have been from interpoſing on the behalf of any of our *Iriſh* Subjects, who by their miſcarriages in the late Rebellion in that Kingdom of *Ireland* had made themſelves unworthy of Our Grace and Protection, is notorious to all men; and We were ſo jealous in that particular, that ſhortly after our return into this Our Kingdom, when the Marqueſs of *Antrim* came hither to preſent his duty to Us, upon the information We received from thoſe Perſons who then attended Us, by a Deputation from Our Kingdom of *Ireland*, or from thoſe who at that time owned our Authority there, that the Marqueſs of *Antrim* had ſo miſ-behaved himſelf towards Us, and Our late Royal Father of bleſſed memory, that he was in no degree worthy of the leaſt Countenance from Us, and that they had manifeſt and unqueſtionable Evidence of ſuch his guilt. Wherupon We refuſed to admit the ſaid Marqueſs ſo much as into Our Preſence, but on the contrary committed him Priſoner to Our Tower of *London*; where after he had continued ſeveral Months under a ſtrict reſtraint, upon the continued Information of the ſaid Perſons, We ſent him into *Ireland*, without interpoſing the leaſt on his behalf, but left him to undergo ſuch a Tryal and Puniſhment, as by the Juſtice of that Our Kingdom ſhould be found due to his Crime, expecting ſtill that ſome heinous Matter would be objected and proved againſt

“ him, to make him uncapable, and to deprive him of that Favour and Protection from Us, which we knew his former Actions and Services had merited. After many months attendance there, and (We preſume) after ſuch Examinations as were requiſite, he was at laſt diſmiſſed without any Cenſure, and without any tranſmiſſion of Charge againſt him to Us, and with a Licence to tranſport himſelf into this Kingdom. We concluded that it was then time to give him ſome inſtance of Our Favour, and to remember the many Services he had done, and the Sufferings he had undergone, for his Affections and Fidelity to Our Royal Father and Our Self, and that it was time to redeem him from thoſe Calamities, which yet do lie as heavy upon him ſince, as before our happy Return: And thereupon We recommend him to you Our Lieutenant, that you ſhould move Our Council there, for preparing a Bill to be tranſmitted to Us, for the re-inveſting him the ſaid Marqueſs into the Poſſeſſion of his Eſtate in that Our Kingdom, as had been done in ſome other Caſes. To which *Letter*, you Our ſaid Lieutenant returned us anſwer, That you had informed Our Council of that Our *Letter*, and that you were upon conſideration thereof, unanimouſly of Opinion, that ſuch a Bill ought not to be tranſmited to Us, the Reaſon whereof would forthwith be preſented to Us from Our Council. After which time We received the incloſed *Petition* from the ſaid Marqueſs, which We referred to the conſiderations and examinations of the Lords of Our Privy Council, whoſe Names are mentioned in that Our *Reference*, which is annexed to the ſaid *Petition*, who thereupon met together, and after having heard the Marqueſs of *Antrim*, did not think fit to make any Report to Us, till they might ſee and underſtand the Reaſons which induced you not to tranſmit the Bill We had propoſed, which *Letter* was not then come to Our Hands: After which time We have received your *Letter* of the *18th* of *March*, together with ſeveral *Petitions* which had been preſented to you, as well from the Old *Souldiers* and *Adventurers*, as from the Lady *Marchioneſs* of *Antrim*, all which we likewiſe tranſmitted to the Lords *Referees*: Upon a ſecond *Petition* preſented to Us by the Lord Marqueſs, which is here likewiſe encloſed, commanding Our ſaid *Referees* to take the ſame into their ſerious conſideration, and to hear what the Petitioner had to offer in his own Vindication, and to report the whole matter to Us, which upon a third *Petition* herein likewiſe incloſed, We required them to expedite with what ſpeed they could. By which deliberate Proceedings of ours you cannot but obſerve, that no importunity, how juſt ſoever, could prevail with Us to bring Our Self to a Judgment in this Affair, without very ample Information. Our ſaid *Referees*, after ſeveral Meetings, and peruſal of what hath been offered to them by the ſaid Marqueſs, have reported unto Us, That they have ſeen ſeveral *Letters*, all of them the hand-writing of Our Royal Father to the ſaid Marqueſs, and ſeveral *Inſtructions* concerning his treating and joining with the *Iriſh*, in order to the King's Service, by reducing to their Obedience, and by drawing ſome Forces from them for the Service of *Scotland*. That beſides the *Letters* and *Orders* under his Majeſties Hand, they have received ſufficient Evidence and Teſtimony of ſeveral private Meſſages and Directions ſent from Our Royal *Father*, and from Our Royal *Mother*, with the privity and with the Directions of the King Our *Father*; by which they are perſwaded that whatever Intelligence, Correſpondence or Actings, the ſaid Marqueſs had with the Confederate *Iriſh Catholicks*, was directed or allowed by the ſaid *Letters*, *Inſtructions* and *Directions*; and that it manifeſtly appears to them, that the King our Father was well pleaſed with what the Marqueſs did, after he had done it, and approved the ſame.

“ This being the true ſtate of the Marqueſs his Caſe, and there being nothing proved upon the firſt Information againſt him, nor any thing contained againſt him in your Letter of *March* 18. but that you were informed, he had put in his Claim before the Commiſſioners appointed for executing the *Act of Settlement*; and that if his innocency be ſuch as is alledged, there is no need of tranſmitting ſuch a Bill to Us as is deſired; and that if he be *Nocent*, it conſiſts not with the Duty which you owe to Us, to tranſmit ſuch a Bill, as if it ſhould paſs into a Law, muſt needs draw a great Prejudice upon ſo many Adventurers and Souldiers, which are, *as is alledged*, to be therein concerned. We have conſidered of the *Petition* of the *Adventurers* and *Souldiers*, which was tranſ-

“ mitted to Us by you, the Equity of which conſiſts in nothing, but that they
“ have been peaceably in Poſſeſſion for the ſpace of ſeven or eight years, of
“ thoſe Lands which were formerly the Eſtate of the *Marqueſs* of *Antrim*, and
“ others, who were all engaged in the late *Iriſh Rebellion*; and that they ſhall
“ ſuffer very much, and be ruined, if thoſe Lands ſhould be taken from them.
“ And We have likewiſe conſidered another *Petition* from ſeveral Citizens of
“ *London*, near ſixty in number, directed to Our Self, wherein they deſire, That
“ the *Marqueſs* his Eſtate may be made liable to the paiment of his juſt Debts,
“ that ſo they may not be ruined in the favour of the preſent Poſſeſſors, who
“ (they ſay) are but a few Citizens and Souldiers, who have disburſed very
“ ſmall ſums thereon. Upon the whole matter no man can think We are leſs
“ engaged by Our Declaration, and by the Act of Settlement, to protect thoſe
“ who are *innocent*, and who have faithfully endeavoured to ſerve the *Crown*,
“ how unfortunate ſoever, than to expoſe to Juſtice thoſe who have been really
“ and maliciouſly *guilty*. And therefore we cannot in Juſtice, but upon the
“ *Petition* of the *Marqueſs* of *Antrim*, and after the ſerious and ſtrict Inquiſition
“ into his Actions, declare unto you, That We do find him *innocent* from
“ any malice or rebellious purpoſe againſt the Crown; and that what he did
“ by way of Correſpondence or Compliance with the *Iriſh* Rebels, was in order
“ to the Service of Our Royal *Father*, and warranted by his Inſtructions,
“ and the Truſt repoſed in him; and that the benefit thereof accrued to the Service
“ of the Crown, and not to the particular advantage and benefit of the
“ *Marqueſs*. And as We cannot in juſtice deny him *this Teſtimony*, ſo We require
“ you to tranſmit Our *Letter* to Our Commiſſioners, that they may know
“ Our Judgments in this Caſe of the Lord of *Antrim*, and proceed accordingly.
“ And ſo We bid you heartily farewel.

*Given at Our Court at* White-Hall, July 10, *in the* 15th *Year of Our Reign*, 1663.

By his Majeſty's Command,

*To Our Right Truſty and Right entirely Well-beloved Couſin and Counſellor*, James Duke *of* Ormond, *Our Lieutenant General, and General Governour of Our Kingdom of* Ireland; *and to the Lords of Our Council of that Our Kingdom.*

*HENRY BENNET.*

Entred at the Signet-Office,
*July* 13. 1663.

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WHAT our Author had ingeniouſly render'd ſuſpicious (not to ſay very probable) by reaſonable Conſequences or Preſumptions, and by Arguments drawn from the Book it ſelf, has been ſince his Death moſt clearly prov'd from ſeveral undeniable Matters of Fact by the late Reverend Dr. *Walker* of *Eſſex, viz.* That K. *Charles* the Firſt was not the real Author of *Eikon Baſilike*, but Dr. *Gauden*, then Biſhop of *Exeter*. We therefore refer the inquiſitive Reader to the ſaid Dr. *Walker*'s Account of the true Author of *Eikon Baſilike*, and to the other Papers publiſh'd on this occaſion; but we cannot forbear inſerting in this place the following *Memorandum* of the late Noble *Arthur* Earl of *Angleſey* under his own Hand, which was found in his Library prefixt to a printed Copy of one of theſe Books. Now if the Declaration of two Kings, and thoſe his own Sons, deſerve any regard or credit, it plainly appears how much Dr. *Gauden* impos'd upon the World, and abus'd the Memory of that unfortunate Prince.

## The *Memorandum.*

KING Charles *the Second and the Duke of* York, *did both (in the laſt Seſſions of Parliament 1675. when I ſhew'd them in the Lords Houſe the written Copy of this Book, wherein are ſome Corrections and Alterations written with the late King* Charles *the Firſt's own hand) aſſure me that this was none of the ſaid King's compiling, but made by Dr.* Gauden *Biſhop of* Exeter: *which I here inſert for the undeceiving of others in this Point, by atteſting ſo much under my own Hand.*

Angleſey.

# THE TENURE OF Kings and Magiſtrates:

## PROVING,

## That it is Lawfull, and hath been held ſo through all Ages, for any, who have the Power, to call to account a TYRANT, or wicked KING, and after due Conviction, to depoſe, and put him to Death; if the ordinary MAGISTRATE have neglected, or deny'd to doe it.

## And that they, who of late ſo much blame Depoſing, are the Men that did it themſelves.

IF Men within themſelves would be govern'd by reaſon, and not generally give up their underſtanding to a double tyrannie, of cuſtome from without, and blind affections within, they would diſcerne better what it is to favour and uphold the Tyrant of a Nation. But being ſlaves within doores, no wonder that they ſtrive ſo much to have the public State conformably govern'd to the inward vitious rule, by which they govern themſelves. For indeed none can love freedom heartilie, but good men; the reſt love not freedom, but licence; which never hath more ſcope or more indulgence then under Tyrants. Hence is it that Tyrants are not oft offended, nor ſtand much in doubt of bad men, as being all naturally ſervile; but in whom vertue and true worth moſt is eminent, them they feare in earneſt, as by right their Maſters, againſt them lies all their hatred and ſuſpicion. Conſequentlie neither doe bad men hate Tyrants, but have been alwaies readieſt with the falſifi'd names of *Loyalty* and *Obedience*, to colour over their baſe compliances. And although ſometimes for ſhame, and when it comes to their owne grievances, of Purſe eſpecially, they would ſeeme good Patriots, and ſide with the better cauſe, yet when others for the deliverance of their Countrie, endu'd with fortitude and heroick vertue, to feare nothing but the curſe written againſt thoſe *that doe the worke of the Lord negligently*, would goe on to remove, not onely the calamities and thraldomes of a people, but the roots and cauſes whence they ſpring; ſtreight theſe men, and ſure helpers at need, as if they hated onely the miſeries but not the miſchiefes, after they have juggl'd and palter'd with the World, bandied and borne arms againſt their King, deveſted him, diſanointed him, nay curs'd him all over in thir Pulpits, and their Pamphlets, to the ingaging of ſincere and reall men, beyond what is poſſible or honeſt to retreat from, not onely turne revolters from thoſe Principles, which onely could at firſt move them, but lay the ſtaine of diſloyaltie, and worſe, on thoſe proceedings, which are the neceſſarie conſequences of their owne former actions; nor diſlik'd by themſelves, were they manag'd to the intire advantages of their owne Faction; not conſidering the while that he toward whom they boaſted thir new fidelitie, counted them acceſſory, and by thoſe Statutes and Laws which they ſo impotently brandiſh againſt others, would have doom'd them to a trayors death for what they have done alreadie. 'Tis true, that moſt men are apt anough to civill Wars and Commotions as a noveltie, and for a flaſh, hot and active; but through ſloth or inconſtancie, and weakneſs of ſpirit, either fainting ere there owne pretences, though never ſo juſt, be half attain'd, or through an inbred falſhood and wickedneſſe, betray oft times to deſtruction with themſelves, men of nobleſt temper join'd with them for cauſes which they in their raſh undertakings were not capable of. If God and a good Cauſe give them Victory, the proſecution whereof for the moſt part, inevitably draws after it the alteration of

Jer. 48. 1.

Lawes, change of Government, downfall of Princes with their Families; then comes the task to thoſe Worthies which are the ſoule of that Enterprize, to bee ſwett and labour'd out amidſt the throng and noiſes of vulgar and irrationall men. Some conteſting for Privileges, Cuſtomes, Formes, and that old intanglement of iniquitie, their gibriſh Lawes, though the badge of their ancient ſlavery. Others who have been fierceſt againſt their Prince, under the notion of a Tyrant, and no meane incendiaries of the Warre againſt him, when God out of his providence and high diſpoſall hath deliver'd him into the hand of their Brethren, on a ſuddaine and in a new garbe of Allegiance, which their doings have long ſince cancell'd; they plead for him, pity him, extoll him, proteſt againſt thoſe that talke of bringing him to the tryall of Juſtice, which is the Sword of God, ſuperiour to all mortall things, in whoſe hand ſoever by apparent ſignes his teſtified will is to put it. But certainely, if we conſider who and what they are, on a ſuddaine growne ſo pitifull, wee may conclude, their pity can be no true and Chriſtian commiſeration, but either levitie and ſhallowneſſe of minde, or elſe a carnall admiring of that worldly pompe and greatneſs, from whence they ſee him fall'n; or rather laſtly, a diſſembl'd and ſeditious pity, fain'd of induſtry to beget new commotions. As for mercy, if it bee to a Tyrant, under which name they themſelves have cited him ſo oft in the hearing of God, of Angels, and the holy Church aſſembl'd, and there charg'd him with the ſpilling of more innocent blood by farre, then ever *Nero* did, undoubtedly the mercy which they pretend, is the mercy of wicked men; and Prov. 12.10. their mercies, wee read, are cruelties; hazarding the welfare of a whole Nation, to have ſav'd one whom ſo oft they have tearm'd *Agag*, and villifying the blood of many *Jonathans* that have ſav'd *Iſrael*; inſiſting with much niceneſſe on the unneceſſarieſt clauſe of their Covnant, wherein the feare of change, and the abſurd contradiction of a flattering hoſtilitie had hampered them, but not ſcrupling to give away for complements, to an implacable revenge, the heads of many thouſand Chriſtians more.

Another ſort there is, who comming in the courſe of theſe affairs, to have thir ſhare in great actions above the forme of Law or Cuſtome, at leaſt to give thir voice and approbation, begin to ſwerve and almoſt ſhiver at the majeſty and grandeur of ſom noble deed, as if they were newly enter'd into a great ſin; diſputing preſidents, formes, and circumſtances, when the Commonwealth nigh periſhes for want of deeds in ſubſtance, don with juſt and faithfull expedition. To theſe I wiſh better inſtruction, and vertue equall to their calling; the former of which, that is to ſay Inſtruction, I ſhall indeavour, as my dutie is, to beſtow on them; and exhort them not to ſtartle from the juſt and pious reſolution of adhering with all thir aſſiſtance to the preſent Parlament and Army, in the glorious way wherein Juſtice and Victorie hath ſet them; the onely warrants through all ages, next under immediate Revelation, to exerciſe ſupreame power; in thoſe proceedings which hitherto appear equall to what hath been don in any age or Nation heretofore, juſtly or magnanimouſlie. Nor let them be diſcourag'd or deterr'd by any new Apoſtate Scar-crowes, who under ſhow of giving counſell, ſend out their barking Monitories and *Memento's*, emptie of ought elſe but the ſpleene of a fruſtrated Faction. For how can that pretended counſell, bee either ſound or faithfull, when they that give it, ſee not for madneſſe and vexation of thir ends loſt, that thoſe Statutes and Scriptures which both falſly and ſcandalouſly they wreſt againſt their Friends and Aſſociates, would by ſentence of the common adverſarie, fall firſt and heavieſt upon their owne heads? Neither let milde and tender diſpoſitions be fooliſhly ſoftn'd from their dutie and perſeverance with the unmaſculine Rhetorick of any puling Prieſt or Chaplain, ſent as a friendly Letter of advice, for faſhion-ſake in private, and forthwith publiſh't by the Sender himſelfe, that wee may know how much of Friend there was in it, to caſt an odious envie upon them to whom it was pretended to be ſent in charitie. Nor let any man bee deluded by either the ignorance or the notorious hypocriſie and ſelf-repugnance of our dancing Divines, who have the conſcience and the boldneſſe, to come with Scripture in their mouthes, gloſs'd and fitted for thir turnes with a double contradictory ſenſe, transforming the ſacred veritie of God, to an Idol with two faces, looking at once two ſeveral ways; and with the ſame quotations to charge others, which in the ſame caſe they made ſerve to juſtifie themſelves. For while the hope to bee made Claſſic and Provinciall Lords led them on, while pluralities greas'd them thick and deepe, to the ſhame and ſcandall of Religion, more then all the Sects and Hereſies they exclaime againſt, then to fight againſt the Kings perſon, and no leſſe a party of his Lords and Commons, or to put force upon both the Houſes was good, was lawfull, was no reſiſting of Superiour powers; they onely were powers not to be reſiſted, who countenanc'd the good and puniſh't the evill. But now that thir cenſorious domineering is not ſuffer'd to be univerſall, truth and conſcience to be freed, Tithes and Pluralities to be no more, though competent allowance provided, and the warme experience of large gifts, and they ſo good at taking them; yet now to exclude and ſeize on impeach't Members, to bring Delinquents without exemption to a faire Tribunall by the common Nationall Law againſt murder, is now to be no leſſe then *Corah*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram*. He who but erewhile in the Pulpits was a curſed Tyrant, an enemie to God and Saints, laden with all the innocent blood ſpilt in three Kingdoms, and ſo to bee fought againſt, is now though nothing penitent or alter'd from his firſt principles, a lawfull Magiſtrate, a Sovrane Lord, the Lords Annointed, not to bee touch'd, though by themſelves impriſon'd. As if this onely were obedience, to preſerve the meere uſeleſſe bulke of his perſon, and that onely in priſon, not in the field, and to diſobey his commands, denie him his dignitie and office, every where to reſiſt his power but where they thinke it onely ſurviving in thir owne faction.

But who in particular is a Tyrant cannot be determind in a generall diſcourſe otherwiſe then by ſuppoſition; his particular charge, and the ſufficient proofe of it muſt determine that: which I leave to Magiſtrates, at leaſt to the uprighter ſort of them, and of the people, though in number leſſe by many, in whom Faction leaſt hath prevaild above the Law of nature and right reaſon, to judge as they finde cauſe. But this I dare owne as part of my faith, that if ſuch a one there be, by whoſe Commiſſion, whole maſſacres have been committed on his faithfull Subjects, his Provinces offered to pawne or alienation, as the hire of thoſe whom he had ſollicited to come in and deſtroy whole Cities and Countries; be hee King, or Tyrant, or Emperour, the Sword of Juſtice is above him; in whoſe hand ſoever is found ſufficient power to avenge the effuſion, and ſo great a deluge of innocent blood. For if all human power to execute, not accidentally but intendedly, the wrath of God upon evil doers without exception, be of God; then that power, whether ordinary, or if that faile, extraordinary ſo executing that intent of God, is lawfull, and not to be reſiſted. But to unfold more at large this whole Queſtion, though with all expedient brevity, I ſhall here ſet downe, from firſt beginning, the originall of Kings; how and wherefore exalted to that dignitie above thir Brethren; and from thence ſhall prove, that turning to tyranny they may bee as lawfully depoſed and puniſhd, as they were at firſt elected: This I ſhall doe by autorities and reaſons, not learnt in corners among Schiſmes and Heriſies, as our doubling Divines are ready to calumniate, but fetch't out of the midſt of choiceſt and moſt authentic learning, and no prohibited Authors, nor many Heathen, but Moſaical, Chriſtian, Orthodoxal, and which muſt needs be more convincing to our Adverſaries, Presbyterial.

No man who knows ought, can be ſo ſtupid to deny that all men naturally were born free, being the image and reſemblance of God himſelfe, and were by privilege above all the creatures, borne to command and not to obey: and that they livd ſo, till from the root of *Adams* tranſgreſſion, falling among themſelves to doe wrong and violence, and foreſeeing that ſuch courſes muſt needs tend to the deſtruction of them all, they agreed by common league to bind each other from mutual injury, and joyntly to defend themſelves againſt any that gave diſturbance or oppoſition to ſuch agreement. Hence came Cities, Towns and Common-wealths. And becauſe no faith in all was found ſufficiently binding, they ſaw it needfull to ordaine ſome Autoritie, that might reſtraine by force and puniſhment what was violated againſt peace and common right: This autoritie and power of ſelf-defence and preſervation being originally and naturally in every one of them, and unitedly in them all, for eaſe, for order; and leaſt each man ſhould be his owne partial judge, they communicated and deriv'd either to one, whom for the eminence of his wiſdom and integritie they choſe above the reſt, or to more then one whom they thought of equal deſerving: the firſt was called a King; the other Magiſtrates. Not to be their Lords and Maiſters (though afterward thoſe names in ſom places were giv'n voluntarily to ſuch as had bin authors of ineſtimable good to the people) but to be thir Deputies and Commiſſioners, to execute, by vertue of thir intruſted power, that juſtice which elſe every man by the bond of Nature and of Cov'nant muſt have executed for himſelfe, and for one another. And to him that ſhall conſider well why among free perſons, one man by civill right ſhould beare autority and juriſdiction over another, no other end or reaſon can be imaginable. Theſe for a while governd well, and with much equitie decided all things at thir owne arbitrement: till the temptation of ſuch a power left abſolute in thir hands, perverted them at length to injuſtice and partialitie. Then did they who now by tryall had found the danger and inconveniences of committing arbitrary power to any, invent Lawes either fram'd or conſented to by all, that ſhould confine and limit the autority of whom they choſe to govern them: that ſo Man of whoſe failing they had proof, might no more rule over them, but Law and Reaſon abſtracted as much as might be from perſonal errors and frailties. When this would not ſerve, but that the Law was either not executed, or miſapply'd, they were conſtrained from that time, the onely remedy left them, to put conditions and take Oaths from all Kings and Magiſtrates at their firſt inſtalment to doe impartial juſtice by Law: who upon thoſe termes and no other, receav'd Allegeance from the people, that is to ſay, Bond or Covnant to obey them in execution of thoſe Lawes which they the people had themſelves made or aſſented to. And this oft times with expreſs warning, that if the King or Magiſtrate prov'd unfaithfull to his truſt, the people would be diſingag'd. They added alſo Counſelors and Parlaments, not to be onely at his beck, but with him or without him, at ſet times, or at all times, when any danger threatn'd, to have care of the public ſafety. Therefore ſaith *Claudius Seſell* a French Stateſman, *The Parlament was ſet as a bridle to the King*; which I inſtance rather, becauſe that Monarchy is granted by all to be a farre more abſolute then ours. That this and the reſt of what hath hitherto been ſpok'n is moſt true, might be copiouſly made appeare throughout all Stories Heathen and Chriſtian; ev'n of thoſe Nations where Kings and Emperours have ſought meanes to aboliſh all ancient memory of the peoples right by their encroachments and uſurpations. But I ſpare long inſertions, appealing to the German, French, Italian, Arrogonian, Engliſh, and not leaſt the Scottiſh Hiſtories: not forgetting this onely by the way, that *William* the Norman though a Conqueror, and not unſworne at his Coronation, was compelld a ſecond time to take Oath at S. *Albanes*, ere the people would be brought to yeild obedience.

It being thus manifeſt that the power of Kings and Magiſtrates is nothing elſe, but what is onely derivative, transferrd and committed to them in truſt from the People to the Common good of them all, in whom the power yet remaines fundamentally, and cannot be tak'n from them, without a violation of thir natural Birthright; and ſeeing that from hence *Ariſtotle*, and the beſt of Political Writers have defin'd a King, him who governs to the good and profit of his People, and not for his owne ends; it follows from neceſſary cauſes that that the Titles of Sovran Lord, Natural Lord, and the like, are either arrogancies, or flatteries, not admitted by Emperors and Kings of beſt note, and diſlikt by the Church both of Jews, *Iſai.* 26. 13. and ancient Chriſtians, as appears by *Tertullian* and others. Although generally the People of *Aſia*, and with them the Jews alſo, eſpecially ſince the time they choſe a King, againſt the advice and counſel of God, are noted by wiſe Authors much inclinable to Slavery.

Secondly, that to ſay, as is uſual, the King hath as good right to his Crown and Dignitie, as any Man to his Inheritance, is to make the Subject no better then the Kings Slave, his Chattell, or his Poſſeſſion that may be bought and ſould: And doubtleſs, if hereditary Title were ſufficiently inquir'd, the beſt foundation of it would be found but either in courteſie or convenience. But ſuppoſe it to be of right hereditarie, what can be more juſt and legal, if a Subject for certaine crimes be to forfet by Law from himſelfe and Poſterity, all his Inheritance to the King, then that a King for crimes proportionall, ſhould forfet all his title and inheritance to the people? unleſs the people muſt be thought created all for him, he not for them, and they all in one body inferior to him ſingle; which were a kind of treaſon againſt the dignity of mankind to affirm.

Thirdly, it ſollowes, that to ſay Kings are accountable to none but God, is the overturning of all Law and Government. For if they may refuſe to give account, then all Covnants made with them at Coronation, all Oathes are in vaine, and meer mockeries; all Lawes which they ſweare to keep, made to no purpoſe; for if the King feare not God, as how many of them doe not? we hold then our lives and eſtates: by the tenure of his meer grace and mercy, as from a God, not a mortal Magiſtrate; a Poſition that none but Court-paraſites or Men beſotted would maintain. And no Chriſtian Prince, not drunk with high Mind, and prouder then thoſe Pagan *Caſars* that deifi'd themſelves, would arrogate ſo unreaſonably above human condition, or derogate ſo baſely from a whole Nation of men his brethren, as if for him onely ſubſiſting, and to ſerve his glory, valuing them in compariſon of his owne brute will and pleaſure no more then ſo many beaſts, or vermine under his feet, not to be reaſon'd with, but to be injurd; among whom there might be found ſo many thouſand men for wiſdom, vertue, nobleneſs of mind, and all other reſpects but the fortune of his dignity, far above him. Yet ſome would perſwade us that this abſurd opinion was King *Davids*, becauſe in the 51 *Pſalm* he cries out to God, *Againſt thee only have I ſinn'd*; as if *David* had imagind that to murder *Uriah* and adulterate his Wife had bin no ſinne againſt his Neighbour, when as that law of *Moſes* was to the King expreſly, *Deut.* 17. not to think ſo highly of himſelf above his Brethren. *David* therefore by thoſe words could mean no other, then either that the depth of his guiltineſs was known to God onely, or to ſo few as had not the will or power to queſtion him, or that the Sin againſt God was greater beyond compare then againſt *Uriah*. What ever his meaning were, any wiſe man will ſee that the patheticall words of a Pſalme can be no certaine deciſion to a point that hath abundantly more certaine rules to goe by. How much more rationally ſpake the Heathen King *Demophoon* in a Tragedy of *Euripides* then theſe interpreters would put upon King *David*, *I rule not my People by Tyranny as if they were Barbarians, but am my ſelf liable, if I doe unjuſtly, to ſuffer juſtly.* Not unlike was the ſpeech of *Traian* the worthy Emperor, to one whom he made General of his Prætorian Forces: Take this drawne ſword, ſaith he, to uſe for me, if I reigne well; if not, to uſe againſt me. Thus *Dion* relates. And not *Traian* onely, but *Theodoſius* the younger a Chriſtian Emperor and one of the beſt, cauſd it to be enacted as a rule undenyable and fit to be acknowledgd by all Kings and Emperors, that a Prince is bound to the Laws; that on the autority of Law the autority of a Prince depends, and to the Laws ought ſubmit. Which Edict of his remaines yet unrepeald in the *Code* of *Juſtinian*, *l.* 1. *tit.* 24. as a ſacred conſtitution to all the ſucceeding Emperors. How then can any King in *Europe* maintaine and write himſelfe accountable to none but God, when Emperors in their owne imperiall Statutes have writt'n and decreed themſelves accountable to Law? And indeed where ſuch account is not fear'd, he that bids a man reigne over him above Law, may bid as well a ſavage beaſt.

It follows laſtly, that ſince the King or Magiſtrate holds his autoritie of the people, both originally and naturally for their good in the firſt place, and not his owne, then may the people as oft as they ſhall judge it for the beſt, either chooſe him or reject him, retaine him or depoſe him though no Tyrant, meerly by the libertie and right of free born men to be govern'd as ſeems to them beſt. This, though it cannot but ſtand with plain reaſon, ſhall be made good alſo by Scripture, *Deut.* 17. 24. *When thou art come into the Land which the Lord thy God giveth thee, and ſhall ſay I will ſet a King over mee, like as all the Nations about mee.* Theſe words confirme us that the right of chooſing, yea of changing thir owne Goverment, is by the grant of God himſelf in the people. And therefore when they deſir'd a King, though then under another forme of Goverment, and though thir changing diſpleaſd him, yet he that was himſelf thir King, and rejected by them, would not be a hindrance to what they intended, furder then by perſwaſion, but that they might doe therein as they ſaw good, 1 *Sam.* 8. onely he reſerv'd to himſelf the nomination of who ſhould reign over them. Neither did that exempt the King as if hee were to God onely accountable, though by his eſpeciall command anointed. Therefore *David firſt made a Covnant with the Elders of Iſrael, and ſo was by them anointed King*, 1 *Chron.* 11. And *Jehoiada* the Prieſt making *Jehoaſh* King, made a Cov'nant between him and the people, 2 *Kings* 11. 17. Therefore when *Roboam* at his comming to the

Crowne, rejected thoſe conditions which the Iſraelites brought him, heare what they anſwer him, *what portion have we in David, or inheritance in the Son of Jeſſe? See to thine owne Houſe David.* And for the like conditions not perform'd, all *Iſrael* before that time depoſed *Samuell*; not for his own default, but for the miſgoverment of his Sons. But ſom will ſay to both theſe examples, it was evilly don. I anſwer, that not the latter, becauſe it was expreſſely allow'd them in the Law to ſet up a King if they pleas'd; and God himſelf joynd with them in the work; though in ſome ſort it was at that time diſpleaſing to him, in reſpect of old *Samuell* who had governd them uprightly. As *Livy* praiſes the Romans who took occaſion from *Tarquinius* a wicked Prince to gaine their libertie, which to have extorted, ſaith hee, from *Numa* or any of the good Kings before had not bin ſeaſonable. Nor was it in the former example don unlawfully; for when *Roboam* had prepar'd a huge Army to reduce the *Iſraelites*, he was forbidd'n by the Profet, 1 *Kings* 12. 24. *Thus ſaith the Lord, yee ſhall not goe up, nor fight againſt your brethren, for this thing is from me.* He calls them thir Brethren, not Rebels, and forbidds to be proceeded againſt them, owning the thing himſelfe, not by ſingle providence, but by approbation, and that not onely of the act, as in the former example, but of the fitt ſeaſon alſo; he had not otherwiſe forbidd to moleſt them. And thoſe grave and wiſe Counſellors whom *Rehoboam* firſt adviſ'd with, ſpake no ſuch thing, as our old gray headed Flatterers now are wont, ſtand upon your birth-right, ſcorne to capitulate, you hold of God, and not of them; for they knew no ſuch matter, unleſs conditionally, but gave him politic counſel, as in a civil tranſaction. Therfore Kingdom and Magiſtracy, whether ſupreme or ſubordinat, is calld *a human Ordinance*, 1 *Pet.* 2. 13, &c. which we are there taught is the will of God wee ſhould ſubmitt to, ſo farr as for the puniſhment of evil doers, and the encouragement of them that doe well, *Submitt*, ſaith he, *as free men.* And *there is no power but of God*, ſaith *Paul*, *Rom.* 13. as much as to ſay, God put it into mans heart to find out that way at firſt for common peace and preſervation, approving the exerciſe thereof; els it contradicts *Peter*, who calls the ſame autority an Ordinance of man. It muſt be alſo underſtood of lawfull and juſt power, els we read of great power in the Affaires and Kingdomes of the World permitted to the Devill: for ſaith he to Chriſt, *Luke* 4. 6. *all this power will I give thee and the glory of them, for it is deliverd to me, and to whomſoever I will, I give it:* neither did hee ly, or Chriſt gainſay what he affirm'd; for in the thirteenth of the *Revelation* wee read how the Dragon gave to the Beaſt *his power, his ſeat, and great autority:* which Beaſt ſo autoriz'd moſt expound to be the tyrannical Powers and Kingdomes of the Earth. Therfore Saint *Paul* in the forecited Chapter tells us, that ſuch Magiſtrates he meanes, as are not a terror to the good but to the evill, ſuch as beare not the ſword in vaine, but to puniſh offenders, and to encourage the good. If ſuch onely be mentiond here as powers to be obeyd, and our ſubmiſſion to them onely requird, then doubtleſs thoſe powers that doe the contrary, are no powers ordaind of God; and by conſequence no obligation laid upon us to obey or not to reſiſt them. And it may be well obſervd that both theſe Apoſtles, whenever they give this Precept, expreſs it in termes not *concret* but *abſtract*, as Logicians are wont to ſpeake; that is they mention the ordinance, the power, the autoritie before the perſons that execute it; and what that power is, leſt we ſhould be deceavd, they deſcribe exactly. So that if the power be not ſuch, or the perſon execute not ſuch power, neither the one nor the other is of God, but of the Devill, and by conſequence to bee reſiſted. From this expoſition *Chryſoſtome* alſo on the ſame place diſſents not; explaining that theſe words were not writt'n in behalf of a Tyrant. And this is verify'd by *David*, himſelf a King, and likelieſt to be Author of the *Pſalm* 94. 20. which ſaith, *Shall the throne of iniquity have fellowſhip with thee?* And it were worth the knowing, ſince Kings, and that by Scripture, boaſt the juſtneſs of thir Title, by holding it immediately of God, yet cannot ſhow the time when God ever ſet on the Throne them or thir forefathers, but onely when the people choſe them; why by the ſame reaſon, ſince God aſcribes as oft to himſelf the caſting down of Princes from the Throne, it ſhould not be thought as lawful, and as much from God when none are ſeen to do it but the people, and that for juſt cauſes. For if it needs muſt be a ſin in them to depoſe, it may as likely be a ſin to have elected. And contrary if the peoples act in election be pleaded by a King, as the act of God, and the moſt juſt title to enthrone him, why may not the peoples act of rejection, be as well pleaded by the people as the act of God, and the moſt juſt reaſon to depoſe him? So that we ſee the title and juſt right of reigning or depoſing in reference to God, is found in Scripture to be all one; viſible onely in the people, and depending meerly upon juſtice and demerit. Thus farr hath bin conſiderd briefly the power of Kings and Magiſtrates; how it was, and is originally the peoples, and by them conferrd in truſt onely to bee imployd to the common peace and benefit; with libertie therefore and right remaining in them to reaſſume it to themſelves, if by Kings or Magiſtrates it be abus'd; or to diſpoſe of it by any alteration, as they ſhall judge moſt conducing to the public good.

Wee may from hence with more eaſe, and force of argument determin what a Tyrant is, and what the people may doe againſt him. A Tyrant whether by wrong or by right comming to the Crowne, is he who regarding neither Law nor the common good, reigns onely for himſelf and his Faction: Thus St. *Baſil* among others defines him. And becauſe his power is great, his will boundleſs and exorbitant, the fulfilling whereof is for the moſt part accompanied with innumerable wrongs and oppreſſions of the people, Murders, Maſſacres, Rapes, Adulteries, Deſolation, and Subverſion of Cities and whole Provinces; look how great a good and happineſs a juſt King is, ſo great a miſcheiſe is a Tyrant; as hee the public Father of his Countrie, ſo this the common Enemie. Againſt whom what the people lawfully may doe, as againſt a common peſt, and deſtroyer of mankinde, I ſuppoſe no man of cleare judgement need goe furder to be guided then by the very principles of nature in him. But becauſe it is the vulgar folly of men to deſert thir owne reaſon, and ſhutting thir eyes to think they ſee beſt with other mens, I ſhall ſhew by ſuch examples as ought to have moſt waight with us, what hath bin don in this caſe heretofore. The *Greeks* and *Romans*, as thir prime Authors witneſs, held it not onely lawfull, but a glorious and heroic Deed, rewarded publicly with Statues and Garlands, to kill an infamous Tyrant at any time without tryal; and but reaſon, that he who trod down all Law, ſhould not be voutſaf'd the benefit of Law. Inſomuch that *Seneca* the Tragedian brings in *Hercules* the grand ſuppreſſor of Tyrants thus ſpeaking,

*——— Victima haud ulla amplior*
*Poteſt, magiſque opima mactari Jovi*
*Quam Rex iniquus ———*
*——— There can be ſlaine*
*No ſacrifice to God more acceptable*
*Then an unjuſt and wicked King ———*

But of theſe I name no more, leſt it be objected they were Heathen; and come to produce another ſort of men that had the knowledge of true Religion. Among the Jews this cuſtome of Tyrant-killing was not unuſual. Firſt *Ehud*, a man whom God had rayſd to deliver *Iſrael* from *Eglon* King of *Moab*, who had conquer'd and rul'd over them eighteen Years, being ſent to him as an Ambaſſador with a preſent, ſlew him in his owne Houſe. But he was a forren Prince, an Enemie, and *Ehud* beſides had ſpecial warrant from God. To the firſt I anſwer, it imports not whether forren or native: For no Prince ſo native but profeſſes to hold by Law; which when he himſelſe overturnes, breaking all the Covnants and Oaths that gave him title to his dignity, and were the bond and alliance between him and his people, what differs he from an Outlandiſh King or from an Enemie? For looke how much right the King of *Spaine* hath to govern us at all, ſo much right hath the King of *England* to govern us tyrannically. If he, though not bound to us by any league, comming from *Spaine* in perſon to ſubdue us, or to deſtroy us, might lawfully by the people of *England* either bee ſlaine in Fight, or put to death in Captivity, what hath a native King to plead, bound by ſo many Covnants, Benefits and Honours to the welfare of his people? why he through the contempt of all Laws and Parlaments, the onely tie of our obedience to him, for his owne wills ſake, and a boaſted Prærogative unaccountable, after ſev'n Years warring and deſtroying of his beſt Subjects, overcom, and yeilded priſoner, ſhould think to ſcape unqueſtionable,

ſtionable, as a thing divine, in reſpect of whom ſo many thouſand Chriſtians deſtroy'd ſhould lye unaccounted for, polluting with thir ſlaughterd Carcaſſes all the Land over, and crying for vengeance againſt the living that ſhould have righted them? Who knows not that there is a mutual bond of amity and brotherhood between man and man over all the World, neither is it the Engliſh Sea that can ſever us from that duty and relation: a ſtraiter bond yet there is between fellow-ſubjects, neighbours, and friends; But when any of theſe do one to another ſo as hoſtility could do no worſe, what doth the Law decree leſs againſt them, then open enemies and invaders? or if the Law be not preſent, or too weake, what doth it warrant us to leſs then ſingle defence or civil Warr? and from that time forward the Law of civill defenſive Warr differs nothing from the Law of forren hoſtility. Nor is it diſtance of place that makes enmitie, but enmity that makes diſtance. He therefore that keeps peace with me neer or remote, of whatſoever Nation, is to me as far as all civil and human Offices an Engliſhman and a Neighbour, but if an Engliſhman forgetting all Laws, human, civil and religious, offend againſt life and libertie, to him offended and to the Law in his behalf, though born in the ſame Womb, he is no better then a Turk, a Saraſin, a Heathen. This is Goſpel, and this was ever Law among equals; how much rather then in force againſt any King whatſoever, who in reſpect of the people is confeſsd inferiour and not equal: to diſtinguiſh therfore of a Tyrant by Outlandiſh, or Domeſtic is a weak evaſion. To the ſecond that he was an Enemie, I anſwer, what Tyrant is not? yet *Eglon* by the Jews had bin acknowledgd as thir Sovran, they had ſervd him eighteen years, as long almoſt as we our *William* the Conqueror, in all which time he could not be ſo unwiſe a Stateſman but to have tak'n of them Oaths of Fealty and Allegeance, by which they made themſelves his proper ſubjects, as thir homage and preſent ſent by *Ehud* teſtifyd. To the third, that he had ſpecial warrant to kill *Eglon* in that manner, it cannot be granted, becauſe not expreſsd; tis plain that he was rayſd by God to be a Deliverer, and went on juſt principles, ſuch as were then and ever held allowable, to deale ſo by a Tyrant that could no otherwiſe be dealt with. Neither did *Samuell* though a Profet, with his own hand abſtain from *Agag*; a forren enemie no doubt; but mark the reaſon, *As thy Sword hath made women childleſs*; a cauſe that by the ſentence of Law it ſelf nullifies all relations. And as the Law is between Brother and Brother, Father and Son, Maiſter and Servant, wherefore not between King or rather Tyrant and People? And whereas *Jehu* had ſpecial command to ſlay *Jehoram* a ſucceſſive and hereditarie Tyrant, it ſeems not the leſs imitable for that; for where a thing grounded ſo much on naturall reaſon hath the addition of a command from God, what does it but eſtabliſh the lawfulneſs of ſuch an act? Nor is it likely that God, who had ſo many ways of puniſhing the houſe of *Ahab*, would have ſent a Subject againſt his Prince, if the fact in it ſelf as don to a Tyrant had bin of bad example. And if *David* refuſd to lift his hand againſt the Lords anointed, the matter between them was not tyranny, but private enmity, and *David* as a private perſon had bin his owne revenger, not ſo much the peoples; but when any Tyrant at this day can ſhew to be the Lords anointed, the only mention'd reaſon why *David* withheld his hand, he may then, but not till then, preſume on the ſame privilege.

We may paſs therefore hence to Chriſtian Times. And firſt our Saviour himſelf, how much he favourd Tyrants, and how much intended they ſhould be found or honourd among Chriſtians, declares his mind not obſcurely; accounting thir abſolute autoritie no better then Gentiliſme, yea though they flouriſhd it over with the ſplendid name of Benefactors; charging thoſe that would be his Diſciples to uſurp no ſuch dominion; but that they who were to be of moſt autoritie among them, ſhould eſteem themſelves Miniſters and Servants to the public. *Mat.* 20. 25. *The Princes of the Gentiles exerciſe Lordſhip over them*; and *Mark* 10. 42. *They that ſeem to rule*, ſaith he, either ſlighting or accounting them no lawful rulers; *but ye ſhall not be ſo, but the greateſt among you ſhall be your Servant.* And although he himſelf were the meekeſt, and came on Earth to be ſo, yet to a Tyrant we hear him not voutſafe an humble word: but *Tell that Fox*, *Luk.* 13. And wherefore did his Mother the Virgin *Mary* give ſuch praiſe to God in her profetic Song, that he had now by the comming of Chriſt, *Cut down Dynaſta's, or proud Monarchs from the Throne*, if the Church, when God manifeſts his power in them to do ſo, ſhould rather chooſe all miſerie and vaſſalage to ſerve them, and let them ſtill ſit on thir potent ſeats to be ador'd for doing miſchief. Surely it is not for nothing that Tyrants by a kind of natural inſtinct both hate and feare none more then the true Church and Saints of God, as the moſt dangerous enemies and ſubverters of Monarchy, though indeed of Tyranny; hath not this bin the perpetual cry of Courtiers, and Court-Prelates? whereof no likelier cauſe can be alleg'd, but that they well diſcern'd the mind and principles of moſt devout and zealous men, and indeed the very diſcipline of Church, tending to the diſſolution of all Tyranny. No marvel then if ſince the Faith of Chriſt receav'd, in purer or impurer times, to depoſe a King and put him to death for Tyranny hath bin accounted ſo juſt and requiſit, that neighbour Kings have both upheld and tak'n part with Subjects in the action. And *Ludovicus Pius*, himſelf an Emperor, and Son of *Charles* the Great, being made Judge, *Du Haillan* is my author, between *Milegaſt* King of the *Vultzes* and his Subjects who had depos'd him, gave his verdit for the Subjects, and for him whom they had choſ'n in his room. Note here that the right of electing whom they pleaſe, is by the impartial teſtimony of an Emperor in the people. For, ſaid he, *A juſt Prince ought to be preferr'd before an unjuſt, and the end of Goverment before the prerogative.* And *Conſtantinus Leo*, another Emperor in the *Byzantine* Laws ſaith, *That the end of a King is for the general good, which he not performing, is but the counterfet of a King.* And to prove that ſome of our own Monarchs have acknowledg'd that thir high office exempted them not from puniſhment, they had the Sword of St. *Edward* born before them by an Officer who was calld Earl of the Palace ev'n at the times of thir higheſt pomp and ſolemnity, to mind them, ſaith *Mathew Paris*, the beſt of our Hiſtorians, that if they err'd, the Sword had power to reſtrain them. And what reſtraint the Sword comes to at length, having both edg and point, if any *Sceptic* will needs doubt, let him feel. It is alſo affirm'd from diligent ſearch made in our ancient books of Law, that the Peers and Barons of *England* had a legall right to judge the King: which was the cauſe moſt likely, for it could be no ſlight cauſe, that they were call'd his Peers, or Equals. This however may ſtand immovable, ſo long as man hath to deale with no better then man; that if our Law judge all men to the loweſt by thir Peers, it ſhould in all equity aſcend alſo, and judge the higheſt. And ſo much I find both in our own and forren Story, that Dukes, Earls, and Marqueſſes were at firſt not hereditary, not empty and vain titles, but names of truſt and office, and with the office ceaſing; as induces me to be of opinion, that every worthy man in Parlament, for the word Baron imports no more, might for the public good be thought a fit Peer and Judge of the King; without regard had to petty Caveats, and Circumſtances, the chief impediment in high affairs, and ever ſtood upon moſt by circumſtantial men. Whence doubtleſs our Anceſtors, who were not ignorant with what rights either Nature or ancient Conſtitution had endow'd them, when Oaths both at Coronation, and renew'd in Parlament would not ſerve, thought it no way illegal to depoſe and put to death thir Tyrannous Kings. Inſomuch that the Parlament drew up a charge againſt *Richard the Second*, and the Commons requeſted to have judgement decreed againſt him, that the Realm might not be endanger'd. And *Peter Martyr* a Divine of formoſt rank, on the third of *Judges* approves thir doings. Sir *Thomas Smith* alſo, a Proteſtant and a Stateſman, in his Commonwealth of *England* putting the Queſtion, whether it be lawful to riſe againſt a Tyrant? anſwers, that the vulgar judge of it according to the event, and the learned according to the purpoſe of them that do it. But far before thoſe days *Gildas* the moſt ancient of all our Hiſtorians, ſpeaking of thoſe times wherein the Roman Empire decaying, quitted and relinquiſh'd what right they had by Conqueſt to this Iland, and reſign'd it all into the peoples hands, teſtifies that the people thus re-inveſted with thir own original right, about the year 446, both elected them Kings, who they thought beſt (the firſt Chriſtian Brittiſh Kings that ever raign'd here ſince the Romans) and by the ſame right, when they apprehended cauſe, uſually depos'd and put them to death. This is the moſt fundamental and ancient tenure that any King of *England* can produce or pretend to; in compariſon of which, all other titles and pleas are but of yeſterday. If any object that *Gildas* condemns the Britanes for ſo doing, the anſwer is as ready; that he condemns them no more for ſo doing, then he did before for chooſing ſuch, for ſaith he, *They anointed them Kings, not of God, but ſuch as were more bloody then the reſt.* Next he condemns them not at all for depoſing or putting them to death, but for doing it over haſtily, without tryal or well examining the cauſe, and for electing others worſe in thir room. Thus we have here both domeſtic and moſt ancient Examples that the people of Britain have depos'd and put to death thir Kings in thoſe primitive Chriſtian times. And to couple reaſon with example, if the Church in all Ages, Primitive, Romiſh, or Proteſtant, held it ever no leſs thir duty then the power of thir Keys, though without expreſs warrant of Scripture, to bring indifferently both King and Peaſant under the utmoſt rigor of thir Canons and Cenſures Eccleſiaſtical, ev'n to the ſmiting him with a final Excommunion, if he perſiſt impenitent, what hinders but that the temporal Law both may and ought, though without a ſpecial Text or Preſident, extend with like indifference the civil Sword, to the cutting off, without exemption, him that capitally offends? Seeing that Juſtice and Religion are from the ſame God, and works of Juſtice ofttimes more acceptable. Yet becauſe that ſome lately with the Tongues and Arguments of Malignant Backſliders have writt'n that the proceedings now in Parlament againſt the King, are without Preſident from any Proteſtant State or Kingdom, the Examples which follow ſhall be all Proteſtant, and chiefly Presbyterian.

In the Year 1546. The *Duke of Saxonie, Lantgrave of Heſſen,* and the whole Proteſtant League rais'd open War againſt *Charles the Fifth* thir Emperor, ſent him a Defiance, renounc'd all Faith and Allegeance toward him, and debated long in Counſell whether they ſhould give him ſo much as the title of *Cæſar. Sleidan. l.* 17. Let all men judge what this wanted of depoſing or of killing, but the power to do it.

In the Year 1559. The Scotch Proteſtants claiming promiſe of thir Queen-Regent for liberty of Conſcience, ſhe anſwering that promiſes were not to be claim'd of Princes beyond what was commodious for them to grant, told her to her face in the Parlament then at *Sterling*, that if it were ſo, they renounc'd thir obedience; and ſoon after betook them to Arms. *Buchanan Hiſt. l.* 16. Certainly when Allegeance is renounc'd, that very hour the King or Queen is in effect depos'd.

In the Year 1564. *John Knox* a moſt famous Divine, and the Reformer of *Scotland* to the Presbyterian Diſcipline, at a General Aſſembly maintain'd op'nly in a diſpute againſt *Lethington* the Secretary of State, that Subjects might and ought execute Gods Judgements upon thir King; that the Fact of *Jehu* and others againſt thir King, having the ground of Gods ordinary Command to put ſuch and ſuch offenders to death, was not extraordinary, but to be imitated of all that preferr'd the honour of God to the affection of Fleſh and wicked Princes; that Kings, if they offend, have no privilege to be exempted from the puniſhments of Law more than any other ſubject: ſo that if the King be a Murderer, Adulterer, or Idolater, he ſhould ſuffer not as a King, but as an offender; and this Poſition he repeates again and again before them. Anſwerable was the opinion of *John.Craig* another learned Divine, and that Laws made by the tyranny of Princes, or the negligence of People, thir Poſterity might abrogate, and reform all things according to the original inſtitution of Commonwealths. And *Knox* being commanded by the Nobility to write to *Calvin* and other learned men for thir judgements in that Queſtion, refus'd; alleging that both himſelf was fully reſolv'd in Conſcience, and had heard thir Judgements, and had the ſame opinion under hand-writing of many the moſt godly and moſt learned that he knew in *Europe*; that if he ſhould move the Queſtion to them again, what ſhould he do but ſhew his own forgetfulneſs or inconſtancy. All this is far more largely in the Eccleſiaſtic Hiſtory of *Scotland l.* 4. with many other paſſages to this effect all the Book over, ſet out with diligence by Scotchmen of beſt repute among them at the beginning of theſe Troubles; as if they labour'd to inform us what we were to do, and what they intended upon the like occaſion.

And to let the world know that the whole Church and Proteſtant State of *Scotland* in thoſe pureſt times of Reformation were of the ſame beleif, three years after, they met in the feild *Mary* thir lawful and hereditary Queen, took her Priſoner, yeilding before Fight, kept her in Priſon, and the ſame year depos'd her. *Buchan. Hiſt. l.* 18.

And four years after that, the Scots in juſtification of thir depoſing Queen *Mary*,

*Mary*, ſent Embaſſadors to Queen *Elizabeth*, and in a writt'n Declaration alleag'd that they had uſ'd towards her more lenity then ſhe deſerv'd; that thir Anceſtors had heretofore puniſhd thir Kings by death or baniſhment; that the Scots were a free Nation, made King whom they freely choſe, and with the ſame freedom un-king'd him if they ſaw cauſe, by right of ancient Laws and Ceremonies yet remaining, and old Cuſtoms yet among the High-landers in chooſing the head of thir Clanns, or Families; all which, with many other arguments bore witneſs that Regal power was nothing elſe but a mutuall Covnant or ſtipulation between King and People. *Buch. Hiſt. l.* 20. Theſe were Scotchmen and Presbyterians: but what meaſure then have they lately offerd, to think ſuch liberty leſs beſeeming us then themſelves, preſuming to put him upon us for a Maiſter whom thir Law ſcarce allows to be thir own Equall? If now then we heare them in another ſtraine then heretofore in the pureſt times of thir Church, we may be confident it is the voice of Faction ſpeaking in them, not of Truth and Reformation.

In the Year 1581. the States of *Holland* in a general Aſſembly at the *Hague*, abjur'd all obedience and ſubjection to *Philip* King of *Spaine*; and in a Declaration juſtifie thir ſo doing; for that by his tyrannous Goverment, againſt Faith ſo oft'n giv'n and brok'n, he had loſt his right to all the Belgic Provinces; that therefore they depos'd him, and declar'd it lawful to chooſe another in his ſtead. *Thuan. l.* 74. From that time to this, no State or Kingdom in the World hath equally proſperd: But let them remember not to look with an evil and prejudicial eye upon thir neighbours walking by the ſame rule.

But what need theſe examples to Presbyterians, I mean to thoſe who now of late would ſeem ſo much to abhorr depoſing, whenas they to all Chriſtendom have giv'n the lateſt and the livelieſt example of doing it themſelves. I queſtion not the lawfulneſs of raiſing War againſt a Tyrant in defence of Religion, or civil Liberty; for no Proteſtant Church from the firſt *Waldenſes* of *Lyons* and *Languedoc* to this day, but have don it round, and maintaind it lawfull. But this I doubt not to affirm, that the Presbyterians, who now ſo much condemn depoſing, were the men themſelves that depos'd the King, and cannot with all thir ſhifting and relapſing, waſh off the guiltineſs from thir own hands. For they themſelves, by theſe thir late doings have made it guiltineſs, and turnd thir own warrantable actions into Rebellion.

There is nothing that ſo actually makes a King of *England*, as rightful Poſſeſſion and Supremacy *in all Cauſes both Civil and Eccleſiaſtical:* and nothing that ſo actually makes a Subject of *England*, as thoſe two Oaths of Allegeance and Supremacy obſervd *without equivocating, or any mental reſervation*. Out of doubt then when the King ſhall command things already conſtituted in Church or State, Obedience is the true eſſence of a Subject, either to do, if it be lawful, or if he hold the thing unlawful, to ſubmit to that Penalty which the Law impoſes, ſo long as he intends to remain a Subject. Therfore when the people, or any part of them, ſhall riſe againſt the King and his Autority, executing the Law in any thing eſtabliſh'd, Civil or Ecclesiaſtical, I do not ſay it is Rebellion, if the thing commanded though eſtabliſh'd be unlawful, and that they ſought firſt all due means of redreſs (and no man is furder bound to Law) but I ſay it is an abſolute renouncing both of Supremacy and Allegeance, which in one word is an actual and total depoſing of the King, and the ſetting up another ſupreme Autority over them. And whether the Presbyterians have not don all this and much more, they will not put me, I ſuppoſe, to reck'n up a ſeven years ſtory freſh in the memory of all men. Have they not utterly broke the Oath of Allegeance, rejecting the Kings Command and Autority ſent them from any part of the Kingdom whether in things lawful or unlawful? Have they not abjur'd the Oath of Supremacy by ſetting up the Parlament without the King, ſupreme to all thir Obedience; and though thir Vow and Covnant bound them in general to the Parlament, yet ſomtimes adhering to the leſſer part of Lords and Commons that remain'd faithful, as they term it, and ev'n of them, one while to the Commons without the Lords, another while to the Lords without the Commons? Have they not ſtill declar'd thir meaning, whatever thir Oath were, to hold them onely for ſupreme whom they found at any time moſt yeilding to what they petition'd? Both theſe Oaths which were the ſtraiteſt bond of an Engliſh Subject in reference to the King, being thus broke and made void; it follows undeniably that the King from that time was by them in fact abſolutely depos'd, and they no longer in reality to be thought his Subjects, notwithſtanding thir fine Clauſe in the Covnant to preſerve his Perſon, Crown and Dignity, ſet there by ſome dodging Caſuiſt with more craft then ſincerity, to mitigate the matter in caſe of ill ſucceſs, and not tak'n I ſuppoſe by any honeſt man, but as a Condition ſubordinate to every the leaſt Particle that might more concern Religion, Liberty, or the Public Peace.

To prove it yet more plainly that they are the Men who have depos'd the King, I thus argue. We know that King and Subject are Relatives, and relatives have no longer being then in the relation; the relation between King and Subject can be no other than Regal Autority and Subjection. Hence I infer paſt thir defending, that if the Subject who is one relative, takes away the Relation, of force he takes away alſo the other relative: but the Presbyterians who were one Relative, that is to ſay Subjects, have for this ſev'n years tak'n away the Relation; that is to ſay, the Kings Autority, and thir Subjection to it; therfore the Presbyterians for theſe ſev'n years have remov'd and extinguiſht the other Relative, that is to ſay the King; or to ſpeak more in brief, have depos'd him; not only by depriving him the execution of his Autority, but by conferring it upon others. If then thir Oaths of Subjection brok'n, new Supremacy obey'd, new Oaths and Covnants tak'n, notwithſtanding frivolous evaſions, have in plain terms unking'd the King, much more then hath thir ſev'n years War, not depos'd him only, but outlaw'd him, and defi'd him as an Alien, a Rebel to Law, an Enemy to the State. It muſt needs be clear to any man not averſe from Reaſon, that Hoſtility and Subjection are two direct and poſitive Contraries, and can no more in one Subject ſtand together in reſpect of the ſame King, then one perſon at the ſame time can be in two remote places. Againſt whom therfore the Subject is in act of Hoſtility we may be confident that to him he is in no Subjection: and in whom Hoſtility takes place of Subjection, for they can by no means conſiſt together, to him the King can be not only no King, but an Enemy. So that from hence we ſhall not need diſpute whether they have depos'd him, or what they have defaulted towards him as no King, but ſhew manifeſtly how much they have don toward the killing him. Have they not levied all theſe Warrs againſt him whether offenſive or defenſive (for defence in Warr equally offends, and moſt prudently beforehand) and giv'n Commiſſion to ſlay where they knew his Perſon could not be exempt from danger? And if chance or flight had not ſav'd him, how oft'n had they killd him, directing thir Artillery without blame or prohibition to the very place where they ſaw him ſtand? Have they not converted his Revenue to other uſes, and detain'd from him all means of livelyhood, ſo that for them long ſince he might have periſht, or have ſtarv'd? Have they not hunted and purſu'd him round about the Kingdom with ſword and fire? Have they not formerly deny'd to treat with him, and thir now recanting Miniſters preach'd againſt him, as a Reprobate incurable, an Enemy to God and his Church, markt for deſtruction, and therefore not to be treated with? Have they not beſeig'd him, and to thir power forbid him Water and Fire, ſave what they ſhot againſt him to the hazard of his life? Yet while they thus aſſaulted and endangerd it with hoſtile deeds, they ſwore in words to defend it with his Crown and Dignity; not in order, as it ſeems now, to a firm and laſting Peace, or to his repentance after all this blood; but ſimply, without regard, without remorſe or any comparable value of all the miſeries and calamities ſufferd by the poor people, or to ſuffer hereafter through his obſtinacy or impenitence. No underſtanding man can be ignorant that Covnants are ever made according to the preſent ſtate of perſons and of things; and have ever the more general Laws of Nature and of Reaſon included in them, though not expreſs'd. If I make a voluntary Covnant as with a man to do him good, and he prove afterward a Monſter to me, I ſhould conceave a diſobligement. If I covnant, not to hurt an enemy, in favor of him and forbearance, and hope of his amendment, and he, after that, ſhall do me tenfold injury and miſchief to what he had don when I ſo covnanted, and ſtill be plotting what may tend to my deſtruction, I queſtion not but that his after-actions releaſe me; nor know I Covnant ſo ſacred that withholds me from demanding Juſtice on him. Howbeit, had not thir diſtruſt in a good Cauſe, and the faſt and loos of our prevaricating Divines overſway'd, it had bin doubtleſs better, not to have inſerted in a Covnant unneceſſary obligations,

gations, and words, not works, of a ſupererogating Allegeance to thir enemy; no way advantageous to themſelves, had the King prevail'd, as to thir coſt many would have felt; but full of ſnare and diſtraction to our friends, uſefull only, as we now find, to our adverſaries, who under ſuch a latitude and ſhelter of ambiguous interpretation have ever ſince been plotting and contriving new opportunities to trouble all again. How much better had it bin, and more becomming an undaunted Vertue to have declard op'nly and boldly whom and what power the people were to hold Supreme, as on the like occaſion Proteſtants have don before, and many conſcientious men now in theſe times have more then once beſought the Parlament to do, that they might go on upon a ſure foundation, and not with a ridling Covnant in thir mouths, ſeeming to ſwear counter, almoſt in the ſame breath, Allegeance and no Allegeance; which doubtleſs had drawn off all the minds of ſincere men from ſiding with them, had they not diſcern'd thir actions farr more depoſing him then thir words upholding him; which words made now the ſubject of cavillous interpretations, ſtood ever in the Covnant, by judgment of the more diſcerning ſort, an evidence of thir feare not of thir fidelity. What, ſhould I return to ſpeak on, of thoſe attempts for which the King himſelf hath oft'n charg'd the Presbyterians of ſeeking his life, whenas in the due eſtimation of things they might without a fallacy be ſayd to have don the deed outright. Who knows not that the King is a name of dignity and office, not of perſon: Who therefore kills a King, muſt kill him while he is a King. Then they certainly who by depoſing him have long ſince tak'n from him the life of a King, his office and his dignity, they in the trueſt ſence may be ſaid to have killd the King: nor only by thir depoſing and waging Warr againſt him, which beſides the danger to his perſonal life, ſet him in the fardeſt oppoſite point from any vital function of a King, but by thir holding him in priſon vanquiſhed and yeilded into thir abſolute and *deſpotic* power, which brought him to the loweſt degradement and incapacity of the Regal name. I ſay not by whoſe matchleſs valour next under God, leſt the ſtory of thir ingratitude thereupon carry me from the purpoſe in hand, which is to convince them that they, which I repeat again, were the men who in the trueſt ſenſe killd the King, not only as is provd before, but by depreſſing him thir King farr below the rank of a Subject to the condition of a Captive, without intention to reſtore him, as the Chancellour of *Scotland* in a ſpeech told him plainly at *Newcaſtle*, unleſs he granted fully all thir Demands, which they knew he never meant. Nor did they treat or think of treating with him, till thir hatred to the Army that deliverd them, not thir love or duty to the King, joyn'd them ſecretly with men ſentenc'd ſo oft for Reprobates in thir own mouths, by whoſe ſuttle inſpiring they grew mad upon a moſt tardy and improper Treaty. Whereas if the whole bent of thir actions had not bin againſt the King himſelf, but againſt his evill Councel, as they fain'd, and publiſh'd, wherefore did they not reſtore him all that while to the true life of a King, his Office, Crown and Dignity, when he was in thir power, and they themſelves his neereſt Counſelers? The truth therefore is, both that they would not, and that indeed they could not without their own certain deſtruction, having reduc'd him to ſuch a final paſs, as was the very death and burial of all in him that was regal, and from whence never King of *England* yet reviv'd, but by the new re-inforcement of his own party, which was a kind of reſurrection to him. Thus having quite extinguiſht all that could be in him of a King, and from a total privation clad him over like another ſpecifical thing with formes and habitudes deſtructive to the former, they left in his perſon dead as to Law and all the civil right either of King or Subject the life only of a Priſner, a Captive and a Malefactor. Whom the equal and impartial hand of Juſtice finding, was no more to ſpare then another ordinary man; not only made obnoxious to the doome of Law by a charge more then once drawn up againſt him, and his own confeſſion to the firſt Article at *Newport*, but ſummond and arraignd in the ſight of God and his people, curſt and devoted to perdition worſe then any *Ahab*, or *Antiochus*, with exhortation to curſe all thoſe in the Name of God that made not War againſt him, as bitterly as *Meroz* was to be curs'd, that went not out againſt a Canaanitiſh King, almoſt in all the Sermons, Prayers, and Fulminations that have bin utterd this ſev'n years by thoſe clov'n Tongues of falſhood and diſſention, who now, to the ſtirring up of new diſcord, acquit him; and againſt thir own diſcipline, which they boaſt to be the Throne and Scepter of Chriſt, abſolve him, unconfound him, though unconverted, unrepentant, unſenſible of all thir pretious Saints and Martyrs whoſe blood they have ſo oft layd upon his head: and now again with a new ſovran anointment can waſh it all off, as if it were as vile, and no more to be reckn'd for then the blood of ſo many Dogs in a time of Peſtilence: giving the moſt opprobrious lye to all the acted zeal that for theſe many years hath fill'd thir bellies, and fed them fat upon the fooliſh People. Miniſters of Sedition, not of the Goſpel, who while they ſaw it manifeſtly tend to civil Warr and Bloodſhed, never ceas'd exaſperating the people againſt him; and now that they ſee it likely to breed new commotion, ceaſe not to incite others againſt the people that have ſav'd them from him, as if Sedition were thir only aime whether againſt him or for him. But God, as we have cauſe to truſt, will put other thoughts into the people, and turn them from looking after theſe firebrands, of whoſe fury, and falſe prophecies, we have anough experience; and from the murmurs of new diſcord will incline them to heark'n rather with erected minds to the voice of our ſupreme Magiſtracy, calling us to liberty, and the flouriſhing deeds of a reform'd Commonwealth; with this hope that as God was heretofore angry with the Jews who rejected him and his form of Government to chooſe a King, ſo that he will bleſs us, and be propitious to us who reject a King to make him only our Leader, and ſupreme Governour in the conformity as neer as may be of his own ancient Government; if we have at leaſt but ſo much worth in us to entertaine the ſenſe of our future happineſs, and the courage to receave what God voutſafes us: wherein we have the honour to preceed other Nations who are now labouring to be our followers. For as to this queſtion in hand, what the people by thir juſt right may do in change of Government, or of Governour, we ſee it cleerd ſufficiently; beſides other ample Autority ev'n from the mouths of Princes themſelves. And ſurely they that ſhall boaſt, as we do, to be a free Nation. and not have in themſelves the power to remove, or to aboliſh any Governour ſupreme, or ſubordinate with the Government it ſelf upon urgent cauſes, may pleaſe thir fancy with a ridiculous and painted freedom, fit to coz'n babies; but are indeed under tyranny and ſervitude; as wanting that power, which is the root and ſourſe of all liberty, to diſpoſe and *œconomize* in the Land which God hath giv'n them, as Maiſters of Family in thir own Houſe and free Inheritance. Without which natural and eſſential power of a free Nation, though bearing high thir heads, they can in due eſteem be thought no better then ſlaves and vaſſals born, in the tenure and occupation of another inheriting Lord. Whoſe Government, though not illegal, or intolerable, hangs over them as a Lordly ſcourge, not as a free Government; and therefore to be abrogated. How much more juſtly then may they fling off Tyranny, or Tyrants? who being once depos'd can be no more then private men, as ſubject to the reach of Juſtice and Arraignment as any other Tranſgreſſors? And certainly if men, not to ſpeak of Heathen, both wiſe and religious, have don juſtice upon Tyrants what way they could ſooneſt, how much more mild and human then is it to give them fair and op'n tryall? To teach lawleſs Kings, and all that ſo much adore them, that not mortal man, or his imperious Will, but Juſtice is the only true Sovran and ſupreme Majeſty upon Earth. Let men ceaſe therfore out of Faction and Hypocriſy to make outcrys and horrid things of things ſo juſt and honorable. And if the Parlament and Military Councel do what they do without preſident, if it appear thir duty, it argues the more wiſdom, vertue, and magnanimity, that they know themſelves able to be a preſident to others. Who perhaps in future ages, if they prove not too degenerate, will look up with honour and aſpire toward theſe exemplary, and matchleſs deeds of thir Anceſtors, as to the higheſt top of thir civil glory and emulation. Which heretofore in the purſuance of fame and forren dominion, ſpent it ſelf vain-gloriouſly abroad; but henceforth may learn a better fortitude to dare execute higheſt Juſtice on them that ſhall by force of Arms endeavour the oppreſſing and bereaving of Religion and thir Liberty at home: that no unbridl'd Potentate or Tyrant, but to his ſorrow for the future, may preſume ſuch high and irreſponſible licence over mankind, to havock and turn upſide-down whole Kingdoms of men, as though they were no more in reſpect of his perverſe Will then a Nation of Piſmires. As for the party calld Presbyterian, of whom I beleive very many to be good and faithful Chriſtians, though miſled by ſom of turbulent Spirit, I wiſh them earneſtly and calmly not to fall off from thir firſt Principles, nor to affect rigor and ſuperiority over men not under them; not to compell unforcible things in Religion eſpecially, which if not voluntary, becomes a ſin; nor to aſſiſt the clamor and malicious drifts of men whom they themſelves have judg'd to be the worſt of men, the obdurate enemies of God and his Church: nor to dart againſt the actions of thir brethren, for want of other argument thoſe wreſted Laws and Scriptures thrown by Prelats and Malignants againſt thir own ſides, which though they hurt not otherwiſe, yet tak'n up by them to the condemnation of thir own doings give ſcandal to all men, and diſcover in themſelves either extreme paſſion or apoſtacy. Let them not oppoſe thir beſt friends and aſſociats who moleſt them not at all, infringe not the leaſt of thir Liberties, unleſs they call it thir liberty to bind other mens Conſciences, but are ſtill ſeeking to live at peace with them and brotherly accord. Let them beware an old and perfet Enemy, who though he hope by ſowing Diſcord to make them his Inſtruments, yet cannot forbear a minute the op'n threatning of his deſtin'd Revenge upon them when they have ſerv'd his purpoſes. Let them feare therefore, if they be wiſe, rather what they have don already, then what remains to do, and be warn'd in time they put no confidence in Princes whom they have provok'd, leſt they be added to the Examples of thoſe that miſerably have taſted the event. Stories can inform them how *Chriſtiern* the ſecond, King of *Denmark*, not much above a hundred years paſt, driv'n out by his Subjects, and receav'd again upon new Oaths and Conditions, broke through them all to his moſt bloody Revenge, ſlaying his cheif Oppoſers when he ſaw his time, both them and thir children invited to a feaſt for that purpoſe. How *Maximilian* dealt with thoſe of *Bruges*, though by mediation of the *German* Princes reconcil'd to them by ſolem and public writings drawn and ſeal'd. How the Maſſacre at *Paris* was the effect of that credulous Peace which the French Proteſtants made with *Charles* the Ninth thir King: and that the main viſible cauſe which to this day hath ſav'd the *Netherlands* from utter ruin, was thir final not beleiving the prefidious cruelty which as a conſtant maxim of State hath bin us'd by the Spaniſh Kings on thir Subjects that have tak'n arms and after truſted them; as no latter age but can teſtify, heretofore in *Belgia* it ſelf, and this very year in *Naples*. And to conclude with one paſt Exception, though farr more ancient, *David* after once he had tak'n arms, never after that truſted *Saul*, though with Tears and much relenting he twiſe promis'd not to hurt him. Theſe Inſtances, few of many, might admoniſh them, both Engliſh and Scotch, not to let thir own ends, and the driving on of a Faction, betray them blindly into the ſnare of thoſe Enemies whoſe Revenge looks on them as the men who firſt begun, fomented, and carri'd on beyond the cure of any ſound or ſafe accommodation, all the evil which hath ſince unavoidably befall'n them and thir King.

I have ſomething alſo to the Divines, though brief to what were needfull; not to be diſturbers of the civil affairs, being in hands better able and more belonging to manage them; but to ſtudy harder, and to attend the office of good Paſtors, knowing] that he whoſe Flock is leaſt among them, hath a dreadful charge, not perform'd by mounting twiſe into the chair with a formal Preachment huddl'd up at the odd hours of a whole lazy week, but by inceſſant pains and watching *in ſeaſon and out of ſeaſon, from houſe to houſe* over the Souls of whom they have to feed. Which if they ever well conſider'd, how little leaſure would they find to be the moſt pragmatical Sideſmen of every popular Tumult and Sedition? And all this while are to learn what the true end and reaſon is of the Goſpel which they teach; and what a world it differs from the cenſorious and ſupercilious lording over Conſcience. It would be good alſo they liv'd ſo as might perſwade the people they hated Covetouſneſs, which worſe then Hereſy, is Idolatry; hated Pluralities, and all kind of Simony; left rambling from Benefice to Benefice, like ravnous Wolves ſeeking where they may devour the biggeſt. Of which if ſom, well and warmely ſeated from the beginning, be not guilty, 'twere good they held not converſation with ſuch as are: let them be ſorry that being call'd to aſſemble about reforming the Church, they fell to progging and ſolliciting the Parlament, though they had renounc'd the name of Prieſts, for a new ſetling of thir Tithes and Oblations; and double lin'd themſelves with ſpiritual places of commodity beyond the poſſible diſcharge of thir duty. Let them aſſemble in Conſiſtory with thir Elders and Deacons, according to ancient Eccleſiaſtical rule, to the preſerving of Church-diſcipline, each in his ſeveral charge, and not a pack of Clergy-men by themſelves to belly-chear in thir preſumptuous Sion, or to promote deſigns, abuſe and gull the ſimple Laity, and ſtir up Tumult, as the Prelats did, for the maintenance of thir pride and avarice. Theſe things if they obſerve and waite with patience, no doubt but all things will go well without thir importunities or exclamations: and the Printed Letters which they ſend ſubſcrib'd with the oſtentation of great Characters and little moment, would be more conſiderable then now they are. But if they be the Miniſters of Mammon inſtead of Chriſt, and ſcandalize his Church with the filthy love of Gain, aſpiring alſo to ſit the cloſeſt and the heavieſt of all Tyrants, upon the Conſcience, and fall notoriouſly into the ſame Sins, whereof ſo lately and ſo loud they accus'd the Prelates; as God rooted out thoſe immediately before, ſo will he root out them thir imitators: and to vindicate his own Glory and Religion, will uncover thir hypocriſy, to the open world; and viſit upon thir own heads that *curſe ye Meroz*, the very *Motto* of thir Pulpits, wherewith ſo frequently, not as *Meroz*, but more like Atheiſts they have mock'd the vengeance of God, and the zeal of his People.

OB

# OBSERVATIONS
# ON THE
# Articles of Peace
# BETWEEN
# *JAMES* Earl of ORMOND for King *Charles* the Firſt on the one hand, and the Iriſh Rebels and Papiſts on the other hand.

## And on a Letter ſent by ORMOND to Colonel *JONES* Governour of *Dublin*.

## And a Repreſentation of the *Scots* Presbytery at *Belfaſt* in *Ireland*.

To which the ſaid Articles, Letter, with Col. *Jones's Anſwer* to it, and *Repreſentation, &c.* are prefix'd.

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## A PROCLAMATION.

*ORMOND,*

WHEREAS Articles of Peace are made, concluded, accorded and agreed upon, by and between Us, *JAMES* Lord Marqueſs of *ORMOND*, Lord Lieut, General, and General Governour of His Majeſties Kingdom of *Ireland*, by Virtue of the Authority wherewith We are intruſted, for, and on the behalf of His Moſt Excellent Majeſty of the one Part, and the General Aſſembly of the *Roman Catholics* of the ſaid Kingdom, for and on the behalf of His Majeſties *Roman Catholic* Subjects of the ſame, on the other Part; a true Copy of which Articles of Peace is hereunto annexed. We the Lord Lieut. do by this Proclamation, in His Majeſties Name publiſh the ſame, and do in His Majeſties Name ſtrictly Charge and Command all His Majeſties Subjects, and all others inhabiting or reſiding within His Majeſties ſaid Kingdom of *Ireland* to take notice thereof, and to render due Obedience to the ſame in all the Parts thereof.

And as his Majeſty hath been induced to this Peace, out of a deep ſenſe of the Miſeries and Calamities brought upon this his Kingdom and People, and out of a Hope conceived by His Majeſty, that it may prevent the further Effuſion of His Subjects Blood, redeem them out of all the Miſeries and Calamities under which they now ſuffer, reſtore them to all Quietneſs and Happineſs under His Majeſties moſt Gracious Government, deliver the Kingdom in general from thoſe Slaughters, Depredations, Rapines and Spoils which always accompany a War, encourage the Subjects and others with Comfort to betake themſelves to Trade, Traffic, Commerce, Manufacture and all other things, which uninterrupted, may increaſe the Wealth and Strength of the Kingdom, beget in all His Majeſties Subjects of this Kingdom a perfect Unity amongſt themſelves, after the too long continued Diviſion amongſt them: So his Majeſty aſſures himſelf that all His Subjects of this His Kingdom (duly conſidering the great and ineſtimable Benefits which they may find in this Peace) will with all Duty render due Obedience thereunto. And We in His Majeſties Name, do hereby declare, That all Perſons ſo rendering due Obedience to the ſaid Peace, ſhall be protected, cheriſhed, countenanced and ſupported by His Majeſty, and his Royal Authority, according to the true Intent and Meaning of the ſaid Articles of Peace.

*Given at our Caſtle*
*of* Kilkenny, *January* 17. 1648.

GOD SAVE THE
KING.

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Articles of Peace, made, concluded, accorded and agreed upon, by and between His Excellency *JAMES* Lord Marqueſs of *ORMOND*, Lord Lieutenant General, and General of His Majeſties Kingdom of *Ireland*, for, and on the behalf of His Moſt Excellent Majeſty, by Virtue of the Authority wherewith the ſaid Lord Lieutenant is intruſted, on the one Part: And the General Aſſembly of the *Roman Catholics* of the ſaid Kingdom, for, and on the behalf of His Majeſties *Roman Catholic* Subjects of the ſame, on the other Part.

H*IS Majeſties* Roman Catholic *Subjects, as thereunto bound by Allegiance, Duty and Nature, do moſt humbly and freely Acknowledg and Recognize their Soveraign Lord King* Charles *to be lawful and undoubted King of this Kingdom of* Ireland, *and other His Highneſs's Realms and Dominions: And His Majeſties ſaid* Roman Catholic *Subjects, apprehending with a deep ſenſe the ſad Condition whereunto His Majeſty is reduced, as a further Teſtimony of their Loyalty, do declare, that they and their Poſterity for ever, to the utmoſt of their Power, even to the Expence of their Blood and Fortunes, will maintain and uphold His Majeſty, His Heirs and lawful Succeſſors, their Rights, Prerogatives, Government and Authority, and thereunto freely and heartily will render all due Obedience.*

*Of which faithful and Loyal Recognition and Declaration ſo ſeaſonably made by the ſaid* Roman Catholics, *His Majeſty is graciouſly pleas'd to accept, and accordingly to own them His loyal and dutiful Subjects: And is further graciouſly pleas'd to extend unto them the following Graces and Securities.*

I. I*MPRIMIS*, It is concluded, accorded and agreed upon, by and between the ſaid Lord Lieutenant, for, and on the behalf of His Moſt Excellent Majeſty, and the ſaid General Aſſembly, for, and on the behalf of the ſaid *Roman Catholic* Subjects; and His Majeſty is graciouſly pleas'd, That it ſhall be enacted by ACT to be paſſed in the next Parliament to be held in this Kingdom, that all and every the Profeſſors of the *Roman Catholic* Religion within the ſaid Kingdom, ſhall be free and exempt from all Mulcts, Penalties, Reſtraints and Inhibitions, that are or may be impos'd upon them by any Law, Statute, Uſage or Cuſtom whatſoever, for, or concerning, the free exerciſe of the *Roman Catholic* Religion: And that it ſhall be likewiſe Enacted, that the ſaid *Roman Catholics* or any of them, ſhall not be queſtion'd or moleſted in their Perſons, Goods or Eſtates, for any Matter or Cauſe whatſoever, for, concerning, or by reaſon of the free Exerciſe of their Religion, by Virtue of any Power, Authority, Statute, Law or Uſage whatſoever: And that it ſhall be further Enacted, that no *Roman Catholic* in this Kingdom ſhall be compelled to exerciſe any Religion, Form of Devotion, or Divine Service, other then ſuch as ſhall be agreeable to their Conſcience; and that they ſhall not be prejudiced or moleſted in their Perſons, Goods or Eſtates for not obſerving, uſing or hearing the Book of Common-Prayer, or any other Form of Devotion

tion or Divine Service by Virtue of any Colour or Statute made in the ſecond year of Queen *Elizabeth*, or by Virtue or Colour of any other Law, Declaration of Law, Statute, Cuſtom, or Uſage whatſoever, made or declared, or to be made or declared: And that it ſhall be further Enacted, that the Profeſſors of the *Roman Catholic* Religion, or any of them, be not bound or obliged to take the Oath commonly call'd the Oath of *Supremacy* expreſſed in the Statute of 2 *Elizabeth*, *c.* 1. or in any other Statute or Statutes: And that the ſaid Oath ſhall not be tendered unto them, and that the Refuſal of the ſaid Oath ſhall not redound to the Prejudice of them, or any of them, they taking the Oath of Allegiance *in hac verba*, viz. *I A. B. Do hereby acknowledg, profeſs, teſtify and declare in my Conſcience, before God and the World, that our Soveraign Lord King* CHARLES *is Lawful and Rightful King of this Realm, and of other his Majeſties Dominions and Countries; and I will bear Faith and true Allegiance to His Majeſty, and His Heirs and Succeſſors, and Him and them will defend to the uttermoſt of my power againſt all Conſpiracies and Attempts whatſoever which ſhall be made againſt His or their Crown and Dignity; and do my beſt endeavour to diſcloſe and make known to His Majeſty, His Heirs and Succeſſors, or to the Lord Deputy, or other His Majeſties Chief Governour or Governours for the time being, all Treaſon or traiterous Conſpiracies which I ſhall know or hear to be intended againſt His Majeſty, or any of them: and I do make this Recognition and Acknowledgment, heartily, willingly and truly, upon the true Faith of a Chriſtian; ſo help me God*, &c. Nevertheleſs, the ſaid Lord Lieutenant doth not hereby intend that any thing in theſe Conceſſions contain'd ſhall extend, or be conſtrued to extend to the granting of Churches, Church-Livings, or the exerciſe of Juriſdiction, the Authority of the ſaid Lord Lieutenant not extending ſo far; yet the ſaid Lord Lieutenant is authoriz'd to give the ſaid *Roman Catholics* full Aſſurance, as hereby the ſaid Lord Lieutenant doth give unto the ſaid *Roman Catholics* full Aſſurance, that they or any of them ſhall not be moleſted in the Poſſeſſion which they have at preſent of the Churches and Church-Livings, or of the Exerciſe of their reſpective Juriſdictions, as they now exerciſe the ſame, until ſuch time as His Majeſty upon a full Conſideration of the Deſires of the ſaid *Roman Catholics* in a free Parliament to be held in this Kingdom ſhall declare His further Pleaſure.

II. *Item*, It is concluded, accorded and agreed upon by and between the ſaid Parties, and His Majeſty is further graciouſly pleaſ'd that a free Parliament ſhall be held in this Kingdom within ſix Months after the Date of theſe Articles of PEACE, or as ſoon after as *Thomas* Lord Viſcount *Dillon* of *Coſtologh* Lord Preſident of *Connaght*, *Donnogh* Lord Viſcount *Muskerry*, *Francis* Lord Baron of *Athunry*, *Alexander Mac Donnel* Eſquire, Sir *Lucas Dillon* Knight, Sir *Nicholas Plunket* Knight, Sir *Richard Barnwall* Baronet, *Jeffery Brown*, *Donnogh O Callaghan*, *Tyrlah O Neile*, *Miles Reily* and *Gerrald Fennell*, Eſquires, or the major part of them will deſire the ſame, ſo that by poſſibility it may be held; and that in the mean time, and until the Articles of theſe Preſents, agreed to be paſs'd in Parlament be accordingly paſs'd, the ſame ſhall be inviolably obſerv'd as to the Matters therein contain'd, as if they were enacted in Parliament: And that in caſe a Parliament be not call'd and held in this Kingdom within two years next after the Date of theſe Articles of Peace, then His Majeſties Lord Lieutenant, or other His Majeſties chief Governour or Governours of this Kingdom for the time being, will at the requeſt of the ſaid *Thomas* Lord Viſcount *Dillon* of *Coſtologh* Lord Preſident of *Connaght*, *Donnogh* Lord Viſcount *Muskerry*, *Francis* Lord Baron of *Athunry*, *Alexander Mac Donnel* Eſquire, Sir *Lucas Dillon* Knight, Sir *Nicholas Plunket* Knight, Sir *Richard Barnwall*, Baronet, *Jeffery Brown*, *Donnogh O Callaghan*, *Tyrlah O Neile*, *Miles Reily* and *Gerrald Fennell*, Eſquires, or the major part of them, call a General Aſſembly of the Lords and Commons of this Kingdom, to attend upon the ſaid Lord Lieutenant or other His Majeſties chief Governour or Governours of this Kingdom for the time being, in ſome convenient Place, for the better ſettling of the Affairs of the Kingdom. And it is further concluded, accorded and agreed by and between the ſaid Parties, that all Matters that by theſe Articles are agreed upon to be paſs'd in Parliament, ſhall be tranſmitted into ENGLAND, according to the uſual Form, to be paſs'd in the ſaid Parliament, and that the ſaid Acts ſo agreed upon, and ſo to be paſs'd, ſhall receive no Disjunction or Alteration here or in *England*;

provided that nothing ſhall be concluded by both or either of the ſaid Houſes of Parliament, which may bring prejudice to any of His Majeſties *Proteſtant* Party, or their Adherents, or to his Majeſties *Roman Catholic* Subjects or their Adherents, other then ſuch things as upon this Treaty are concluded to be done, or ſuch things as may be proper for the Committee of Privileges of either or both Houſes, to take Cognizance of, as in ſuch Caſes heretofore hath been accuſtom'd, and other then ſuch Matters as His Majeſty will be graciouſly pleas'd to declare His further pleaſure in, to be paſs'd in Parliament for the Satisfaction of his Subjects, and other then ſuch things as ſhall be propounded to either or both Houſes by his Majeſties Lord Lieutenant or other chief Governour or Governours of this Kingdom for the time being, during the ſaid Parliament, for the Advancement of his Majeſties Service, and the Peace of the Kingdom; which Clauſe is to admit no Conſtruction which may trench upon the Articles of Peace or any of them; and that both Houſes of Parliament may conſider what they ſhall think convenient touching the Repeal or Suſpenſion of the Statute commonly call'd, *Poynings* ACT, Entituled, An ACT that no Parliament be holden in that Land, until the ACTS be certifyed into *ENGLAND*.

III. *Item*, It is further concluded, accorded and agreed upon, by and between the ſaid Parties, and his Majeſty is graciouſly pleaſed, that all Acts, Ordinances and Orders made by both or either Houſes of Parliament, to the blemiſh, diſhonour or prejudice of his Majeſties *Roman Catholic* Subjects of this Kingdom, or any of them ſithence the *7th* of *Auguſt* 1641. ſhall be vacated; and that the ſame and all Exemplifications and other Acts which continue the memory of them be made void by Act to be paſs'd in the next Parliament to be held in this Kingdom; and that in the mean time the ſaid Acts or Ordinances, or any of them, ſhall be no Prejudice to the ſaid *Roman Catholics*, or any of them.

IV. *Item*, It is alſo concluded, and agreed upon, and his Majeſty is likewiſe graciouſly pleas'd, that all Indictments, Attainders, Outlawries in this Kingdom, and all the Proceſſes and other Proceedings thereupon, and all Letters, Patents, Grants, Leaſes, Cuſtoms, Bonds, Recognizances, and all Records, Act or Acts, Office or Offices, Inquiſitions, and all other things depending upon, or taken by reaſon of the ſaid Indictments, Attainders or Outlawries, ſithence the *7th* day of *Auguſt*, 1641. in prejudice of the ſaid *Catholics*, their Heirs, Executors, Adminiſtrators or Aſſigns, or any of them, or the Widows of them, or any of them, ſhall be vacated and made void in ſuch ſort as no Memory ſhall remain thereof, to the blemiſh, diſhonour or prejudice of the ſaid *Catholics*, their Heirs, Executors, Adminiſtrators or Aſſigns, or any of them, or the Widows of them, or any of them; and that to be done when the ſaid *Thomas* Lord Viſcount *Dillon* of *Caſtolegh* Lord Preſident of *Connaght*, *Donnogh* Lord Viſcount *Muskerry*, *Francis* Lord Baron of *Athunry*, *Alexander Mac Donnel* Eſquire, Sir *Lucas Dillon* Knight, Sir *Nicholas Plunket* Knight, Sir *Richard Barnwall* Baronet, *Jeffery Brown*, *Donnogh O Callaghan*, *Tyrlah O Neal*, *Miles Reilie* and *Gerrald Fennell* Eſquires, or the major part of them ſhall deſire the ſame, ſo that by poſſibility it may be done; and in the mean time that no ſuch Indictments, Attainders, Outlawries, Proceſſes or any other Proceedings thereupon, or any Letters Patents, Grants, Leaſes, Cuſtodiums, Bonds, Recognizances, or any Record or Acts, Office or Offices, Inquiſitions, or any other thing depending upon, or by reaſon of the ſaid Indictments, Attainders or Outlawries, ſhall in any ſort prejudice the ſaid *Roman Catholics*, or any of them, but that they and every of them ſhall be forthwith upon Perfection of theſe Articles, reſtor'd to their reſpective Poſſeſſions and Hereditaments reſpectively; provided, that no Man ſhall be queſtion'd by reaſon hereof, for Meaſne Rates or Waſtes, ſaving wilful Waſtes committed after the firſt day of *May* laſt paſt.

V. *Item*, It is likewiſe concluded, accorded and agreed, and his Majeſty is graciouſly pleaſed, that as ſoon as poſſible may be, all Impediments which may hinder the ſaid *Roman Catholics*, to ſit or vote in the next intended Parliament, or to chooſe, or to be choſen Knights and Burgeſſes, to ſit or vote there, ſhall be removed, and that before the ſaid Parliament.

VI. *Item*, It is concluded, accorded and agreed upon, and his Majeſty is further graciouſly pleaſed, that all Debts ſhall remain as they were upon the *23d* of *October*, 1641. Notwithſtanding any Diſpoſition made, or to be made, by Virtue or Colour of any Attainder, Outlawry, Fugacy, or other Forfeiture; and that no Diſpoſition or Grant made, or to be made of any ſuch Debts, by Virtue of any Attainder, Outlawry, Fugacy, or other Forfeiture, ſhall be of force; and this to be paſſed as an Act in the next Parliament.

VII. *Item*, It is further concluded, accorded and agreed upon, and his Majeſty is graciouſly pleaſed, that for the ſecuring of the Eſtates or reputed Eſtates of the Lords, Knights, Gentlemen and Freeholders, or reputed Freeholders, as well of *Connaght*, and County of *Clare*, or Country of *Thomond*, as of the Counties of *Limerick* and *Tipperary*, the ſame to be ſecured by Act of Parliament, according to the Intent of the 25*th* Article of the Graces granted in the fourth year of his Majeſties Reign, the Tenor whereof for ſo much as concerneth the ſame, doth enſue in theſe words, *viz.* We are graciouſly pleaſed, that for the Inhabitants of *Connaght* and Country of *Thomond* and County of *Clare*, that their ſeveral Eſtates ſhall be confirmed unto them and their Heirs againſt us, and our Heirs and Succeſſors, by Act to be paſſed in the next Parliament to be holden in *Ireland*, to the end the ſame may never hereafter be brought into any further Queſtion by Us, or our Heirs and Succeſſors. In which Act of Parliament ſo to be paſſed, you are to take care that all Tenures in *Capite*, and all Rents and Services as are now due, or which ought to be anſwered unto us out of the ſaid Lands and Premiſes, by any Letters Patents paſt thereof ſince the firſt year of King *HENRY* the Eight, or found by any Office taken from the ſaid firſt year of King *HENRY* the VIII. until the 21*ſt* of *July* 1645. whereby our late dear Father, or any his Predeceſſors actually received any Profit by Wardſhip, Liveries, Primer-ſeiſins, Meaſne Rates, Ouſterlemains or Fines of Alienations without Licence, be again reſerved unto us, our Heirs and Succeſſors, and all the reſt of the Premiſes to be holden of our Caſtle of *Athlone* by Knights Service, according to our ſaid late Fathers Letters, notwithſtanding any Tenures in *Capite* found for Us by Office, ſince the 21*ſt* of *July* 1615. and not appearing in any ſuch Letters Patents, or Offices; within which Rule His Majeſty is likewiſe graciouſly pleaſed, That the ſaid Lands in the Counties of *Limerick* and *Tipperary* be included, but to be held by ſuch Rents and Tenures only, as they were in the fourth year of his Majeſties Reign; provided always, that the ſaid Lords, Knights, Gentlemen and Freeholders of the ſaid Province of *Connaght*, County of *Clare*, and Country of *Thomond*, and Counties of *Tipperary* and *Limerick*, ſhall have and enjoy the full Benefit of ſuch Compoſition and Agreement which ſhall be made with his moſt Excellent Majeſty, for the Court of Wards, Tenures, Reſpits and Iſſues of Homage, any Clauſe in this Article to the contrary notwithſtanding. And as for the Lands within the Counties of *Kilkenny* and *Wickloe*, unto which his Majeſty was intituled by Offices, taken or found in the time of the Earl of *Strafford*'s Government in this Kingdom, His Majeſty is further graciouſly pleaſed, That the State thereof ſhall be conſidered in the next intended Parliament, where his Majeſty will aſſent unto that which ſhall be juſt and honourable; and that the like Act of Limitation of his Majeſties Titles, for the Security of the Eſtates of his Subjects of this Kingdom be paſſed in the ſaid Parliament as was Enacted in the 21*ſt* year of his late Majeſty King *JAMES* his Reign in *ENGLAND*.

VIII. *Item*, It is further concluded, accorded and agreed upon, and his Majeſty is further graciouſly pleaſed, that all Incapacities impoſed upon the Natives of this Kingdom or any of them, as Natives, by any Act of Parliament, Proviſos in Patents or otherwiſe, be taken away by Act to be paſſed in the ſaid Parliament; and that they may be enabled to erect one or more Inns of Court in or near the City of *Dublin* or elſewhere, as ſhall be thought fit by his Majeſties Lord Lieutenant, or other Chief Governour or Governours of this Kingdom for the time being; and in caſe the ſaid Inns of Court ſhall be erected before the firſt day of the next Parliament, then the ſame ſhall be in ſuch Place as his Majeſties Lord Lieutenant, or other Chief Governour or Governours of this Kingdom for the time being, by and with the Advice and Conſent of the ſaid *Thomas* Lord Viſcount *Dillon* of *Coſtelogh* Lord Preſident of *Connaght*, *Donnogh* Lord Viſcount *Muskerry*, *Francis* Lord Baron of *Athunry*, *Alexander Mac Donnel* Eſquire, Sir *Lucas Dillon* Knight, Sir *Nicholas Plunket* Knight, Sir *Richard Barnwall* Baronet, *Jeffery Brown*, *Donnogh O Gallaghan*, *Tyr-*

*lah O Neile*, *Miles Reily*, *Gerrald Fennel* Eſquires, or any ſeven or more of them ſhall think fit; and that ſuch Students, Natives of this Kingdom, as ſhall be therein, may take and receive the uſual Degrees accuſtom'd in any Inns of Court, they taking the enſuing Oath; *viz.* I A.B. *Do hereby acknowledg, profeſs, teſtify and declare in my Conſcience before God and the World, that our Soveraign Lord King* Charles *is Lawful and Rightful King of this Realm, and of other his Majeſties Dominions and Countries; and I will bear Faith and true Allegiance to his Majeſty, and his Heirs and Succeſſors, and him and them will defend to the utmoſt of my Power againſt all Conſpiracies and Attempts whatſoever, which ſhall be made againſt his or their Crown and Dignity; and do my beſt endeavour to diſcloſe and make known to his Majeſty, his Heirs and Succeſſors, or to the Lord Deputy, or other his Majeſties Chief Governour or Governours for the time being, all Treaſon or traiterous Conſpiracies which I ſhall know or hear to be intended againſt his Majeſty or any of them. And I do make this Recognition and Acknowledgment heartily, willingly and truly, upon the true Faith of a Chriſtian; ſo help me God*, &c. And his Majeſty is further graciouſly pleaſed, that his Majeſties *Roman Catholic* Subjects may erect and keep free Schools for Education of Youths in this Kingdom, any Law or Statute to the contrary notwithſtanding; and that all the matters aſſented unto in this Article be paſſed as Acts of Parliament in the ſaid next Parliament.

IX. *Item*, It is further concluded, accorded, and agreed upon, by and between the ſaid Parties, and his Majeſty is graciouſly pleaſed, that Places of Command, Honour, Profit and Truſt in his Majeſties Armies in this Kingdom ſhall be upon Perfection of theſe Articles actually and by particular Inſtances conferred upon his *Roman Catholic* Subjects of this Kingdom; and that upon the diſtribution, conferring and diſpoſing of the Places of Command, Honour, Profit and Truſt in his Majeſties Armies in this Kingdom, for the future no Difference ſhall be made between the ſaid *Roman Catholics*, and other his Majeſties Subjects; but that ſuch Diſtribution ſhall be made with equal Indifferency according to their reſpective Merits and Abilities: and that all his Majeſties Subjects of this Kingdom, as well *Roman Catholics* as others, may for his Majeſties Service and their own Security, arm themſelves the beſt they may, wherin they ſhall have all fitting Incouragement. And it is further concluded, accorded and agreed upon, by and between the ſaid Parties, and his Majeſty is further graciouſly pleas'd; That Places of Command, Honour, Profit and Truſt in the Civil Government in this Kingdom, ſhall be upon paſſing of the Bills in theſe Articles mentioned in the next Parliament, actually and by particular Inſtances conferred upon his Majeſties *Roman Catholic* Subjects of this Kingdom; and that in the diſtribution, conferring and diſpoſal of the Places of Command, Honour, Profit and Truſt in the Civil Government, for the future no Difference ſhall be made between the ſaid *Roman Catholics*, and other his Majeſties Subjects, but that ſuch Diſtribution ſhall be made with equal Indifferency, according to their reſpective Merits and Abilities; and that in the Diſtribution of Miniſterial Offices or Places, which now are, or hereafter ſhall be void in this Kingdom, equality ſhall be us'd to the *Roman Catholic* Natives of this Kingdom, as to other his Majeſties Subjects; and that the Command of Forts, Caſtles, Gariſon-Towns, and other Places of Importance of this Kingdom, ſhall be conferred upon His Majeſties *Roman Catholic* Subjects of this Kingdom upon Perfection of theſe Articles actually and by particular Inſtances; and that in the diſtribution, conferring and diſpoſal of the Forts, Caſtles, Gariſon-Towns, and other Places of Importance in this Kingdom, no difference ſhall be made between his Majeſties *Roman Catholic* Subjects of this Kingdom, and other his Majeſties Subjects, but that ſuch diſtribution ſhall be made with equal Indifferency, according to their reſpective Merits and Abilities; and that until full Settlement in Parliament fifteen thouſand Foot, and two thouſand and five hundred Horſe of the *Roman Catholics* of this Kingdom ſhall be of the Standing Army of this Kingdom: And that until full Settlement in Parliament as aforeſaid, the ſaid Lord Lieutenant or other Chief Governour or Governours of this Kingdom for the time being, and the ſaid *Thomas* Lord Viſc. *Dillon* of *Coſtologh* Lord Preſident of *Connaght*, *Donnogh* Lord Viſc. *Muskerry*, *Francis* Lord Baron of *Athunry*, *Alexander Mac Donnel* Eſq; Sir *Lucas Dillon* Kt. Sir *Nicholas Plunket* Kt. Sir *Richard Barnwall* Bar. *Jeffery Brown*, *Donnogh O Calagha*, *laghan*, *Tyrlah O Neile*, *Miles Reily* and *Gerrald Fennel* Eſq; or any ſeven or more of them, the ſaid *Thomas* Lord Viſcount *Dillon* of *Coſtelogh* Lord Preſident of *Connaght*, *Donnogh* Lord Viſcount *Muskerry*, *Francis* Lord Baron of *Athunry*, *Alexander Mac Donnel* Eſq; Sir *Lucas Dillon* Kt. Sir *Nicholas Plunket* Kt. Sir *Richard Barnwall* Baronet, *Jeffery Brown*, *Donnogh O Callaghan*, *Tyrlah O Neile*, *Miles Reily* and *Gerrald Fennell*, Eſquires, ſhall diminiſh or add unto the ſaid Number, as they ſhall ſee cauſe from time to time.

X. *Item*, It is further concluded, accorded and agreed upon, by and between the ſaid Parties, and his Majeſty is further graciouſly pleaſed, that his Majeſty will accept of the yearly Rent, or annual Sum of twelve thouſand pounds Sterling, to be applotted with Indifferency and Equality, and conſented to be paid to his Majeſty, his Heirs and Succeſſors in Parliament, for and in lieu of the Court of Wards in this Kingdom, Tenures in *Capite*, Common Knights-Service, and all other Tenures within the Cognizance of that Court, and for, and in lieu of all Wardſhips, Primer-ſeizins, Fines, Ouſterlemains, Liveries, Intruſions, Alienations, Meaſne Rates, Releaſes and all other Profits within the Cognizance of the ſaid Court, or incident to the ſaid Tenures, or any of them, or Fines to accrue to his Majeſty by reaſon of the ſaid Tenures or any of them, and for and in lieu of Reſpits and Iſſues of Homage and Fines for the ſame. And the ſaid yearly Rent being ſo applotted and conſented unto in Parliament as aforeſaid, then a Bill is to be agreed on in the ſaid Parliament to be paſſed as an Act for the ſecuring of the ſaid yearly Rent, or annual Sum of twelve thouſand Pounds to be applotted as aforeſaid, and for the Extinction and taking away of the ſaid Court, and other Matters aforeſaid in this Article contained. And it is further agreed, that reaſonable Compoſitions ſhall be accepted for Wardſhips fallen ſince the 23*d* of *October* 1641. and already granted, and that no Wardſhips fallen and not granted, or that ſhall fall, ſhall be paſſed until the Succeſs of this Article ſhall appear; and if his Majeſty be ſecured as aforeſaid, then all Wardſhips fallen ſince the ſaid 23*d* of *October*, are to be included in the Agreement aforeſaid, upon Compoſition to be made with ſuch as have Grants as aforeſaid; which Compoſition to be made with the Grantees ſince the time aforeſaid, is to be left to indifferent Perſons, and the Umpirage to the ſaid Lord Lieutenant.

XI. *Item*, It is further concluded, accorded and agreed upon, by and between the ſaid Parties, and his Majeſty is further graciouſly pleas'd, That no Nobleman or Peer of this Realm, in Parliament, ſhall be hereafter capable of more Proxies then two, and that blank Proxies ſhall be hereafter totally diſallowed; and that if ſuch Noble Men or Peers of this Realm, as have no Eſtates in this Kingdom, do not within five years, to begin from the concluſion of theſe Articles, purchaſe in this Kingdom as followeth, *viz.* A Lord Baron 200 *l. per annum*, a Lord Viſcount 400 *l. per annum*, and an Earl 600 *l. per annum*, a Marqueſs 800 *l. per annum*, a Duke 1000 *l. per annum*, ſhall loſe their Votes in Parliament until ſuch time as they ſhall afterwards acquire ſuch Eſtates reſpectively; and that none be admitted in the Houſe of Commons, but ſuch as ſhall be eſtated and reſident within this Kingdom.

XII. *Item*, It is further concluded, accorded and agreed upon, by and between the ſaid Parties, and his Majeſty is further graciouſly pleas'd, That as for and concerning the Independency of the Parliament of *Ireland* on the Parliament of *England*, his Majeſty will leave both Houſes of Parliament in this Kingdom to make ſuch Declaration therein as ſhall be agreeable to the Laws of the Kingdom of *Ireland*.

XIII. *Item*, It is further concluded and agreed upon, by and between the ſaid Parties, and his Majeſty is further graciouſly pleas'd, That the Council-Table ſhall contain it ſelf within its proper Bounds, in handling Matters of State and Weight fit for that Place; amongſt which the Patents of Plantation, and the Offices whereupon thoſe Grants are founded to be handled, as Matters of State, and to be heard and determined by his Majeſties Lord Lieutenant, or other Chief Governour or Governours for the time being, and the Council publickly at the Council-Board, and not otherwiſe, but Titles between Party and Party grown after theſe Patents granted, are to be left to the ordinary Courſe of Law; and that the Council-Table do not hereafter intermeddle with common Buſineſs, that is within the Cognizance of the ordinary Courts, nor with the altering of Poſſeſſions of Lands, nor make, nor uſe, private Orders, Hearings or References concerning any ſuch matter, nor grant any Injunction or Order for ſtay of any Suits in any Civil Cauſe: And that Parties griev'd for or by reaſon of any Proceedings formerly had there, may commence their Suits, and proſecute the ſame in any of his Majeſties Courts of Juſtice or Equity for remedy of their pretended Rights, without any Reſtraint or Interruption from his Majeſty, or otherwiſe, by the Chief Governour or Governours and Council of this Kingdom: And that the Proceedings in the reſpective Precedency Courts ſhall be purſuant, and according to his Majeſties printed Book of Inſtructions, and that they ſhall contain themſelves within the Limits preſcribed by that Book, when the Kingdom ſhall be reſtored to ſuch a degree of Quietneſs, as they be not neceſſarily enforced to exceed the ſame.

XIV. *Item,* It is further concluded, accorded and agreed upon by and between the ſaid Parties, and his Majeſty is further graciouſly pleas'd, That as for and concerning one Statute made in this Kingdom, in the eleventh year of the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, Intituled, An ACT for ſtaying of Wool, Flocks, Tallow and other Neceſſaries within this Realm: And another Statute made in the ſaid Kingdom in the twelfth year of the Reign of the ſaid Queen, Intituled, An ACT

and one other Statute made in the ſaid Kingdom, in the 13*th* year of the Reign of the ſaid late Queen, Intituled, An Exemplanation of the Act made in a Seſſion of this Parliament for the ſtaying of Wool, Flocks, Tallow, and other Wares and Commodities mention'd in the ſaid Act, and certain Articles added to the ſame Act, all concerning ſtaple or native Commodities of this Kingdom, ſhall be repealed, if it ſhall be ſo thought fit in the Parliament (excepting for Wool and Wool-fells) and that ſuch indifferent Perſons as ſhall be agreed on by the ſaid Lord Lieutenant, and the ſaid *Thomas* Lord Viſcount *Dillon* of *Coſtelogh* Lord Preſident of *Connaght*, *Donnogh* Lord Viſcount *Muskerry*, *Francis* Lord Baron of *Athunry*, *Alexander Mac Donnel* Eſq; Sir *Lucas Dillon* Kt. Sir *Nicholas Plunket* Kt. Sir *Richard Barnwall* Baronet, *Jeffery Brown*, *Donnogh O Callaghan*, *Tyrlah O Neile*, *Miles Reily* and *Gerrald Fennell* Eſquires, or any ſeven or more of them ſhall be authorized by Commiſſion under the Great Seal, to moderate and aſcertain the Rates of Merchandize, to be exported or imported out of, or into this Kingdom, as they ſhall think fit.

XV. *Item.* It is concluded, accorded and agreed, by and between the ſaid Parties, and his Majeſty is graciouſly pleas'd, That all and every Perſon and Perſons within this Kingdom, pretending to have ſuffered by Offices found of ſeveral Countries, Territories, Lands and Hereditaments in the Province of *Ulſter*, and other Provinces of this Kingdom, in or ſince the firſt year of King *James* his Reign, or by Attainders or Forfeitures, or by Pretence and Colour thereof, ſince the ſaid 1*ſt* year of King *James*, or by other Acts depending on the ſaid Offices, Attainders and Forfeitures, may petition his Majeſty in Parliament for Relief and Redreſs; and if after examination it ſhall appear to his Majeſty, the ſaid Perſons, or any of them have been injured, then his Majeſty will preſcribe a Courſe to repair the Perſon or Perſons ſo ſuffering according to Juſtice and Honour.

XVI. *Item,* It is further concluded, accorded and agreed upon, by and between the ſaid Parties, and his Majeſty is graciouſly pleas'd, that as to the particular Caſes of *Maurice* Lord Viſcount *de Rupe and Fermoy*, *Arthur* Lord Viſc. *Iveagh*, Sir *Edward Fitz Gerrald* of *Cloangliſh* Baronet, *Charles Mac Carty Reag*, *Roger Moore*, *Anthony Mare*, *William Fitz Gerrald*, *Anthony Linch*, *John Lacy*, *Collo Mac Brien Mac Mahowne*, *Daniel Caſtigni*, *Edmond Fitz Gerrald* of *Ballimartir*, *Lucas Keating*, *Theobald Roch Fitz Miles*, *Thomas Fitz Gerrald* of the *Vally*, *John Bourke* of *Loghmaske*, *Edmond Fitz Gerrald* of *Ballimallo*, *James Fitz William Gerrald* of *Glinane*, and *Edward Sutton*, they may petition his Majeſty in the next Parliament, whereupon his Majeſty will take ſuch Conſideration of them as ſhall be juſt and fit.

XVII. *Item,* It is likewiſe concluded, accorded and agreed upon, by and between the ſaid Parties, and his Majeſty is graciouſly pleas'd, That the Citizens, Freemen, Burgeſſes and former Inhabitants of the City of *Cork*, Towns of *Youghall* and *Downegarven* ſhall be forthwith upon Perfection of theſe Articles, reſtored to their reſpective Poſſeſſions and Eſtates in the ſaid City and Towns, reſpectively, where the ſame extends not to the endangering of the ſaid Gariſons in the ſaid City and Towns. In which caſe ſo many of the ſaid Citizens and Inhabitants, as ſhall not be admitted to the preſent Poſſeſſion of their Houſes within the ſaid City and Towns, ſhall be afforded a valuable annual Rent for the ſame, until Settlement in Parliament, at which time they ſhall be reſtor'd to thoſe their Poſſeſſions. And it is further agreed, and his Majeſty is graciouſly pleas'd, That the ſaid Citizens, Freemen, Burgeſſes and Inhabitants of the ſaid City of *Cork*, and Towns of *Youghall* and *Downegarven*, reſpectively, ſhall be enabled in convenient time before the next Parliament to be held in this Kingdom, to chooſe and return Burgeſſes into the ſame Parliament.

XVIII. *Item*, It is further concluded, accorded and agreed upon, by and between the ſaid Parties, and his Majeſty is further graciouſly pleas'd, That an ACT of Oblivion be paſt in the next Parliament, to extend to all his Majeſties Subjects of this Kingdom, and their Adherents, of all Treaſons and Offences, capital, criminal and perſonal, and other Offences of what nature, kind or quality ſoever, in ſuch manner, as if ſuch Treaſons or Offences had never been committed, perpetrated or done: That the ſaid Act do extend to the Heirs, Children, Kindred, Executors, Adminiſtrators, Wives, Widows, Dowagers, or Aſſigns of ſuch of the ſaid Subjects and their Adherents who dy'd on, before, or ſince, the 23*d* of *October*, 1641. that the ſaid Act do relate to the firſt day of the next Parliament; that the ſaid Act do extend to all Bodies Politic and Corporate, and their reſpective Succeſſors, and unto all Cities, Burroughs, Counties, Baronies, Hundreds, Towns, Villages, Thitlings, and every of them within this Kingdom, for and concerning all and every of the ſaid Offences, or any other Offence or Offences in them, or any of them committed or done by his Majeſties ſaid Subjects, or their Adherents, or any of them, before, in, or ſince the 23*d* of *October*, 1641. Provided this Act ſhall not extend to be conſtrued to pardon any Offence or Offences, for which any Perſon or Perſons have been convicted or attainted on Record at any time before the 23*d* day of *October*, in the year of our Lord, 1641. That this Act ſhall extend to Piracies, and all other Offences committed upon the Sea by his Majeſties ſaid Subjects, or their Adherents or any of them; that in this Act of Oblivion, Words of releaſe, acquittal and diſcharge be inſerted, that no Perſon or Perſons, Bodies Politic or Corporate, Counties, Cities, Burroughs, Baronies, Hundreds, Towns, Villages, Thitlings, or any of them within this Kingdom, included within the ſaid Act, be troubled, impeached, ſued, inquieted or moleſted, for, or by reaſon of any Offence, Matter or thing whatſoever, compriſed within the ſaid Act: And the ſaid Act ſhall extend to all Rents, Goods and Chattels taken, detained or grown due to the Subjects of the one Party from the other ſince the 23*d* of *October*, 1641. to the Date of theſe Articles of Peace; and alſo to all Cuſtoms, Rents, Arrears of Rents, to Prizes, Recognizances, Bonds, Fines, Forfeitures, Penalties, and to all other Profits, Perquiſits and Dues which were due, or did, or ſhould accrew to his Majeſty on, before, or ſince the 23*d* of *October*, 1641. until the Perfection of theſe Articles, and likewiſe to all Meaſne Rates, Fines of what nature ſoever, Recognizances, Judgments, Executions thereupon, and Penalties whatſoever, and to all other Profits due to his Majeſty ſince the ſaid 23*d* of *October* and before, until the Perfection of theſe Articles, for, by reaſon, or which lay within the Survey or Recognizance of the Court of Wards; and alſo to all Reſpits, Iſſues of Homage and Fines for the ſame: provided this ſhall not extend to diſcharge or remit any of the King's Debts or Subſidies due before the ſaid 23*d* of *October*, 1641, which were then or before levyed, or taken by the Sheriffs, Commiſſioners, Receivers or Collectors, and not then or before accounted for, or ſince diſpoſed to the publick Uſe of the ſaid *Roman Catholic* Subjects, but that ſuch Perſons may be brought to account for the ſame after full Settlement in Parliament, and not before, unleſs by and with the Advice and Conſent of the ſaid *Thomas* Lord Viſcount *Dillon* of *Coſtologh* Lord Preſident of *Connaght*, *Donnogh* Lord Viſcount *Muskerry*, *Francis* Lord Baron of *Athunry*, *Alexander Mac Donnel* Eſq; Sir *Lucas Dillon* Kt. Sir *Nicholas Plunket* Kt. Sir *Richard Barnwall* Baronet, *Jeffery Brown*, *Donnogh O Callaghan*, *Tyrlah O Neil*, *Miles Reily* and *Gerrald Fennell* Eſquires, or any ſeven or more of them, as the ſaid Lord Lieutenant otherwiſe ſhall think fit; provided, that ſuch barbarous and inhuman Crimes as ſhall be particulariz'd and agreed upon by the ſaid Lord Lieutenant, and the ſaid *Thomas* Lord Viſcount *Dillon* of *Coſtologh* Lord Preſident of *Connaght*, *Donnogh* Lord Viſcount *Muskerry*, *Francis* Lord Baron of *Athunry*, *Alexander Mac Donnell* Eſq; Sir *Lucas Dillon* Kt. Sir *Nicholas Plunket* Kt. Sir *Richard Barnwall* Baronet, *Jeffery Brown*, *Donnogh O Callaghan*, *Tyrlah O Neil*, *Miles Reily* and *Gerrald Fennell* Eſquires, or any ſeven or more of them, as to the Actors and Procurers thereof, be left to be tried and adjudged by ſuch indifferent Commiſſioners as ſhall be agreed upon by the ſaid Lord Lieutenant, and the ſaid *Thomas* Lord Viſcount *Dillon* of *Coſtologh* Lord Preſident of *Connaght*, *Donnogh* Lord Viſcount *Muskerry*, *Francis* Lord Baron of *Athunry*, *Alexander Mac Donnell* Eſq; Sir *Lucas Dillon* Kt. Sir *Nicholas Plunket* Kt. Sir *Richard Barnwall* Baronet, *Jeffery Brown*, *Donnogh O Callaghan*, *Tyrlah O Neil*, *Miles Reily* and *Gerrald Fennell* Eſquires, or any ſeven or more of them; and that the Power of the ſaid Commiſſioners ſhall continue only for two years next enſuing the Date of their Commiſſion, which Commiſſion is to iſſue within ſix Months after the Date of theſe Articles; provided alſo that the Commiſſioners to be agreed on for trial of the ſaid particular Crimes to be excepted, ſhall hear, order and determin all Caſes of Truſt, where relief may or ought in equity to be afforded againſt all manner of Perſons, according to the Equity and Circumſtances of every ſuch Caſes; and his Majeſties Chief Governour or Governours, and other Magiſtrates for the time being, in all his Majeſties Courts of Juſtice, and other his Majeſties Officers of what Condition or Quality ſoever, be bound and requir'd to take notice of, and purſue the ſaid Act of Oblivion without pleading or ſuit to be made for the ſame; and that no Clerk or other Officers do make out or write out any manner of Writs, Proceſſes, Summons or other Precept, for, concerning, or by reaſon of any Matter, Cauſe or Thing whatſoever releaſed, forgiven, diſcharged, or to be forgiven by the ſaid Act, under pain of 20 *l.* Sterling, and that no Sheriff or other Officer, do execute any ſuch Writ, Proceſs, Summons or Precept; and that no Record, Writing or Memory, do remain of any Offence or Offences, releaſed or forgiven, or mentioned to be forgiven by this Act; and that all other Clauſes uſually inſerted in Acts of General Pardon or Oblivion, enlarging his Majeſties Grace and Mercy, not herein particularized, be inſerted and comprized in the ſaid Act, when the Bill ſhall be drawn up with the Exceptions already expreſſed, and none other. Provided always, that the ſaid Act of Oblivion ſhall not extend to any Treaſon, Felony or other Offence or Offences, which ſhall be committed or done from or after the Date of theſe Articles, until the firſt Day of the before mentioned next Parliament, to be held in this Kingdom. Provided alſo, that any Act or Acts, which ſhall be done by Virtue, Pretence, or in Purſuance of theſe Articles of Peace agreed upon, or any Act or Acts which ſhall be done by Virtue, Colour or Pretence of the Power or Authority uſed or exerciſed by and amongſt the Confederate *Roman Catholics* after the Date of the ſaid Articles, and before the ſaid Publication, ſhall not be accounted, taken, conſtrued, or to be, Treaſon, Felony, or other Offence to be excepted out of the ſaid Act of Oblivion; provided likewiſe, that the ſaid Act of Oblivion ſhall not extend unto any Perſon or Perſons, that will not obey and ſubmit unto the Peace concluded and agreed on by theſe Articles; provided further, that the ſaid Act of Oblivion, or any thing in this Article contained, ſhall not hinder or interrupt the ſaid *Thomas* Lord Viſcount *Dillon* of *Coſtologh* Lord Preſident of *Connaght*, *Donnogh* Lord Viſcount *Muskerry*, *Francis* Lord Baron of *Athunry*, *Alexander Mac Donnel* Eſq; Sir *Lucas Dillon* Kt. Sir *Nicholas Plunket* Kt. Sir *Richard Barnwall* Baronet, *Jeffery Brown*, *Donnogh O Callaghan*, *Tyrlah O Neile*, *Miles Reily* and *Gerrald Fennell*, Eſquires, or any ſeven or more of them, to call to an Account, and proceed againſt the Council and Congregation, and the reſpective ſupream Councils, Commiſſioners general, appointed hitherto from time to time by the Confederate *Catholics* to manage their Affairs, or any other Perſon or Perſons accomptable to an Accompt for their reſpective Receipts and Diſburſements, ſince the beginning of their reſpective Imploiments under the ſaid Confederate *Catholics*, or to acquit or releaſe any Arrears of Exciſes, Cuſtoms, or public Taxes to be accounted for ſince the 23*d* of *October* 1641. and not diſpos'd of hitherto, to the public Uſe, but that the Parties therein concern'd may be call'd to an Account for the ſame as aforeſaid, by the ſaid *Thomas* Lord Viſcount *Dillon* of *Coſtologh* Lord Preſident of *Connaght*, *Donnogh* Lord Viſc. *Muskerry*, *Francis* Lord Baron of *Athunry*, *Alexander Mac Donnel* Eſquire, Sir *Lucas Dillon* Kt. Sir *Nicholas Plunket* Kt. Sir *Richard Barnwall* Baronet, *Jeffery Brown*, *Donnogh O Callaghan*, *Tyrlah O Neile*, *Miles Reily* and *Gerrald Fennell*, Eſquires, or any ſeven or more of them, the ſaid ACT or any thing therein contain'd to the contrary notwithſtanding.

XIX. *Item*, It is further concluded, accorded and agreed upon, by and between the ſaid Parties, and his Majeſty is graciouſly pleas'd, that an ACT be paſs'd in the next Parliament, prohibiting, That neither the Lord Deputy, or other Chief Governour or Governours, Lord Chancellor, Lord High Treaſurer, Vice Treaſurer, Chancellor, or any of the Barons of the Exchequer, Privy Council, or Judges of the four Courts, be Farmers of his Majeſties Cuſtoms within this Kingdom.

XX. *Item*, It is likewiſe concluded, accorded and agreed, and his Majeſty is graciouſly pleas'd, that an ACT of Parliament paſs in this Kingdom againſt Monopolies, ſuch as was enacted in *England* 21 *Jacobi Regis*, with a further Clauſe of repealing of all Grants of Monopolies in this Kingdom; and that Commiſſioners be agreed upon by the ſaid Lord Lieutenant, and the ſaid *Thomas* Lord Viſcount *Dillon* of *Coſtologh* Lord Preſident of *Connaght*, *Donnogh* Lord Viſcount *Muskerry*, *Francis* Lord Baron of *Athunry*, *Alexander Mac Donnel* Eſq; Sir *Lucas Dillon* Kt. Sir *Nicholas Plunket* Kt. Sir *Richard Barnwall* Bar. *Jeffery Brown*, *Donnogh O Callaghan*, *Tyrlah O Neile*, *Miles Reily* and *Gerrald Fennell* Eſquires, or any ſeven or more of them, to ſet down the Rates for the Cuſtom and Impoſition to be laid on *Aquavita*, *Wine*, *Oil*, *Yarn* and *Tobacco*.

XXI. *Item*, It is concluded, accorded and agreed, and his Majeſty is graciouſly pleas'd, that ſuch Perſons as ſhall be agreed on by the ſaid Lord Lieutenant, and the ſaid *Thomas* Lord Viſcount *Dillon* of *Coſtologh* Lord Preſident of *Connaght*, *Donnogh* Lord Viſcount *Muskerry*, *Francis* Lord Baron of *Athunry*, *Alexander Mac Donnel* Eſquire, Sir *Lucas Dillon* Knight, Sir *Nicholas Plunket* Knight, Sir *Richard Barnwall* Baronet, *Jeffery Brown*, *Donnogh O Callaghan*, *Tyrlah O Neile*, *Miles Reilie* and *Gerrald Fennell* Eſquires, or any ſeven or more of them, ſhall be as ſoon as may be authoriz'd by Commiſſion under the Great Seal to regulate the Court of Caſtle-chamber, and ſuch Cauſes as ſhall be brought into, and cenſur'd in the ſaid Court.

XXII. *Item*, It is concluded, accorded and agreed upon, and his Majeſty is graciouſly pleas'd, that two Acts lately paſs'd in this Kingdom, one prohibiting the plowing with Horſes by the Tail, and the other prohibiting the burning of Oats in the Straw, be repeal'd.

XXIII. *Item*, It is further concluded, accorded and agreed upon, by and between the ſaid Parties, and his Majeſty is further graciouſly pleas'd, for as much as upon Application of Agents from this Kingdom unto his Majeſty in the fourth year of his Reign, and lately upon humble Suit made unto his Majeſty, by a Committee of both Houſes of the Parliament of this Kingdom, order was given by his Majeſty for redreſs of ſeveral Grievances, and for ſo many of thoſe as are not expreſs'd in the Articles, whereof both Houſes in the next enſuing Parliament ſhall deſire the benefit of his Majeſties ſaid former Directions for Redreſs therein, that the ſame be afforded them, yet ſo, as for prevention of Inconveniences to his Majeſties Service, that the Warning mention'd in the 24*th* Article of the Graces in the fourth year of his Majeſties Reign be ſo underſtood, that the Warning being left at the Perſons Dwelling-houſes be held ſufficient Warning; and as to the 22*d* Article of the ſaid Graces, the Proceſs hitherto us'd in the Court of Wards do ſtill continue, as hitherto it hath done in that, and hath been us'd in other *Engliſh* Courts; but the Court of Wards being compounded for, ſo much of the aforeſaid Anſwer as concerns Warning and Proceſs ſhall be omitted.

XXIV. *Item*, It is further concluded, accorded and agreed upon, by and between the ſaid Parties, and his Majeſty is further graciouſly pleas'd, That Maritine Cauſes may be determin'd in this Kingdom, without driving of Merchants or others to appeal and ſeek Juſtice elſewhere: and if it ſhall fall out that there be Cauſe of an Appeal, the Party griev'd is to appeal to his Majeſty in the Chancery of *IRELAND*; and that Sentence thereupon to be given by the

Delegates, to be definitive, and not to be queſtion'd upon any further Appeal, except it be in the Parliament of this Kingdom, if the Parliament ſhall then be ſitting, otherwiſe not, this to be by ACT of Parliament; and until the ſaid Parliament, the Admiralty and Maritine Cauſes ſhall be order'd and ſettl'd by the ſaid Lord Lieutenant, or other Chief Governour or Governours of this Kingdom for the time being, by and with the Advice and Conſent of the ſaid *Thomas* Lord Viſcount *Dillon* of *Coſtelogh* Lord Preſident of *Connaght*, *Donnogh* Lord Viſcount *Muskerry*, *Francis* Lord Baron of *Athunry*, *Alexander Mac Donnel* Eſq; Sir *Lucas Dillon* Kt. Sir *Nicholas Plunket* Kt. Sir *Richard Barnwall* Baronet, *Jeffery Brown*, *Donnogh O Callaghan*, *Tyrlah O Neile*, *Miles Reily* and *Gerrald Fennell* Eſquires, or any ſeven or more of them.

XXV. *Item*, It is further concluded, accorded and agreed upon, by and between the ſaid Parties, and his Majeſty is graciouſly pleas'd, That his Majeſties Subjects of this Kingdom be eas'd of all Rents and increaſe of Rents lately raiſ'd on the Commiſſion or defective Titles in the Earl of *Strafford*'s Government, this to be by ACT of Parliament; and that in the mean time the ſaid Rents or encreaſe of Rents ſhall not be written for by any Proceſs, or the paiment thereof in any ſort procur'd.

XXVI. *Item*, It is further concluded, accorded and agreed upon, by and between the ſaid Parties, and his Majeſty is further graciouſly pleas'd, that by ACT to be paſs'd in the next Parliament, all the Arrears of Intereſt-Mony, which did accrue and grow due by way of Debt, Mortgage or otherwiſe, and yet not ſo ſatisfy'd ſince the 23*d* of *October* 1641. until the Perfection of theſe Articles, ſhall be fully forgiven and be releas'd; and that for and during the ſpace of three years next enſuing, no more ſhall be taken for Uſe or Intereſt of Money then five Pounds *per Centum*. And in Caſes of Equity ariſing through Diſability, occaſion'd by the Diſtempers of the Times, the Conſiderations of Equity to be like unto both Parties; but as for Mortgages contracted between his Majeſties *Roman Catholic* Subjects and others of that Party, where Entry hath been made by the Mortgagers againſt Law, and the Condition of their Mortgages, and detain'd wrongfully by them without giving any Satisfaction to the Mortgagees, or where any ſuch Mortgagers have made Profit of the Lands mortgaged above Country Charges, yet anſwer no Rent, or other Conſideration to the Mortgagees, the Parties griev'd reſpectively to be left for relief to a Courſe of Equity therein.

XXVII. *Item*, It is further concluded, accorded and agreed upon, and his Majeſty is further graciouſly pleas'd, that immediately upon Perfection of theſe Articles, the ſaid *Thomas* Lord Viſcount *Dillon* of *Coſtologh* Lord Preſident of *Connaght*, *Donnogh* Lord Viſcount *Muskerry*, *Francis* Lord Baron of *Athunry*, *Alexander Mac Donnel* Eſq; Sir *Lucas Dillon* Kt. Sir *Nicholas Plunket* Kt. Sir *Richard Barnwall* Baronet, *Jeffery Brown*, *Donnogh O Callaghan*, *Tyrlah O Neile*, *Miles Reily*, *Gerrald Fennel* Eſquires, ſhall be authoriz'd by the ſaid Lord Lieutenant to proceed in, hear, determin and execute, in and throughout this Kingdom, the enſuing Particulars, and all the Matters thereupon depending; and that ſuch Authority and other the Authorities hereafter mention'd ſhall remain of force without revocation, alteration or diminution, until Acts of Parliament be paſs'd, according to the purport and intent of theſe Articles; and that in caſe of Death, Miſcarriage, Diſability to ſerve by reaſon of Sickneſs or otherwiſe of any the ſaid *Thomas* Lord Viſcount *Dillon* of *Coſtologh* Ld Preſident of *Connaght*, *Donnogh* Ld Viſc. *Muskerry*, *Francis* Ld Bar. of *Athunry*, *Alexander Mac Donnell* Eſq; Sir *Lucas Dillon* Kt. Sir *Nicholas Plunket* Kt. Sir *Richard Barnwall* Baronet, *Jeffery Brown*, *Donnogh O Callaghan*, *Tyrlah O Neile*, *Miles Reily* and *Gerrald Fennell* Eſquires, and his Majeſties Lord Lieutenant, or other Chief Governour or Governours of this Kingdom for the time being, ſhall name and authorize another in the Place of ſuch as ſhall be ſo dead or ſhall miſcarry himſelf, or be ſo diſabled, and that the ſame ſhall be ſuch Perſon as ſhall be allow'd of by the ſaid *Thomas* Lord Viſcount *Dillon* of *Coſtologh*, Lord Preſident of *Connaght*, *Donnogh* Lord Viſcount *Muskerry*, *Francis* Lord Baron of *Athunry*, *Alexander Mac Donnell* Eſq; Sir *Lucas Dillon* Kt. Sir *Nicholas Plunket* Kt. Sir *Richard Barnwall* Baronet, *Jeffery Brown*, *Donnogh O Callaghan*, *Tyrlah O Neile*, *Miles Reily* and *Gerrald Fennell* Eſquires, or any ſeven or more of them then living. And that the ſaid *Thomas* Lord Viſcount *Dillon* of *Coſtologh*

Lord Preſident of *Connaght*, *Donnogh* Lord Viſcount *Muskerry*, *Francis* Lord Baron of *Athunry*, *Alexander Mac Donnel* Eſq; Sir *Lucas Dillon* Kt. Sir *Nicholas Plunket* Kt. Sir *Richard Barnwall* Baronet, *Jeffery Brown*, *Donnogh O Callaghan*, *Tyrlah O Neile*, *Miles Reily* and *Gerrald Fennell* Eſquires, or any ſeven or more of them, ſhall have Power to applot, raiſe and levy Means with Indifferency and Equality by way of Exciſe or otherwiſe, upon all his Majeſties Subjects within the ſaid Kingdom, their Perſons, Eſtates and Goods, towards the Maintenance of ſuch Army or Armies as ſhall be thought fit to continue, and be in Pay for his Majeſties Service, the Defence of the Kingdom, and other the neceſſary public Charges thereof, and towards the Maintenance of the Forts, Caſtles, Gariſons and Towns, until there ſhall be a Settlement in Parliament of both or either party, other than ſuch of the ſaid Forts, Gariſons and Caſtles, as from time to time ſhall be thought fit, by his Majeſties Chief Governour or Governours of this Kingdom for the time being, by and with the Advice and Conſent of the ſaid *Thomas* Lord Viſc. *Dillon* of *Coſtologh* Lord Preſident of *Connaght*, *Donnogh* Lord Viſc. *Muskerry*, *Francis* Ld Baron of *Athunry*, *Alexander Mac Donnel* Eſq; Sir *Lucas Dillon* Kt. Sir *Nicholas Plunket* Kt. Sir *Richard Barnwall* Baronet, *Jeffery Brown*, *Donnogh O Callaghan*, *Tyrlah O Neile*, *Miles Reily* and *Gerrald Fennell* Eſquires, or any ſeven or more of them, not to be maintained at the Charge of the Public, provided that his Majeſties Lord Lieutenant or other Chief Governour or Governours of this Kingdom for the time being, be firſt made acquainted with ſuch Taxes, Levies and Exciſes as ſhall be made, and the manner of levying thereof, and that he approve the ſame; and to the end that ſuch of the Proteſtant Party as ſhall ſubmit to the Peace, may in the ſeveral Countries where any of their Eſtates lieth, have Equality and Indifferency in the Aſſeſſments and Levies that ſhall concern their Eſtates in the ſaid ſeveral Counties.

It is concluded, accorded and agreed upon, and his Majeſty is graciouſly pleaſed, That in the Directions which ſhall iſſue to any ſuch County, for the applotting, ſubdividing and levying of the ſaid Public Aſſeſſments, ſome of the ſaid Proteſtant Party ſhall be joined with others of the *Roman Catholic* Party to that purpoſe, and for effecting that Service; and the ſaid *Thomas* Lord Viſcount *Dillon* of *Coſtologh* Lord Preſident of *Connaght*, *Donnogh* Lord Viſcount *Muskerry*, *Francis* Lord Baron of *Athunry*, *Alexander Mac Donnel* Eſq; Sir *Lucas Dillon* Kt. Sir *Nicholas Plunket* Kt. Sir *Richard Barnwall* Baronet, *Jeffery Brown*, *Donnogh O Callaghan*, *Tyrlah O Neile*, *Miles Reily* and *Gerrald Fennel* Eſqs; or any ſeven or more of them, ſhall have power to levy the Arrears of all Exciſes and other publick Taxes impoſed by the Confederate *Roman Catholics*, and yet unpaid, and to call Receivers and other Accomptants of all former Taxes and all public Dues to a juſt and ſtrict Account, either by themſelves, or by ſuch as they or any ſeven or more of them ſhall name or appoint; and that the ſaid Lord Lieutenant, or any other Chief Governour or Governours of this Kingdom for the time being, ſhall from time to time iſſue Commiſſions to ſuch Perſon and Perſons as ſhall be named and appointed by the ſaid *Thomas* Lord Viſcount *Dillon* of *Coſtologh* Lord Preſident of *Connaght*, *Donnogh* Lord Viſcount *Muskerry*, *Francis* Lord Baron of *Athunry*, *Alexander Mac Donnel* Eſq; Sir *Lucas Dillon* Kt. Sir *Nicholas Plunket* Kt. Sir *Richard Barnwall* Baronet, *Jeffery Brown*, *Donnogh O Callaghan*, *Tyrlah O Neile*, *Miles Reily* and *Gerrald Fennell* Eſquires, or any ſeven or more of them, for letting, ſetting, and improving the Eſtates of all ſuch Perſon and Perſons, , as ſhall adhere to any Party opposing his Majeſties Authority, and not ſubmitting to the Peace; and that the Profits of ſuch Eſtates ſhall be converted by the ſaid Lord Lieutenant, or other Chief Governour or Governours of this Kingdom for the time being, to the Maintenance of the King's Army and other neceſſary Charges, until Settlement by Parliament; and that the ſaid *Thomas* Lord Viſcount *Dillon* of *Coſtologh* Lord Preſident of *Connaght*, *Donnogh* Lord Viſcount *Muskerry*, *Francis* Lord Baron of *Athunry*, *Alexander Mac Donnel* Eſq; Sir *Lucas Dillon* Kt. Sir *Nicholas Plunket* Kt. Sir *Richard Barnwall* Baronet, *Jeffery Brown*, *Donnogh O Callaghan*, *Tyrlah O Neile*, *Miles Reily* and *Gerrald Fennel* Eſquires, or any ſeven or more of them, ſhall have power to applot, raiſe and levy Means with Indifferency and Equality, for the buying of Arms and Ammunition, and for the entertaining of Frigats in ſuch proportion as ſhall be thought fit by his Majeſties Lord Lieutenant, or other Chief Governours of this Kingdom for the time being, by and with the Advice and Conſent of the ſaid *Thomas* Lord Viſcount *Dillon* of *Coſtologh* Lord Preſident of *Connaght*, *Donnogh* Lord Viſcount *Muskerry*, *Francis* Lord Baron of *Athunry*, *Alexander Mac Donnel* Eſq; Sir *Lucas Dillon* Kt. Sir *Nicholas Plunket* Kt. Sir *Richard Barnwall* Baronet, *Jeffery Brown*, *Donnogh O Callaghan*, *Tyrlah O Neile*, *Miles Reily* and *Gerrald Fennell* Eſquires, or any ſeven or more of them; the ſaid Arms and Ammunition to be laid up in ſuch Magazins, and under the Charge of ſuch Perſons as ſhall be agreed on by the ſaid Lord Lieutenant, and the ſaid *Thomas* Lord Viſcount *Dillon* of *Coſtologh* Lord Preſident of *Connaght*, *Donnogh* Lord Viſcount *Muskerry*, *Francis* Lord Baron of *Athunry*, *Alexander Mac Donnel* Eſq; Sir *Lucas Dillon* Kt. Sir *Nicholas Plunket* Kt. Sir *Richard Barnwall* Baronet, *Jeffery Brown*, *Donnogh O Callaghan*, *Tyrlah O Neile*, *Miles Reily*, *Gerrald Fennell* Eſquires, or any ſeven or more of them, and to be diſpoſed of, and the ſaid Frigats to be imployed for his Majeſties Service, and the public Uſe and Benefit of this Kingdom of *Ireland*; and that the ſaid *Thomas* Lord Viſcount *Dillon* of *Coſtologh* Lord Preſident of *Connaght*, *Donnogh* Lord Viſcount *Muskerry*, *Francis* Lord Baron of *Athunry*, &c. or any ſeven or more of them, ſhall have power to applot, raiſe and levy Means with Indifferency and Equality, by way of Exciſe or otherwiſe, in the ſeveral Cities, Corporate Towns, Counties and part of Counties, now within the Quarters and only upon the Eſtates of the ſaid Confederate *Roman Catholics*, all ſuch Sum and Sums of Money as ſhall appear to the ſaid *Thomas* Lord Viſcount *Dillon* of *Coſtologh* Lord Preſident of *Connaght*, *Donnogh* Lord Viſcount *Muskerry*, *Francis* Lord Baron of *Athunry*, &c. or any ſeven or more of them, to be really due, for and in the Diſcharge of the publick Engagements of the ſaid Confederate *Catholics*, incurred and grown due before the Concluſion of theſe Articles; and that the ſaid *Thomas* Lord Viſcount *Dillon* of *Coſtologh* Lord Preſident of *Connaght*, *Donnogh* Lord Viſcount *Muskerry*, *Francis* Lord Baron of *Athunry*, &c. or any ſeven or more of them, ſhall be authoriz'd to appoint Receivers, Collectors and all other Officers, for ſuch Monies as ſhall be aſſeſſed, taxed or applotted, in purſuance of the Authorities mention'd in this Article, and for the Arrears of all former Applotments, Taxes and other public Dues yet unpaid; And that the ſaid *Thomas* Lord Viſcount *Dillon* of *Coſtologh* Lord Preſident of *Connaght*, *Donnogh* Lord Viſcount *Muskerry*, *Francis* Lord Baron of *Athunry*, &c. or any ſeven or more of them, in caſe of Refractories or Delinquency, may diſtrain and impriſon, and cauſe ſuch Delinquents to be diſtrained and impriſoned. And the ſaid *Thomas* Lord Viſcount *Dillon* of *Coſtologh* Lord Preſident of *Connaght*, *Donnogh* Lord Viſcount *Muskerry*, *Francis* Lord Baron of *Athunry*, &c. or any ſeven or more of them make perfect Books of all ſuch Monies as ſhall be applotted, raiſed or levy'd, out of which Books they are to make ſeveral and reſpective Abſtracts, to be delivered under their hands, or the hands of any ſeven or more of them, to the ſeveral and reſpective Collectors, which ſhall be appointed to levy and receive the ſame. And that a Duplicate of the ſaid Books, under the hands of the ſaid *Thomas* Lord Viſcount *Dillon* of *Coſtologh* Lord Preſident of *Connaght*, *Donnogh* Lord Viſcount *Muskerry*, *Francis* Lord Baron of *Athunry*, &c. or any ſeven or more of them, be delivered unto his Majeſties Lord Lieutenant, or other Chief Governour or Governours of this Kingdom for the time being, whereby a perfect Account may be given; and that the ſaid *Thomas* Lord Viſcount *Dillon* of *Coſtologh* Lord Preſident of *Connaght*, *Donnogh* Lord Viſcount *Muskerry*, *Francis* Lord Baron of *Athunry*, &c. or any ſeven or more of them, ſhall have Power to call the Council and Congregation, and the reſpective ſupream Councils, and Commiſſioners General, appointed hitherto from time to time, by the ſaid Confederate *Roman Catholics*, to manage their public Affairs, and all other Perſons accountable, to an Account for all their Receipts and Disburſements ſince the beginning of their reſpective Imploiments, under the Confederate *Roman Catholics*.

XXVIII. *Item*, It is concluded, accorded and agreed, by and between the ſaid Parties, and his Majeſty is graciouſly pleas'd, That for the Preſervation of the Peace and Tranquillity of the Kingdom, the ſaid Lord Lieutenant, and the ſaid *Thomas* Lord Viſcount *Dillon* of *Coſtologh* Lord Preſident of *Connaght*, *Donnogh* Lord Viſcount *Muskerry*, *Francis* Lord Baron of *Athunry*, &c. or any ſeven or more of them, ſhall for the preſent agree upon ſuch Perſons, who are to be authorized by Commiſſion under the Great Seal, to be Commiſſioners of the *Peace*, *Oyer* and *Terminer*, *Aſſizes* and *Goal*-delivery, in, and throughout the Kingdom, to continue during pleaſure, with ſuch Power as Juſtices of the *Peace*, *Oyer* and *Terminer*, *Aſſizes* and *Goal*-delivery in former time of *Peace* have uſually had, which is not to extend unto any Crime or Offence committed before the firſt of *May* laſt paſt, and to be qualify'd with Power to hear and determin all Civil Cauſes coming before them, not exceeding ten Pounds; provided that they ſhall not intermeddle with Titles of Lands; provided likewiſe, the Authority of ſuch Commiſſioners ſhall not extend to queſtion any Perſon or Perſons, for any Shipping, Cattle or Goods, heretofore taken by either Party from the other, or other Injuries done contrary to the Articles of Ceſſation, concluded by and with the ſaid *Roman Catholic* Party in, or ſince *May* laſt, but that the ſame ſhall be determined by ſuch indifferent Perſons, as the Lord Lieutenant, by the Advice and Conſent of the ſaid *Thomas* Lord Viſcount *Dillon* of *Coſtologh* Lord Preſident of *Connaght*, *Donnogh* Lord Viſcount *Muskerry*, *Francis* Lord Baron of *Athunry*, &c. or any ſeven or more of them ſhall think fit, to the end that ſpeedy and equal Juſtice may be done to all Parties grieved; and the ſaid Commiſſioners are to make their Eſtreats as accuſtomed of Peace and ſhall take the enſuing Oath, *viz.* You ſhall ſwear, That as Juſtice of the *Peace*, *Oyer* and *Terminer*, *Aſſizes* and *Goal*-delivery in the Counties of *A. B.* in all Articles to the Commiſſion to you directed, you ſhall do equal Right to the poor, and to the rich after your Cunning and Wit and Power, and after the Laws and Cuſtoms of the Realm, and in purſuance of theſe Articles; and you ſhall not be of Counſel of any Quarrel hanging before you; and the Iſſues, Fines and Amerciaments which ſhall happen to be made, and all Forſeitures which ſhall happen before you, you ſhall cauſe to be entred without any concealment or imbezling, and ſend to the Court of Exchequer, or to ſuch other Place as his Majeſties Lord Lieutenant, or other Chief Governour or Governours of this Kingdom ſhall appoint, until there may be acceſs unto the ſaid Court of Exchequer: You ſhall not let for Gift or other Cauſe, but well and truly you ſhall do your Office of Juſtice of *Peace*, *Oyer* and *Terminer*, *Aſſizes* and *Goal*-delivery in that behalf, and that you take nothing for your Office of Juſtice of the *Peace*, *Oyer* and *Terminer*, *Aſſizes* and *Goal*-delivery to be done, but of the King, and Fees accuſtomed; and you ſhall not direct, or cauſe to be directed, any Warrant by you, to be made to the Parties, but you ſhall direct them to the Sheriffs and Bayliffs of the ſaid Counties reſpectively, or other the King's Officers or Miniſters, or other indifferent Perſons to do execution thereof. So help you God, *&c.*

And that as well in the ſaid Commiſſion, as in all other Commiſſions and Authorities to be iſſued in purſuance of the preſent Articles, this Clauſe ſhall be inſerted, *viz.* That all Officers, Civil and Martial, ſhall be required to be aiding and aſſiſting and obedient unto the ſaid Commiſſioners, and other Perſons to be authorized as aboveſaid in the execution of their reſpective Powers.

XXIX. *Item*, It is further concluded, accorded and agreed upon, by and between the ſaid Parties, and his Majeſty is further graciouſly pleas'd, That his Majeſties *Roman Catholic* Subjects, do continue the Poſſeſſion of ſuch of his Majeſties Cities, Gariſons, Towns, Forts and Caſtles which are within their now Quarters, until Settlement by Parliament, and to be commanded, ruled and governed in chief, upon occaſion of neceſſity (as to the Martial and Military Affairs) by ſuch as his Majeſty, or his Chief Governour or Governours of this Kingdom for the time being, ſhall appoint; and the ſaid Appointment to be by and with the Advice and Conſent of the ſaid *Thomas* Lord Viſcount *Dillon* of *Coſtologh* Lord Preſident of *Connaght*, *Donnogh* Lord Viſcount *Muskerry*, *Francis* Lord Baron of *Athunry*, &c. or any ſeven or more of them; and his Majeſties Chief Governour or Governours, is to iſſue Commiſſions accordingly, to ſuch Perſons as ſhall be ſo named and appointed as aforeſaid, for the executing of ſuch Command, Rule or Government, to continue until all the Particulars in theſe preſent Articles agreed on to paſs in Parliament, ſhall be accordingly paſſed; only in caſe of Death or Miſbehaviour, ſuch other Perſon or Perſons to be appointed for the ſaid Command, Rule and Government, to be named and appointed in the place or places, of him or them, who ſhall ſo die or miſbehave themſelves, as the Chief Governour or Governours for the time being, by the Advice and Conſent of the ſaid *Thomas* Lord Viſcount *Dillon* of *Coſtologh* Lord Preſident of *Connaght*, *Donnogh* Lord Viſcount *Muskerry*, *Francis* Lord Baron of *Athunry*, &c. or any ſeven or more of them ſhall think fit, and to be continued until a Settlement in Parliament as aforeſaid.

XXX. *Item*, It is further concluded, accorded and agreed upon, by and between the ſaid Parties, and his Majeſty is further graciouſly pleaſed, That all Cuſtoms and Tenths of Prizes belonging to his Majeſty, which from the Perfection of theſe Articles ſhall fall due within this Kingdom, ſhall be paid unto his Majeſties Receipt, or until recourſe may be had thereunto in the ordinary legal Way, unto ſuch Perſon or Perſons, and in ſuch place or places, and under ſuch Controuls as the Lord Lieutenant ſhall appoint to be diſpoſed of, in order to the Defence and Safety of the Kingdom, and the defraying of other the neceſſary public Charges thereof, for the Eaſe of the Subjects in other their Levyes, Charges and Applotments. And that all and every Perſon or Perſons, who are at preſent inſtruſted and imploied by the ſaid *Roman Catholics*, in the Entries, Receipts, Collections, or otherwiſe, concerning the ſaid Cuſtoms and Tenths of Prizes, do continue their reſpective Imploiments in the ſame, until full Settlement in Parliament, accountable to his Majeſties Receipts, or until recourſe may be had thereunto; as the ſaid Lord Lieutenant ſhall appoint as aforeſaid, other than to ſuch, and ſo many of them, as to the Chief Governour or Governours for the time being, by and with the Advice and Conſent of the ſaid *Thomas* Lord Viſcount *Dillon* of *Coſtologh* Lord Preſident of *Connaght*, *Donnogh* Lord Viſc. *Muskerry*, *Francis* Lord Baron of *Athunry*, &c. or any ſeven or more of them, ſhall be thought fit to be altered; and then, and in ſuch caſe, or in caſe of Death, Fraud or Miſbehaviour, or other Alteration of any ſuch Perſon or Perſons, then ſuch other Perſon or Perſons to be employed therein, as ſhall be thought fit by the Chief Governour or Governours for the time being, by and with the Advice and Conſent of the ſaid *Thomas* Lord Viſcount *Dillon* of *Coſtologh* Lord Preſident of *Connaght*, *Donnogh* Lord Viſcount *Muskerry*, *Francis* Lord Baron of *Athunry*, &c. or any ſeven or more of them; and when it ſhall appear that any Perſon or Perſons, who ſhall be found faithful to his Majeſty, hath right to any of the Offices or Places about the ſaid Cuſtoms, whereunto he or they may not be admitted until Settlement in Parliament as aforeſaid, that a reaſonable Compenſation ſhall be afforded to ſuch Perſon or Perſons for the ſame.

XXXI. *Item*, As for and concerning his Majeſties Rents, payable at *Eaſter* next, and from thenceforth to grow due, until a Settlement in Parliament, it is concluded, accorded and agreed upon, by and between the ſaid Parties, and his Majeſty is graciouſly pleas'd, That the ſaid Rents be not written for, or levyed, until a full Settlement in Parliament; and in due time upon Application to be made to the ſaid Lord Lieutenant, or other Chief Governour or Governours of this Kingdom, by the ſaid *Thomas* Lord Viſcount *Dillon* of *Coſtologh* Lord Preſident of *Connaght*, *Donnogh* Lord Viſcount *Muskerry*, *Francis* Lord Baron of *Athunry*, &c. or any ſeven or more of them, for remittal of thoſe Rents, the ſaid Lord Lieutenant, or any other Chief Governour or Governours of this Kingdom for the time being, ſhall intimate their Deſires, and the Reaſon thereof to his Majeſty, who upon conſideration of the preſent Condition of this Kingdom will declare his gracious Pleaſure therein, as ſhall be juſt and honourable, and ſatisfactory to the reaſonable Deſires of his Subjects.

XXXII. *Item*, It is concluded, accorded and agreed, by and between the ſaid Parties, and his Majeſty is graciouſly pleas'd, That the Commiſſioners of *Oyer* and *Terminer* and *Goal*-delivery to be named as aforeſaid, ſhall have Power to hear and determin all Murders, Manſlaughters, Rapes, Stealths, burning of Houſes and Corn in Rick or Stack, Robberies, Burglaries, forcible Entries, Detainers of Poſſeſſions, and other Offences committted or done, and to be committed and done ſince the firſt day of *May* laſt paſt, until the firſt day of the next Parliament, theſe preſent Articles, or any thing therein contained to the contrary notwithſtanding; provided, that the Authority of the ſaid Commiſſioners ſhall not extend to queſtion any Perſon or Perſons, for doing or committing

mitting any Act whatſoever, before the Concluſion of this Treaty, by Virtue or Colour of any Warrant or Direction from thoſe in public Authority among the Confederate *Roman Catholics*, nor unto any Act which ſhall be done after the perfecting and concluding of theſe Articles, by Virtue or Pretence of any Authority which is now by theſe Articles agreed on; provided alſo that the ſaid Commiſſion ſhall not continue longer than the firſt day of the next Parliament.

XXXIII. *Item*, It is concluded, accorded, by and between the ſaid Parties, and his Majeſty is further graciouſly pleas'd, That for the determining ſuch differences which may ariſe between his Majeſties Subjects within this Kingdom, and the prevention of Inconvenience and Diſquiet which through want of due Remedy in ſeveral Cauſes may happen, there ſhall be Judicatures eſtabliſh'd in this Kingdom,and that the Perſons to be authorized in them, ſhall have Power to do all ſuch things as ſhall be proper and neceſſary for them to do; and the ſaid Lord Lieutenant, by and with the Advice and Conſent of the ſaid *Thomas* Lord Viſcount *Dillon* of *Coſtologh* Lord Preſident of *Connaght*, *Donnogh* Lord Viſcount *Muskerry*, *Francis* Lord Baron of *Athunry*, &c. or any ſeven or more of them, ſhall name the ſaid Perſons ſo to be authorized, and do all other things incident unto, and neceſſary for the ſettling of the ſaid intended Judicatures.

XXXIV. *Item*, At the Inſtance, humble Suit and earneſt deſire of the General Aſſembly of the Confederate *Roman Catholics*; it is concluded, accorded and agreed upon, that the *Roman Catholic* Regular Clergy of this Kingdom, behaving themſelves conformable to theſe Articles of Peace, ſhall not be moleſted in the Poſſeſſions, which at preſent they have of, and in the Bodies, Sites and Precincts of ſuch *Abbies* and *Monaſteries* belonging to any *Roman Catholic* within the ſaid Kingdom, until Settlement by Parliament; and that the ſaid Clergy ſhall not be moleſted in the enjoying ſuch Penſions, as hitherto ſince the Wars they enjoyed for their reſpective Lively-hoods from the ſaid *Roman Catholics:* and the Sites and Precincts hereby intended, are declared to be the Body of the *Abby*, one *Garden* and *Orchard* to each *Abby*, if any there be, and what elſe is contained within the Walls, Meers or antient Fences or Ditch, that doth ſupply the Wall thereof, and no more.

XXXV. *Item*, It is concluded, accorded and agreed, by and between the ſaid Parties, that as to all other demands of the ſaid *Roman Catholics*, for or concerning all or any the matters propoſed by them, not granted or aſſented unto in and by the aforeſaid Articles, the ſaid *Roman Catholics* be referred to his Majeſties gracious Favour and further Conceſſions. In Witneſs whereof the ſaid Lord Lieutenant, for and on the behalf of his moſt Excellent Majeſty, to the one Part of theſe Articles remaining with the ſaid *Roman Catholics*, hath put his Hand and Seal: And Sir *Richard Blake* Kt. in the Chair of the General Aſſembly of the ſaid *Roman Catholics*, by Order, Command and unanimous Conſent of the ſaid *Catholics* in full Aſſembly, to the other Part thereof remaining with the ſaid Lord Lieutenant, hath put to his Hand and the Public Seal, hitherto us'd by the ſaid *Roman Catholics*, the 17th of *January*, 1648. and in the 24th Year of the Reign of our Soveraign Lord CHARES, by the Grace of God King of *Great Britain*, *France* and *Ireland*, &c.

SIR,

*I HAVE not thus long forborn to invite you with thoſe under your Command, to a Submiſſion to his Majeſties Authority in me, and a Conjunction with me, in the ways of his Serviee, out of any the leaſt Averſion I had to you, or any of them, or out of any diſ-eſteem I had to your Power, to advance or impede the ſame, but out of my Fear, whiles thoſe that have of late uſurped Power over the Subjects of* England, *held forth the leaſt colourable Shadow of Moderation in their Intentions towards the Settlement of Church or State, and that in ſome tolerable Way with relation to Religion, the Intereſt* *of the King and Crown, the Freedom of Parliament, the Liberties of the Subject, any Addreſſes from me propoſing the withdrawing of that Party from thoſe thus profeſſing, from whom they have received ſome, and expected further ſupport, would have been but coldly received, and any Determination thereupon deferred in hope and expectation of the forementioned Settlement, or that you your ſelf, who certainly have not wanted a foreſight of the ſad Confuſion now covering the Face of* England, *would have declared with me, the Lord* Inchequeen, *and the* Proteſtant *Army in* Munſter, *in prevention thereof; yet my fear was, it would have been as difficult for you, to have carried with you the main Body of the Army under your Command (not ſo clear-ſighted as your ſelf) as it would have been dangerous to you, and thoſe with you well enclined to have attempted it without them; but now that the Mask of Hypocriſy, by which the* Independent *Army hath enſnared and enſlaved all Eſtates and Degrees of Men is laid aſide, now that barefaced, they evidently appear to be the Subverters of true Religion, and to be the Protectors and Inviters not only of all falſe Ones, but of Irreligion and Atheiſm, now that they have barbarouſly and inhumanly laid violent, ſacrilegious hands upon, and murthered* God's *Anointed, and our King, not as heretofore ſome Patricides have done, to make room for ſome Uſurper, but in a way plainly manifeſting their Intentions, to change the Monarchy of* England *into Anarchy, unleſs their Aim be firſt to conſtitute an elective Kingdom; and* CROMWEL *or ſome ſuch* John *of* Leiden *being elected, then by the ſame Force, by which they have thus far compaſſed their Ends, to eſtabliſh a perfect* Turkiſh *Tyranny; now that of the three Eſtates of King, Lords and Commons, whereof in all Ages Parliaments have conſiſted, there remains only a ſmall number, and they the Dregs and Scum of the Houſe of Commons, pick'd and aw'd by the* ARMY, *a wicked Remnant, left for no other end, than yet further if it be poſſible to delude the People with the Name of a Parliament: The King being murther'd, the Lords and the reſt of the Commons being by unheard of violence at ſeveral times forc'd from the Houſes, and ſome impriſon'd. And now that there remains no other Liberty in the Subject but to profeſs blaſphemous Opinions, to revile and tread under foot Magiſtracy, to murther Magiſtrates, and oppreſs and undo all that are not like-minded with them. Now I ſay, that I cannot doubt but that you and all with you under your command will take this Opportunity to act and declare againſt ſo monſtrous and unparallel'd a Rebellion, and that you and they will cheerfully acknowledg, and faithfully ſerve and obey our Gracious King* CHARES *the* II. *undoubted Heir of his Fathers Crown and Vertues; under whoſe Right and Conduct we may by* God's *Aſſiſtance reſtore* Proteſtant *Religion to Purity, and therein ſettle it, Parliaments to their Freedom, good Laws to their Force, and our Fellow-Subjects to their juſt Liberties; wherein how glorious and bleſſed a thing it will be, to be ſo conſiderably inſtrumental, as you may now make your ſelf, I leave to you now to conſider. And though I conceive there are not any Motives relating to ſome particular Intereſt to be mentioned after theſe ſo weighty Conſiderations, which are ſuch as the World hath not been at any time furniſh'd with, yet I hold it my part to aſſure you that as there is nothing you can reaſonably propoſe for the ſafety, ſatisfaction or advantage of your ſelf, or of any that ſhall adhere to you in what I deſire, that I ſhall not to the uttermoſt of my Power provide for; ſo there is nothing I would, nor ſhall more induſtriouſly avoid, than thoſe Neceſſities ariſing from my Duty to God and Man, that may by your rejecting this Offer force me to be a ſad Inſtrument of ſhedding* Engliſh *Blood, which in ſuch Caſe muſt on both ſides happen. If this Overture find place with you, as I earneſtly wiſh it may, let me know with* *what poſſible ſpeed you can, and if you pleaſe by the Bearer in what way you deſire, it ſhall be drawn on to a Concluſion. For in that, as well as in the Subſtance, you ſhall find all ready compliance from me, that deſire to be*

CARRICK,
March 9.
1648.

Your affectionate Friend to ſerve you,

ORMOND.

For Colonel *Michael Jones* Governour of DUBLIN.

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My LORD,

YOUR *Lordſhip's of the ninth, I receiv'd the twelfth inſtant, and therein have I your Lordſhip's Invitation to a Conjunction with your ſelf (I ſuppoſe) as Lord Lieutenant of* Ireland, *and with others now united with the* Iriſh, *and with the* Iriſh *themſelves alſo.*

*As I underſtand not how your Lordſhip ſhould be inveſted with that Power pretended, ſo am I very well aſſur'd, that it is not in the Power of any without the Parliament of* England *to give and aſſure pardon to thoſe bloody Rebels, as by the ACT to that end paſs'd may appear more fully. I am alſo well aſſur'd, that the Parliament of* England *would never aſſent to ſuch a* PEACE *(ſuch as is that of your Lordſhips with the Rebels) wherein is little or no Proviſion made either for the Proteſtants or the Proteſtant Religion. Nor can I underſtand how the Proteſtant Religion ſhould be ſettled and reſtor'd to its Purity by an Army of Papiſts, or the Proteſtant Intereſts maintain'd by thoſe very Enemies by whom they have been ſpoil'd and there ſlaughter'd: And very evident it is, that both the Proteſtants and Proteſtant Religion are in that your Lordſhips Treaty, left as in the Power of the Rebels, to be by them born down and rooted out at pleaſure.*

*As for that Conſideration by your Lordſhip offer'd of the preſent and late Proceedings in* England, *I ſee not how it may be a ſufficient Motive to me (or any other in like Truſt for the Parliament of* England *in the Service of this Kingdom) to join with thoſe Rebels upon any the Pretences in that your Lordſhip's Letter mention'd; for therein were there a manifeſt betraying that Truſt repos'd in me in deſerting the Service and Work committed to me, in joyning with thoſe I ſhall oppoſe, and in oppoſing whom I am oblig'd to ſerve.*

*Neither conceive I it any part of my Work and Care to take notice of any whatſoever Proceedings of* STATE, *foreign to my Charge and Truſt here, eſpecially they being found hereunto apparently deſtructive.*

*Moſt certain it is, and former Ages have approved it, that the intermedling of Governours and Parties in this Kingdom, with Sidings and Parties in* ENGLAND, *have been the very betraying of this Kingdom to the* Iriſh, *whiles the* Britiſh *Forces here had been thereupon call'd off, and the Place therein laid open, and as it were given up to the common* ENEMY.

*It is what your Lordſhip might have obſerv'd in your former Treaty with the Rebels, that upon your Lordſhip's thereupon withdrawing, and ſending hence into* England *the moſt conſiderable part of the* Engliſh *Army then commanded by you; thereby was the remaining* Britiſh *Party not long after overpower'd, and your Quarters by the* Iriſh *over-run to the Gates of* DUBLIN, *your ſelf alſo reduced to that low Condition, as to be beſieg'd in this* *very City (the Metropolis and principal Citadel of the Kingdom) and that by thoſe very Rebels, who till then could never ſtand before you: and what the end hath been of that Party, alſo ſo ſent by your Lordſhip into* England *(although the Flower and Strength of the* Engliſh *Army here, both Officers and Souldiers) hath been very obſervable.*

*And how much the Dangers are at preſent (more than in former Ages) of hazarding the* Engliſh *Intereſt in this Kingdom, by ſending any Parties hence into any other Kingdom upon any Pretences whatſoever, is very apparent, as in the generality of the* Rebellion, *now more than formerly; ſo conſidering your Lordſhips preſent Concluſions with, and Conceſſions to the Rebels, wherein they are allowed the continued Poſſeſſion of all the Cities, Forts and Places of Strength, whereof they ſtood poſſeſs'd at the time of their Treaty with your Lordſhip, and that they are to have a Standing Force (if I well remember) of* 15000 *Foot and* 2500 *Horſe (all of their own Party, Officers and Souldiers) and they (with the whole Kingdom) to be regulated by a major part of* Iriſh *Truſtees, choſen by the Rebels themſelves, as Perſons for their Intereſts and Ends, to be by them confided in, without whom nothing is to be acted. Therein I cannot but mind your Lordſhip of what hath been ſometimes by your ſelf delivered, as your ſenſe in this particular; that the* Engliſh *Intereſt in* Ireland *muſt be preſerv'd by the* Engliſh, *and not by* Iriſh; *and upon that ground (if I be not deceiv'd) did your Lordſhip then capitulate with the Parliament of* ENGLAND, *from which clear Principle I am ſorry to ſee your Lordſhip now receding.*

*As to that by your Lordſhip menac'd us here, of Blood and Force, if diſſenting from your Lordſhip's Ways and Deſigns, for my particular I ſhall (my Lord) much rather chooſe to ſuffer in ſo doing (for therein ſhall I do what is becoming, and anſwerable to my Truſt) than to purchaſe my ſelf on the contrary the ignominious Brand of Perfidy, by any Allurements of whatſoever Advantages offer'd me.*

*But very confident I am of the ſame Divine Power which hath ſtill followed me in this WORK, and will ſtill follow me; and in that Truſt doubt I nothing of thus giving your Lordſhip plainly this my Reſolution in that Particular: So I remain,*

*DUBLIN,*
March 14.
1648.

Your Lordſhip's humble Servant.

*Signed,* MIC. JONES.

*For the Lord of* ORMOND *theſe.*

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# BY THE
# Lord Lieutenant General
# OF
# IRELAND.

*ORMOND,*

WHEREAS *our late Soveraign Lord King* CHARLES *of happy Memory hath been lately by a Party of his rebellious Subjects of* ENGLAND *moſt traiterouſly, maliciouſly, and inhumanly put to death and murthered; and foraſmuch as his Majeſty that now is,* Charles *by the Grace of* GOD *King of* England, Scotland, France *and* Ireland, *is Son and Heir of his ſaid late Majeſty, and therefore by the Laws of the Land, of Force, and practis'd in all Ages, is to inherit. We therefore in diſcharge of the Duty we owe unto God, our Allegiance and Loyalty to our Soveraign, holding it fit him ſo to proclaim in and through this his Majeſties Kingdom, do by this our preſent Proclamation declare and manifeſt to the World, That* Charles *the* II. *Son and Heir of our late Soveraign Lord King* Charles *the* I. *of happy Memory, is, by the Grace of* GOD, *the undoubted* KING *of* England, Scotland, France *and* Ireland, *Defender of the* FAITH, &c.

Given at *CARRICK* Feb. 26. 1648.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

# *A neceſſary Repreſentation of the preſent Evils, and eminent Dangers to Religion, Laws and Liberties, ariſing from the late and preſent Practices of the* Sectarian *Party in* ENGLAND: *Together with an Exhortation to Duties relating to the Covenant, unto all within our Charge; and to all the Well-affected within this Kingdom, by the Presbytery at* BELFAST, *February the* 15th, 1649.

WHEN we ſeriouſly conſider the great and many Duties which we owe unto God and his People, over whom he hath made us Overſeers, and for whom we muſt give an Account; and when we behold the laudable Examples of the worthy Miniſters of the Province of *London*, and of the Commiſſioners of the General Aſſembly of the Church of *Scotland*, in their free and faithful Teſtimonies againſt the Inſolencies of the *Sectarian* Party in *England*. Conſidering alſo the Dependency of this Kingdom upon the Kingdom of *England*, and remembring how againſt ſtrong Oppoſitions we were aſſiſted by the Lord the laſt year in diſcharge of the like Duty, and how he puniſh'd the Contempt of our Warning upon the Deſpiſers thereof: We find our ſelves as neceſſitated, ſo the more encourag'd to caſt in our Mite in the Treaſury, leſt our Silence ſhould involve us in the Guilt of Unfaithfulneſs, and our People in Security and neglect of Duties.

In this Diſcharge of the Truſt put upon us by God, we would not be looked upon as Sowers of Sedition, or Broachers of National and diviſive Motions; our Record is in Heaven, that nothing is more hateful unto us, nor leſs intended by us, and therefore we ſhall not fear the malicious and wicked Aſperſions which we know Satan by his Inſtruments is ready to caſt, not only upon us, but on all who ſincerely endeavour the Advancement of Reformation.

What of late have been, and now are, the inſolent and preſumptious Practices of the *Sectaries* in *England*, is not unknown to the World: For, *Firſt*, notwithſtanding their ſpecious Pretences for Religion and Liberties, yet their late and preſent Actings being therewith compar'd, do clearly evidence that they love a rough Garment to deceive; ſince they have with a high Hand deſpis'd the OATH, in breaking the Covenant, which is ſo ſtrong a Foundation to both, whilſt they loaden it with ſlighting Reproaches, calling it a bundle of particular and contrary Intereſts, and a Snare to the People; and likewiſe labour to eſtabliſh by Laws an univerſal Toleration of all Religions, which is an Innovation overturning of Unity in Religion, and ſo directly repugnant to the Word of God, the two firſt Articles of our ſolemn Covenant, which is the greateſt Wickedneſs in them to violate, ſince many of the chiefeſt of themſelves have, with their hands teſtify'd to the moſt High God, ſworn and ſeal'd it.

Moreover, their great Diſaffection to the Settlement of Religion, and ſo their future breach of Covenant, doth more fully appear by their ſtrong oppoſitions to *Presbyterial* Government (the Hedg and Bulwark of Religion) whilſt they expreſs their hatred to it more then to the worſt of Errors; by excluding it under the name of Compulſion; when they embrace even *Paganiſm* and *Judaiſm* in the Arms of Toleration. Not to ſpeak of their Aſperſions upon it, and the Aſſertors thereof as Antichriſtian and *Popiſh*, though they have deeply ſworn to maintain the ſame Government in the firſt Article of the Covenant, as it is eſtabliſhed in the Church of **SCOTLAND**, which they now ſo deſpite and fully blaſpheme.

Again, It is more than manifeſt, that they ſeek not the Vindication, but the Extirpation of Laws and Liberties, as appears by their ſeizing on the Perſon of the King, and at their pleaſures removing him from place to place, not only without the Conſent, but (if we miſtake not) againſt a direct Ordinance of Parliament: Their violent ſurpriſing, impriſoning and ſecluding many of the moſt worthy Members of the Honorable Houſe of Commons, directly againſt a declared Privilege of Parliament, (an Action certainly without Parallel in any Age) and their Purpoſes of aboliſhing Parliamentary Power for the future, and eſtabliſhing of a Repreſentative (as they call it) inſtead thereof. Neither hath their Fury ſtay'd here, but without all Rule or Example, being but private Men, they have proceeded to the Trial of the King, againſt both the Intereſt and Proteſtation of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, and the former public Declarations of both Kingdoms (beſides the violent haſte, rejecting the hearing of any Defences) with cruel Hands have put him to Death; an Act ſo horrible, as no Hiſtory, divine or human, hath laid a Precedent of the like.

Theſe and many other their deteſtable Inſolencies, may abundantly convince every unbyas'd Judgment, that the preſent Practice of the *Sectaries* and their Abettors, do directly overturn the Laws and Liberties of the Kingdoms, root out lawful and ſupream Magiſtracy (the juſt Privileges whereof we have ſworn to maintain) and introduce a fearful Confuſion and lawleſs Anarchy.

The Spirit of God by *Solomon* tells us, *Prov.* 30. 21. *That a Servant to reign, is one of the four things for which the Earth is diſquieted, and which it cannot bear:* We wonder nothing that the Earth is diſquieted for theſe things; but we wonder greatly, if the Earth can bear them. And albeit the Lord ſo permit, that Folly be ſet in great Dignity, and they which ſit in low place; *That Servants ride upon Horſes, and Princes walk as Servants upon the Earth*, Eccleſ. 10. *ver.* 6, 7. Yet the ſame Wiſe Man ſaith, *Prov.* 19. 10. *Delight is not ſeemly for a Fool, much leſs for a Servant to have Rule over Princes.*

When we conſider theſe things, we cannot but declare and manifeſt our utter diſlike and deteſtation of ſuch unwarrantable Practices, directly ſubverting our Covenant, Religion, Laws and Liberties. And as Watchmen in *SION* warn all the Lovers of Truth and well-affected to the Covenant, carefully to avoid Compliance with, or not bearing witneſs againſt horrid Inſolences, leſt partaking with them in their Sins, they alſo be Partakers of their Plagues. Therefore in the Spirit of Meekneſs, we earneſtly intreat, and in the Authority of Jeſus Chriſt (whoſe Servants we are) charge and obteſt all who reſolve to adhere unto Truth and the Covenant, diligently to obſerve and conſcientiouſly to perform theſe following Duties.

*Firſt*, That according to our ſolemn Covenant, every one ſtudy more to the Power of Godlineſs and perſonal Reformation of themſelves and Families; becauſe for the great Breach of this part of the Covenant, God is highly offended with theſe Lands, and juſtly provoked to permit Men to be the Inſtruments of our Miſery and Afflictions.

*Secondly*, That every one in their Station and Calling earneſtly contend for the Faith which was once delivered to the Saints, *Jude* 3. And ſeek to have their Hearts eſtabliſhed with Grace, that they be not unſtable and wavering, carried about with every Wind of Doctrine; but that they receive the Truth in Love, avoiding the Company of ſuch as withdraw from and vilifie the public Ordinances; ſpeak evil of Church-Government; invent damnable Errors, under the ſpecious Pretence of a Goſpel-way and new Light; and highly extol the Perſons and Courſes of notorious Sectaries, leſt God give them over to ſtrong Deluſions (the Plague of theſe Times) that they may believe Lies, and be damned.

*Thirdly*, That they would not be drawn by Counſel, Command or Example, to ſhake off the antient and fundamental Government of theſe Kingdoms by King and Parliament, which we are ſo deeply ingaged to preſerve by our ſolemn Covenant, as they would not be ſound guilty of the great Evil of theſe Times (condemned by the Holy Ghoſt) the deſpiſing of Dominion, and ſpeaking Evil of Dignities.

*Fourthly*, That they do cordially endeavour the Preſervation of the Union amongſt the well-affected in the Kingdoms, not being ſwayed by any National Reſpect: Rememb'ring that part of the Covenant; *That we ſhall not ſuffer our ſelves directly nor indirectly, by whatſoever Combination, Perſwaſion, or Terror, to be divided, or withdrawn from this bleſſed Union and Conjunction.*

And *Finally*, Albeit there be more preſent Hazard from the Power of Sectaries (as were from Malignants the laſt year) yet we are not ignorant of the evil Purpoſes of Malignants, even at this time, in all the Kingdoms, and particularly in this; and for this Cauſe, we exhort every one with equal Watchfulneſs to keep themſelves free from aſſociating with ſuch, or from ſwerving in their Judgments to malignant Principles; and to avoid all ſuch Perſons as have been from the beginning known Oppoſers of Reformation, Refuſers of the Covenant, combining themſelves with Papiſts and other notorious Malignants, eſpecially ſuch who have been chief Promoters of the late Engagement againſt *England*, Calumniators of the Work of Reformation, in reputing the Miſeries of the preſent Times unto the Advancers thereof; and that their juſt hatred to Sectaries incline not their Minds to favour Malignants, or to think, that becauſe of the Power of Sectaries, the Cauſe of God needs the more to fear the Enmity, or to ſtand in need of the help of Malignants.

# OBSERVATIONS

# UPON

# The Articles of Peace with the *Iriſh* Rebels, on the Letter of *Ormond* to Col. *Jones*, and the Repreſentation of the Presbytery at *Belfaſt*.

ALthough it be a Maxim much agreeable to wiſdom, that juſt deeds are the beſt anſwer to injurious words, and actions, of whatever ſort, thir own plaineſt Interpreters; yet ſince our enemies can find the leiſure both ways to offend us, it will be requiſite we ſhould be found in neither of thoſe ways neglectfull of our juſt defence. To let them know, that ſincere and upright intentions can certainly with as much eaſe deliver themſelves into words as into deeds.

Having therefore ſeen of late thoſe Articles of Peace granted to the Papiſt Rebels of *Ireland*, as ſpeciall graces and favours from the late King, in reward, moſt likely, of thir work don, and in his name and authority confirm'd and ratifi'd by *James* Earl of *Ormond*; together with his Letter to Col. *Jones*, Governour of *Dublin*, full of contumely and diſhonour, both to the Parlament and Army: And on the other ſide, an inſolent and ſeditious Repreſentation from the *Scotch* Presbytery at *Belfaſt* in the North of *Ireland*, no leſs diſhonourable to the State, and much about the ſame time brought hither; there will be needfull as to the ſame ſlanderous aſperſions but one and the ſame Vindication againſt them both. Nor can we ſever them in our notice and reſentment, though one part intitl'd a *Presbytery*, and would be thought a Proteſtant Aſſembly, ſince thir own unexampl'd virulence hath wrapt them into the ſame guilt, made them accomplices and aſſiſtants to the abhorred *Iriſh* Rebels, and with them as preſent to advance the ſame intereſt: if we conſider both thir calumnies, thir hatred, and the pretended Reaſons of thir hatred to be the ſame; the time alſo, and the place concurring, as that there lacks nothing but a few formall words, which may be eaſily diſſembl'd, to make the perfeteſt conjunction; and between them to divide that Iland.

As for theſe Articles of Peace made with thoſe inhuman Rebels and Papiſts of *Ireland* by the late King, as one of his laſt Maſter-pieces, We may be confidently perſwaded, that no true born *Engliſh-man* can ſo much as barely read them without indignation and diſdain, that thoſe bloody Rebels, and ſo proclaim'd and judg'd of by the King himſelf, after the mercileſſe and barbarous Maſſacre of ſo many thouſand *Engliſh*, (who had us'd thir right and title to that Country with ſuch tenderneſs and moderation, and might otherwiſe have ſecur'd themſelves with eaſe againſt thir Treachery) ſhould be now grac'd and rewarded with ſuch freedoms and enlargements, as none of thir Anceſtors could ever merit by thir beſt obedience, which at beſt was alwaies treachrous; to be infranchiz'd with full liberty equall to thir Conquerours, whom the juſt revenge of antient Pyracies, cruel Captivities, and the cauſleſs infeſtation of our Coaſt, had warrantably call'd over, and the long preſcription of many hundred years; beſides what other titles are acknowledg'd by thir own *Iriſh* Parlaments, had fixt and ſeated in that ſoile with as good a right as the meereſt Natives.

Theſe therefore, by thir own foregoing demerits and provocations juſtly made our vaſſalls, are by the firſt Article of this Peace advanc'd to a Condition of freedom ſuperior to what any *Engliſh* Proteſtants durſt have demanded. For what elſe can be the meaning to diſcharge them the Common Oath of Supremacy, eſpecially being Papiſts (for whom principally that Oath was intended) but either to reſign them the more into thir own power, or to ſet a mark of diſhonour upon the Britiſh Loyalty; by truſting *Iriſh* Rebels for one ſingle Oath of Allegeance, as much as all his Subjects of *Brittaine* for the double ſwearing both of Allegeance and Supremacy?

The ſecond Article puts it into the hands of an *Iriſh* Parlament to repeale, or to ſuſpend, if they think convenient, that act uſually call'd *Poynings Act*, which was the main, and yet the civilleſt and moſt moderate acknowledgment impos'd of thir dependance on the Crown of *England*; whereby no Parlament could be ſummond there, no Bill be paſt, but what was firſt to be tranſmitted and allow'd under the great Seal of *England*. The recalling of which Act, tends openly to inveſt them with a Law-giving power of thir own, enables them by degrees to throw off all ſubjection to this Realm, and renders them, who by thir endleſs treaſons and revolts have deſerv'd to hold no Parlament at all, but to be govern'd by Edicts and Gariſons, as abſolute and ſupream in that Aſſembly as the People of *England* in thir own Land. And the 12th Article grants them in expreſs words, that the *Iriſh* Parlament ſhall be no more dependent on the Parlament of *England*, then the *Iriſh* themſelves ſhall declare agreeable to the Laws of *Ireland*.

The two and twentieth Article, more ridiculous then dangerous, coming eſpecially from ſuch a ſerious knot of Lords and Politicians, obtains that thoſe Acts prohibiting to plow with Horſes by the Tayl, and burn Oates in the Straw, be repeal'd ; anough, if nothing elſe, to declare in them a diſpoſition not only ſottiſh, but indocible, and averſe from all Civility and Amendment : and what hopes they give for the future, who rejecting the ingenuity of all other Nations to improve and wax more civill by a civilizing Conqueſt, though all theſe many years better ſhown and taught, preferr thir own abſurd and ſavage Cuſtoms before the moſt convincing evidence of reaſon and demonſtration : a Teſtimony of thir true Barbariſm and obdurate wilfulneſs, to be expected no leſs in other matters of greateſt moment.

Yet ſuch as theſe and thus affected, the ninth Article entruſts with the Militia ; a Truſt which the King ſwore by God at *New-Market*, he would not commit to his Parlament of *England*, no not for an hour. And well declares the confidence he had in *Iriſh* Rebels, more then in his Loyalleſt Subjects. He grants them moreover, till the performance of all theſe Articles, that 15000 Foot and 2500 Horſe, ſhall remain a ſtanding Army of Papiſts at the beck and command of *Dillon*, *Muskery* and other Arch-Rebels, with power alſo of adding to that number as they ſhall ſee cauſe. And by other Articles allows them the conſtituting of Magiſtrates and Judges in all Cauſes, whom they think fit : and till a ſettlement to thir own minds, the poſſeſſion of all thoſe Townes and Countries within thir now Quarters, being little leſs then all the Iland, beſides what thir Cruelty hath diſpeopl'd and lay'd waſt. And laſtly, the whole managing both of Peace and War is committed to Papiſts, and the chief Leaders of that Rebellion.

Now let all men judg what this wants of utter alienating and acquitting the whole Province of *Ireland* from all true fealty and obedience to the Commonwealth of *England*. Which act of any King againſt the Conſent of his Parlament, though no other Crime were layd againſt him, might of it ſelf ſtrongly conduce to the diſ-inthrowning him of all. In *France Henry* the Third, demanding leave in greateſt exigencies to make Sale of ſome Crown-Lands only, and that to his Subjects, was anſwerd by the Parlament then at *Blois*, that a King in no caſe, though of extreameſt neceſſity, might alienate the Patrimony of his Crown, whereof he is but only *Uſu-fructuary*, as Civilians term it, the propriety remaining ever to the Kingdom, not to the King. And in our own Nation, King *John*, for reſigning though unwillingly his Crown to the Popes Legate, with little more hazard to his Kingdom then the payment of 1000 Marks, and the unſightlineſs of ſuch a Ceremony, was depos'd by his Barons, and *Lewis* the French Kings Son elected in his room. And to have carried only the Jewells, Plate, and Treaſure into *Ireland* without conſent of the Nobility, was one of thoſe impeachments that condemn'd *Richard* the Second to loſe his Crown.

But how petty a Crime this will ſeem to the alienating of a whole Kingdom, which in theſe Articles of Peace we ſee as good as done by the late King, not to Friends, but to mortall Enemies, to the accompliſhment of his own intereſts and ends, wholly ſeparate from the Peoples good, may without aggravation be eaſily conceiv'd. Nay by the Covenant it ſelf, ſince that ſo cavillouſly is urg'd againſt us, we are enjoyn'd in the fourth Article, with all faithfulneſs to endeavour the bringing all ſuch to public Triall and condigne Puniſhment, as ſhall divide one Kingdom from another. And what greater dividing then by a pernicious and hoſtile Peace, to diſſalliege a whole Feudary Kingdom from the ancient Dominion of *England?* Exception we find thereof no perſon whatſoever; and if the King who hath actually done this, or any for him claim a Privilege above Juſtice, it is again demanded by what expreſs Law, either of God or Man, and why he whoſe office is to execute Law and Juſtice upon all others, ſhould ſit himſelf like a Demigod in lawleſs and unbounded *Anarchy*; refuſing to be accountable for that Autority over men naturally his Equals, which God himſelf without a reaſon giv'n is not wont to exerciſe over his Creatures? And if God the neerer to be acquainted with mankind and his frailties, and to become our Prieſt, made himſelf a man, and ſubject to the Law, we gladly would be inſtructed why any mortal man for the good and welfare of his brethren being made a King, ſhould by a clean contrary motion make himſelf a God, exalted above Law; the readieſt way to become utterly unſenſible, both of his human condition, and his own duty.

And how ſecurely, how ſmoothly, with how little touch or ſenſe of any commiſeration, either princely or ſo much as human, he hath ſold away that juſtice ſo oft demanded, and ſo oft by himſelf acknowledg'd to be due for the blood of more then 200000 of his Subjects, that never hurt him, never diſobey'd him, aſſaſſinated and cut in pieces by thoſe *Iriſh* Barbarians, to give the firſt promoting, as is more then thought, to his own tyrannicall deſigns in *England*, will appear by the 18th Article of his Peace; wherein without the leaſt regard of Juſtice to avenge the dead, while he thirſts to be aveng'd upon the living, to all the Murders, Maſſacres, Treaſons, Pyracies, from the very fatall day wherein that Rebellion firſt broke out, he grants an Act of Oblivion. If this can be juſtified, or not puniſht in whomſoever, while there is any Faith, any Religion, any Juſtice upon Earth, there can no reaſon be alleg'd why all things are not left to Confuſion. And thus much be obſerv'd in brief concerning theſe Articles of Peace made by the late King with his *Iriſh* Rebells.

The Letter of *Ormond* ſent to Col. *Jones* Governour of *Dublin*, attempting his fidelity, which the diſcretion and true worth of that Gentleman hath ſo well anſwer'd and repulſt, and paſs'd here without mention, but that the other part of it not content to do the errand of Treaſon, roves into a long digreſſion of evill and reproachfull language to the Parlament and Army of *England*. Which though not worth thir notice, as from a Crew of Rebells whoſe inhumanities are long ſince become the horrour and execration of all that hear them, yet in the purſuance of a good endeavour, to give the world all due ſatisfaction of the preſent doings, no fit opportunity ſhall be omitted.

He accuſed firſt *That we are the Subverters of true Religion, the Protectors and Inviters not only of all falſe ones, but of Irreligion and Atheiſm.* An Accuſation that no man living could more unjuſtly uſe then our Accuſer himſelf; and which without a ſtrange beſottedneſs, he could not expect but to be retorted upon his own head. All men who are true Proteſtants, of which number he gives out to be one, know not a more immediate and killing Subverter of all true Religion then Antichriſt, whom they generally believe to be the Pope and Church of *Rome*, he therefore who makes Peace with this grand Enemy and Perſecutor of the true Church, he who joyns with him, ſtrengthens him, gives him root to grow up and ſpread his Poyſon, removing all Oppoſition againſt him, granting him Schools, Abbyes, and Revenues, Gariſons, Fortreſſes, Towns, as in ſo many of thoſe Articles may be ſeen, he of all Proteſtants may be call'd moſt juſtly the Subverter of true Religion, the Protecter and Inviter of Irreligion and Atheiſm, whether it be *Ormond*, or his Maiſter. And if it can be no way prov'd, that the Parlament hath countenanc'd Popery or Papiſts, but have every where brok'n thir Temporall Power, thrown down thir public Superſtitions, and confin'd them to the bare enjoyment of that which is not in our reach, thir Conſciences; if they have encourag'd all true Miniſters of the Goſpel, that is to ſay, afforded them favour and protection in all places where they preacht, and although they think not Money or Stipend to be the beſt encouragement of a true Paſtor, yet therein alſo have not bin wanting nor intend to be, they doubt not then to affirm themſelves, not the Subverters, but the Maintainers and Defenders of true Religion; which of it ſelf and by Conſequence is the ſureſt and the ſtrongeſt Subverſion, not only of all falſe ones, but of Irreligon and Atheiſm. For *the Weapons of that Warfare*, as the Apoſtle teſtifies who beſt knew, *are not carnall, but mighty through God to the pulling down of ſtrong holds, and all reaſonings, and every high thing exalted againſt the knowledg of God, ſurpriſing every thought unto the obedience of Chriſt, and eaſily revenging all diſobedience*, 2 Cor. 10. What Miniſter or Clergy-man that either underſtood his high calling, or ſought not to erect a ſecular and carnall Tyranny over ſpirituall things, would neglect this ample and ſublime power confered upon him, and come a begging to the weak hand of Magiſtracy for that kind of ayd which the Magiſtrate hath no Commiſſion to afford him, and in the way he ſeeks it hath bin alwayes found helpleſs and unprofitable. Neither is it unknown, or by wiſeſt Men unobſerv'd, that the Church began then moſt apparently to degenerate, and go to ruin, when ſhe borrow'd of the Civill Power more then fair encouragement and protection; more then which Chriſt himſelf and his Apoſtles never requir'd. To ſay therefore that We protect and invite all falſe Religions, with Irreligion alſo and Atheiſm, becauſe we lend not, or rather miſapply not the temporall power to help out, though in vain, the ſloth, the ſpleen, the inſufficiency of Church-men, in the execution of ſpirituall diſcipline, over thoſe within thir Charge, or thoſe without, is an imputation that may be layd as well upon the beſt regulated States and Governments through the World. Who have bin ſo prudent as never to imploy the Civill Sword further then the edg of it could reach; that is, to Civill Offences only; proving always againſt objects that were ſpirituall a ridiculous weapon. Our protection therefore to men in Civill Matters unoffenſive we cannot deny; thir Conſciences we leave, as not within our Cogniſance, to the proper cure of inſtruction, praying for them. Neverthe leſs, if any be found among us declar'd Atheiſts, malicious Enemies of God, and of Chriſt; The Parlament, I think, profeſſes not to tolerate ſuch, but with all befitting endeavours to ſuppreſs them. Otherwaies to protect none that in a larger ſenſe may be tax'd of Irreligion or Atheiſm, may perhaps be the ready way to exclude none ſooner out of protection, then thoſe themſelves that moſt accuſe it to be ſo generall to others. Laſtly, that we invite ſuch as theſe, or incourage them, is a meer ſlander without proof.

He tells us next, that they have murder'd the King. And they deny not to have juſtly and undauntedly, as became the Parlament of *England*, for more bloodſhed and other hainous Crimes then ever King of this Land was guilty of, after op'n tryall, puniſht him with death. A matter which to men whoſe ſerious conſideration thereof hath left no certain precept, or example undebated, is ſo farr from giving offence, that we implore and beſeech the Divine Majeſty ſo to uphold and ſupport thir ſpirits with like Fortitude and Magnanimity, that all thir enſuing actions may correſpond and prove worthy that impartiall and noble piece of Juſtice, wherein the Hand of God appear'd ſo evidently on our ſide. We ſhall not then need to feare what all the rout and faction of men baſely principl'd can do againſt us.

The end of our proceedings, which he takes upon him to have diſcover'd; *The changing* forſooth *of Monarchy into Anarchy*, ſounds ſo like the ſmattering of ſome raw Polititian, and the overworne objection of every triviall Talker, that we leave him in the number. But ſeeing in that which follows he contains not himſelf, but contrary to what a Gentleman ſhould know of Civility, proceeds to the contemptuous naming of a Perſon, whoſe valour and high merit many enemies more noble then himſelf have both honour'd and fear'd, to aſſert his good name and reputation, of whoſe ſervice the Common-wealth receaves ſo ample ſatiſfaction, 'tis anſwerd in his behalf, that *Cromwell* whom he couples with a name of ſcorn, hath done in few years more eminent and remarkable Deeds whereon to *found* Nobility in his Houſe, though it were wanting, and perpetuall Renown to Poſterity, then *Ormond* and all his Aunceſtors put together can ſhew from any Record of thir *Iriſh* Exploits, the wideſt Scene of thir Glory.

He paſſes on his groundleſs conjectures, that the aim of this Parlament may be perhaps to ſet up firſt an elective Kingdom, and after that a perfet Turkiſh Tyranny. Of the former we ſuppoſe the late Act againſt Monarchy will ſuffice to acquit them. Of the latter certainly there needed no other pattern then that Tyranny which was ſo long modelling by the late King himſelf, with *Strafford*, and that Arch-Prelat of *Canterbury*, his chief Inſtruments; whoſe deſigns God hath diſſipated. Neither is it any new project of the Monarchs, and thir Courtiers in theſe days, though Chriſtians they would be thought, to endeavour the introducing of a plain Turkiſh Tyranny. Witneſs that Conſultation had in the Court of *France* under *Charles* the Ninth at *Blois*, wherein *Poncet*, a certain Court-projector, brought in ſecretly by the Chancellor *Biragha*, after many praiſes of the *Ottoman* Government, propoſes means and ways at large in preſence of the King, the Queen-Regent, and *Anjou* the Kings Brother, how with beſt expedition, and leaſt noyſe the Turkiſh Tyranny might be ſet up in *France*. It appears therefore that the deſign of bringing in that Tyranny, is a Monarchicall deſign, and not of thoſe who have diſſolv'd Monarchy.

As for Parlaments by three Eſtates, we know that a Parlament ſignifies no more then the Supream and Generall Councell of a Nation, conſiſting of whomſoever, chos'n and aſſembl'd for the public good; which was ever practis'd, and in all ſorts of Government, before the word *Parlament*, or the formality, or the poſſibility of thoſe three Eſtates, or ſuch a thing as a Titular Monarchy had either name or being in the World. The Originall of all which we could produce to be far newer then thoſe *all Ages* which he vaunts of, and by ſnch firſt invented and contriv'd, whoſe authority, tho it were *Charles Martell*, ſtands not ſo high in our repute, either for himſelf, or the age he liv'd in, but that with as good warrant we may recede from what he ordain'd, as he ordain what before was not.

But whereas beſides he is bold to allege that of the three Eſtates there remains only a ſmall number, and they the *Dreggs and Scum of the Houſe of Commons*; this reproach and in the mouth of an *Iriſh* Man concerns not them only, but redounds to apparent diſhonour of the whole *Engliſh* Nation. Doubtleſs there muſt be thought a great ſcarcity in *England* of perſons honourable and deſerving, or elſe of Judgment, or ſo much as Honeſty in the People, if thoſe whom they eſteem worthy to ſit in Parlament be no better then Scum and Dreggs in the *Iriſh* Dialect. But of ſuch like ſtuff we meet not any where with more excreſcence then in his own laviſh Pen; which feeling it ſelf looſe without the reins of diſcretion, rambles for the moſt part beyond all Soberneſs and Civility. In which Torrent he goes on negotiating and cheapning the Loyalty of our Faithfull Governour of *Dublin*, as if the known and try'd Conſtancy of that valiant Gentleman were to be bought with Court fumes.

He lays before him that *there remains now no other liberty in the Subject but to profeſs blaſphemous opinions, to revile and tread under foot Magiſtracy, to murther Magiſtrates, to oppreſs and undo all that are not like minded with us.* Forgetting in the mean while himſelf to be in the head of a mixt Rabble, part Papiſts, part Fugitives, and part Savages, guilty in the higheſt degree of all theſe Crimes. What more blaſphemous, not opinion, but whole Religion, then Popery, plung'd into Idolatrous and Ceremoniall Superſtition, the very death of all true Religion; figur'd to us by the Scripture it ſelf in the ſhape of that Beaſt, *full of the names of Blaſphemy*, which we mention to him as to one that would be counted Proteſtant, and had his breeding in the houſe of a Biſhop? And who are thoſe that have trod under foot Magiſtracy, murder'd Magiſtrates, oppreſs'd and undone all that ſyded not with them, but the Iriſh Rebels, in that horrible Conſpiracy, for which *Ormond* himſelf hath either bin or ſeem'd to be thir Enemy, though now thir Ringleader. And let him ask the Jeſuites about him whether it be not thir known Doctrine and alſo Practiſe, not by fair and due proceſs of Juſtice to puniſh Kings and Magiſtrates, which we diſavow not, but to murder them in the baſeſt and moſt aſſaſſinons manner, if thir Church-Intereſt ſo require. There will not need more words to this Windy Railer, convicted opn'ly of all thoſe Crimes which he ſo confidently, and yet falſly, charges upon others.

We have now to deal, though in the ſame Country, with another ſort of Adverſaries, in ſhow far different, in ſubſtance much what the ſame. Theſe write themſelves the Presbytery of *Belfaſt*, a place better known by the name of a late Barony, then by the Fame of theſe Mens Doctrine or Eccleſiaſticall Deeds; whoſe obſcurity till now never came to our hearing. And ſurely we ſhould think this thir Repreſentment farr beneath conſiderable, who have neglected and paſt over the like unadviſedneſs of thir fellows in other places more neer us, were it not to obſerve in ſome particulars the Sympathy, good Intelligence, and joynt pace which they go in the North of *Ireland*, with thir Copartning Rebels in the

South, driving on the ſame Intereſt to looſe us that Kingdom, that they may gain it themſelves, or at leaſt ſhare in the ſpoil: though the other be op'n Enemies, theſe pretended Brethren.

The Introduction of their Manifeſt out of doubt muſt be zealous; *Their Duty*, they ſay, *to God and his People, over whom he hath made them Overſeers, and for whom they muſt give accompt.* What mean theſe Men? Is the Presbytery of *Belfaſt*, a ſmall Town in *Ulſter*, of ſo large extent that thir Voices cannot ſerve to teach Duties in the Congregation which they overſee, without ſpreading and divulging to all parts far beyond the Dioceſs of *Patrick* or *Columba*, thir writt'n Repreſentation, under the ſuttle pretence of feeding thir own Flock? Or do they think to overſee or undertake to give an accompt for all to whom thir Paper ſends greeting? St. *Paul* to the Elders of *Epheſus* thinks it ſufficient to give charge, *That they take heed to themſelves, and to the Flock*, over which they were made Overſeers; beyond thoſe Bounds he enlarges not thir Commiſſion. And ſurely when we put down Biſhops, and put up Presbyters, which the moſt of them have made uſe of to enrich and exalt themſelves, and turn the firſt heel againſt their Benefactors, we did not think that one Claſſick Fraternity ſo obſcure and ſo remote, ſhould involve us, and all State-Affairs, within the Cenſure and Juriſdiction of *Belfaſt*, upon pretence of overſeeing thir own Charge.

We very well know that Church-Cenſures are limited to Church-Matters, and theſe within the compaſs of thir own Province, or to ſay more truly of thir own Congregation: that Affairs of State are not for thir medling, as we could urge ev'n from their own Invectives and Proteſtations againſt the Biſhops, wherein they tell them with much fervency, that Miniſters of the Goſpel, neither by that by Function, nor any other which they ought accept, have the leaſt Warrant to be Pragmatical in the State.

And ſurely in vain were Biſhops for theſe and other Cauſes forbid to ſit and vote in the Houſe, if theſe Men out of the Houſe, and without Vote ſhall claim and be permitted more licenſe on their Prysbyterial Stools, to breed continual diſturbance by interpoſing in the Commonwealth. But ſeeing that now, ſince thir heaving out the Prelats to heave in themſelves, they deviſe new ways to bring both ends together which will never meet; that is to ſay, their former Doctrine with their preſent Doings, as *that they cannot elſe teach Magiſtrates and Subjects their Duty, and that they have beſides a Right themſelves to ſpeak as Members of the Commonwealth.* Let them know that there is a wide difference between the general exhortation to Juſtice and Obedience, which in this point is the utmoſt of thir Duty, and the State-diſputes wherein they are now grown ſuch Buſybodies, to preach of Titles, Intereſts, and Alterations in Government; more then our Saviour himſelf, or any of his Apoſtles ever took upon them, though the Title both of *Cæſar* and of *Herod*, and what they did in matters of State, might have then admitted Controverſy anough.

Next, for their Civil Capacities, we are ſure that Pulpits and Church-Aſſemblies, whether Claſſical or Provincial, never were intended or allow'd by wiſe Magiſtrates, no nor by him that ſent them, to advance ſuch purpoſes, but that as Members of the Commonwealth they ought to mix with other Commoners, and in that temporal Body to aſſume nothing above other private Perſons, or otherwiſe then in a uſual and legal manner: not by diſtinct Remonſtrances and Repreſentments, as if they were a Tribe and Party by themſelves, which is the next immediate way to make the Church lift a Horn againſt the State, and claim an abſolute and undepending Juriſdiction, as from like advantage and occaſion (to the trouble of all Chriſt'ndom) the Pope hath for many Ages done; and not only our Biſhops were climing after him, but our Presbyters alſo, as by late Experiment we find. Of this Repreſentation therfore we can eſteem and judge no other then of a ſlanderous and ſeditious Libel, ſent abroad by a ſort of Incendiaries, to delude and make the better way under the cunning and plauſible name of a Presbytery.

A ſecond Reaſon of thir Repreſenting is, *that they conſider the dependance of that Kingdom upon England*, which is another ſhameleſs untruth that ever they conſider'd; as thir own Actions will declare, by conniving, and in thir ſilence partaking with thoſe in *Ulſter*, whoſe obedience by what we have yet heard, ſtands dubious, and with an eye of Conformity rather to the North, then to that part where they owe thir ſubjection; and this in all likelihood by the inducement and inſtigation of theſe Repreſenters: who are ſo far from conſidering thir dependance on *England*, as to preſume at every word to term proceedings of Parlament, *the Inſolencies of a Sectarian party, and of private men.* Deſpiſing dominion, and ſpeaking evill of dignities, which hypocritically they would ſeem to diſſwade others from; and not fearing the due correction of thir Superiors, that may in fit ſeaſon overtake them. When as the leaſt conſideration of thir dependance on *England* would have kept them better in thir Duty.

The third Reaſon which they uſe, makes againſt them; The remembrance how God puniſht the contempt of thir warning laſt year upon the Breakers of Covnant, whenas the next year after they forget the warning of that puniſhment hanging over thir own heads for the very ſame tranſgreſſion, thir manifeſt breach of Covnant by this ſeditious Repreſentation accompanied with the doubtful obedience of that Province which repreſents it.

And thus we have thir Preface ſupported with three Reaſons; two of them notorious falſities, and the third againſt themſelves; and two examples, *the Province of London*, and *the Commiſſioners of the Kirk-Aſſembly.* But certain, if Canonical Examples bind not, much leſs do Apocryphal.

Proceeding to avouch the truſt put upon them by God, which is plainly prov'd to be none of this nature, *They would not be look'd upon as ſowers of Sedition, or Authors of diviſive Motions*; *thir Record*, they ſay, *is in Heaven*, and thir Truth and Honeſty no Man knows where. For is not this a ſhameleſs Hypocriſie, and of meer Wolves in Sheeps cloathing, to ſow Sedition in the Ears of all Men, and to face us down in the very Act, that they are Authors of no ſuch matter? But let the ſequel both of thir Paper, and the obedience of the place wherein they are, determine.

Nay while we are yet writing theſe things, and foretelling all men the Rebellion which was even then deſign'd in the cloſe purpoſe of theſe unhallow'd Prieſtlings, at the very time when with thir Lips they diſclaim'd all ſowing of Sedition, News is brought, and too true, that the *Scottiſh* Inhabitants of that Province are actually revolted, and have not only beſieg'd in *London-Derry* thoſe Forces which were to have fought againſt *Ormond*, and the Iriſh Rebels; but have in a manner declar'd with them, and begun op'n War againſt the Parlament; and all this by the incitement and illuſions of that unchriſtian Synagogue at *Belfaſt*, who yet dare charge the Parlament, *that notwithſtanding ſpecious pretences, yet thir actings do evidence that they love a rough Garment to deceive.* The Deceit we own not, but the Compariſon, by what at firſt ſight may ſeem alluded, we accept: For that hairy roughneſs aſſum'd won *Jacob* the Birthright both Temporal and Eternal; and God we truſt hath ſo diſpos'd the mouth of theſe *Balaams*, that comming to Curſe, they have ſtumbled into a kind of Bleſſing, and compar'd our actings to the faithful Act of that Patriarch.

But if they mean, as more probably thir meaning was, that *rough Garment* ſpok'n of *Zach.* 13.4. we may then behold the pittiful ſtore of learning and theology, which theſe deceivers have thought ſufficient to uphold thir credit with the People, who, though the rancour that levens them have ſomewhat quickn'd the common drawling of thir Pulpit elocution, yet for want of ſtock anough in Scripture-phraſe to ſerve the neceſſary uſes of thir Malice, they are become ſo liberall, as to part freely with thir own Budg-gowns from off thir backs, and beſtow them on the Magiſtrate as *a rough Garment* to deceive; rather then not be furniſh'd with a reproach, though never ſo improper, never ſo obvious to be turn'd upon themſelves. For but with half an eye caſt upon that Text, any man will ſoon diſcern that *rough Garment* to be thir own Coat, thir own Livery, the very Badg and Cogniſance of ſuch falſe Prophets as themſelves. Who, when they underſtand, or ever ſeriouſly mind the beginning of that 4th verſe, may *be aſham'd every one of his lying Viſion*, and may juſtly fear that foregoing denouncement to ſuch *as ſpeak Lies in the name of the Lord*, verſ. 3. lurking under the *rough Garment* of outward rigor and formality, whereby they cheat the ſimple. So that *this rough Garment to deceive*, we bring ye once again, Grave Sirs, into your own Veſtry; or with *Zachary* ſhall not think much to fit it to your own Shoulders. To beſtow ought in good earneſt on the Magiſtrate, we know your claſſic Prieſtſhip is too gripple, for ye are always begging: and for this rough Gown to deceave, we are confident ye cannot ſpare it; it is your Sundays Gown, your every day Gown, your only Gown, the Gown of your Faculty;

ty ; your divining Gown ; to take it from ye were Sacrilege. Wear it therefore, and poſſeſs it your ſelves, moſt grave and reverend Carmelites, that all Men both young and old, as we hope they will ſhortly, may yet better know ye and diſtinguiſh ye by it ; and give to your rough Gown, where ever they meet it, whether in Pulpit, Claſſis, or Provincial Synod, the precedency, and the preeminence of deceaving.

They charge us next that we have brok'n the Cov'nant, and load'n it with ſlighting Reproaches. For the reproaching, let them anſwer that are guilty, whereof the State we are ſure cannot be accus'd. For the breaking, let us hear wherein. *In labouring*, ſay they, *to eſtabliſh by Law a univerſal toleration of all Religions*. This touches not the State ; for certainly were they ſo minded, they need not labour it, but do it, having power in thir hands ; and we know of no act as yet paſt to that purpoſe. But ſuppoſe it done, wherein is the Covnant broke ? The Covnant enjoyns us to endeavor the extirpation firſt of Popery and Prelacy, then of Hereſy, Schiſm, and Prophaneſs, and whatſoever ſhall be found contrary to ſound Doctrin and the power of Godlineſs. And this we ceaſe not to do by all effectual and proper means: But theſe Divines might know, that to extirpate all theſe things can be no work of the Civil Sword, but of the Spiritual, which is the Word of God.

No Man well in his wits, endeavoring to root up Weeds out of his Ground, inſtead of uſing the Spade will take a Mallet or a Beetle. Nor doth the *Covnant* any way engage us to extirpate, or to proſecute the Men, but the Hereſies and Errors in them, which we tell theſe Divines and the reſt that underſtand not, belongs chiefly to thir own Function, in the diligent preaching and inſiſting upon ſound Doctrin, in the confuting not the railing down Errors, encountring both in publick and private Conference, and by the power of truth, not of perſecution, ſubduing thoſe Authors of Heretical Opinions, and laſtly in the ſpiritual execution of Church diſcipline within thir own Congregations. In all theſe ways we ſhall aſſiſt them, favour them, and as far as appertains to us joyn with them, and moreover not tolerate the free exerciſe of any Religion, which ſhall be found abſolutely contrary to ſound Doctrin or the Power of Godlineſs; for the Conſcience, we muſt have patience till it be within our verge. And thus doing we ſhall believe to have kept exactly all that is requir'd from us by the *Covnant*. Whilſt they by thir ſeditious practiſes againſt us, then which nothing for the preſent can add more aſſiſtance or advantage to thoſe bloody Rebels and Papiſts in the South, will be found moſt pernicious Covnant-breakers themſelves, and as deep in that guilt as thoſe of thir own Nation the laſt year; the warning of whoſe ill ſucceſs, like men hardn'd for the ſame Judgment, they miſerably pervert to an incouragement in the ſame offence, if not a far worſe: For now they have joyn'd Intereſt with the *Iriſh Rebels*, who have ever fought againſt the *Covnant*, whereas thir Country-men the year before made the *Covnant* thir Plea. But as it is a peculiar Mercy of God to his People, while they remain his, to preſerve them from wicked Confederations: ſo it is a mark and puniſhment of Hypocrites to be driv'n at length to mix thir Cauſe, and the Intereſt of thir *Covnant* with God's Enemies.

And whereas they affirm that the tolerating of all Religions in the manner that we tolerate them, is an innovation ; we muſt acquaint them that we are able to make it good, if need be, both by Scripture and the Primitive Fathers, and the frequent aſſertion of whole Churches and Proteſtant States in thir Remonſtrances and Expoſtulations againſt the Popiſh Tyranny over Souls. And what force of argument do theſe Doctors bring to the contrary ? But we have long obſerv'd to what paſs the bold ignorance and ſloth of our Clergy tends no leſs now then in the Biſhops days, to make thir bare ſayings and cenſures authentic with the People, though deſtitute of any proof or argument. But thanks be to God they are diſcern'd.

Thir next impeachment is, *that we oppoſe the Presbyterial Government, the Hedg and Bulwark of Religion*. Which all the Land knows to be a moſt impudent falſhood, having eſtabliſh'd it with all freedom, wherever it hath bin deſir'd. Nevertheleſs as we perceave it aſpiring to be a compulſive power upon all without exception in Parochial, Claſſical, and Provincial Hierarchies, or to require the fleſhly arm of Magiſtracy in the execution of a ſpiritual Diſcipline, to puniſh and amerce by any corporal infliction thoſe whoſe Conſciences cannot be

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edifi'd by what autority they are compell'd, we hold it no more to be *the Hedg and Bulwark of Religion*, then the Popiſh and Prelatical Courts, or the *Spaniſh Inquiſition*.

But we are told, *We imbrace Paganiſm and Judaiſm in the arms of Toleration.* A moſt audacious calumny! And yet while we deteſt *Judaiſm*, we know our ſelves commanded by St. *Paul*, *Rom.* 11. to reſpect the *Jews*, and by all means to endeavor thir converſion.

Neither was it ever ſworn in the *Covnant* to maintain a univerſal Presbytery in *England*, as they falſly allege, but in *Scotland* againſt the Common Enemy, if our aid were call'd for: being left free to reform our own Country according to the Word of God, and the example of beſt reformed Churches; from which rule we are not yet departed.

But here, utterly forgetting to be Miniſters of the Goſpel, they preſume to op'n thir mouths not *in the Spirit of Meekneſs*, as like diſſemblers they pretend, but with as much deviliſh malice, impudence and falſhood as any Iriſh Rebel could have utter'd; and from a barbarous nook of *Ireland* brand us with the extirpation of Laws and Liberties; things which they ſeem as little to underſtand as ought that belongs to good Letters or Humanity.

*That we ſeiz'd on the Perſon of the King*; who was ſurrendred into our hands an Enemy and Captive by our own ſubordinate and paid Army of *Scots* in *England*. Next, *our impriſoning many Members of the Houſe*. As if it were impoſſible they ſhould deſerve it, conſpiring and bandying againſt the publick good; which to the other part appearing, and, with the power they had, not reſiſting, had bin a manifeſt deſertion of their Truſt and Duty. No queſtion but it is as good and neceſſary to expel rott'n Members out of the Houſe, as to baniſh Delinquents out of the Land: and the reaſon holds as well in forty as in five. And if they be yet more, the more dangerous is thir number. They had no privilege to ſit there, and vote home the Author, the impenitent Author of all our Miſeries to Freedom, Honour and Royalty, for a few fraudulent, if not deſtructive Conceſſions. Which that they went about to do, how much more clear it was to all men, ſo much the more expedient, and important to the Common-wealth was their ſpeedy ſeizure and excluſion; and no breach of any juſt privilege, but a breach of their knotted faction. And here they cry out, *An Action without parallel in any Age.* So heartily we wiſh all men were unprejudic'd in all our Actions, as theſe illiterate denouncers never parallel'd ſo much of any Age as would contribute to the tithe of a Century. *That we aboliſh Parlamentary Power, and eſtabliſh a Repreſentative inſtead thereof.* Now we have the hight of them; theſe profound Inſtructors in the midſt of thir Repreſentation, would know the Engliſh of a Repreſentative, and were perhaps of that Claſſis, who heretofore were as much ſtagger'd at *Triennial*.

Thir grand Accuſation is our Juſtice don on the King, which that they may prove to be *without rule or example*, they venture all the credit they have in divine and human Hiſtory; and by the ſame deſperate boldneſs detect themſelves to be egregious Liars and Impoſtors, ſeeking to abuſe the multitude with a ſhow of that gravity and learning which never was thir Portion. Had thir knowledg bin equal to the knowledg of any ſtupid Monk, or Abbot, they would have known at leaſt, though ignorant of all things elſe, the life and acts of him, who firſt inſtituted thir Order: But theſe blockiſh Presbyters of *Clandeboy* know not that *John Knox*, who was the firſt founder of Presbytery in *Scotland*, taught profeſſedly the Doctrine of depoſing, and of killing Kings. And thus while they deny that any ſuch rule can be found, the rule is found in thir own Country, giv'n them by thir own firſt Presbyterian Inſtitutor; and they themſelves, like irregular Friers walking contrary to the rule of thir own Foundation, deſerve for ſo groſs an ignorance and tranſgreſſion to be diſciplin'd upon thir own Stools. Or had thir reading in Hiſtory bin any, which by this we may be confident is none at all, or thir Malice not hightn'd to a blind rage, they never would ſo raſhly have thrown the Dice to a palpable diſcovery of thir ignorance and want of ſhame. But wherefore ſpend we two ſuch pretious things as time and reaſon upon Prieſts, the moſt prodigal miſ-ſpenders of time, and the ſcarceſt owners of reaſon? 'Tis ſufficient we have publiſh'd our defences, giv'n reaſons, giv'n examples of our Juſtice done; Books alſo have bin writt'n to the ſame purpoſe for Men to look on that will; that no Nation under Heav'n but in one age or other hath don the like. The difference only is, which rather ſeems to us matter of glory, that they for the moſt part have without Form of Law don the deed by a kind of martial Juſtice, we by the deliberat and well-weihg'd Sentence of a legal Judicature.

But they tell us, *It was againſt the intereſt and proteſtation of the Kingdom of Scotland.* And did exceeding well to joyn thoſe two together: hereby informing us what credit or regard need be giv'n in *England* to a *Scotch* Proteſtation, uſher'd in by a *Scotch* Intereſt: certainly no more then we ſee is giv'n in *Scotland* to an *Engliſh* Declaration, declaring the Intereſt of *England*. If then our intereſt move not them, why ſhould theirs move us? If they ſay, we are not all *England*; we reply they are not all *Scotland*: nay, were the laſt year ſo inconſiderable a part of *Scotland* as were beholding to this which they now term the Sectarian Army, to defend and reſcue them at the charges of *England* from a ſtronger party of thir own Countrymen, in whoſe eſteem they were no better then Sectarians themſelves. But they add, *It was againſt the former Declarations of both Kingdoms,* to ſeize, or proceed againſt the King. We are certain that no ſuch Declarations of both Kingdoms, as derive not thir full force from the ſenſe and meaning of the Covnant, can be produc'd.

And if they plead againſt us the Covnant, *To preſerve and defend his Perſon*; we ask them briefly whether they take the Covnant to be abſolute or conditional? If abſolute, then ſuppoſe the King to have committed all prodigious Crimes and Impieties againſt God, or Nature, or whole Nations, he muſt nevertheleſs be ſacred from all violent touch. Which abſurd opinion, how it can live in any Mans reaſon, either natural or rectifi'd, we much marvel: Since God declar'd his anger as impetuous for the ſaving of King *Benhadad*, though ſurrendring himſelf at mercy, as for the killing of *Naboth*. If it be conditional, in the preſervation and defence of Religion, and the People's Liberty, then certainly to take away his life, being dangerous, and pernicious to both theſe, was no more a breach of the Covnant, then for the ſame reaſon at *Edinburrow* to behead *Gordon* the Marqueſs *Huntley*. By the ſame Covnant we made vow to aſſiſt and to defend all thoſe that ſhould enter with us into this League; not abſolutely, but in the maintenance and purſuing thereof. If therefore no Man elſe ever were ſo mad as to claim from hence an impunity from all Juſtice, why ſhould any for the King? Whoſe Life by other Articles of the ſame Covnant was forfet. Nay if common ſenſe had not led us to ſuch a clear Interpretation, the *Scotch* Commiſſioners themſelves might boaſt to have bin our firſt teachers: who when they drew to the malignance which brought forth that perfidious laſt years irruption againſt all the bands of Covnant or Chriſtian Neighbourhood, making thir hollow Plea the defence of His Majeſties Perſon, they were conſtrain'd by thir own guiltineſs to leave out that following morſel that would have choak'd them, the *preſervation and defence of true Religion, and our Liberties.* And queſtionleſs in the preſervation of theſe, we are bound as well, both by the Covnant, and before the Covnant, to preſerve and defend the Perſon of any private Man, and the Perſon and Authority of any inferior Magiſtrate: So that this Article, objected with ſuch vehemence againſt us, contains not an exception of the Kings Perſon, and Autority, to do by privilege what wickedneſs he liſt, and be defended, as ſom fancy, but an expreſs teſtification of our Loyalty; and the plain words without wreſting will bear as much, that we had no thoughts againſt his perſon, or juſt power, provided they might conſiſt with the preſervation and defence of true Religion and our Liberties. But to theſe how hazardous his life was, will be needleſs to repeat ſo oft'n. It may ſuffice that while he was in Cuſtody, where we expected his Repentance, his remorſe at laſt, and compaſſion of all the innocent blood ſhed already, and hereafter likely to be ſhed for his meer wilfulneſs, he made no other uſe of our continual forbearance, our humbleſt Petitions and Obteſtations at his feet, but to ſit contriving and fomenting new Plots againſt us, and as his own phraſe was, *playing his own Game* upon the Miſeries of his People: Of which we deſire no other view at preſent then theſe Articles of Peace with the Rebels, and the rare Game likely to enſue from ſuch a caſt of his Cards. And then let Men reflect a little upon the ſlanders and reviles of theſe wretched Prieſts, and judg what Modeſty, what Truth, what Conſcience, what any thing fit for Miniſters, or we might ſay reaſonable men, can harbour in them. For what they began in ſhameleſneſs and malice, they conclude in frenzy: throwing out a ſudden rapſody of Proverbs quite from the purpoſe; and with as much comlineſs as when *Saul* propheci'd.

For caſting off, as he did his Garments, all modeſty and meekneſs wherewith the Language of Miniſters ought to be cloath'd, ſpeaking eſpecially to thir ſupreme Magiſtrate, they talk at random of *Servants raigning*, *Servants riding, and wonder how the Earth can bear them.* Either theſe men imagin themſelves to be marvellouſly high ſet and exalted in the Chair of *Belfaſt*, to voutſafe the Parlament of *England* no better ſtile then *Servants*, or elſe thir high notion, which we rather believe, falls as low as Court-paraſitiſm; ſuppoſing all Men to be Servants, but the King. And then all thir pains tak'n to ſeem ſo wiſe in proverbing, ſerves but to conclude them down-right Slaves: and the edg of thir own Proverb falls reverſe upon themſelves. For as *Delight is not ſeemly for Fools*, much leſs high Words to come from baſe Minds. What they are for Miniſters, or how they crept into the fold, whether at the Window, or through the Wall, or who ſet them there ſo haughty in the Pontifical See of *Belfaſt*, we know not. But this we rather have cauſe to wonder if the Earth can bear this unſufferable inſolency of upſtarts; who from a ground, which is not thir own, dare ſend ſuch defiance to the ſovran Magiſtracy of *England*, by whoſe autority and in whoſe right they inhabit there. By thir actions we might rather judg them to be a generation of High-land Theevs and Red-ſhanks, who being neighbourly admitted, not as the *Saxons* by merit of thir Warfare againſt our Enemies, but by the courteſy of *England* to hold poſſeſſions in our Province, a Country better then thir own, have, with worſe Faith then thoſe Heathen, prov'd ingrateful and treacherous Gueſts to thir beſts Friends and Entertainers. And let them take heed, leſt while thir ſilence, as to theſe matters, might have kept them blameleſs and ſecure under thoſe proceedings which they ſo fear'd to partake in, that theſe thir treaſonous attempts and practiſes have not involv'd them in a far worſe guilt of Rebellion; and (notwithſtanding that fair dehortatory from joyning with Malignants) in the appearance of a co-intereſt and partaking with the *Iriſh* Rebels. Againſt whom, though by themſelves pronounc'd to be the Enemies of God, they go not out to battel, as they ought, but rather by theſe thir doings aſſiſt and become aſſociates.

# A
# DEFENCE
# OF THE
# People of England,
# In ANSWER to
# *Salmaſius*'s DEFENCE of the KING.

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## The PREFACE.

ALTHO I fear, leſt, if in defending the People of *England*, I ſhould be as copious in Words, and empty of Matter, as moſt Men think *Salmaſius* has been in his Defence of the King, I might ſeem to deſerve juſtly to be accounted a verboſe and ſilly Defender; yet ſince no Man thinks himſelf obliged to make ſo much haſte, tho in the handling but of any ordinary Subject, as not to premiſe ſome Introduction at leaſt, according as the weight of his Subject requires; if I take the ſame courſe in handling almoſt the greateſt Subject that ever was, (without being too tedious in it) I am in hopes of attaining two things, which indeed I earneſtly deſire. The one, not to be at all wanting, as far as in me lies, to this moſt Noble Cauſe, and moſt worthy to be recorded to all future Ages: The other, That I may appear to have avoided my ſelf, that frivolouſneſs of Matter, and redundancy of Words, which I blame in my Antagoniſt. For I am about to diſcourſe of Matters, neither inconſiderable nor common, but how a moſt Potent King, after he had trampled upon the Laws of the Nation, and given a ſhock to its Religion, and begun to rule at his own Will and Pleaſure, was at laſt ſubdu'd in the Field by his own Subjects, who had undergone a long Slavery under him; how afterwards he was caſt into Priſon, and when he gave no ground, either by Words or Actions, to hope better things of him, he was finally by the Supreme Council of the Kingdom condemned to dye, and beheaded before the very Gates of the Royal Palace. I ſhall likewiſe relate, (which will much conduce to the eaſing mens minds of a great Superſtition) by what Right, eſpecially according to our Law, this Judgment was given, and all theſe Matters tranſacted; and ſhall eaſily defend my Valiant and Worthy Countrymen (who have extremely well deſerved of all Subjects and Nations in the World) from the moſt wicked Calumnies both of Domeſtick and Foreign Railers, and eſpecially from the Reproaches of this moſt vain and empty Sophiſter, who ſets up for a Captain and Ringleader to all the reſt. For what King's Majeſty ſitting upon an Exalted Throne, ever ſhone ſo brightly, as that of the People of *England* then did, when ſhaking off that old Superſtition, which had prevailed a long time, they gave Judgment upon the King himſelf, or rather upon an Enemy who had been their King, caught as it were in a Net by his own Laws (who alone of all Mortals challenged to himſelf impunity by a Divine Right) and ſcrupled not to inflict the ſame puniſhment upon him, being guilty, which he would have inflicted upon any other. But why do I mention theſe things as performed by the People, which almoſt open their Voice themſelves, and teſtify the Preſence of God throughout? Who, as often as it ſeems good to his Infinite Wiſdom, uſes to throw down proud and unruly Kings, exalting themſelves above the Condition of Humane Nature, and utterly to extirpate them and all their Family. By his manifeſt Impulſe being ſet on work to recover our almoſt loſt Liberty, following him as our Guide, and adoring the impreſſes of his Divine Power manifeſted upon all occaſions, we went on in no obſcure, but an illuſtrious Paſſage, pointed out and made plain to us by God himſelf. Which things, if I ſhould ſo much as hope by any diligence or ability of mine, ſuch as it is, to diſcourſe of as I ought to do, and to commit them ſo to writing, as that perhaps all Nations and all Ages may read them, it would be a very vain thing in me. For what ſtile can be auguſt and magnificent enough, what man has parts ſufficient to undertake ſo great a Task? Since we find by Experience, that in ſo many Ages as are gone over the World, there has been but here and there a man found, who has been able worthily to recount the Actions of Great Heroes, and Potent States; Can any man have ſo good an opinion of his own Talents, as to think himſelf capable to reach theſe glorious and wonderful Works of Almighty God, by any Language, by any Stile of his? Which Enterprize, though ſome of the moſt Eminent Perſons in our Commonwealth have prevailed upon me by their Authority to undertake, and would have it be my buſineſs to vindicate with my Pen againſt Envy and Calumny (which are proof againſt Arms) thoſe Glorious Performances of theirs (whoſe opinion of me I take as a very great honour, that they ſhould pitch upon me before others to be ſerviceable in this kind to thoſe moſt Valiant Deliverers of my Native Countrey; and true it is, that from my very youth I have been bent extremely upon ſuch ſort of Studies, as inclin'd me, if not to do great things my ſelf, at leaſt to celebrate thoſe that did) yet as having no confidence in any ſuch Advantages, I have recourſe to the Divine Aſſiſtance; and invoke the Great and Holy God, the Giver of all good Gifts, that I may as ſubſtantially, and as truly, diſcuſs and refute the Sawcineſs and Lies of this Foreign Declamator, as our Noble Generals piouſly and ſucceſsfully by force of Arms broke the King's Pride, and his unruly Domineering, and afterwards put an end to both by inflicting a memorable Puniſhment upon himſelf, and as throughly as a ſingle perſon did with eaſe but of late confute and confound the King himſelf, riſing as it were from the Grave, and recommending himſelf to the People in a Book publiſh'd after his death, with new Artifices and Allurements of Words and Expreſſions. Which Antagoniſt of mine, though he be a Foreigner, and, though he deny it a thouſand times over, but a poor Grammarian; yet not contented with the Salary due to him in that Capacity, choſe to turn a Pragmatical Coxcomb; and not only to intrude in State-Affairs, but into the Affairs of a Foreign State: tho he brings along with him neither Modeſty, nor Underſtanding, nor any other Qualification requiſite in ſo great an Arbitrator, but Sawcineſs, and a little Grammar only. Indeed, if he had publiſh'd here, and in Engliſh, the ſame things that he has now wrote in Latin ſuch as it is, I think no man would have thought it worth while to return an Anſwer to them, but would partly deſpiſe them as common, and exploded over and over already, and partly abhor them as ſordid and tyrannical Maxims, not to be endured even by the moſt abject of Slaves: Nay, Men that have ſided with the King, would have had theſe thoughts of his Book. But ſince he has ſwol'n it to a conſiderable bulk, and diſpers'd it amongſt Foreigners, who are altogether ignorant of our Affairs and Conſtitution; it's fit that they who miſtake them, ſhould be better informed; and that he, who is ſo very forward to ſpeak ill of others, ſhould be treated in his own kind. If it be asked, why we did not then attack him ſooner, why we ſuffered him to triumph ſo long, and pride himſelf in our ſilence? For others I am not to anſwer; for my ſelf I can boldly ſay, That I had neither Words nor Arguments long to ſeek for the defence of ſo good a Cauſe, if I had enjoyed ſuch a meaſure of health, as would have endur'd the fatigue of writing. And being but yet weak in Body, I am forced to write by piece-meal, and break off almoſt every hour, though the Subject be ſuch as requires an unintermitted ſtudy and intenſeneſs of mind. But though this bodily Indiſpoſition may be a hindrance to me in ſetting forth the juſt Praiſes of my moſt worthy Countreymen, who have been the Saviours of their Native Country, and whoſe Exploits, worthy of Immortality, are already famous all the World over; yet I hope it will be no difficult matter for me to defend them from the Inſolence of this ſilly little Scholar, and from that ſawcy Tongue of his, at leaſt. Nature and Laws would be in an ill caſe, if

Slavery ſhould find what to ſay for it ſelf, and Liberty be mute: and if Tyrants ſhould find men to plead for them, and they that can maſter and vanquiſh Tyrants, ſhould not be able to find Advocates. And it were a deplorable thing indeed, if the Reaſon Mankind is endu'd withal, and which is the gift of God, ſhould not furniſh more Arguments for mens Preſervation, for their Deliverance, and, as much as the nature of the thing will bear, for making them equal to one another, than for their oppreſſion, and for their utter ruine under the Domineering Power of One ſingle Perſon. Let me therefore enter upon this Noble Cauſe with a chearfulneſs, grounded upon this Aſſurance, That my Adverſary's Cauſe is maintain'd by nothing but Fraud, Fallacy, Ignorance and Barbarity; whereas mine has Light, Truth, Reaſon, the Practice and the Learning of the beſt Ages of the World, of its ſide.

But now, having ſaid enough for an Introduction, ſince we have to do with Criticks; let us in the firſt place conſider the Title of this Choice Piece: *Defenſio Regia pro Car. Primo, ad Car. Secundum. A Royal Defence* (or the King's Defence) *for Charles the Firſt to Charles the Second.* You undertake a wonderful piece of work, whoever you are; to plead the Father's Cauſe before his own Son: a hundred to one but you carry it. But I ſummon you, *Salmaſius*, who heretofore ſculk'd under a wrong name, and now go by no name at all, to appear before another Tribunal, and before other Judges, where perhaps you may not hear thoſe little Applauſes, which you uſe to be ſo fond of in your School. But why this Royal Defence dedicated to the King's own Son? We need not put him to the torture; he confeſſes why. *At the King's charge*, ſays he. O mercenary and chargeable Advocate! could you not afford to write a Defence for *Charles* the Father, whom you pretend to have been the beſt of Kings, to *Charles* the Son, the moſt indigent of all Kings, but it muſt be at the poor King's own Charge? But though you are a Knave, you would not make your ſelf ridiculous, in calling it *the King's Defence*; for you having ſold it, it is no longer yours, but the King's indeed: who bought it at the price of a hundred *Jacobuſſes*, a great Sum for a poor King to diſburſe. I know very well what I ſay: and 'tis well enough known who brought the Gold, and the Purſe wrought with Beads: We know who ſaw you reach out greedy fiſts, under pretence of embracing the King's Chaplain, who brought the Preſent, but indeed to embrace the Preſent it ſelf, and by accepting it to exhauſt almoſt all the King's Treaſury.

But now the man comes himſelf, the Door creaks; the Actor comes upon the Stage.

*In ſilence now, and with attention wait,*
*That ye may learn what th' Eunuch has to prate.* Terent.

For whatever the matter's with him, he bluſters more than ordinary. *A horrible meſſage had lately ſtruck our Ears, but our Minds more, with a heinous wound concerning a Parricide committed in* England *in the Perſon of a King by a wicked Conſpiracy of Sacrilegious men.* Indeed that horrible Meſſage muſt either have had a much longer Sword than that which *Peter* drew, or thoſe Ears muſt have been of a wonderful length, that it could wound at ſuch a diſtance; for it could not ſo much as in the leaſt offend any Ears but thoſe of an Aſs. For what harm is it to you, that are Foreigners? are any of you hurt by it, if we amongſt our ſelves put our own Enemies, our own Traytors to death, be they Commoners, Noble-men, or Kings? Do you, *Salmaſius*, let alone what does not concern you: for I have a horrible Meſſage to bring of you too; which I'm miſtaken if it ſtrike not a *more heinous wound* into the Ears of all Grammarians and Criticks, provided they have any Learning and Delicacy in them, to wit, your crowding ſo many barbarous Expreſſions together in one period in the perſon of (*Ariſtarchus*) a Grammarian; and that ſo great a Critick as you, hired at the King's charge to write a Defence of the King his Father, ſhould not only ſet ſo fulſome a Preface before it, much like thoſe lamentable Ditties that uſed to be ſung at Funerals, and which can move compaſſion in none but a Coxcomb; but in the very firſt ſentence ſhould provoke your Readers to laughter with ſo many Barbariſms all at once. *Perſona Regia*, you cry. Where do you find any ſuch *Latin*? Or are you telling us ſome tale or other of a *Perkin Warbeck*, who taking upon him the *Perſon of a King*, has, forſooth, committed ſome horrible Parricide in *England?* Which expreſſion, though dropping careleſly from your Pen, has more truth in it, than you are aware of. For a Tyrant is but like a King upon a Stage, a man in a Vizor, and acting the part of a King in a Play; he is not really a King. But as for theſe *Galliciſms*, that are ſo frequent in your Book, I won't laſh you for them my ſelf, for I am not at leiſure; but ſhall deliver you over to your fellow-Grammarians, to be laught to ſcorn and whipt by them. What follows is much more *heinous*, that what was decreed by our Supreme Magiſtrates to be done to the King, ſhould be ſaid by you to have been done *by a wicked Conſpiracy of Sacrilegious perſons*. Have you the impudence, you Rogue, to talk at this rate of the Acts and Decrees of the chief Magiſtrates of a Nation, that lately was a moſt Potent Kingdom, and is now a more Potent Commonwealth? Whoſe proceedings no King ever took upon him by word of mouth, or otherwiſe, to vilifie and ſet at nought. The Illuſtrious States of *Holland* therefore, the Genuine Off-ſpring of thoſe Deliverers of their Country, have deſervedly by their Edict condemn'd to utter darkneſs this *Defence* of Tyrants, ſo pernicious to the Liberty of all Nations; the Author of which every free State ought to forbid their Country, or to baniſh out of it; and that State particularly that feeds with a Stipend ſo ungrateful and ſo ſavage an Enemy to their Commonwealth, whoſe very Fundamentals, and the cauſes of their becoming a free State, this Fellow endeavours to undermine as well as ours, and at one and the ſame time to ſubvert both; loading with Calumnies the moſt worthy Aſſerters of Liberty there, under our Names. Conſider with your ſelves, ye moſt Illuſtrious States of the *United Netherlands*, who it was that put this Aſſerter of Kingly Power upon ſetting Pen to Paper? who it was, that but lately began to play *Rex* in your Country? what Counſels were taken, what endeavours uſed, and what diſturbances enſued thereupon in *Holland?* and to what paſs things might have been brought by this time? how Slavery and a new Maſter were ready prepar'd for you; and how near expiring that Liberty of yours, aſſerted and vindicated by ſo many years War and Toil, would have been e're now, if it had not taken breath again by the timely death of a certain raſh young GENTLEMAN. But our Author begins to ſtrut again, and to feign wonderful Tragedies; *Whomſoever this dreadful news reacht* (to wit, the news of *Salmaſius*'s Parricidial Barbariſms) *all of a ſudden, as if they had been ſtruck with lightning, their hair ſtood an end, and their tongues clove to the roof of their mouth.* Which let Natural Philoſophers take notice of (for this ſecret in nature was never diſcovered before) that lightning makes mens hair ſtand an end. But who knows not that little effeminate minds are apt to be amaz'd at the news of any extraordinary great Action; and that then they ſhow themſelves to be, what they really were before, no better than ſo many Stocks? *Some could not refrain from tears*; ſome little Women at Court, I ſuppoſe, or if there be any more effeminate than they, of whoſe number *Salmaſius* himſelf being one, is by a new *Metamorphoſis* become a Fountain near a-kin to his Name (*Salmacis*) and with his counterfeit flood of tears prepared over night, endeavours to emaſculate generous minds: I adviſe therefore, and wiſh them to have a care;

——*Infamis nè quem malè fortibus undis*
*Salmacis Enervet.*——
——*Ne, ſi vir cum venerit, exeat indè*
*Semivir, & tactis ſubitò molleſcat in undis.*

Abſtain, as Manhood you eſteem,
From *Salmacis* pernicious Stream:
If but one moment there you ſtay,
Too dear you'l for your Bathing pay.——
Depart nor Man nor Woman, but a Sight
Diſgracing both, a loath'd Hermaphrodite.

*They that had more courage* (which yet he expreſſes in miſerable bald *Latin*, as if he could not ſo much as ſpeak of Men of Courage and Magnanimity in proper words) *were ſet on fire with indignation to that degree, that they could hardly contain them-*

*themſelves.* Thoſe furious Hectors we value not of a ruſh. We have been accuſtomed to rout ſuch Bullies in the Field with a true ſober courage; a courage becoming men that can contain themſelves, and are in their right Wits. *There were none that did not curſe the Authors of ſo horrible a Villany.* But yet, you ſay, their tongues clove to the roof of their mouths; and if you mean this of our Fugitives only, I wiſh they had clove there to this day; for we know very well that there's nothing more common with them, than to have their mouths full of Curſes and Imprecations, which indeed all good men abominate, but withal deſpiſe. As for others, it's hardly credible, that when they heard the news of our having inflicted a Capital Puniſhment upon the King, there ſhould any be found, eſpecially in a Free State, ſo naturally adapted to Slavery as either to ſpeak ill of us, or ſo much as to cenſure what we had done. Nay, 'tis highly probable that all good men applauded us, and gave God thanks for ſo illuſtrious, ſo exalted a piece of Juſtice; and for a Caution ſo very uſeful to other Princes. In the mean time, as for thoſe *fierce*, thoſe *ſteel-hearted men*, that, you ſay, take on for, and bewail ſo pitifully, *the lamentable and wonderful death* of I know not who; them, I ſay, together with their tinkling Advocate, the dulleſt that ever appeared *ſince the name of a King was born and known in the World*, we ſhall e'en let whine on, till they cry their eyes out. But in the mean time, what School-boy, what little inſignificant Monk could not have made a more elegant Speech for the King, and in better *Latin* than this Royal Advocate has done? But it would be folly in me to make ſuch particular Animadverſions upon his Childiſhneſs and Frenzies throughout his Book, as I do here upon a few in the beginning of it; which yet I would be willing enough to do (for we hear that he is ſwell'd with Pride and Conceit to the utmoſt degree imaginable) if the undigeſted and immethodical bulk of his Book did not protect him. He was reſolved to take a courſe like the Soldier in *Terence*, to ſave his Bacon; and it was very cunning in him to ſtuff his Book with ſo much Puerility, and ſo many ſilly Whimſies, that it might nauſeate the ſmarteſt man in the World to death to take notice of 'em all. Only I thought it might not be amiſs to give a Specimen of him in the Preface; and to let the ſerious Reader have a taſte of him at firſt, that he might gueſs by the firſt diſh that's ſerv'd up, how noble an Entertainment the reſt are like to make; and that he may imagine with himſelf what an infinite number of Fooleries and Impertinencies muſt needs be heaped up together in the body of the Book, when they ſtand ſo thick in the very Entrance into it, where of all other places they ought to have been ſhunned. His tittle-tattle that follows, and his Sermons fit for nothing but to be worm-eaten, I can eaſily paſs by; as for any thing in them relating to us, we doubt not in the leaſt, but that what has been written and publiſhed by Authority of Parliament, will have far greater weight with all wiſe and ſober men, than the Calumnies and Lies of one ſingle impudent little Fellow: who being hired by our Fugitives, their Countrey's Enemies, has ſcrap'd together, and not ſcrupled to publiſh in Print, whatever little Story any one of them that employed him, put into his head. And that all men may plainly ſee how little conſcience he makes of ſetting down any thing right or wrong, good or bad, I deſire no other Witneſs than *Salmaſius* himſelf. In his book, entituled, *Apparatus contra Primatum Papæ*, he ſays, ‘There are moſt weighty Reaſons why the Church ought to lay aſide Epiſcopacy, and return to the Apoſtolical Inſtitution of Presbyters: That a far greater miſchief has been introduced into the Church by Epiſcopacy, than the Schiſms themſelves were, which were before apprehended: That the Plague which Epiſcopacy introduced, depreſſed the whole body of the Church under a miſerable Tyranny; nay, had put a yoke even upon the necks of Kings and Princes: That it would be more beneficial to the Church, if the whole Hierarchy it ſelf, were extirpated, than if the Pope only, who is the Head of it, were laid aſide, *page* 160. ‘That it would be very much for the good of the Church, if Epiſcopacy were taken away, together with the Papacy: That if Epiſcopacy were once taken down, the Papacy would fall of it ſelf, as being founded upon it, *page* 171. He ſays, ‘he can ſhew very good reaſons why Epiſcopacy ought to be put down in thoſe Kingdoms that have renounced the Pope's Supremacy; but that he can ſee no reaſon for retaining it there: That a Reformation is not entire, that is defective in this point: That no reaſon can be alledged, no probable cauſe aſſigned, why the Supremacy of the Pope being once diſowned, Epiſcopacy ſhould notwithſtanding

‘ be retained, *page* 197. Tho he had wrote all this, and a great deal more to this effect, but four years ago, he is now become ſo vain and ſo impudent withal, as to accuſe the Parliament of *England*, ‘ for not only turning the Biſhops out ‘ of the Houſe of Lords, but for aboliſhing Epiſcopacy it ſelf. Nay, he perſwades us to receive Epiſcopacy, and defends it by the very ſame Reaſons and Arguments, which with a great deal of earneſtneſs he had confuted himſelf in that former Book; to wit, ‘ That Biſhops were neceſſary, and ought to have ‘ been retained, to prevent the ſpringing up of a Thouſand pernicious Sects and ‘ Hereſies. Crafty Turn-coat! Are you not aſham'd to ſhift hands thus in things that are Sacred, and (I had almoſt ſaid) to betray the Church; whoſe moſt ſolemn Inſtitutions you ſeem to have aſſerted and vindicated with ſo much noiſe, that when it ſhould ſeem for your intereſt to change ſides, you might undo and ſubvert all again with the more diſgrace and infamy to your ſelf? It's notoriouſly known, That when both Houſes of Parliament, being extremely deſirous to reform the Church of *England* by the pattern of other Reformed Churches, had reſolved to aboliſh Epiſcopacy, the King firſt interpoſed, and afterwards waged War againſt them chiefly for that very cauſe; which proved fatal to him. Go now and boaſt of your having defended the King; who, that you might the better defend him, do now openly betray and impugn the Cauſe of the Church, whoſe Defence you your ſelf had formerly undertaken; and whoſe ſevereſt Cenſures ought to be inflicted upon you. As for the preſent form of our Government, ſince ſuch a Foreign inſignificant Profeſſor as you, having laid aſide your Boxes and Deſks ſtufft with nothing but Trifles, which you might have ſpent your time better in putting into order, will needs turn buſie-body, and be troubleſome in other mens matters, I ſhall return you this anſwer, or rather not to you, but to them that are wiſer than your ſelf, *viz.* That the Form of it is ſuch as our preſent diſtractions will admit of; not ſuch as were to be wiſh'd, but ſuch as the obſtinate Diviſions that are amongſt us, will bear. What State ſoever is peſtered with Factions, and defends it ſelf by Force of Arms, is very juſt in having regard to thoſe only that are ſound and untainted, and in overlooking or ſecluding the reſt, be they of the Nobility or the Common People; nay, though profiting by experience, they ſhould refuſe to be governed any longer either by a King or a Houſe of Lords. But in railing at that *Supreme Council*, as you call it, and at the *Chair-man there*, you make your ſelf very ridiculous; for that Council is not the Supreme Council, as you dream it is, but appointed by Authority of Parliament, for a certain time only; and conſiſting of forty Perſons, for the moſt part Members of Parliament, any one of whom may be Preſident, if the reſt vote him into the Chair. And there is nothing more common, than for our Parliaments to appoint Committees of their own Members; who, when ſo appointed, have Power to meet where they pleaſe, and hold a kind of little Parliament amongſt themſelves. And the moſt weighty Affairs are often referred to them, for Expedition and Secreſie; the care of the Navy, the Army, the Treaſury; in ſhort, all things whatſoever relating either to War or Peace. Whether this be called a Council, or any thing elſe, the thing is ancient, though the name may be new; and it is ſuch an Inſtitution, as no Government can be duly adminiſtered without it. As for our putting the King to death, and changing the Government, forbear your bawling, don't ſpit your Venom, till, going along with you through every Chapter, I ſhow, whether you will or no, *by what Law*, *by what Right and Juſtice* all that was done. But if you inſiſt to know *by what Right*, *by what Law*; by that Law, I tell you, which God and Nature have enacted, *viz.* that whatever things are for the Univerſal Good of the Whole State, are for that reaſon lawful and juſt. So wiſe Men of old uſed to anſwer ſuch as you. You find fault with us for *Repealing Laws that had obtained for ſo many years*; but you do not tell us whether thoſe Laws were good or bad, nor, if you did, ſhould we heed what you ſaid; for, you buſy Puppy, what have you to do with our Laws? I wiſh our Magiſtrates had repealed more than they have, both Laws and Lawyers; if they had, they would have conſulted the Intereſt of the Chriſtian Religion, and that of the People better then they have done. It frets you, That *Hob-goblins*, *Sons of the Earth*, *ſcarce Gentlemen at home*, *ſcarce known to their own Countrymen*, *ſhould preſume to do ſuch things*. But you ought to have remembred, what not only the Scriptures, but *Horace* would have taught you, *viz.*

*—— Valet ima ſummis*
*Mutare, & inſignem attenuat Deus,*
*Obſcura promens,* &c.

The Power that did create, can change the Scene
Of things; make mean of great, and great of mean:
The brighteſt Glory can eclipſe with Night;
And place the moſt obſcure in dazling Light.

But take this into the bargain. Some of thoſe who, you ſay, be ſcarce Gentlemen, are not at all inferiour in birth to any of your party. Others, whoſe Anceſtors were not Noble, have taken a courſe to attain to true Nobility by their own Induſtry and Vertue, and are not inferior to men of the Nobleſt Deſcent. They had rather be called *Sons of the Earth*, provided it be their own Earth (their own Native Country) and act like Men at home, then, being deſtitute of Houſe or Land, to relieve the neceſſities of Nature in a Foreign Country by ſelling of Smoke, as thou doſt, an inconſiderable Fellow and a Jack-ſtraw, and who dependeſt upon the good will of thy Maſters for a poor Stipend; for whom it were better to diſpenſe with thy labors, and return to thy own Kindred and Country-men, if thou hadſt not this one piece of Cunning, to babble out ſome ſilly Prelections and Fooleries at ſo good a rate amongſt Foreigners. You find fault with our Magiſtrates for admitting ſuch *a Common-ſhore of all ſorts of Sects*. Why ſhould they not? It belongs to the Church to caſt them out of the Communion of the faithful; not to the Magiſtrate to baniſh them the Country, provided they do not offend againſt the Civil Laws of the State. Men at firſt united into Civil Societies, that they might live ſafely, and enjoy their Liberty, without being wrong'd or oppreſt; and that they might live Religiouſly and according to the Doctrine of Chriſtianity, they united themſelves into Churches. Civil Societies have Laws, and Churches have a Diſcipline peculiar to themſelves, and far differing from each other. And this has been the occaſion of ſo many Wars in *Chriſtendom*; to wit, becauſe the Civil Magiſtrate and the Church confounded their Juriſdictions. Therefore we do not admit of the Popiſh Sect, ſo as to tolerate Papiſts at all; for we do not look upon that as a Religion, but rather as an Hierarchical Tyranny, under a Cloak of Religion, cloth'd with the Spoils of the Civil Power, which it has uſurp'd to it ſelf contrary to our Saviour's own Doctrine. As for the *Independents*, we never had any ſuch amongſt us, as you deſcribe; they that we call *Independents* are only ſuch as hold that no Claſſis or Synods have a Superiority over any particular Church, and that therefore they ought all to be pluckt up by the Roots, as Branches, or rather as the very Trunk of Hierarchy it ſelf; which is your own opinion too. And from hence it was that the name of *Independents* prevailed amongſt the Vulgar. The reſt of your Preface is ſpent in endeavouring not only to ſtir up the hatred of all Kings and Monarchs againſt us, but to perſwade them to make a General War upon us. *Mithridates* of old, though in a different cauſe, endeavoured to ſtir up all Princes to make War upon the *Romans*, by laying to their charge almoſt juſt the ſame things that you do to ours: *viz.* that the *Romans* aim'd at nothing but the Subverſion of all Kingdoms, that they had no regard to any thing whether Sacred or Civil, that from their very firſt riſe they never enjoy'd any thing but what they had acquir'd by force, that they were Robbers, and the greateſt Enemies in the world to Monarchy. Thus *Mithridates* expreſt himſelf in a Letter to *Arſaces* King of the *Parthians*. But how came you, whoſe buſineſs it is to make ſilly Speeches from your Deſk, to have the confidence to imagine, that by your perſwaſions to take up Arms, and *ſounding an Alarm* as it were, you ſhould be able ſo much as to influence a King amongſt Boys at play; eſpecially, with ſo ſhrill a Voice, and unſavoury Breath, that I believe, if you were to have been the Trumpeter, not ſo much as *Homer*'s Mice would have waged War againſt the Frogs? So little do we fear, you Slug you, any War or Danger from Foreign Princes through your ſilly Rhetorick, who accuſeſt us to them, juſt as if you were at play, *That we toſs Kings heads like Balls; play at Bowls with Crowns; and regard Scepters no more then if they were Fools Staves with heads on:* But you in the mean time, you ſilly Logerhead, deſerve to have your Bones well-thraſh'd with a Fool's ſtaff, for thinking to ſtir up Kings and Princes to War by ſuch Childiſh Arguments. Then you cry aloud to all Nations, who, I know full well, will never heed what you ſay. You call upon that wretched and barbarous Crew of *Iriſh* Rebels too, to aſſert the King's Party. Which one thing is ſufficient evidence how much you are both a Fool and a Knave, and how you out-do almoſt all Mankind in Villany, Impudence, and Madneſs; who ſcruple not to implore the Loyalty and Aid of an execrable People, devoted to the Slaughter, whom the King himſelf always abhorr'd, or ſo pretended, to have any thing to do with, by reaſon of the guilt of ſo much innocent Blood, which they had contracted. And that very Perfidiouſneſs and Cruelty, which he endeavoured as much as he could to conceal, and to clear himſelf from any ſuſpition of, you the moſt villanous of Mortals, as fearing neither God nor Man, voluntarily and openly take upon your ſelf. Go on then, undertake the Kings Defence at the Encouragement, and by the Aſſiſtance of the *Iriſh*. You take care, and ſo you might well, leſt any ſhould imagine that you were about to bereave *Cicero* or *Demoſthenes* of the praiſe due to their Eloquence, by telling us before hand, that *you conceive you ought not to ſpeak like an Orator.* 'Tis wiſely ſaid of a Fool; you conceive you ought not to do what is not in your power to do: and who that knows you never ſo little, ever expects any thing like an Orator from you? Who neither uſes, nor is able to publiſh any thing that's Elaborate, Diſtinct, or has ſo much as Senſe in it; but like a ſecond *Criſpin*, or that little Grecian *Tzetzes*, you do but write a great deal, take no pains to write well; nor could write any thing well, though you took never ſo much pains. *This Cauſe ſhall be argued* (ſay you) *in the hearing, and as it were before the Tribunal of all Mankind.* That's what we like ſo well, that we could now wiſh we had a diſcreet and intelligent Adverſary, and not ſuch a hair-brain'd Blunderbuſs, as you, to deal with. You conclude very Tragically, like *Ajax* in his Raving; *I will proclaim to Heaven and Earth the Injuſtice, the Villany, the Perfidiouſneſs and Cruelty of theſe Men, and will deliver them over convicted to all Poſterity.* O Flowers! that ſuch a witleſs, ſenſeleſs Bawler, one that was born but to ſpoil or tranſcribe good Authors, ſhould think himſelf able to write any thing of his own, that will reach Poſterity, whom together with his frivolous Scribles the very next Age will bury in oblivion; unleſs this Defence of the King perhaps may be beholden to the Anſwer I give to it, for being looked into now and then. And I would entreat the Illuſtrious States of *Holland* to take off their Prohibition, and ſuffer the Book to be publickly ſold. For when I have detected the Vanity, Ignorance, and Falſhood, that it is full of, the farther it ſpreads, the more effectually it will be ſuppreſt. Now let us hear how he *convicts* us.

# A DEFENCE OF THE People of England.

## CHAP. I.

I Perſwade my ſelf, *Salmaſius*, that you being a vain flaſhy man, are not a little proud of being the King of *Great Britain*'s Defender, who himſelf was ſtil'd the *Defender of the Faith.* For my part, I think you deſerve your Titles both alike; for the King defended the Faith, and you have defended him ſo, that betwixt you, you have ſpoiled both your Cauſes: which I ſhall make appear throughout the whole enſuing Diſcourſe, and particularly in this very Chapter. You told us in the 12th Page of your Preface, That *ſo good and ſo juſt a Cauſe ought not to be embeliſht with any flouriſhes of Rhetorick; That the King needed no other Defence than by a bare Narrative of his Story*; and yet in your firſt Chapter, in which you had promiſed us that bare Narrative, you neither tell the Story right, nor do you abſtain from making uſe of all the skill you have in Rhetorick to ſet it off. So that, if we muſt take your own judgment, we muſt believe the King's Cauſe to be neither good nor juſt. But by the way I would adviſe you not to have ſo good an Opinion of your ſelf (for no body elſe has ſo of you) as to imagin that you are able to ſpeak well upon any Subject, who can neither play the part of an Orator, nor an Hiſtorian, nor expreſs your ſelf in a Stile that would not be ridiculous even in a Lawyer; but like a Mountebank's Jugler, with big ſwelling words in your Preface, you rais'd our expectation, as if ſome mighty matter were to enſue: in which your deſign was not ſo much to introduce a true Narrative of the King's Story, as to make your own empty intended floriſhes go off the better. For *being now about to give us an account of the matter of Fact, you find your ſelf encompaſſed and affrighted with ſo many Monſters of Novelty, that y'are at a loſs what to ſay firſt, what next, and what laſt of all.* I'll tell you what the matter is with you. In the firſt place you find your ſelf affrighted and aſtoniſh'd at your own monſtrous Lies, and then you find that empty head of yours not encompaſs'd, but carried round with ſo many trifles and fooleries, that you not only now do not, but never did know what was fit to be ſpoken, and in what method. *Among the many Difficulties that you find in expreſſing the heinouſneſs of ſo incredible a piece of Impiety, this one offers it ſelf*, you ſay, *which is eaſily ſaid, and muſt often be repeated*; to wit, *That the Sun it ſelf never beheld a more outragious action.* But by your good leave, *Sir*, the Sun has beheld many things, that blind *Bernard* never ſaw. But we are content you ſhould mention the Sun over and over. And it will be a piece of Prudence in you ſo to do. For though our wickedneſs does not require it, the coldneſs of the defence that you are making, does. *The Original of Kings*, you ſay, *is as ancient, as that of the Sun.* May the Gods and Goddeſſes, *Damaſippus*, bleſs thee with an everlaſting Solſtice; that thou mayſt always be warm, thou that canſt not ſtir a foot without the Sun. Perhaps you would avoid the imputation of being called a Doctor *Umbraticus.* But alas! you are in perfect darkneſs, that make no difference betwixt a Paternal Power, and a Regal: and that when you had called Kings Fathers of their Country, could fancy that with that Metaphor you had perſwaded us that whatever is applicable to a Father, is ſo to a King. Alas! there's a great difference betwixt them. Our Fathers begot us.

Our King made not us, but we him. Nature has given Fathers to us all, but we our ſelves appointed our own King. So that the People is not for the King, but the King for them. *We bear with a Father, though he be harſh and ſevere*; and ſo we do with a King. But we do not bear with a Father, if he be a Tyrant. If a Father murder his Son, he himſelf muſt die for't; and why ſhould not a King be ſubject to the ſame Law, which certainly is a moſt juſt one? Eſpecially conſidering that a Father cannot by any poſſibility diveſt himſelf of that Relation, but a King eaſily may make himſelf neither King nor Father of his People. If this action of ours be conſidered according to *its quality*, as you call it, I, who am both an Engliſh-man born, and was an Eye-witneſs of the Tranſactions of theſe Times, tell you, who are both a Foreigner and an utter Stranger to our Affairs; That we have put to death neither *a good*, nor *a juſt*, nor *a merciful*, nor *a devout*, nor *a godly*, nor *a peaceable King*, as you ſtile him; but an Enemy, that has been ſo to us almoſt ten years to an end; nor one that was a Father, but a Deſtroyer of his Country. You confeſs that *ſuch things have been practiſ'd*; for your ſelf have not the impudence to deny it: *but not by Proteſtants upon a Proteſtant King*. As if he deſerv'd the name of a Proteſtant, that in a Letter to the Pope, could give him the title of *Moſt Holy Father*; that was always more favourable to the Papiſts than to thoſe of his own Profeſſion. And being ſuch, he is not the firſt of his own Family that has been put to death by Proteſtants. Was not his Grand-mother depoſed and baniſht, and at laſt beheaded by Proteſtants? And were not her own Countrymen, that were Proteſtants too, well enough pleas'd with it? Nay, if I ſhould ſay they were Parties to it, I ſhould not lie. But there being ſo few Proteſtant Kings, it is no great wonder, if it never happened that one of them has been put to death. But that it is lawful to depoſe a Tyrant, and to puniſh him according to his deſerts; nay, that this is the opinion of very eminent Divines, and of ſuch as have been moſt inſtrumental in the late Reformation, do you deny it if you dare. You confeſs that many Kings have come to an unnatural Death: Some *by the Sword*, ſome *poyſon'd*, ſome *ſtrangled*, and ſome *in a Dungeon*; *but for a King to be arraign'd in a Court of Judicature, to be put to plead for his Life, to have Sentence of Death pronounc'd againſt him, and that Sentence executed*; this you think a more lamentable Inſtance than all the reſt, and make it a prodigious piece of impiety. Tell me, thou ſuperlative Fool, Whether it be not more juſt, more agreeable to the Rules of Humanity, and the Laws of all Humane Societies, to bring a Criminal, be his Offence what it will, before a Court of Juſtice, to give him leave to ſpeak for himſelf; and, if the Law condemn him, then to put him to death as he has deſerv'd, ſo as he may have time to repent or to recollect himſelf; than preſently, as ſoon as ever he is taken, to butcher him without more ado? D'ye think there's a Malefactor in the World, that if he might have his choice, would not chuſe to be thus dealt withal? and if this ſort of proceeding againſt a private Perſon be accounted the fairer of the two, why ſhould it not be counted ſo againſt a Prince? nay, why ſhould we not think that himſelf liked it better? You would have had him kill'd privately, and none to have ſeen it, either that future Ages might have loſt the advantage of ſo good an Example; or that they that did this glorious Action, might ſeem to have avoided the Light, and to have acted contrary to Law and Juſtice. You aggravate the matter by telling us, that it was not done in an uproar, or brought about by any Faction amongſt Great Men, or in the heat of a Rebellion, either of the People, or the Soldiers: that there was no hatred, no fear, no ambition, no blind precipitate raſhneſs in the Caſe; but that it was long conſulted on, and done with deliberation. You did well in leaving off being an *Advocate*, and turn *Grammarian*, who from the Accidents and Circumſtances of a thing, which in themſelves conſidered ſway neither one way nor other, argue in diſpraiſe of it, before you have proved the thing it ſelf to be either good or bad. See how open you lie: If the Action you are diſcourſing of, be commendable and praiſe-worthy, they that did it deſerve the greater Honour, in that they were prepoſſeſſed with no Paſſions, but did what they did for Vertue's ſake. If there were great difficulty in the enterpriſe, they did well in not going about it raſhly, but upon Advice and Conſideration. Tho for my own part, when I call to mind with how unexpected an importunity and fervency of Mind, and with how unanimous a Conſent, the whole Army, and a great

Salmaſius *was once an Advocate, that is a Counſellor at Law.*

great part of the People from almoſt every County in the Kingdom, cried out with one Voice for Juſtice againſt the King, as being the ſole Author of all their Calamities: I cannot but think that theſe things were brought about by a Divine impulſe. Whatever the matter was, whether we conſider the Magiſtrates, or the Body of the People, no Men ever undertook with more Courage, and, which our Adverſaries themſelves confeſs, in a more ſedate temper of Mind, ſo brave an Action, an Action that might have become thoſe famous Heroes of whom we read in former Ages; an Action, by which they enobled not only Laws, and their Execution, which ſeem for the future equally reſtor'd to high and low againſt one another; but even Juſtice, and to have rendred it after ſo ſignal a Judgment, more illuſtrious and greater than in its own ſelf. We are now come to an end of the 3d Page of the firſt Book, and have not the bare Narrative he promis'd us yet. He complains that our Principles are, That a King whoſe Government is *burdenſome and odious*, may lawfully be depoſed: And *by this Doctrine*, ſays he, *if they had had a King a thouſand times better than they had, they would not have ſpared his Life.* Obſerve the Man's ſubtle way of arguing. For I would willingly be inform'd what Conſequence there is in this, unleſs he allows, that a King's Government may be *burdenſome and odious*, who is a thouſand times better than our King was. So, that now he has brought things to this paſs, to make the King that he defends, a thouſand times worſe than ſome whoſe Government notwithſtanding is *burdenſom and odious*, that is, it may be, the moſt monſtrous Tyrant that ever reign'd. I wiſh ye Joy, O ye Kings, of ſo able a Defender. Now the Narrative begins. *They put him to ſeveral ſorts of Torments.* Give an inſtance. *They remov'd him from Priſon to Priſon*; and ſo they might lawfully do; for having been a Tyrant, he became an open Enemy, and was taken in War. *Often changing his Keepers.* Leſt they themſelves ſhould change. *Sometimes they gave him hopes of Liberty, nay, and ſometimes even of reſtoring him to his Crown, upon Articles of Agreement.* It ſeems then the taking away his Life, was not done upon ſo much premeditation, as he talked of before; and that we did not lay hold on all opportunities and means, that offer'd themſelves, to renounce our King. Thoſe things that in the beginning of the War we demanded of him, when he had almoſt brought us under, which things if they were denied us, we could enjoy no Liberty, nor live in any Safety; thoſe very things we petitioned him for when he was our Priſoner, in a humble, ſubmiſſive way, not once, nor twice, but thrice, and oftner, and were as often denied. When we had now loſt all hopes of the King's complying with us, then was that noble Order of Parliament made, That from that time forward, there ſhould no Articles be ſent to the King; ſo that we left off applying our ſelves to him, not from the time that he began to be a Tyrant, but from the time that we found him incurable. But afterward ſome Parliament-men ſet upon a new Project, and meeting with a convenient opportunity to put it in practice, paſs a Vote to ſend further Propoſals once more to the King. Whoſe Wickedneſs and Folly neareſt reſembles that of the *Roman* Senate, who contrary to the Opinion of *M. Tullius*, and all honeſt Men, voted to ſend Embaſſadors to *M. Anthony*; and the Event had been the ſame, but that it pleaſed God Almighty in his Providence to order it otherwiſe, and to aſſert our Liberty, tho he ſuffer'd them to be enſlav'd: For tho the King did not agree to any thing that might conduce to a firm Peace, and Settlement of things more than he had before, they go and vote themſelves ſatiſfied. Then the ſounder part of the Houſe finding themſelves and the Commonwealth betray'd, implore the aid of that Valiant and always Faithful Army to the Commonwealth. Upon which occaſion I can obſerve only this, which yet I am loth to utter; to wit, that our Soldiers underſtood themſelves better than our Senators, and that they ſaved the Commonwealth by their Arms, when the other by their Votes had almoſt ruined it. Then he relates a great many things in a doleful, lamentable Strain; but he does it ſo ſenſleſly, that he ſeems rather to beg of his Readers that they would be ſorrowful, than to ſtir up any ſuch Paſſion in them. It grieves him *to think that the King ſhould undergo a Capital Puniſhment after ſuch a manner as no other King ever had done.* Tho he had often told us before, that there never was a King that underwent a Capital Puniſhment at all. Do you uſe to compare ways and manners, ye Coxcomb, when you have no Things, nor Actions to compare with one another? *He ſuffer'd Death,* ſays he, *as a Robber, as a Murderer, as a Parricide, as a Traytor, as a Tyrant.* Is this defending the King? Or is it not rather giving a more ſevere Sentence againſt him than that that we gave? How came you ſo all on a ſudden to be of our mind? He complains *that Executioners in Vizars* [perſonati Carnifices] *cut off the King's Head.* What ſhall we do with this Fellow? He told us before, of *a Murder committed on one in the diſguiſe of a King:* [in Perſona Regis.] Now he ſays, 'twas done in the diſguiſe of an Executioner. 'Twere to no purpoſe to take particular notice of every ſilly thing he ſays. He tells Stories of *Boxes on the Ear, and Kicks, that,* he ſays, *were given the King by Common Soldiers, and that 'twas four Shillings a piece to ſee his dead Body.* Theſe and ſuch like Stories which partly are falſe, and partly impertinent, betray the Ignorance and Childiſhneſs of our poor Scholar; but are far from making any Reader ever a whit the ſadder. In good faith, his Son *Charles* had done better to have hired ſome Ballad-ſinger to have bewailed his Fathers Miſfortunes, than this doleful, ſhall I call him, or rather moſt ridiculous Orator, who is ſo dry and inſipid, that there's not the leaſt Spirit in any thing he ſays. Now the Narrative's done, and 'tis hard to ſay what he does next, he runs on ſo ſordidly and irregular. Now he's angry, then he wonders; he neither cares what he talks, nor how; repeats the ſame things ten times over, that could not but look ill, tho he had ſaid them but once. And I perſwade my ſelf, the extemporary Rimes of ſome antick Jack-pudding may deſerve printing better; ſo far am I from thinking ought he ſays worthy of a ſerious Anſwer. I paſs by his ſtiling the King a *Protector of Religion,* who choſe to make war upon the Church, rather than part with thoſe Church-Tyrants, and Enemies of all Religion, the Biſhops; and how is it poſſible that he ſhould *maintain Religion in its Purity,* that was himſelf a Slave to thoſe impure Traditions, and Ceremonies of theirs? And for our *Sectaries, whoſe Sacrilegious Meetings,* you ſay, *have publick Allowance;* inſtance in any of their Principles, the Profeſſion of which is not openly allow'd of, and countenanced in *Holland?* But in the mean, there's not a more Sacrilegious Wretch in Nature than your ſelf, that always took liberty to ſpeak ill of all ſorts of People. *They could not wound the Commonwealth more dangerouſly than by taking off its Maſter.* Learn, ye abject, home-born Slave; unleſs ye take away the Maſter, ye deſtroy the Commonwealth. That that has a Maſter, is one Man's Property. The word Maſter denotes a private, not a publick Relation. *They perſecute moſt unjuſtly thoſe Miniſters that abhorr'd this Action of theirs.* Leſt you ſhould not know what Miniſters he means, I'll tell you in a few words what manner of Men they were; they were thoſe very Men, that by their Writings and Sermons juſtified taking up Arms againſt the King, and ſtirr'd the People up to it. That daily curſed, as *Deborah* did *Meroz,* all ſuch as would not furniſh the Parliament either with Arms, or Men, or Money. That taught the People out of their Pulpits, that they were not about to fight againſt a King, but a greater Tyrant than either *Saul* or *Ahab* ever were; nay, more a *Nero* than *Nero* himſelf. As ſoon as the Biſhops, and thoſe Clergy-men, whom they daily inveighed againſt, and branded with the odious Names of Pluraliſts and Non-reſidents, were taken out of their way, they preſently jump, ſome into two, ſome into three of their beſt Benefices; being now warm themſelves, they ſoon unworthily neglected their Charge. Their Covetouſneſs brake through all reſtraints of Modeſty and Religion, and themſelves now labour under the ſame Infamy, that they had loaded their Predeceſſors with; and becauſe their Covetouſneſs is not yet ſatisfied, and their Ambition has accuſtomed them to raiſe Tumults, and be Enemies to Peace, they can't reſt at quiet yet, but preach up Sedition againſt the Magiſtracy, as it is now eſtabliſh'd, as they had formerly done againſt the King. They now tell the People that he was cruelly murdered; upon whom themſelves having heap'd all their Curſes, had devoted him to Deſtruction, whom they had delivered up as it were to the Parliament to be diſpoil'd of his Royalty, and purſu'd with a Holy War. They now complain that the Sectaries are not extirpated; which is a moſt abſurd thing to expect the Magiſtrates ſhould be able to do, who never yet were able, do what they could, to extirpate Avarice and Ambition, thoſe two moſt pernicious Hereſies, and more deſtructive to the Church than all the reſt, out of the very order and tribe of the Miniſters themſelves. For the Sects which they inveigh againſt, I confeſs there are ſuch amongſt us, but they are obſcure, and make no noiſe in the world: The Sects that they are of, are publick and notorious, and much more dangerous to the Church of God. *Simon Magus* and *Diotrephes* were the Ringleaders of 'em. Yet are we ſo far from perſecuting theſe men, tho they are peſtilent enough, that tho we know them to be ill-affected to the Government, and deſirous of, and endeavouring to work a change, we allow them but too much Liberty. You, that are both a *French-man*, and a Vagabond, ſeem diſpleas'd that *the Engliſh, more fierce and cruel than their own Maſtiffs*, as your barking Eloquence has it, *have no regard to the lawful Succeſſor and Heir of the Crown: Take no care of the King's Youngeſt Son, nor of the Queen of* Bohemia. I'll make ye no anſwer; you ſhall anſwer your ſelf. *When the frame of a Government is changed from a Monarchy to any other, the new Modellers have no regard to ſucceſſion*: the Application is eaſy; it's in your Book *de primatu Papæ. The great change throughout Three Kingdoms*, you ſay, *was brought about by a ſmall number of men in one of them.* If this were true, that ſmall number of men would have deſerved to have Dominion over the reſt; Valiant men over faint-hearted Cowards. *Theſe are they that preſumptuouſly took upon them to change* antiquum Regni Regimen, in alium qui à pluribus Tyrannis teneatur. 'Tis well for them that you cannot find fault with them, without committing a barbarous Solœciſm; you ſhame all *Grammarians. The* Engliſh *will never be able to waſh out this ſtain.* Nay you, though a blot and a ſtain to all Learned men, were never yet able to ſtain the Renown and everlaſting Glory of the *Engliſh* Nation, that with ſo great a Reſolution, as we hardly find the like recorded in any Hiſtory, having ſtrugled with, and overcome, not only their Enemies in the Field, but the ſuperſtitious Perſwaſions of the common People, have purchas'd to themſelves in general amongſt all poſterity the name of Deliverers: The Body of the people having undertook and performed an enterpriſe, which in other Nations is thought to proceed only from a magnanimity that's peculiar to Heroes. What *the Proteſtants and Primitive Chriſtians* have done, or would do upon ſuch an occaſion, I'll tell ye hereafter, when we come to debate the merits of the Cauſe: In diſcourſing it before, I ſhould be guilty of your fault, who outdo the moſt impertinent Talkers in Nature: You wonder how we'll be able to anſwer *the Jeſuits*. Meddle with your own matters, you Runagate, and be aſham'd of your actions, ſince the Church is aſham'd of you; who, though but of late you ſet your ſelf ſo fiercely and with ſo much Oſtentation againſt the Pope's Supremacy and Epiſcopal Government, are now become your ſelf a very Creature of the Biſhops. You confeſs that *ſome Proteſtants whom you do* not name, *have aſſerted it lawful to depoſe a Tyrant*: But though you do not think fit to name them, I will, becauſe you ſay *they are far worſe than the very Jeſuits themſelves*; they are no other than *Luther*, and *Zuinglius*, and *Calvin*, and *Bucer*, and *Pareus*, and many others. *But then*, you ſay, *they refer it to the Judgment of Learned and Wiſe Men, who ſhall be accounted a Tyrant. But what for men, were theſe? Were they wiſe men, were they men of Learning? Were they anywiſe remarkable, either for Vertue or Nobility?* You may well allow a People that has felt the heavy Yoke of Slavery, to be Wiſe, and Learned, and Noble enough to know what is fit to be done to the Tyrant that has oppreſs'd them; though they neither conſult with *Foreigners* nor *Grammarians*. But that this man was a Tyrant, not only the Parliaments of *England* and *Scotland* have declared by their actions and expreſs words; but almoſt all the People of both Nations aſſented to it, till ſuch time as by the Tricks and Artifices of the Biſhops they were divided into two Factions: and what if it has pleaſed God to chuſe ſuch men, to execute his Vengeance upon the greateſt Potentates on Earth, as he choſe to be made partakers of the benefit of the Goſpel? *Not many Wiſe, not many Learned, not many Powerful, not many Noble: That by thoſe that are not, he might bring to nought thoſe that are; and that no fleſh might glory in his ſight.* And who are you that babble to the contrary? Dare you affect the Reputation of a Learned Man? I confeſs you are pretty well vers'd in Phraſe-Books, and Lexicons, and Gloſſaries; inſomuch that you ſeem to have ſpent your time in nothing elſe. But you do not make appear that you have read any good Authors with ſo much Judgment as to have benefited by them. Other Copies and various Lections and Words omitted, and corruptions of Texts and the like, theſe you are full of; but no foot-ſtep of any ſolid Learning appears in all you have writ: Or do ye think your ſelf a wiſe man, that quarrel and contend about the meaneſt Trifles that may be? That being altogether ignorant in Aſtronomy and Phyſick, yet are always railing at the Profeſſors

feſſors of both, whom all men credit in what things belong to their own Sciences, that would be ready to curſe them to the Pit of Hell, that ſhould offer to deprive you of the Vain-glory of having corrected or ſupply'd the leaſt word or letter in any Copy you've criticiz'd upon. And yet y'are mad to hear your ſelf call'd a *Grammarian.* In a certain trifling Diſcourſe of yours, you call Dr. *Hammond* Knave in plain terms, who was one of this King's Chaplains, and one that he valu'd above all the reſt, for no other reaſon but becauſe he had call'd you a *Grammarian.* And I don't queſtion but you would have been as ready to have thrown the ſame reproach upon the King himſelf, if you had heard that he had approv'd his Chaplain's Judgment of ye. Take notice now, how much I (who am but one of thoſe many *Engliſh*, that you have the impudence to call Mad-men, and unlearned, and ignoble, and wicked) ſlight and deſpiſe you, (for that the *Engliſh* Nation in general ſhould take any notice in publick of ſuch a worm as you are, would be an infinite undervaluing of themſelves) who though one ſhould turn you topſie-turvy, and in-ſide out, are but a *Grammarian:* Nay, as if you had made a fooliſher wiſh than *Midas* did, what ever you meddle with, except when you make Solœciſms, is *Grammar* ſtill. Whoſoever therefore he be, though from among the Dregs of that common People that you are ſo keen upon (for as for thoſe men of Eminency amongſt us, whoſe great Actions evidenced to all men their Nobility, and Vertue, and Conduct, I won't diſgrace them ſo much, as to compare you to them, or them to you) but whoſoever, I ſay, among the Dregs of that common People has but ſuck'd in this Principle, That he was not born for his Prince, but for God and his Countrey; he deſerves the reputation of a Learned, and an Honeſt, and a Wiſe Man more, and is of greater uſe in the world than your ſelf. For ſuch a one is Learned without Letters; you have Letters, but no Learning, that underſtand ſo many Languages, turn over ſo many Volumes, and yet are but a ſheep when all is done.

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## CHAP. II.

THE Argument that *Salmaſius*, toward the concluſion of his firſt Chapter, urg'd as irrefragable, to wit, that it was really ſo, becauſe all men unanimouſly agreed in it; That very Argument, than which, as he apply'd it, there is nothing more falſe, I, that am now about to diſcourſe of the Right of Kings, may turn upon himſelf with a great deal of Truth. For, whereas he defines *a King* (if that may be ſaid to be defin'd which he makes infinite) *to be a Perſon in whom the Supream Power of the Kingdom reſides, who is anſwerable to God alone, who may do whatſoever pleaſes him, who is bound by no Law;* I will undertake to demonſtrate, not by mine, but by his own Reaſons and Authorities, that there never was a Nation or People of any account (for to ranſack all the unciviliz'd parts of the World were to no purpoſe) that ever allow'd this to be their King's Right, or put ſuch exorbitant Power into his hand, as *that he ſhould not be bound by any Law, that he might do what he would, that he ſhould judg all, but be judged of none.* Nor can I perſwade my ſelf, that there ever was any one Perſon beſides *Salmaſius* of ſo ſlaviſh a Spirit, as to aſſert the outragious Enormities of Tyrants to be the Rights of Kings. Thoſe amongſt us that were the greateſt Royaliſts, always abhorr'd this ſordid Opinion: And *Salmaſius* himſelf, as appears by ſome other Writings of his before he was brib'd, was quite of another mind. Inſomuch, that what he here gives out, does not look like the Dictates of a free Subject under a free Government, much leſs in ſo famous a Commonwealth as that of *Holland*, and the moſt eminent Univerſity there; but ſeems to have been penn'd by ſome deſpicable Slave that lay rotting in a Priſon, or a Dungeon. If whatever a King has a mind to do, the Right of Kings will bear him out in (which was a Leſſon that the bloody Tyrant *Antoninus Caracalla*, tho his Step-mother *Julia* preach'd it to him, and endeavour'd to inure him to the practice of it, by making him commit inceſt with her ſelf, yet could hardly ſuck in) then there neither is, nor ever was that King that deſerv'd the name of a Tyrant. They may ſafely violate all the Laws of

God and Man: their very being Kings keeps them innocent. What Crime was ever any of them guilty of? they did but make uſe of their own Right upon their own Vaſſals. No King can commit ſuch horrible Cruelties and Outrages, as will not be within this Right of Kings. So that there's no Pretence left for any Complaints or Expoſtulations with any of them. And dare you aſſert, That *this Right of Kings*, as you call it, *is grounded upon the Law of Nations, or rather upon that of Nature*, you Brute Beaſt? for you deſerve not the name of a Man, that are ſo cruel and unjuſt towards all thoſe of your own kind; that endeavour as much as in you lies, ſo to bear down and villifie the whole race of Mankind, that were made after the Image of God, as to aſſert and maintain that thoſe cruel and unmerciful Taskmaſters, that through the ſuperſtitious whimſies, or ſloth, or treachery of ſome perſons, get into the Chair, are provided and appointed by Nature her ſelf, that mild and gentle Mother of us all, to be the Governours of thoſe Nations they enſlave. By which peſtilent Doctrine of yours, having rendred them more fierce and untractable, you not only enable them to make havock of, and trample under foot their miſerable Subjects; but endeavour to arm them for that very purpoſe with the Law of Nature, the Right of Kings, and the very Conſtitutions of Government, than which nothing can be more impious or ridiculous. By my conſent, as *Dionyſius* formerly of a Tyrant became a Schoolmaſter, ſo you of a Grammarian, ſhould become a Tyrant; not that you may have that Regal Licenſe of doing other people harm, but a fair opportunity of periſhing miſerably your ſelf: That, as *Tiberius* complain'd, when he had confin'd himſelf to the Iſland *Caprea*, you may be reduced into ſuch a condition, as to be ſenſible that you periſh daily. But let us look a little more narrowly into this Right of Kings that you talk of. *This was the ſenſe of the Eaſtern, and of the Weſtern part of the World.* I ſhall not anſwer you with what *Ariſtotle* and *Cicero*, (who are both as credible Authors as any we have) tell us, *viz.* That the people of *Aſia* eaſily ſubmit to ſlavery, but the *Syrians* and the *Jews* are even born to it from the womb. I confeſs there are but few, and thoſe men of great wiſdom and courage, that are neither deſirous of Liberty, or capable of uſing it. The greateſt part of the world chuſe to live under Maſters; but yet they would have them juſt ones. As for ſuch as are unjuſt and tyrannical, neither was God ever ſo much an enemy to Mankind as to enjoyn a neceſſity of ſubmitting to them; nor was there ever any people ſo deſtitute of all ſenſe, and ſunk into ſuch a depth of deſpair, as to impoſe ſo cruel a Law upon themſelves and their poſterity. Firſt, you produce *the words of King Solomon in his Eccleſiaſtes.* And we are as willing to appeal to the Scripture as you. As for *Solomon*'s authority, we'll conſider that hereafter, when perhaps we ſhall be better able to underſtand it. Firſt, let us hear God himſelf ſpeak, *Deut.* 17. 14. *When thou art come into the Land, which the Lord thy God giveth thee, and ſhalt ſay, I will ſet a King over me, like as the Nations that are round about me.* Which paſſage I could wiſh all men would ſeriouſly conſider: for hence it appears by the teſtimony of God himſelf; Firſt, that all Nations are at liberty to erect what form of Government they will amongſt themſelves, and to change it when and into what they will. This God affirms in expreſs terms concerning the *Hebrew* Nation; and it does not appear but that other Nations are, as to this reſpect, in the ſame condition. Another remark that this place yields us, is, That a Commonwealth is a more perfect form of Government than a Monarchy, and more ſutable to the condition of Mankind, and in the opinion of God himſelf, better for his own People; for himſelf appointed it, and could hardly be prevail'd withal a great while after, and at their own importunate deſire, to let 'em change it into a Monarchy. But to make it appear that he gave 'em their choice to be govern'd by a ſingle perſon, or by more, ſo they were juſtly govern'd, in caſe they ſhould in time to come reſolve upon a King, he preſcribes Laws for this King of theirs to obſerve, whereby he was forbidden to multiply to himſelf Horſes and Wives, or to heap up Riches: whence he might eaſily infer, that no power was put into his hands over others, but according to Law, ſince even thoſe actions of his life, which related only to himſelf, were under a Law. He was commanded therefore to tranſcribe with his own hand all the Precepts of the Law, and having writ 'em out, to obſerve and keep 'em, that his mind might not be lifted up above his Brethren. 'Tis evident from hence, that as well the Prince as the

People was bound by the Law of *Moſes*. To this purpoſe *Joſephus* writes, a proper and an able Interpreter of the Laws of his own Country, who was admirably well verſ'd in the *Jewiſh* Policy, and infinitely preferable to a thouſand obſcure ignorant Rabbins: He has it thus in the fourth Book of his *Antiquities*, Ἀριστοκρατία μὲν οὖν κράτιστον, &c. "An *Ariſtocracy* is the beſt form of "Government; wherefore do not you endeavour to ſettle any other, 'tis e-"nough for you that God preſides over ye. But if you will have a King, let "him guide himſelf by the Law of God, rather than by his own wiſdom; "and lay a reſtraint upon him, if he offer at more power than the ſtate of "your affairs will allow of. Thus he expreſſes himſelf upon this place in *Deuteronomy*. Another *Jewiſh* Author, *Philo Judæus*, who was *Joſephus's* Contemporary, a very ſtudious man in the Law of *Moſes*, upon which he wrote a large Commentary; when in his Book concerning the Creation of the King, he interprets this Chapter of *Deuteronomy*, he ſets a King looſe from the Law no otherwiſe than as an enemy may be ſaid to be ſo: "They, ſays he, that to "the prejudice and deſtruction of the people acquire great power to themſelves, "deſerve not the name of Kings, but that of Enemies: For their actions are "the ſame with thoſe of an irreconcilable enemy. Nay, they, that under a "pretence of Government are injurious, are worſe than open enemies. We "may fence our ſelves againſt the latter; but the malice of the former is ſo "much the more peſtilent, becauſe it is not always eaſie to be diſcovered. But when it is diſcover'd, why ſhould they not be dealt with as enemies? The ſame Author in his ſecond Book, *Allegoriar. Legis*, "A King, ſays he, and a Ty-"rant are Contraries. And a little after, "A King ought not only to command, "but alſo to obey. All this is very true, you'll ſay, a King ought to obſerve the Laws, as well as any other man. But what if he will not, what Law is there to puniſh him? I anſwer, the ſame Law that there is to puniſh other men; for I find no exceptions. There is no expreſs Law to puniſh the Prieſts or any other inferior Magiſtrates, who all of 'em, if this opinion of the exemption of Kings from the Penalties of the Law would hold, might by the ſame reaſon claim impunity, what guilt ſoever they contract, becauſe there is no poſitive Law for their puniſhment; and yet I ſuppoſe none of them ever challeng'd ſuch a Prerogative, nor would it ever be allow'd 'em, if they ſhould. Hitherto we have learn'd from the very Text of God's own Law, that a King ought to obey the Laws, and not lift himſelf up above his Brethren. Let us now conſider whether *Solomon* preacht up any other Doctrine, *Ch.* 8. *v.* 2. *I counſel thee to keep the King's Commandment, and that in regard of the Oath of God. Be not haſty to go out of his ſight; ſtand not in an evil thing, for he doth whatſoever pleaſeth him. Where the word of a King is, there is power; and who may ſay unto him, what doſt thou?* It is well enough known that here the Preacher directs not his Precepts to the *Sanhedrim*, or to a Parliament, but to private perſons; and ſuch he commands to *keep the King's Commandment, and that in regard of the Oath of God.* But as they ſwear Allegiance to Kings, do not Kings likewiſe ſwear to obey and maintain the Laws of God, and thoſe of their own Country? So the *Reubenites* and *Gadites* promiſe obedience to *Joſhua*, *Joſh.* 1. 17. *According as we hearkned unto Moſes in all things, ſo will we hearken unto thee; only the Lord thy God be with thee, as he was with Moſes.* Here's an expreſs condition. Hear the Preacher elſe, *Chap.* 9. *v.* 17. *The words of wiſe men are heard in quiet, more than the cry of him that ruleth among fools.* The next caution that *Solomon* gives us, is, *Be not haſty to go out of his ſight; ſtand not in an evil thing; for he doth whatſoever pleaſeth him.* That is, he does what he will to Malefactors, whom the Law authorizes him to puniſh, and againſt whom he may proceed with mercy or ſeverity, as he ſees occaſion. Here's nothing like Tyranny; nothing that a good man needs be afraid of. *Where the word of a King is, there is power; and who may ſay to him, What doſt thou?* And yet we read of one that not only ſaid to a King, *What doſt thou?* but told him, *Thou haſt done fooliſhly.* But *Samuel*, you may ſay, was an extraordinary Perſon. I anſwer you with your own words, which follow in the 49th Page of your Book, *What was there extraordinary, ſay you, in Saul or in David?* And ſo ſay I, what was there in *Samuel* extraordinary? He was a Prophet, you'll ſay; ſo are they that now follow his example; for they act according to the will of God, either his reveal'd, or his ſecret will, which your ſelf grant in your 50th Page. The Preacher therefore in this place prudently adviſes private perſons not to contend with Princes; for it is even dangerous to contend with any man that's either rich or powerful. But what then? muſt therefore the Nobility of a Nation, and all the inferior Magiſtrates, and the whole body of the people not dare to mutter when a King raves and acts like a mad-man? Muſt they not oppoſe a fooliſh, wicked, outrageous Tyrant, that perhaps ſeeks the deſtruction of all good men? Muſt they not endeavour to prevent his turning all Divine and Humane things upſide down? Muſt they ſuffer him to maſſacre his People, burn their Cities, and commit ſuch Outrages upon them daily; and finally, to have perfect liberty to do what he liſts without controul?

*O de* Cappadocis *eques cataſtis!*

*Thou ſlaviſh Knight of* Cappadocia!

Whom all free People, if you can have the confidence hereafter to ſet your foot within a free Countrey, ought to caſt out from amongſt them, and ſend to ſome remote parts of the World, as a Prodigy of dire portent; or to condemn to ſome perpetual drudgery, as one devoted to ſlavery, ſolemnly obliging themſelves, if they ever let you go, to undergo a worſe ſlavery under ſome cruel, ſilly Tyrant: No man living can either deviſe himſelf, or borrow from any other, Expreſſions ſo full of Cruelty and Contempt, as may not juſtly be apply'd to you. But go on. *When the* Iſraelites *asked a King of God, they ſaid, they would ſet up a King that ſhould have the ſame Rule and Dominion over them, that the Kings of their neighbour Countries exercis'd over their Subjects. But the Kings of the* Eaſt *we know had an unlimited Power:* as *Virgil* teſtifies,

——*Regem non ſic* Ægyptus *&* *ingens*
Lydia, *nec Populi* Parthorum, *&* Medus, Hydaſpes
*Obſervant.*——

*No* Eaſtern *Nation ever did adore*
*The Majeſty of Soveraign Princes more.*

First, What is that to us, what ſort of Kings the *Iſraelites* deſired? eſpecially ſince God was angry with them, not only for deſiring ſuch a King as other Nations had, and not ſuch a King as his own Law deſcribes, but barely for deſiring a King at all? Nor is it credible that they ſhould deſire an unjuſt King, and one that ſhould be out of the reach of all Laws, who could not bear the Government of *Samuel's* Sons, though under the power of Laws; but from their Covetouſneſs ſought refuge in a King. And laſtly, The Verſe that you quote out of *Virgil*, does not prove that the Kings of the *Eaſt* had an abſolute unlimited Power; for thoſe Bees, that he there ſpeaks of, and who reverence their Kings, he ſays, more than the *Egyptians* or *Medes* do theirs, by the Authority of the ſame Poet,

——*Magnis agitant ſub legibus ævum.*

*Live under certain Fundamental Laws.*

They do not live under a King then, that's tyed to no Law. But now I'll let you ſee how little reaſon you have to think I bear you an ill will. Moſt People think you are a Knave; but I'll make it appear that you have only put on a Knaves Vizor for the preſent. In your Introduction to your Diſcourſe of the Pope's Supremacy, you ſay, that ſome Divines in the Council of *Trent* made uſe of the Government, that is ſaid to be amongſt Bees, to prove the Pope's Supremacy. This fancy you borrow from them, and urge it here with the ſame malice that they did there. Now that very ſame anſwer that you gave them, whilſt you were an honeſt Man, now that you are become a Knave, you ſhall give your ſelf, and pull off with your own hand that Vizor you've now put on: *The Bees,* ſay you, *are a State, and ſo Natural Philoſophers call them; they have a King, but a harmleſs one; he is a Leader, or Captain, rather than a King; he never beats, nor* *pulls, nor kills his ſubject Bees.* No wonder they are ſo obſervant of him then: But in good Faith, you had but ill luck to meddle with theſe Bees; for though they are Bees of *Trent*, they ſhow you to be a Drone. *Ariſtotle*, a moſt exact writer of Politicks, affirms that the *Aſiatique* Monarchy, which yet himſelf calls barbarous, was according to Law, *Politic.* 3. And whereas he reckons up five ſeveral ſorts of Monarchies, four of thoſe five he makes Governments according to Laws, and with the conſent of the People; and yet he calls them Tyrannical Forms of Government, becauſe they lodg ſo much power in one man's hand. But the Kingdom of the *Lacedæmonians* he ſays is moſt properly a Kingdom, becauſe there all Power is not in the King. The fifth ſort of Monarchy, which he calls παμβασιλεια, that is, where the King is all in all; and to which he refers that, that you call the Right of Kings, which is a Liberty to do what they liſt; he neither tells us when, nor where any ſuch Form of Government ever obtain'd. Nor ſeems he to have mention'd it for any other purpoſe than to ſhew how unjuſt, abſurd, and tyrannical a Government it is. You ſay, that when *Samuel* would deter the People from chuſing a King, he propounded to them *this Right of Kings.* But whence had *Samuel* it? Had he it from the written Law of God? That can't be. We have obſerv'd already, that the Scriptures afford us a quite other Scheme of Soveraignty. Had *Samuel* it then immediately from God himſelf by Revelation? That's not likely neither; for God diſlikes it, diſcommends it, finds fault with it: So that *Samuel* does not expound to the People any Right of Kings appointed by God; but a corrupt and depraved manner of governing, taken up by the Pride and Ambition of Princes. He tells not the People what their Kings ought to do, but what they would do. He told them the *manner* of their King, as before he told us of the *manner* of the Prieſts, the Sons of *Eli*; for he uſes the ſame word in both places; (which you in the 33d Page of your Book, by an Hebrew Solœciſm too, call משפת). That manner of theirs was wicked, and odious, and tyrannical: It was no right, but great wrong. The Fathers have commented upon this place too: I'll inſtance in one, that may ſtand for a great many; and that's *Sulpitius Severus*, a contemporary and intimate Friend of St. *Jerom*, and, in St. *Auguſtin*'s opinion, a Man of great Wiſdom and Learning. He tells us in his ſacred Hiſtory, that *Samuel* in that place acquaints the People with the imperious Rule of Kings, and how they uſe to lord it over their Subjects. Certainly it cannot be the Right of Kings to domineer and be imperious. But according to *Saluſt*, that lawful Power and Authority that Kings were entruſted with, for the preſervation of the publick Liberty, and the good of the Commonwealth, quickly degenerated into Pride and Tyranny: And this is the ſenſe of all Orthodox Divines, and of all Lawyers upon that place of *Samuel.* And you might have learnt from *Sichardus*, that moſt of the *Rabbins* too were of the ſame mind; at leaſt, not any one of them ever aſſerted that the abſolute inherent Right of Kings is there diſcourſed of. Your ſelf in your 5th Chapter, Page 106. complain, That *not only* Clemens Alexandrinus, *but all other Expoſitors miſtake themſelves upon this Text:* And you, I'll warrant ye, are the only Man that have had the good luck to hit the Mark. Now what a piece of folly and impudence is this in you to maintain, in oppoſition to all Orthodox Expoſitors, that thoſe very Actions which God ſo much condemns, are the Right of Kings, and to pretend Law for them? Though your ſelf confeſs, that that Right is very often exercis'd in committing Outrages, being injurious, contumelious and the like. Was any Man ever to that degree *ſui juris*, ſo much his own Maſter, as that he might lawfully prey upon Mankind, bear down all that ſtood in his way, and turn all things up-ſide down? Did the *Romans* ever maintain, as you ſay they did, That any man might do theſe things *ſuo jure*, by virtue of ſome inherent Right in himſelf? *Saluſt* indeed makes *C. Memmius*, a Tribune of the People, in an invective Speech of his againſt the Pride of the Nobility, and their eſcaping unpuniſh'd, howſoever they miſbehaved themſelves, to uſe theſe words, *viz.* "To do whatever one has a mind to, without fear of Pu-"niſhment, is to be a King. This Saying you catch'd hold of, thinking it would make for your purpoſe; but conſider it a little better, and you'll find your ſelf deceived. Does he in that place aſſert the Right of Kings? Or does he not blame the Common People, and chide them for their Sloth, in ſuffering their Nobility to lord it over them, as if they were out of the reach of all Law, and in ſubmitting again to that Kingly Tyranny, which together with their

Kings themſelves, their Anceſtors had lawfully and juſtly rejected and baniſh'd from amongſt them? If you had conſulted *Tully*, you would have underſtood both *Saluſt* and *Samuel* better. In his Oration *pro C. Rabirio*, “ There is none “ of us ignorant, ſays he, of the manner of Kings. Theſe are their Lordly “ Dictates: Mind what I ſay, and do accordingly. Many Paſſages to this purpoſe he quotes out of Poets, and calls them not the Right, but the Cuſtom or the Manner of Kings; and he ſays, We ought to read and conſider them, not only for curioſity ſake, but that we may learn to beware of 'em and avoid 'em. You perceive how miſerably you're come off with *Saluſt*, who, though he be as much an Enemy to Tyranny as any other Author whatſoever, you thought would have patroniz'd this tyrannical Right that you are eſtabliſhing. Take my word for't, the Right of Kings ſeems to be tottering, and even to further its own ruin, by relying upon ſuch weak Props for its ſupport; and by endeavouring to maintain it ſelf by ſuch Examples and Authorities, as would haſten its down-fall, if it were further off than it is. *The extremity of Right or Law*, you ſay, *is the height of injury, Summum jus ſumma injuria; this ſaying is verified moſt properly in Kings, who when they go to the utmoſt of their Right, fall into thoſe courſes, in which* Samuel *makes the Right of Kings to conſiſt.* And 'tis a miſerable Right, which, when you have ſaid all you can for, you can no otherwiſe defend, than by confeſſing, that it is the greateſt injury that may be. The extremity of Right or Law is ſaid to be, when a man ties himſelf up to Niceties, dwells upon Letters and Syllables, and in the mean time neglects the intent and equity of the Law; or when a written Law is cunningly and maliciouſly interpreted; this *Cicero* makes to have been the riſe of that common ſaying. But ſince 'tis certain that all Right flows from the fountain of Juſtice, ſo that nothing can poſſibly be any man's right that is not juſt, 'tis a moſt wicked thing in you to affirm that for a King to be unjuſt, rapacious, tyrannical, and as ill as the worſt of 'em ever were, is according to the right of Kings; and to tell us that a Holy Prophet would have perſwaded the People to ſuch a ſenſeleſs thing. For whether written or unwritten, whether extreme or remiſs, what Right can any Man have to be injurious? Which leſt you ſhould confeſs to be true of other Men, but not of Kings, I have one Man's Authority to object to you, who I think was a King likewiſe, and profeſſes that that Right of Kings that you ſpeak of, is odious both to God and himſelf: It is in the 94th Pſalm, *Shall the Throne of Iniquity have fellowſhip with thee, that frameth miſchief by a Law?* Be not therefore ſo injurious to God, as to aſcribe this Doctrine to him, *viz.* that all manner of wicked and flagitious Actions are but the Right of Kings; ſince himſelf tells us, that he abhors all fellowſhip with wicked Princes for this very reaſon, Becauſe under pretence of Soveraignity they create Miſery and Vexation to their Subjects. Neither bring up a falſe Accuſation againſt a Prophet of God; for by making him to teach us in this place what the Right of Kings is, you do not produce the right *Samuel*, but ſuch another empty Shadow as was raiſed by the Witch of *Endor*. Tho for my own part, I verily believe that that infernal *Samuel* would not have been ſo great a Lyar, but that he would have confeſs'd, that what you call the Right of Kings, is Tyranny. We read indeed of Impieties countenanced by Law, *Jus datum ſceleri:* you your ſelf confeſs, that they are bad Kings that have made uſe of this boundleſs Licenſe of theirs to do every thing. Now this Right that you have introduc'd for the Deſtruction of Mankind, not proceeding from God, as I have prov'd it does not, muſt needs come from the Devil; and that it does really ſo, will appear more clearly hereafter. *By virtue of this Liberty*, ſay you, *Princes may if they will*, And for this, you pretend to have *Cicero*'s Authority. I'm always willing to mention your Authorities, for it generally happens that the very Authors you quote them out of, give you an Anſwer themſelves. Hear elſe what *Cicero* ſays in his 4th *Philippick*, ‘What cauſe of War can be more juſt and warrantable than to avoid ‘Slavery? For tho a People may have the good fortune to live under a gentle ‘Maſter, yet thoſe are in a miſerable Condition whoſe Prince may tyrannize ‘over them if he will. May, that is, can; has Power enough ſo to do. If he meant it of his Right, he would contradict himſelf, and make that an unjuſt Cauſe of War, which himſelf had affirm'd with the ſame breath to be a moſt juſt one. It is not therefore the Right of all Kings that you deſcribe, but the Injuriouſneſs, and Force, and Violence of ſome. Then you tell us what private men may do. *A private Man*, ſay you, *may Lie, may be Ungrateful*; and ſo may Kings, but what then? May they therefore Plunder, Murder, Raviſh without controul? 'Tis equally prejudicial and deſtructive to the Commonwealth, whether it be their own Prince, or a Robber, or a Foreign-Enemy that Spoils, Maſſacres, and Enſlaves them. And queſtionleſs, being both alike Enemies of Humane Society, the one as well as the other may lawfully be oppos'd and puniſh'd; and their own Prince the rather, becauſe he, tho raiſed to that Dignity by the Honours that his People have conferr'd upon him, and being bound by his Oath to defend the Publick Safety, betrays it notwithſtanding all. At laſt you grant, That *Moſes preſcribes Laws, according to which the King that the People of* Iſrael *ſhould chuſe, ought to govern, tho different from this Right that* Samuel *propoſes*; which words contain a double Contradiction to what you have ſaid before. For whereas you had affirm'd, That a King was bound by no Law, here you confeſs he is. And you ſet up two contrary Rights, one deſcribed by *Moſes*, and another by *Samuel*, which is abſurd. *But*, ſays the Prophet, *you ſhall be Servants to your King*. Tho I ſhould grant that the *Iſraelites* were really ſo, it would not preſently follow, that it was the Right of their Kings to have them ſo; but that by the Uſurpation and Injuſtice of moſt of them, they were reduc'd to that Condition. For the Prophet had foretold them, that that importunate Petition of theirs would bring a Puniſhment from God upon them; not becauſe it would be their King's Right ſo to haraſs them, but becauſe they themſelves had deſerved it ſhould be ſo. If Kings are out of the reach of the Law, ſo as that they may do what they liſt, they are more abſolute than any Maſters, and their Subjects in a more deſpicable Condition than the worſt of Slaves. The Law of God provided ſome redreſs for them, tho of another Nation, if their Maſters were cruel and unreaſonable towards them. And can we imagine that the whole Body of the People of a free Nation, tho oppreſs'd and tyranniz'd over, and prey'd upon, ſhould be left remedileſs? That they had no Law to protect them, no Sanctuary to betake themſelves to? Can we think that they were delivered from the Bondage that they were under to the *Egyptian* Kings, to be reduced into a worſe to one of their own Brethren? All which being neither agreeable to the Law of God, nor to common Senſe, nothing can be more evident than that the Prophet declares to the People the *Manner*, and not the Right of Kings; nor the *Manner* of all Kings, but of moſt. Then you come to the *Rabbins*, and quote two of them, but you have as bad luck with them here, as you had before. For it is plain, that that other Chapter that *Rabbi Joſes* ſpeaks of, and which contains, he ſays, the Right of Kings, is that in *Deuteronomy*, and not in *Samuel*. For *Rabbi Judas* ſays very truly, and againſt you, that that Diſcourſe of *Samuel's* was intended only to frighten the People. 'Tis a moſt pernicious Doctrine to maintain that to be any ones Right, which in it ſelf is flat Injuſtice, unleſs you have a mind to ſpeak by contraries. And that *Samuel* intended to affrighten them, appears by the 18th Verſe, *And ye ſhall cry out in that day becauſe of your King, which ye ſhall have choſen you, and I will not hear you in that day, ſaith the Lord*. That was to be their Puniſhment for their Obſtinacy in perſiſting to deſire a King againſt the Mind and Will of God, and yet they are not forbidden here either to pray againſt him, or to endeavour to rid themſelves of him. For if they might lawfully pray to God againſt him, without doubt they might uſe all lawful means for their own Deliverance. For what man living, when he finds himſelf in any Calamity, betakes himſelf to God, ſo as to neglect his own Duty in order to a Redreſs, and rely upon his lazy Prayers only? But be it how it will, what is all this to the Right of Kings, or of the *Engliſh* People? who neither asked a King againſt the Will of God, nor had one appointed us by God, but by the Right that all Nations have to appoint their own Governours, appointed a King over us by Laws of our own, neither in Obedience to, nor againſt any Command of God? And this being the Caſe, for ought I ſee, we have done well in depoſing our King, and are to be commended for it, ſince the *Iſraelites* ſinned in asking one. And this the Event has made appear; for we, when we had a King, prayed to God againſt him, and he heard us, and delivered us: But the *Jews* (who not being under a Kingly Government, deſired a King) he ſuffered to live in Slavery under one, till, at laſt, after their return from the *Babyloniſh* Captivity, they betook themſelves to their former Government again.

Then you come to give us a diſplay of your Talmudical Learning, but you have as ill ſucceſs with that, as you have had with all the reſt. For whilſt you are endeavouring to prove that Kings are not liable to any Temporal Judicature, you quote an Authority out of the Treatiſe of the *Sanhedrim*, *That the King neither is judged of others, nor does himſelf judg any.* Which is againſt the Peoples own Petition in *Samuel*; for they deſired a King that might judg them. You labour in vain to ſalve this, by telling us, that it is to be underſtood of thoſe Kings that reigned after the *Babyloniſh* Captivity. For then, what ſay ye to *Maimonides?* He makes *this difference betwixt the Kings of* Iſrael, *and thoſe of* Juda; *that the Kings of the Poſterity of* David *judg, and are judged*; *but the Kings of* Iſrael *do neither.* You contradict and quarrel with your ſelf or your *Rabbins*; and ſtill do my work for me. *This*, ſay you, *is not to be underſtood of the Kings of* Iſrael *in their firſt Inſtitution*; for in the 17th Verſe 'tis ſaid, *You ſhall be his Servants*; that is, he ſhall uſe ye to it, not that he ſhall have any Right to make you ſo. Or if you underſtand it of their Kings Right, 'tis but a Judgment of God upon them for asking a King; the effects of which they were ſenſible of under moſt of their Kings, tho not perhaps under all. But you need no Antagoniſts, you are ſuch a perpetual Adverſary to your ſelf. For you tell us now a Story, as if you were arguing on my ſide, how that firſt *Ariſtobulus*, and after him *Jannæus*, ſirnamed *Alexander*, did not receive that Kingly right that they pretended to, from the *Sanhedrim*, that great Treaſury and Oracle of the Laws of that Nation, but uſurped it by degrees againſt the Will of the Senate. For whoſe ſake, you ſay, that childiſh Fable of the principal Men of that Aſſembly *being ſtruck dead by the Angel* Gabriel, was firſt invented. And thus you confeſs that this magnificent Prerogative, upon which you ſeem mainly to rely, *viz.* *That Kings are not to be judged by any upon Earth*, ‘ Was grounded upon this worſe ‘ than an old Wives Tale, that is, upon a Rabbinical Fable. But that the *He*‘*brew* Kings were liable to be call'd in queſtion for their Actions, and to be pu‘niſhed with ſtripes, if they were found faulty, *Sichardus* ſhows at large out of the Writings of the *Rabbins*, to which Author you are indebted for all that you employ of that ſort of Learning, and yet you have the Impudence to be thwarting with him. Nay, we read in the Scripture that *Saul* thought himſelf bound by a Decree of his own making; and in Obedience thereunto, that he caſt Lots with his Son *Jonathan* which of them two ſhould die. *Uzzias* likewiſe, when he was thruſt out of the Temple by the Prieſts as a Leper, ſubmitted as every private Perſon in ſuch a Caſe ought to do, and ceas'd to be a King. Suppoſe he ſhould have refuſed to go out of the Temple, and lay down the Government, and live alone, and had reſolved to aſſert that Kingly Right of not being ſubject to any Law; do you think the Prieſts, and the People of the *Jews* would have ſuffered the Temple to be defiled, the Laws violated, and live themſelves in danger of the Infection? It ſeems there are Laws againſt a leprous King, but none againſt a Tyrant. Can any Man poſſibly be ſo mad and fooliſh as to fancy that the Laws ſhould ſo far provide for the Peoples Health, as tho ſome noiſome Diſtemper ſhould ſeize upon the King himſelf, yet to prevent the Infection's reaching them, and make no Proviſion for the Security of their Lives and Eſtates, and the very being of the whole State, againſt the Tyranny of a cruel, unjuſt Prince, which is incomparably the greater miſchief of the two? But, ſay you, *there can be no precedent ſhown of any one King, that has been arraigned in a Court of Juſtice, and condemn'd to dye.* *Sichardus* anſwers that well enough. 'Tis all one, ſays he, as if one ſhould argue on this manner. The Emperor of *Germany* never was ſummoned to appear before one of the Prince-Electors; therefore if the Prince Elector *Palatine* ſhould impeach the Emperor, he were not bound to plead to it; tho it appears by the Golden Bull, that *Charles* the Fourth ſubjected himſelf and his Succeſſors to that Cognizance and Juriſdiction. But no wonder if Kings were indulged in their Ambition, and their Exorbitances paſſed by, when the times were ſo corrupt and depraved, that even private Men, if they had either Money or Intereſt, might eſcape the Law, tho guilty of Crimes of never ſo high a Nature. That ἀνυπεύθυνον, that you ſpeak of, that is to be wholly independent upon any other, and accountable to none upon Earth, which you ſay is peculiar to the Majeſty of Sovereign Princes, *Ariſtotle* in the 4*th* Book of his *Pol. Ch.* 10. calls a moſt Tyrannical Form of Government, and not in the leaſt to be endured by a free People. And that Kings are not liable to be queſtion'd for their Actions, you prove by the Teſtimony of a very Worthy Author, that Barbarous Tyrant *Mark Anthony*, one of thoſe that ſubverted the Commonwealth of *Rome:* And yet he himſelf, when he undertook an Expedition againſt the *Parthians*, ſummon'd *Herod* before him, to anſwer to a Charge of Murder, and would have puniſhed him, but that *Herod* brib'd him. So that *Anthony*'s aſſerting this Prerogative Royal, and your *Defence of King Charles*, come both out of one and the ſame Spring. *And 'tis very reaſonable*, ſay you, *that it ſhould be ſo; for Kings derive their Authority from God alone.* What Kings are thoſe, I pray, that do ſo? For I deny that there ever were any ſuch Kings in the World, that derived their Authority *from God alone. Saul* the firſt King of *Iſrael* had never reign'd, but that the People deſired a King, even againſt the Will of God; and tho he was proclaimed King once at *Mizpah*, yet after that he lived a private Life, and look'd to his Fathers Cattel, till he was created ſo the ſecond time by the People at *Gilgal*. And what think ye of *David?* Tho he had been anointed once by God, was he not anointed the ſecond time in *Hebron* by the Tribe of *Judah*, and after that by all the People of *Iſrael*, and that after a mutual Covenant betwixt him and them? 2 *Sam.* 5. 1 *Chron.* 11. Now a Covenant lays an Obligation upon Kings, and reſtrains them within Bounds. *Solomon*, you ſay, *ſucceeded him in the Throne of the Lord, and was acceptable to all men:* 1 *Chron.* 29. So, that 'tis ſomething to be well-pleaſing in the Eyes of the People. *Jehoiadah* the Prieſt made *Joaſh* King, but firſt he made him and the People enter into a Covenant to one another, 2 *Kings* 11. I confeſs that theſe Kings, and all that reign'd of *David*'s Poſterity, were appointed to the Kingdom both by God and the People; but of all other Kings of what Country ſoever, I affirm, that they are made ſo by the People only; nor can you make it appear, that they are appointed by God any otherwiſe than as all other things, great and ſmall, are ſaid to be appointed by him, becauſe nothing comes to paſs without his Providence. So that I allow the Throne of *David* was in a peculiar manner call'd, *The Throne of the Lord*; whereas the Thrones of other Princes are no otherwiſe God's, than all other things in the World are his; which if you would, you might have learnt out of the ſame Chapter, Ver. 11, 12. *Thine, O Lord, is the greatneſs*, &c. *for all that is in the Heaven, and in the Earth is thine. Both riches and honour come of thee, and thou reigneſt over all.* And this is ſo often repeated, not to puff up Kings, but to put them in mind, tho they think themſelves Gods, that yet there is a God above them, to whom they owe whatever they are and have. And thus we eaſily underſtand what the Poets, and the *Eſſenes* among the *Jews* mean, when they tell us, That 'tis by God that Kings reign, and that they are of *Jupiter*; for ſo all of us are of God, we are all his Off-ſpring. So that this univerſal Right of Almighty God's, and the Intereſt that he has in Princes, and their Thrones, and all that belongs to them, does not at all derogate from the Peoples Right; but that notwithſtanding all this, *all other Kings*, not particularly and by name appointed by God, owe their Sovereignty to the People only, and conſequently are accountable to them for the management of it. The truth of which Doctrine, tho the Common People are apt to flatter their Kings, yet they themſelves acknowledg, whether good ones, as *Sarpedon* in *Homer* is deſcribed to have been; or bad ones, as thoſe Tyrants in the Lyrick Poet:

γλαῦκε, τίη δὴ νῶϊ τετιμήμεσθα μάλιςα, &c.

Glaucus, *in* Lycia *we're ador'd like Gods:*
*What makes 'twixt us and others ſo great odds?*

He reſolves the Queſtion himſelf: “Becauſe, ſays he, we excel others in Heroical Vertues: Let us fight manfully then, ſays he, leſt our Countrymen tax us with Sloth and Cowardice. In which words he intimates to us, both that Kings derive their Grandeur from the People, and that for their Conduct and Behaviour in War, they are accountable to them. Bad Kings indeed, tho to caſt ſome Terror into Peoples minds, and beget a Reverence of themſelves, they declare to the World, that God only is the Author of Kingly Government; in their Hearts and Minds they reverence no other Deity but that of Fortune, according to that paſſage in *Horace:*

*Te Dacus aſper, te profugi Scythæ,*
*Regumque matres barbarorum, &*
*Purpurei metuunt Tyranni.*

*Injurioſo ne pede proruas*
*Stantem columnam, neu populus frequens*
*Ad arma ceſſantes, ad arma*
*Concitet, imperiumque frangat.*

“ All barb’rous People, and their Princes too,
“ All Purple Tyrants honour you ;
“ The very wandring *Scythians* do.

“ Support the Pillar of the *Roman* State,
“ Leſt all Men be involv’d in one Mans fate.
“ Continue us in Wealth and Peace ;
“ Let Wars and Tumults ever ceaſe.

So that if ’tis by God that Kings now adays reign, ’tis by God too that the People aſſert their own Liberty ; ſince all things are of him, and by him. I’m ſure the Scripture bears witneſs to both ; that by him Kings reign, and that by him they are caſt down from their Thrones. And yet experience teaches us, that both theſe things are brought about by the People, oftner than by God. Be this Right of Kings therefore what it will, the Right of the People is as much from God as it. And when ever any People, without ſome viſible Deſignation of God himſelf, appoint a King over them, they have the ſame Right to put him down, that they had to ſet him up at firſt. And certainly ’tis a more God-like Action to depoſe a Tyrant, than to ſet up one : And there appears much more of God in the People, when they depoſe an unjuſt Prince, than in a King that oppreſſes an innocent People. Nay, the People have a Warrant from God to judg wicked Princes ; for God has conferr’d this very honour upon thoſe that are dear to him, that celebrating the praiſes of Chriſt their own King, ‘ they ſhall bind in Chains the Kings of the Nations, (under which Appellation all Tyrants under the Goſpel are included) ‘ and execute the Judg‘ments written upon them that challenge to themſelves an Exemption from all ‘ written Laws, *Pſalm* 149. So that there’s but little reaſon left for that wicked and fooliſh Opinion, that Kings who commonly are the worſt of Men, ſhould be ſo high in God’s account, as that he ſhould have put the World under them, to be at their beck, and be govern’d according to their humour ; and that for their ſakes alone he ſhould have reduced all Mankind, whom he made after his own Image, into the ſame condition with Brutes. After all this, rather than ſay nothing, you produce *M. Aurelius*, as a Countenancer of Tyranny ; but you had better have let him alone. I can’t ſay whether he ever affirm’d that Princes are accountable only before God’s Tribunal. But *Xiphiline* indeed, out of whom you quote thoſe Words of *M. Aurelius*, mentions a certain Government, which he calls an *Autarchy*, of which he makes God the only Judg : περὶ ἀυταρχίας ὁ Θεὸς μόνος κρίνειν δύναται. But that this word Autarchy and Monarchy are Synonymous, I cannot eaſily perſwade my ſelf to believe. And the more I read what goes before, the leſs I find my ſelf inclinable to think ſo. And certainly whoever conſiders the Context, will not eaſily apprehend what coherence this Sentence has with it, and muſt needs wonder how it comes ſo abruptly into the Text ; eſpecially ſince *Marcus Aurelius*, that Mirror of Princes, carried himſelf towards the People, as *Capitolinus* tells us, juſt as if *Rome* had been a Commonwealth ſtill. And we all know that when it was ſo, the Supreme Power was in the People. The ſame Emperor honoured the memory of *Tharſeas*, and *Helvidius*, and *Cato*, and *Dio*, and *Brutus*; who all were Tyrant-ſlayers, or affected the reputation of being thought ſo. In the firſt Book that he writes of his own Life, he ſays that he propos’d to himſelf a form of Government, under which all men might equally enjoy the benefit of the Law, and Right and Juſtice be equally adminiſtred to all. And in his fourth Book he ſays, The Law is Maſter, and not he. He acknowledged the right of the Senate and the People, and their Intereſt in all things : We are ſo far, ſays he, from having any thing of our own, that we live in your Houſes. Theſe things *Xiphiline* relates of him. So little did he arrogate ought to himſelf by virtue of his *Soveraign Right*. When he died, he recommended his Son to the *Romans* for his Succeſſor, if they ſhould think he deſerv'd it. So far was he from pretending to a Commiſſion from Heaven to exerciſe that abſolute and imaginary Right of Soveraignty, that Autarchy, that you tell us of. *All the Latin and Greek Books are full of Authorities of this nature.* But we have heard none of 'em yet. *So are the Jewiſh Authors.* And yet, you ſay, *The Jews in many things allow'd but too little to their Princes.* Nay, you'l find that both the *Greeks* and the *Latins* allow'd much leſs to Tyrants. And how little the *Jews* allow'd them, would appear, if that Book that *Samuel* wrote of *the manner of the Kingdom* were extant; which Book the *Hebrew* Doctors tell us their Kings tore in pieces and burnt, that they might be more at liberty to tyrannize ever the People without controul or fear of puniſhment. Now look about ye again, and catch hold of ſomewhat or other. In the laſt place you come to wreſt *David*'s words in the 17*th* Pſalm, *Let my ſentence come forth from thy preſence.* Therefore, ſays *Barnachmoni*, *God only can judg the King.* And yet it's moſt likely that *David* penn'd this Pſalm when he was perſecuted by *Saul*, at which time, though himſelf were anointed, he did not decline being judged even by *Jonathan*: *Notwithſtanding if there be iniquity in me, ſlay me thy ſelf*, 1 *Sam.* 20. At leaſt in this Pſalm he does no more than what any perſon in the world would do upon the like occaſion; being falſely accus'd by Men, he appeals to the judgment of God himſelf, *Let thine eyes look upon the thing that is right; thou haſt proved and viſited mine heart, &c.* What relation has this to a Temporal Judicature? Certainly they do no good office to this right of Kings, that thus diſcover the weakneſs of its foundation. Then you come with that thredbare argument, which of all others is moſt in vogue with our Courtiers, *Againſt thee, thee only have I ſinned*, *Pſal.* 51. 6. As if *David* in the midſt of his Repentance, when overwhelm'd with ſorrow, and almoſt drown'd in tears, he was humbly imploring God's Mercy, had any thoughts of this Kingly right of his when his heart was ſo low, that he thought he deſerv'd not the right of a ſlave. And can we think that he deſpis'd all the People of God, his own Brethren, to that degree, as to believe that he might murder 'em, plunder 'em, and commit Adultery with their Wives, and yet not ſin againſt them all this while? So Holy a Man could never be guilty of ſuch inſufferable Pride, nor have ſo little knowledg either of himſelf, or of his duty to his Neighbour. So without doubt, when he ſays, *Againſt thee only*, he meant, againſt thee chiefly have I ſinned, *&c.* But whatever he means, the words of a Pſalm are too full of Poetry, and this Pſalm too full of Paſſion, to afford us any exact definitions of Right and Juſtice; nor is it proper to argue any thing of that nature from 'em. *But David was never queſtion'd for this, nor made to plead for his life before the Sanhedrim.* What then? How ſhould they know that any ſuch thing had been, which was done ſo privately, that perhaps for ſome years after not above one or two were privy to it, as ſuch ſecrets there are in moſt Courts? 2 *Sam.* 12. *Thou haſt done this thing in ſecret.* Beſides, what if the Senate ſhould neglect to puniſh private perſons? Would any infer that therefore they ought not to be puniſh'd at all? But the reaſon why *David* was not proceeded againſt as a Malefactor, is not much in the dark: He had condemn'd himſelf in the 5*th* verſe, *The man that hath done this thing ſhall ſurely die.* To which the Prophet preſently replies, *Thou art the man.* So that in the Prophet's judgment as well as his own, he was worthy of death; but God by his Soveraign Right over all things, and of his great Mercy to *David*, abſolves him from the guilt of his Sin, and the ſentence of death which he had pronounc'd againſt himſelf; verſe 13*th*, *The Lord hath put away thy ſin, thou ſhalt not die.* The next thing you do is to rail at ſome bloody Advocate or other, and you take a deal of pains to refute the concluſion of his Diſcourſe. Let him look to that; I'll endeavour to be as ſhort as I can in what I've undertaken to perform. But ſome things I muſt not paſs by without taking notice of; as firſt and formoſt your notorious Contradictions; for in the 30th Page you ſay, *The Iſraelites do not deprecate an unjuſt, rapacious, tyrannical King, one as bad as the worſt of Kings are.* And yet, *Page* 42. you are very ſmart upon your Advocate, for maintaining that the *Iſraelites* asked for a Tyrant: *Would they have leap'd out of the Frying-pan into the*

*Fire*, ſay you, *and groan under the Cruelty of the worſt of Tyrants, rather than live under bad Judges, eſpecially being us'd to ſuch a Form of Government?* Firſt you ſaid the *Hebrews* would rather live under Tyrants than Judges, here you ſay they would rather live under Judges than Tyrants; and that *they deſired nothing leſs than a Tyrant.* So that your Advocate may anſwer you out of your own Book. For according to your Principles 'tis every King's Right to be a Tyrant. What you ſay next is very true, *The Supreme Power was then in the People, which appears by their own rejecting their Judges, and making choice of a Kingly Government.* Remember this when I ſhall have occaſion to make uſe of it. You ſay, that *God gave the Children of Iſrael a King, as a thing good and profitable for them, and deny that he gave them one in his anger, as a Puniſhment for their Sin* But that will receive an eaſy anſwer; for to what purpoſe ſhould they cry to God becauſe of the King that they had choſen, if it were not becauſe a Kingly Government is an evil thing; not in it ſelf, but becauſe it moſt commonly does, as *Samuel* forewarns the People that theirs would, degenerate into Pride and Tyranny. If y'are not yet ſatisfied, hark what you ſay your ſelf, acknowledg your own hand, and bluſh; 'tis in your *Apparatus ad Primatum: God gave them a King in his anger*, ſay you, *being offended at their Sin in rejecting him from ruling over them; and ſo the Chriſtian Church, as a Puniſhment for its forſaking the pure Worſhip of God, has been ſubjected to the more than Kingly Government of one mortal Head.* So that if you own Compariſon holds, either God gave the Children of *Iſrael* a King as an evil thing, and as a puniſhment; or he has ſet up the Pope for the good of the Church. Was there ever any thing more and light mad than this Man is? Who would truſt him in the ſmalleſt matters, that in things of ſo great concern ſays and unſays without any conſideration in the World? You tell us in your 29th Page, *That by the Conſtitution of all Nations, Kings are bound by no Law.* That *this had been the judgment both of the Eaſtern and Weſtern part of the World.* And yet *pag.* 43. you ſay, *That all the Kings of the Eaſt ruled* κατὰ νόμον, *according to Law, nay that the very Kings of* Egypt *in all matters whatſoever, whether great or ſmall, were tied to Laws.* Tho in the beginning of this Chapter you had undertook to demonſtrate, That *Kings are bound by no Laws, that they give Laws to others, but have none preſcribed to themſelves.* For my part I've no reaſon to be angry with ye, for either y'are mad, or of our ſide. You do not defend the King's Cauſe, but argue againſt him, and play the fool with him: Or if y'are in earneſt, that Epigram of *Catullus:*

*Tantò peſſimus omnium Poeta,*
*Quantò tu optimus omnium Patronus.*

The worſt of Poets, I my ſelf declare,
By how much you the beſt of Patrons are.

That Epigram, I ſay, may be turn'd, and very properly applied to you; for there never was ſo good a Poet, as you are a bad Patron. Unleſs *that ſtupidity*, that you complain your Advocate is *immers'd over head and ears in*, has blinded the eyes of your own underſtanding too, I'll make ye now ſenſible that y'are *became a very Brute* your ſelf. For now you come aud confeſs that *the Kings of all Nations have Laws preſcribed to them.* But then you ſay again, *They are not ſo under the power of them, as to be liable to cenſure or puniſhment of death, if they break them.* Which yet you have proved neither from Scripture, nor from any good Author. Obſerve then in ſhort; to preſcribe Municipal Laws to ſuch as are not bound by them, is ſilly and ridiculous; and to puniſh all others, but leave ſome one man at liberty to commit all ſort of Impieties without fear of puniſhment, is moſt unjuſt; the Law being general, and not making any exception; neither of which can be ſuppos'd to hold place in the Conſtitutions of any wiſe Law-maker, much leſs in thoſe of God's own making. But that all may perceive how unable you are to prove out of the writings of the *Jews*, what you undertook in this Chapter to make appear by 'em, you confeſs of your own accord, That *there are ſome Rabbins, who affirm that their Forefathers ought not to have had any other King than God himſelf; and that he ſet other Kings over them for their puniſhment.* And of thoſe mens opinion, I declare my ſelf to be. It is not fitting nor decent that any Man ſhould be a King that does not far excel all his Subjects.

But where Men are Equals, as in all Governments very many are, they ought to have an equal intereſt in the Government, and hold it by turns. But that all Men ſhould be Slaves to one that is their Equal, or (as it happens moſt commonly) far inferior to 'em, and very often a Fool, who can ſo much as entertain ſuch a thought without Indignation? Nor does *it make for the Honour of a Kingly Government, that our Saviour was of the Poſterity of ſome Kings*, more than it does for the commendation of the worſt of Kings, that he was the Offſpring of ſome of them too. *The* Meſſias *is a King*. We acknowledg him ſo to be, and rejoice that he is ſo; and pray that his Kingdom may come, for he is worthy: Nor is there any other either equal, or next to him. And yet a Kingly Government being put into the hands of unworthy and undeſerving Perſons, as moſt commonly it is, may well be thought to have done more harm than good to Mankind. Nor does it follow for all this that all Kings, as ſuch, are Tyrants. But ſuppoſe it did, as for argument-ſake I'll allow it does, leſt you ſhould think I'm too hard with ye; make you the beſt uſe of it you can. *Then*, ſay you, *God himſelf may properly be ſaid to be the King of Tyrants, nay, himſelf the worſt of all Tyrants.* If the firſt of theſe concluſions does not follow, another does, which may be drawn from moſt parts of your Book, *viz*. That you perpetually contradict, not only the Scriptures, but your own ſelf. For in the very laſt foregoing Period you had affirmed, that *God was the King of all things, having himſelf created them.* Now he created Tyrants and Devils, and conſequently by your own reaſon, is the King of ſuch. The ſecond of theſe Concluſions we deteſt, and wiſh that blaſphemous Mouth of yours were ſtopt up, with which you affirm God to be the worſt of Tyrants, if he be, as you often ſay he is, the King and Lord of ſuch. Nor do you much advantage your Cauſe by telling us that *Moſes was a King, and had the abſolute and ſupreme Power of a King.* For we could be content that any other were ſo, that could *refer our matters to God*, as *Moſes* did, and conſult with him about our affairs, *Exod.* 18. *v.* 19. But neither did *Moſes*, notwithſtanding his great familiarity with God, ever aſſume a Liberty of doing what he would himſelf. What ſays he of himſelf? *The people come unto me to enquire of God.* They came not then to receive *Moſes*'s own Dictates and Commands. Then ſays *Jethro*, ver. 19. *Be thou for the people to God-ward, that thou mayſt bring their cauſes unto God.* And *Moſes* himſelf ſays, *Deut.* 4. v. 5. *I have taught you Statutes and Judgments, even as the Lord my God commanded me.* Hence it is that he is ſaid to have been *faithful in all the Houſe of God*, Numb. 12. v. 7. So that the Lord *Jehovah* himſelf was the People's King, and *Moſes* no other than as it were an Interpreter or a Meſſenger betwixt him and them. Nor can you without Impiety and Sacrilege, transfer this abſolute Supream Power and Authority from God to a Man; (not having any Warrant from the Word of God ſo to do) which *Moſes* uſed only as a Deputy or Subſtitute to God; under whoſe Eye, and in whoſe Preſence, himſelf and the People always were. But now, for an aggravation of your wickedneſs, though here you make *Moſes* to have exercis'd an abſolute and unlimitted Power, in your *Apparat. ad Primat.* Page 230. you ſay that *he together with the ſeventy Elders ruled the people, and that himſelf was the chief of the people, but not their Maſter.* If *Moſes* therefore were a King, as certainly he was, and the beſt of Kings, and had a *Supream and Legal Power*, as you ſay he had, and yet neither was the People's Maſter nor govern'd them alone; then according to you, Kings, tho indued with the Supream Power, are not by virtue of that Sovereign and Kingly Right of theirs Lords over the People, nor ought to govern them alone; much leſs, according to their own Will and Pleaſure. After all this, you have the impudence to feign a Command from God to that People, *to ſet up a King over them, as ſoon as they ſhould be poſſeſſed of the Holy Land*, Deut. 17. For you craftily leave out the former words, *and ſhalt ſay, I will ſet a King over me*, &c. And now call to mind what you ſaid before, *Page* 42. and what I ſaid I ſhould have occaſion to make uſe of, *viz. That the Power was then in the People, and that they were entirely free.* What follows argues you either mad or irreligious; take whether you liſt: *God*, ſay you, *having ſo long before appointed a Kingly Government, as beſt and moſt proper for that People; What ſhall we ſay to* Samuel'*s oppoſing it, and God's own acting, as if himſelf were againſt it? How do theſe things agree?* He finds himſelf caught, and obſerve now with how great malice againſt the Prophet, and impiety againſt God, he endeavours to diſentangle himſelf. *We muſt conſider*, ſays he, *that* Samuel's *own Sons then judged the People, and the People rejected them becauſe of their corruption*; *now* Samuel *was loth his Sons ſhould be laid aſide, and God to gratify the Prophet, intimated to him, as if himſelf were not very well pleaſed with it.* Speak out ye Wretch, and never mince the matter: You mean, God dealt deceitfully with *Samuel*, and he with the People. It is not your Advocate, but your ſelf that are *frantick and diſtracted*; who caſt off all reverence to God Almighty, ſo you may but ſeem to honour the King. Would *Samuel* prefer the Intereſt of his Sons and their Ambition, and their Covetouſneſs, before the general good of all the People, when they asked a thing that would be good and profitable for them? Can we think that he would impoſe upon them by cunning and ſubtilty, and make them believe things that were not? Or if we ſhould ſuppoſe all this true of *Samuel*, would God himſelf countenance and gratify him in it; would he diſſemble with the People? So that either that was not the Right of Kings which *Samuel* taught the People; or elſe that Right by the Teſtimony, both of God and the Prophet, was an evil thing, was burdenſom, injurious, unprofitable, and chargeable to the Commonwealth: Or *Laſtly*, (which muſt not be admitted) God and the Prophet deceiv'd the People. God frequently proteſts that he was extreamly diſpleas'd with them for asking a King. V. 7th. *They have not rejected thee, but they have rejected me, that I ſhould not reign over them.* As if it were a kind of Idolatry to ask a King, that would even ſuffer himſelf to be ador'd, and aſſume almoſt Divine Honour to himſelf. And certainly, they that ſubject themſelves to a worldly Maſter, and ſet him above all Laws, come but a little ſhort of chuſing a ſtrange God: And a ſtrange one it commonly is; brutiſh, and void of all ſenſe and reaſon. So 1ſt of *Sam.* Chap. 10*th.* v. 19*th.* *And ye have this day rejected your God, who himſelf ſaved you out of all your adverſities and your tribulation, and ye have ſaid unto him, Nay, but ſet a King over us*, &c. and Chap. 12*th* v. 12*th* *Ye ſaid unto me, Nay, but a King ſhall reign over us*; *when the Lord your God was your King*: and v. the 17*th*. *See that your wickedneſs is great, that ye have done in the ſight of the Lord, in asking you a King.* And *Hoſea* ſpeaks contemptibly of the King, Chap. 13. v. 10, 11. *I will be thy King*; *where is any other that may ſave in all thy Cities, and thy Judges of whom thou ſaideſt, Give me a King and Princes? I gave thee a King in mine anger, and took him away in my wrath.* And *Gideon* that warlike Judg, that was greater than a King; *I will not rule over you*, ſays he, *neither ſhall my Son rule over you*; *the Lord ſhall rule over you*, Judges, Chap. the 8. Intimating thereby, that it is not fit for a Man, but for God only to exerciſe Dominion over Men. And hence *Joſephus* in his Book againſt *Appion*, an *Egyptian Grammarian*, and a foul-mouth'd fellow, like you, calls the Commonwealth of the *Hebrews* a Theocracy, becauſe the principality was in God only. In *Iſaiah*, Chap. 26. v. 13. the People in their Repentance, complain that it had been miſchievous to them, *that other Lords beſides God himſelf, had had Dominion over them.* All which places prove clearly, that God gave the *Iſraelites* a King in his anger; but now who can forbear laughing at the uſe you make of *Abimelech*'s Story? Of whom it is ſaid, when he was kill'd, partly by a Woman that hurl'd a piece of a Mill-ſtone upon him, and partly by his own Armour-Bearer, that *God rendred the wickedneſs of Abimelech. This Hiſtory*, ſay you, *proves ſtrongly that God only is the Judg and Avenger of Kings.* Yea, if this Argument holds, he is the only Judg and Puniſher of Tyrants, Villanous Raſcals and Baſtards. Whoever can get into the Saddle, whether by right or by wrong, has thereby obtain'd a Soveraign Kingly Right over the People, is out of all danger of puniſhment, all inferior Magiſtrates muſt lay down their Arms at his feet, the People muſt not dare to mutter. But what if ſome great notorious Robber had periſhed in War, as *Abimelech* did, would any Man infer from thence, That God only is the Judg and Puniſher of High-way-men? Or what if *Abimelech* had been condemn'd by the Law, and died by an Executioner's hand, would not God then have rendred his wickedneſs? You never read that the Judges of the Children of *Iſrael* were ever proceeded againſt according to Law: And yet you confeſs, That *where the Government is an Ariſtocracy, the Prince, if there be any, may and ought to be call'd in queſtion, if he break the Laws.* This in your 47*th Page*. And why may not a Tyrant as well be proceeded againſt in a Kingly Government? Why, becauſe God rendred the wickedneſs of *Abimelech*. So did the Women, and ſo did his own Armour-Bearer; over both which he pretended to a right of Soveraignty. And what if the Magiſtrates had rendred his wickedneſs? Do not they bear the Sword for that very purpoſe, for the puniſhment of Malefactors? Having done with his powerful argument from the Hiſtory of *Abimelech*'s death, he betakes himſelf, as his cuſtom is, to Slanders and Calumnies; nothing but Dirt and Filth comes from him: but for thoſe things that he promis'd to make appear, he hath not prov'd any one of them, either from the Scriptures, or from the Writings of the *Rabbins*. He alledges no reaſon why Kings ſhould be above all Laws, and they only of all mortal Men exempt from puniſhment, if they deſerve it. He falls foul upon thoſe very Authors and Authorities that he makes uſe of, and by his own Diſcourſe demonſtrates the truth of the opinion that he argues againſt. And perceiving that he is like to do but little good with his arguments, he endeavours to bring an *odium* upon us, by loading us with ſlanderous Accuſations, as having put to death the moſt Vertuous innocent Prince that ever reign'd. *Was King Solomon*, ſays he, *better than King Charles the Firſt?* I confeſs ſome have ventur'd to compare his Father King *James* with *Solomon*; nay to make King *James* the better Gentleman of the two. *Solomon* was *David*'s Son, *David* had been *Saul*'s Muſitian; but King *James* was the Son of the Earl of *Darly*, who as *Buchanan* tells us, becauſe *David* the Muſitian got into the Queen's Bed-Chamber at an unſeaſonable time, kill'd him a little after; for he could not get to him then, becauſe he had bolted the Door on the inſide. So that King *James* being the Son of an Earl, was the better Gentleman; and was frequently called a ſecond *Solomon*, though it is not very certain that himſelf was not the Son of *David* the Muſitian too. But how could it ever come into your head to make a compariſon betwixt King *Charles* and *Solomon?* For that very King *Charles* whom you praiſe thus to the Sky, that very Man's Obſtinacy, and Covetouſneſs, and Cruelty; his hard uſage of all good and honeſt Men, the Wars that he rais'd, the Spoilings and Plunderings and Conflagrations that he occaſioned, and the death of innumerable of his Subjects that he was the cauſe of, does his Son *Charles*, at this very time whilſt I'm a writing, confeſs and bewail in the Stool of Repentance in *Scotland*, and renounces there that Kingly Right that you aſſert. But ſince you delight in Parallels, let's compare King *Charles* and King *Solomon* together a little: *Solomon began his reign with the death of his Brother*, who had juſtly deſerved it; King *Charles* began his with his Father's Funeral, I do not ſay with his Murder: and yet all the marks and tokens of Poyſon that may be, appeared in his dead body; but that ſuſpition lighted upon the Duke of *Buckingham* only, whom the King notwithſtanding cleared to the Parliament, though he had killed the King, and his Father; and not only ſo, but he diſſolved the Parliament, leſt the matter ſhould be enquired into. *Solomon oppreſſed the people with heavy Taxes*; but he ſpent that Money upon the Temple of God, and in raiſing other publick Buildings: King *Charles* ſpent his in Extravagances. *Solomon* was enticed to Idolatry by many Wives: This Man by one. *Solomon* though he were ſeduced himſelf, we read not that he ſeduced others; but King *Charles* ſeduced and enticed others not only by large and ample rewards to corrupt the Church, but by his Edicts and Eccleſiaſtical Conſtitutions he compell'd them to ſet up Altars, which all Proteſtants abhor, and to bow down to Crucifixes painted over them on the Wall. *But yet for all this, Solomon was not condemned to die.* Nor does it follow, becauſe he was not, that therefore he ought not to have been. Perhaps there were many Circumſtances that made it then not expedient. But not long after the People both by words and actions made appear what they took to be their right, when Ten Tribes of Twelve revolted from his Son; and if he had not ſaved himſelf by flight, it is very likely they would have ſtoned him, notwithſtanding his Threats and big ſwelling words.

# CHAP. III.

HAving proved ſufficiently that the Kings of the *Jews* were ſubject to the ſame Laws that the People were; That there are no exceptions made in their favour in Scripture; That 'tis a moſt falſe aſſertion grounded upon no Reaſon, nor warranted by any Authority, to ſay, That Kings may do what they liſt with Impunity; That God has exempted them from all humane Juriſdiction, and reſerved them to his own Tribunal only: Let us now conſider, whether the Goſpel preach up any ſuch Doctrine, and enjoyn that blind Obedience which the Law was ſo far from doing, that it commanded the contrary; let us conſider, whether or no the Goſpel, that Heavenly Promulgation, as it were, of Chriſtian Liberty, reduce us to a condition of Slavery to Kings and Tyrants, from whoſe imperious rule even the old Law, that Miſtreſs of Slavery, diſcharged the People of God, when it obtained. Your firſt argument you take from the Perſon of Chriſt himſelf. But, alas! who does not know that he put himſelf into the condition, not of a private perſon only, but even of a Servant, that we might be made free? Nor is this to be underſtood of ſome internal ſpiritual Liberty only; how inconſiſtent elſe would that Song of his Mothers be with the deſign of his coming into the World, *He hath ſcattered the proud in the imagination of their heart, he hath put down the mighty from their ſeat, and hath exalted the humble and meek?* How ill ſuted to their occaſion would theſe expreſſions be, if the coming of Chriſt rather eſtabliſhed and ſtrengthened a Tyrannical Government, and made a blind ſubjection the duty of all Chriſtians? He himſelf having been born, and lived and died under a Tyrannical Government, has thereby purchaſed Liberty for us. As he gives us his Grace to ſubmit patiently to a condition of Slavery, if there be a neceſſity of it; ſo if by any honeſt ways and means we can rid our ſelves and obtain our Liberty, he is ſo far from reſtraining us, that he encourages us ſo to do. Hence it is that St. *Paul* not only of an Evangelical, but alſo of a Civil Liberty, ſays thus, 1 *Cor.* 7.21. *Art thou called being a Servant? care not for it; but if thou maiſt be made free, uſe it rather; you are bought with a price, be not ye Servants of Men.* So that you are very impertinent in endeavouring to argue us into Slavery by the example of our Saviour; who by ſubmitting to ſuch a condition himſelf, has confirmed even our Civil Liberties. He took upon him indeed in our ſtead the form of a Servant, but he always retained his purpoſe of being a Deliverer; and thence it was that he taught us a quite other notion of the Right of Kings, than this that you endeavour to make good. You, I ſay, that preach up not Kingſhip, but Tyranny, and that in a Commonwealth; by enjoyning not only a neceſſary, but a Religious Subjection to whatever Tyrant gets into the Chair, whether he come to it by Succeſſion, or by Conqueſt, or Chance, or any how. And now I'll turn your own Weapons againſt you; and oppoſe you, as I uſe to do, with your own Authorities. When the Collectors of the Tribute-Money came to Chriſt for Tribute in *Galilee*, he asked *Peter*, Mat. 17. *Of whom the Kings of the Earth took cuſtom or tribute, of their own Children, or of Strangers? Peter ſaith unto him, Of Strangers; Jeſus ſaith unto him, then are the Children free; notwithſtanding leſt we ſhould offend them,* &c. *give unto them for thee and for me.* Expoſitors differ upon this place, whom this Tribute was paid to; ſome ſay it was paid to the Prieſts, for the uſe of the Sanctuary; others that it was paid to the Emperour. I am of opinion that it was the Revenue of the Sanctuary, but paid to *Herod*, who perverted the Inſtitution of it, and took it to himſelf. *Joſephus* mentions divers ſorts of Tribute which he and his Sons exacted, all which *Agrippa* afterwards remitted. And this very Tribute, though ſmall in it ſelf, yet being accompanied with many more, was a heavy burden. The *Jews*, even the pooreſt of them in the time of their Commonwealth, paid a Poll, ſo that it was ſome conſiderable oppreſſion that our Saviour ſpoke of; and from hence he took occaſion to tax *Herod*'s Injuſtice (under whoſe Government, and within whoſe Juriſdiction he then was) in that, whereas the Kings of the Earth, who affect uſually the Title of Fathers of their Country, do not uſe to oppreſs their own Children, that is, their own natural born Subjects with heavy and unreaſonable Exactions, but lay ſuch burdens upon ſtrangers, and conquer'd enemies; he, quite contrary, oppreſſed not ſtrangers, but his own people. But let what will be here meant by Children, either natural born Subjects, or the Children of God, and thoſe the Elect only, or Chriſtians in general, as St. *Auguſtine* underſtands the place; this is certain, that if *Peter* was a Child, and therefore free, then by conſequence we are ſo too, by our Saviour's own Teſtimony, either as *Engliſhmen*, or as Chriſtians; and that it therefore is not the Right of Kings to exact heavy Tributes from their own Countrymen, and thoſe freeborn Subjects. Chriſt himſelf profeſſes, that he paid not this Tribute as a thing that was due, but that he might not bring trouble upon himſelf by offending thoſe that demanded it. The work that he came into this World to do, was quite of another nature. But if our Saviour deny, that it is the Right of Kings to burden their Free-born Subjects with grievous Exactions; he would certainly much leſs allow it to be their Right to Spoil, Maſſacre, and Torture their own Countrymen, and thoſe Chriſtians too. He diſcourſed after ſuch a manner of the Right of Kings, that thoſe to whom he ſpoke, ſuſpected his Principles, as laying too great a reſtraint upon Soveraignty, and not allowing the Licenſe that Tyrants aſſume to themſelves to be the Rights of Kings. It was not for nothing that the *Phariſees* put ſuch Queſtions to him, tempting him; and that at the ſame time they told him, that he regarded not the Perſon of any Man: nor was it for nothing that he was angry when ſuch Queſtions were propoſed to him, *Matth.* 22. If one ſhould endeavour to enſnare you with little Queſtions, and catch at your Anſwers, to ground an Accuſation againſt you upon your own Principles concerning the Right of Kings, and all this under a Monarchy, would you be angry with him? You'd have but very little reaſon. 'Tis evident, That our Saviour's Principles concerning Government, were not agreeable to the Humour of Princes. His Anſwer too implies as much; by which he rather turn'd them away, than inſtructed them. He asked for the Tribute-Money. *Whoſe Image and Superſcription is it*, ſays he? They tell him it was *Cæſar*'s. *Give then to Cæſar*, ſays he, *the things that are Cæſar's; and to God, the things that are God's.* And how comes it to paſs, that the People ſhould not have given to them the things that are theirs? *Render to all Men their dues*, ſays St. *Paul*, *Rom.* 13. So that *Cæſar* muſt not ingroſs all to himſelf. Our Liberty is not *Cæſar*'s; 'tis a Bleſſing we have received from God himſelf; 'tis what we are born to; to lay this down at *Cæſar*'s feet, which we derive not from him, which we are not beholden to him for, were an unworthy Action, and a degrading of our very Nature. If one ſhould conſider attentively the Countenance of a Man, and enquire after whoſe Image ſo noble a Creature were framed; would not any one that heard him, preſently make anſwer, That he was made after the Image of God himſelf? Being therefore peculiarly God's own, and conſequently things that are to be given to him; we are intirely free by Nature, and cannot without the greateſt Sacrilege imaginable be reduced into a Condition of Slavery to any Man, eſpecially to a wicked, unjuſt, cruel Tyrant. Our Saviour does not take upon him to determine what things are God's, and what *Cæſar*'s; he leaves that as he found it. If the piece of Money which they ſhewed him, was the ſame that was paid to God, as in *Veſpaſian*'s time it was; then our Saviour is ſo far from having put an end to the Controverſy, that he has but entangl'd it, and made it more perplext than it was before: for 'tis impoſſible the ſame thing ſhould be given both to God, and to *Cæſar*. But, you ſay, he intimates to them what things were *Cæſar*'s; to wit, that piece of Money becauſe it bore the Emperor's Stamp; and what of all that? How does this advantage your Cauſe? You get not the Emperor, or your ſelf a Penny by this Concluſion. Either Chriſt allowed nothing at all to be *Cæſar*'s, but that piece of Money that he then had in his hand, and thereby aſſerted the Peoples Intereſt in every thing elſe; or elſe, if (as you would have us underſtand him) he affirms all Money that has the Emperor's ſtamp upon it, to be the Emperor's own, he contradicts himſelf, and indeed gives the Magiſtrate a property in every Man's Eſtate, when as he himſelf paid his Tribute-Money with a Proteſtation, that it was more than what either *Peter*, or he were bound to do. The ground you rely on, is very weak; for Money bears the Prince's Image, not as a token of its being his, but of its being good Metal, and that none may preſume to counterfeit it. If the writing Princes Names, or ſetting their Stamps upon a thing, veſt the property of it in them, 'twere a good ready way for them to invade all

Property. Or rather, if whatever Subjects have, be abſolutely at their Princes diſpoſal, which is your Aſſertion, that piece of Money was not *Cæſar's*, becauſe his Image was ſtampt on it, but becauſe of Right it belonged to him before 'twas coyn'd. So that nothing can be more manifeſt, than that our Saviour in this place never intended to teach us our Duty to Magiſtrates (he would have ſpoke more plainly if he had) but to reprehend the Malice and Wickedneſs of the hypocritical *Phariſees*. When they told him that *Herod* laid wait to kill him; did he return an humble, ſubmiſſive Anſwer? *Go, tell that Fox*, ſays he, *&c.* intimating, that Kings have no other Right to deſtroy their Subjects, than Foxes have to devour the things they prey upon. Say you, 'He ſuffered 'Death under a Tyrant. How could he poſſibly under any other? But from hence you conclude, that he aſſerted it to be the Right of Kings to commit Murder, and act Injuſtice. You'd make an excellent Moraliſt. But our Saviour, tho he became a Servant, not to make us ſo, but that we might be free; yet carried he himſelf ſo with relation to the Magiſtracy, as not to aſcribe any more to them than their due. Now, let us come at laſt to enquire what his Doctrine was upon this Subject. The Sons of *Zebedee* were ambitious of Honour and Power in the Kingdom of *Chriſt*, which they perſwaded themſelves he would ſhortly ſet up in the World; he reproves them ſo, as withal to let all Chriſtians know what Form of Civil Government he deſires they ſhould ſettle amongſt themſelves. *Ye know*, ſays he, *that the Princes of the Gentiles exerciſe dominion over them; and they that are great, exerciſe authority upon them: but it ſhall not be ſo among you; but whoſoever will be great among you, let him be your Miniſter; and whoſoever will be chief among you, let him be your Servant.* Unleſs you'd been diſtracted, you could never have imagined that this place makes for you: and yet you urge it, and think it furniſhes you with an Argument to prove that our Kings are abſolute Lords and Maſters over us and ours. May it be our fortune to have to do with ſuch Enemies in War, as will fall blindfold and naked into our Camp inſtead of their own: as you conſtantly do, who alledg that for your ſelf, that of all things in the World makes moſt againſt you. The *Iſraelites* asked God for a King, ſuch a King as other Nations round about them had. God diſſwaded them by many Arguments, whereof our Saviour here gives us an Epitome; *You know that the Princes of the* Gentiles *exerciſe Dominion over them.* But yet, becauſe the *Iſraelites* perſiſted in their deſire of a King, God gave them one, tho in his Wrath. Our Saviour, leſt Chriſtians ſhould deſire a King, ſuch a one at leaſt as might rule, as he ſays the Princes of the *Gentiles* did, prevents them with an Injunction to the contrary; *but it ſhall not be ſo among you.* What can be ſaid plainer than this? That ſtately, imperious Sway and Dominion that Kings uſe to exerciſe, ſhall not be amongſt you; what ſpecious Titles ſoever they may aſſume to themſelves, as that of Benefactors, or the like. *But he that will be great amongſt you* (and who is greater than the Prince?) *let him be your Servant.* So that the Lawyer, whoever he be, that you are ſo ſmart upon, was not ſo much out of the way, but had our Saviour's own Authority to back him, when he ſaid that Chriſtian Princes were indeed no other than the People's Servants; 'tis very certain that all good Magiſtrates are ſo. Inſomuch that Chriſtians either muſt have no King at all, or if they have, that King muſt be the People's Servant. Abſolute Lordſhip and Chriſtianity are inconſiſtent. *Moſes* himſelf, by whoſe Miniſtry that ſervile Oeconomy of the old Law was inſtituted, did not exerciſe an arbitrary, haughty Power and Authority, but bore the burden of the People, and carried them in his Boſom, as a Nurſing Father does a ſucking Child, *Numb.* 11. and what is that of a Nurſing Father, but a Miniſterial Imployment? *Plato* would not have the Magiſtrates called Lords, but Servants and Helpers of the People; nor the People Servants, but Maintainers of their Magiſtrates, becauſe they give Meat, Drink, and Wages to their Kings themſelves. *Ariſtotle* calls the Magiſtrates, Keepers and Miniſters of the Laws. *Plato*, Miniſters and Servants. The Apoſtle calls them Miniſters of God; but they are Miniſters and Servants of the People, and of the Laws, nevertheleſs for all that; the Laws and the Magiſtrates were both created for the good of the People: And yet this is it, that you call *the Opinion of the Fanatick Maſtiffs in* England. I ſhould not have thought the People of *England* were Maſtiff-dogs, if ſuch a Mungril-Cur as thou art, did not bark at them ſo curriſhly. The Maſter, if it ſhall pleaſe ye, of St. *Lupus* *, complains it ſeems that the Maſtiffs are mad (*Fanaticks*). *Germanus* heretofore, whoſe Colleague that *Lupus* of *Triers* was, depoſed our Inceſtuous King *Vortigerne* by his own Authority. And therefore St. *Lupus* deſpiſes thee, the Maſter not of *a Holy Wolf* but of ſome hunger-ſtarv'd thieving little Wolf or other, as being more contemptible than that Maſter of Vipers, of whom *Martial* makes mention, who haſt by relation a barking She-Wolf at home too, that domineers over thee moſt wretchedly; at whoſe Inſtigations, as I am informed, thou haſt wrote this ſtuff. And therefore it is the leſs wonder that thou ſhouldſt endeavour to obtrude an abſolute Regal Government upon others, who haſt been accuſtomed to bear a Female Rule ſo ſervilely at home thy ſelf. Be therefore, in the Name of God, the Maſter of a Wolf, leſt a She-Wolf be thy Miſtreſs; be a Wolf thy ſelf, be a Monſter made up of a Man, and a Wolf; whatever thou art, the *Engliſh* Maſtiffs will but make a laughing-ſtock of thee. But I am not now at leiſure to hunt for Wolves, and will put an end therefore to this Digreſſion. You that but a while ago wrote a Book againſt all manner of ſuperiority in the Church, now call St. *Peter* the Prince of the Apoſtles. How inconſtant you are in your Principles! But what ſays *Peter? Submit your ſelves to every ordinance of Man, for the Lord's ſake, whether it be to the King as Supream, or to Governours, as unto them that are ſent by him for the puniſhment of evil doers, and the praiſe of them that do well: for ſo is the will of God,* &c. This Epiſtle *Peter* wrote, not only to private Perſons, but thoſe Strangers ſcatter'd and diſpers'd through *Aſia*; who in thoſe places where they ſojourned, had no other Right, than what the Laws of Hoſpitality intituled them to. Do you think ſuch Mens caſe to be the ſame with that of Natives, Free-born Subjects, Nobility, Senates, Aſſemblies of Eſtates, Parliaments? Nay, is not the caſe far different of private Perſons, tho' in their own Countrey; and Senators, or Magiſtrates, without whom, Kings themſelves cannot poſſibly ſubſiſt? But let us ſuppoſe that St. *Peter* had directed his Epiſtle to the Natural-born Subjects, and thoſe not private perſons neither; ſuppoſe he had writ to the Senate of *Rome*, What then? No Law that is grounded upon a reaſon, expreſly ſet down in the Law it ſelf, obligeth further than the reaſon of it extends. *Be ſubject*, ſays he, ὑποτάγητε: That is, according to the genuine ſenſe and import of the word, *be ſubordinate, or legally ſubject.* For the Law, *Ariſtotle* ſays, is Order. *Submit for the Lord's ſake.* Why ſo? Becauſe a King is an Officer *appointed by God for the puniſhment of evil doers, and the praiſe of them that do well; For ſo is the will of God:* To wit, that we ſhould ſubmit and yield Obedience to ſuch as are here deſcribed. There is not a word ſpoken of any other. You ſee the ground of this Precept, and how well 'tis laid. The Apoſtle adds in the 16th verſ. as *Free*; therefore not as *Slaves.* What now? if Princes pervert the deſign of Magiſtracy, and uſe the power, that is put into their Hands, to the ruin and deſtruction of good Men, and the praiſe and encouragement of evil doers; Muſt we all be condemn'd to perpetual Slavery, not private perſons only, but our Nobility, all our inferior Magiſtrates, our very Parliament it ſelf? Is not temporal Government call'd a humane Ordinance? How comes it to paſs then, that Mankind ſhould have power to appoint and conſtitute, what may be good and profitable for one another; and want power to reſtrain or ſuppreſs things that are univerſally miſchievous and deſtructive? That Prince, you ſay, to whom St. *Peter* enjoyns Subjection, was *Nero* the Tyrant: And from thence you infer, that it is our Duty to ſubmit and yield Obedience to ſuch. But it is not certain that this Epiſtle was writ in *Nero*'s Reign: 'Tis as likely to have been writ in *Claudius*'s time. And they that are commanded to ſubmit, were private Perſons and Strangers; they were no Conſuls, no Magiſtrates: 'Twas not the *Roman Senate*, that St. *Peter* directed his Epiſtle to. Now let us hear what uſe you make of St. *Paul* (for you take a freedom with the Apoſtles, I find, that you will not allow us to take with Princes; you make St. *Peter* the chief of them to day, and to morrow put another in his place) St. *Paul* in his 13th Chap. to the *Romans*, has theſe words: *Let every Soul be ſubject unto the higher Powers, for there is no power but of God; the powers that be, are ordained of God.* I confeſs he writes this to the *Romans*, not to Strangers diſpers'd, as *Peter* did; but however he writes to private perſons, and thoſe of the meaner rank: And yet he gives us a true, and a clear account of the reaſon, the original, and the deſign of Government; and ſhows us the true and proper ground of our Obedience, that it's far from impoſing a neceſſity upon us of being Slaves. “Let every

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* **Lupus** in Latin, *ſignifies* wolf.

Soul, ſays he; that is, let every Man ſubmit. *Chryſoſtom* tells us, “ That St. *Paul*'s deſign in this Diſcourſe, was to make it appear, that our Saviour did not go about to introduce Principles inconſiſtent with the Civil Government, but ſuch as ſtrengthned it, and ſettled it upon the ſureſt Foundations. He never intended then by ſetting *Nero*, or any other Tyrant out of the reach of all Laws, to enſlave Mankind under his Luſt and Cruelty. “ He intended too, *ſays the ſame Author*, to diſſwade from unneceſſary and cauſleſs Wars. But he does not condemn a War taken up againſt a Tyrant, a Boſom-Enemy of his own Countrey, and conſequently the moſt dangerous that may be. 'Twas commonly ſaid in thoſe days, that the Doctrine of the Apoſtles was ſeditious, themſelves Perſons that endeavour'd to ſhake the ſetled Laws and Government of the World; that this was what they aimed at in all they ſaid and did. The Apoſtle in this Chapter ſtops the mouths of ſuch Gainſayers: So that the Apoſtles did not write in defence of Tyrants, as you do; but they aſſerted ſuch things as made them ſuſpected to be Enemies to the Government they liv'd under, things that ſtood in need of being explained and interpreted, and having another ſenſe put upon them than was generally receiv'd. St. *Chryſoſtom* has now taught us what the Apoſtle's deſign was in this Diſcourſe; let us now examine his Words: *Let every Soul be ſubject to the Higher Powers.* He tells us not what thoſe Higher Powers are, nor who they are; for he never intended to overthrow all Governments, and the ſeveral Conſtitutions of Nations, and ſubject all to ſome one Man's will. Every good Emperour acknowledged that the Laws of the Empire, and the Authority of the Senate was above himſelf: and the ſame principle and notion of Government has obtained all along in civiliz'd Nations. *Pindar*, as he is cited by *Herodotus*, calls the Law πάντων βασιλέα, *King over all.* *Orpheus* in his Hymns calls it the King both of Gods and Men: And he gives the reaſon why it is ſo; *Becauſe*, ſays he, *'tis that that ſits at the helm of all humane affairs.* *Plato* in his Book *De Legibus*, calls it τὸ κρατοῦν ἐν τῇ πόλει: *that that ought to have the greateſt ſway in the Commonwealth.* In his Epiſtles he commends that Form of Government, in which the Law is made Lord and Maſter, and no ſcope given to any Man to tyrannize over the Laws. *Ariſtotle* is of the ſame opinion in his *Politicks*; and ſo is *Cicero* in his Book *de Legibus*, That the Laws ought to govern the Magiſtrates as they do the People. The Law therefore having always been accounted the higheſt Power on Earth, by the judgment of the moſt learned and wiſe men that ever were, and by the Conſtitutions of the beſt ordered States; and it being very certain that the Doctrine of the Goſpel is neither contrary to Reaſon nor the Law of Nations, that Man is truly and properly ſubject to the higher Powers who obeys the Law and the Magiſtrates, ſo far as they govern according to Law. So that St. *Paul* does not only command the People, but Princes themſelves to be in ſubjection; who are not above the Laws, but bound by them, *For there is no Power but of God:* that is no Form, no lawful Conſtitution of any Government. The moſt ancient Laws that are known to us, were formerly aſcribed to God as their Author. For the Law, ſays *Cicero* in his *Philippicks*, is no other than a rule of well-grounded reaſon, derived from God himſelf, enjoyning whatever is juſt and right, and forbidding the contrary. So that the inſtitution of Magiſtracy is *Jure Divino*, and the end of it is, that Mankind might live under certain Laws, and be govern'd by them. But what particular Form of Government each Nation would live under, and what Perſons ſhould be entruſted with the Magiſtracy, without doubt, was left to the choice of each Nation. Hence St. *Peter* calls Kings and Deputies, *Humane Ordinances.* And *Hoſea* in the 8th Chapter of his Propheſy, *They have ſet up Kings, but not by me; they have made Princes, and I knew it not.* For in the Commonwealth of the *Hebrews*, where upon matters of great and weighty importance they could have acceſs to God himſelf, and conſult with him, they could not chuſe a King themſelves by Law, but were to refer the matter to him. Other Nations have received no ſuch Command. Sometimes the very Form of Government, if it be amiſs, or at leaſt thoſe Perſons that have the Power in their hands, are not of God, but of Men, or of the Devil, Luke 4. *All this Power will I give unto thee, for it is delivered unto me, and I give it to whom I will.* Hence the Devil is called the Prince of this World; and in the 12th of the *Revelations*, the Dragon gave to the Beaſt his Power, and his Throne, and great Authority. So that we muſt not underſtand St. *Paul*, as if he ſpoke of all ſorts of Magiſtrates in general, but of lawful Magiſtrates; and ſo they are deſcribed in what follows. We muſt alſo underſtand him of the Powers themſelves; not of thoſe Men always, in whoſe hands they are lodged. St. *Chryſoſtom* ſpeaks very well, and clearly upon this occaſion. *What?* ſays he, *is every Prince then appointed by God to be ſo? I ſay no ſuch thing*, ſays he. *St.* Paul *ſpeaks not of the Perſon of the Magiſtrate, but of the Magiſtracy it ſelf. He does not ſay, there is no Prince but who is of God. He ſays there is no Power but of God.* Thus far St. *Chryſoſtom*; for what Powers are, are ordained of God: So that St. *Paul* ſpeaks only of a lawful Magiſtracy. For what is evil and amiſs, cannot be ſaid to be ordain'd, becauſe 'tis diſorderly; Order and Diſorder cannot conſiſt together in the ſame Subject. The Apoſtle ſays, *The Powers that be*; and you interpret his words as if he had ſaid, *The Powers that now be*; that you may prove that the *Romans* ought in Conſcience to obey *Nero*, who you take for granted was then Emperor. I'm very well content you ſhould read the words ſo, and draw that Concluſion from them. The Conſequence will be, that *Engliſh* Men ought to yield Obedience to the preſent Government, as 'tis now eſtabliſht according to a new Model; becauſe you muſt needs acknowledg that it is the *preſent* Government, and ordain'd of God, as much at leaſt as *Nero*'s was. And leſt you ſhould object that *Nero* came to the Empire by a Lawful Succeſſion, it's apparent from the *Roman* Hiſtory that both he and *Tiberius* got into the Chair by the Tricks and Artifices of their Mothers, and had no right at all to the Succeſſion. So that you are inconſiſtent with your ſelf, and retract from your own Principles, in affirming that the *Romans* owed Subjection to the Government that then was; and yet denying that *Engliſhmen* owe Subjection to the Government that now is. But 'tis no wonder to hear you contradict your ſelf. There are no two things in the World more directly oppoſite and contrary to one another, than you are to your ſelf. But what will become of you, poor Wretch? You have quite undone the young King with your Witticiſms, and ruin'd his Fortunes utterly; for according to your own Doctrine you muſt needs confeſs, that this *preſent* Government in *England*, is *ordain'd of God*, and that all *Engliſhmen* are bound in Conſcience to ſubmit to it. Take notice all ye Criticks and Textuaries; Do not you preſume to meddle with this Text. Thus *Salmaſius* corrects that Paſſage in the Epiſtle to the *Romans*: He has made a diſcovery, that the Words ought not to be read, *The Powers that are*; but, *The Powers that now are*: And all this to prove that all Men owed Subjection and Obedience to *Nero* the Tyrant, whom he ſuppoſed to have been then Emperor. This *Epiſtle*, which you ſay was writ in *Nero*'s time, was writ in his Predeceſſor's time, who was an honeſt well-meaning Man: And this learned Men evince by undeniable Arguments. But beſides, the five firſt years of *Nero*'s reign were without exception. So that this thredbare Argument, which ſo many Men have at their Tongues end, and have been deceived by, to wit, that Tyrants are to be obeyed, becauſe St. *Paul* injoyns a Subjection to *Nero*, is evident to have been but a cunning Invention of ſome ignorant Parſon. *He that reſiſts the Powers*, to wit, a lawful Power, *reſiſts the Ordinance of God.* Kings themſelves come under the Penalty of this Law, when they reſiſt the Senate, and act contrary to the Laws. But do they reſiſt the Ordinance of God, that reſiſt an unlawful Power, or a Perſon that goes about to overthrow and deſtroy a lawful one? No Man living in his right Wits can maintain ſuch an Aſſertion. The words immediately after make it as clear as the Sun, that the Apoſtle ſpeaks only of a lawful power; for he gives us in them a Definition of Magiſtrates, and thereby explains to us who are the Perſons thus authoriz'd, and upon what account we are to yield Obedience, leſt we ſhould be apt to miſtake and ground extravagant Notions upon his Diſcourſe. *The Magiſtrates*, ſays he, *are not a Terror to good Works, but to evil; Wilt thou then not be afraid of the Power? Do that which is good, and thou ſhalt have praiſe of the ſame: For he is the Miniſter of God to thee for good. He beareth not the Sword in vain; for he is the Miniſter of God, a Revenger to execute Wrath upon him that doth Evil.* What honeſt Man would not willingly ſubmit to ſuch a Magiſtracy as is here deſcribed? And that not only to avoid Wrath, and for fear of Puniſhment, but *for Conſcience ſake.* Without Magiſtrates, and ſome Form or other of Civil Government, no Commonwealth, no Humane Society can ſubſiſt, there were no living in the World. But whatever Power enables a Man, or whatſoever Magiſtrate takes upon him to act contrary to what St. *Paul* makes the Duty of thoſe that are in Authority; neither is that Power, nor that Magiſtrate ordain'd of God. And conſequently to ſuch a Magiſtracy no Subjection is commanded, nor is any due, nor are the People forbidden to reſiſt ſuch Authority; for in ſo doing they do not reſiſt the Power, nor the Magiſtracy, as they are here excellently well deſcribed; but they reſiſt a Robber, a Tyrant, an Enemy; who if he may notwithſtanding in ſome ſenſe be called a Magiſtrate, upon this account only, becauſe he has Power in his hands, which perhaps God may have inveſted him with for our puniſhment; by the ſame reaſon the Devil may be called a Magiſtrate. This is moſt certain, that there can be but one true Definition of one and the ſame thing. So that if St. *Paul* in this place define what a Magiſtrate is, which he certainly does, and that accurately well; He cannot poſſibly define a *Tyrant*, the moſt contrary thing imaginable, in the ſame words. Hence I infer, that he commands us to ſubmit to ſuch Magiſtrates only as he himſelf defines and deſcribes, and not to *Tyrants*, which are quite other things. *For this Cauſe you pay Tribute alſo:* He gives a Reaſon, together with a Command. Hence St. *Chryſoſtom*; *Why do we pay Tribute to Princes? Do we not*, adds he, *thereby reward them for the care they take of our Safety? We ſhould not have paid them any Tribute if we had not been convinc'd, that it was good for us to live under a Government.* So that I muſt here repeat what I have ſaid already, That ſince Subjection is not abſolutely enjoined, but on a particular Reaſon, that Reaſon muſt be the rule of our Subjection: where that Reaſon holds, we are Rebels if we ſubmit not; where it holds not, we are Cowards and Slaves if we do. *But*, ſay you, *the* Engliſh *are far from being Freemen; for they are wicked and flagitious.* I will not reckon up here the Vices of the *French*, tho they live under a Kingly Government; neither will I excuſe my own Countrey-men too far: but this I may ſafely ſay, whatever Vices they have, they have learnt them under a Kingly Government; as the *Iſraelites* learnt a great deal of Wickedneſs in *Egypt*. And as they, when they were brought into the Wilderneſs, and lived under the immediate Government of God himſelf, could hardly reform, juſt ſo 'tis with us. But there are good hopes of many amongſt us; that I may not here celebrate thoſe Men who are eminent for their Piety and Virtue, and Love of the Truth; of which ſort I perſwade my ſelf we have as great a number, as where you think there are moſt ſuch. But *they have laid a heavy yoke upon the* Engliſh *Nation:* What if they have, upon thoſe of them that endeavoured to lay a heavy Yoke upon all the reſt? Upon thoſe that have deſerved to be put under the hatches? As for the reſt, I queſtion not but they are very well content to be at the expence of maintaining their own Liberty, the Publick Treaſury being exhauſted by the Civil Wars. Now he betakes himſelf to the Fabulous *Rabbins* again: He aſſerts frequently, that Kings are bound by no Laws; and yet he proves, That according to the ſenſe of the *Rabbins*, *a King may be guilty of Treaſon, by ſuffering an Invaſion upon the Rights of his Crown.* So Kings are bound by Laws, and they are not bound by them; they may be Criminals, and yet they may not be ſo. This Man contradicts himſelf ſo perpetually, that Contradiction and he ſeem to be of kin to one another. You ſay that God himſelf put many Kingdoms under the yoke of *Nebuchadnezzar*, King of *Babylon*. I confeſs he did ſo for a time, *Jer.* 27. 7. but do you make appear if you can, that he put the *Engliſh* Nation into a condition of Slavery to *Charles Stuart* for a minute. I confeſs he ſuffered them to be enſlaved by him for ſome time; but I never yet heard that himſelf appointed it ſo to be. Or if you will have it ſo, that God ſhall be ſaid to put a Nation under Slavery, when a Tyrant prevails; why may he not as well be ſaid to deliver them from his Tyranny, when the People prevail and get the upper hand? Shall his Tyranny be ſaid to be of God, and not our Liberty? There is no evil in the City, that the Lord hath not done, *Amos* 3. So that Famine, Peſtilence, Sedition, War, all of them are of God; and is it therefore unlawful for a People afflicted with any of theſe Plagues, to endeavour to get rid of them? Certainly they would do their utmoſt, tho they know them to be ſent by God, unleſs himſelf miraculouſly from Heaven ſhould command the contrary: And why may they not by the ſame reaſon rid themſelves of a Tyrant, if they are ſtronger than he? Why ſhould we ſuppoſe his weakneſs to be appointed by God for the ruin and deſtruction of the Commonwealth, rather than the Power and Strength of all the People for the good of the State? Far be it from all Commonwealths, from all Societies of free-born men to maintain not only ſuch pernicious,

nicious, but ſuch ſtupid and ſenſeleſs Principles; Principles that ſubvert all Civil Society, that to gratifie a ſew Tyrants, level all Mankind with Brutes; and by ſetting Princes out of the reach of humane Laws, give them an equal power over both. I paſs by thoſe fooliſh *Dilemma's* that you now make, which that you might take occaſion to propoſe, you feign ſome or other to aſſert that the *ſuperlative power of Princes is derived from the People*; though for my own part I do not at all doubt but that all the power that any Magiſtrates have, is ſo. Hence *Cicero* in his *Orat. pro Flacco*, 'Our wiſe and holy Anceſtors, *ſays he*, appointed thoſe things to obtain for Laws, that the People enacted. And hence it is that *Lucius Craſſus*, an Excellent *Roman Orator*, and at that time Preſident of the Senate, when in a Controverſie betwixt them and the common People, he aſſerted their Rights, 'I beſeech you, *ſays he*, ſuffer not us to live in ſubjection to any, but your ſelves, to the entire body of whom we can and ought to ſubmit. For though the *Roman* Senate govern'd the People, the People themſelves had appointed them to be their Governours, and had put that power into their hands. We read the term of *Majeſty* more frequently applied to the People of *Rome*, than to their Kings. *Tully* in *Orat. pro Plancio*, 'It is the condition of all free People, (ſays he) and eſpecially of this People, the Lord of all Nations, by their Votes to give or take away, to or from any as themſelves ſee cauſe. 'Tis the duty of the Magiſtrates patiently to ſubmit to what the body of the People enact. Thoſe that are not ambitious of Honour, have the leſs obligation upon them to court the People; thoſe that affect Preferment, muſt not be weary of entreating them. Should I ſcruple to call a King the Servant of his People, when I hear the *Roman* Senate, that reign'd over ſo many Kings, profeſs themſelves to be but the Peoples Servants? You'll object perhaps, and ſay, that all this is very true in a popular State; but the caſe was altered afterwards, when the Regal Law transferr'd all the People's Right into *Auguſtus* and his Succeſſors. But what think you then of *Tiberius*, whom your ſelf confeſs to have been a very great Tyrant, as he certainly was? *Suetonius* ſays of him, that when he was once called *Lord* or *Maſter*, though after the enacting of that *Lex Regia*, he deſired the Perſon that gave him that appellation, to forbear abuſing him. How does this ſound in your ears? a Tyrant thinks one of his Subjects abuſes him in calling him *Lord*. The ſame Emperor in one of his Speeches to the Senate, 'I have ſaid, ſays he, frequently heretofore, and now I ſay it again, that a good Prince, whom you have inveſted with ſo great power as I am entruſted with, ought to ſerve the Senate, and the body of the People, and ſometimes even particular Perſons; nor do I repent of having ſaid ſo: I confeſs that you have been good, and juſt, and indulgent Maſters to me, and that you are yet ſo. You may ſay that he diſſembled in all this, as he was a great Proficient in the art of Hypocriſie; but that's all one. No man endeavours to appear otherwiſe than he ought to be. Hence *Tacitus* tells us, that it was the cuſtom in *Rome* for the Emperours in the *Circus*, to worſhip the People; and that both *Nero* and other Emperours practiſed it. *Claudian* in his Panegyrick upon *Honorius* mentions the ſame cuſtom. By which ſort of Adoration what could poſſibly be meant, but that the Emperours of *Rome*, even after the enacting of the *Lex Regia*, confeſſed the whole body of the People to be their Superiors? But I find, as I ſuſpected at firſt, and ſo I told ye, that you have ſpent more time and pains in turning over Gloſſaries, and criticiſing upon Texts, and propagating ſuch like laborious Trifles, than in reading ſound Authors ſo as to improve your knowledg by them. For had you been never ſo little verſed in the Writings of learned Men in former Ages, you would not have accounted an opinion new, and the product of ſome Enthuſiaſtick Heads, which has been aſſerted and maintained by the greateſt Philoſophers, and moſt famous Politicians in the World. You endeavour to expoſe one *Martin*, who you tell us was a *Taylor*, and one *William* a *Tanner*; but if they are ſuch as you deſcribe them, I think they and you may very well go together; though they themſelves would be able to inſtruct you, and unfold thoſe Miſterious Riddles that you propoſe: as, *whether or no they that in a Monarchy would have the King but a Servant to the Commonwealth, will ſay the ſame thing of the whole body of the People in a popular State? And whether all the People ſerve in a Democracy, or only ſome part or other ſerve the reſt?* And when they have been an *Oedipus* to you, by my conſent you ſhall be a *Sphinx* to them in good earneſt, and throw your ſelf headlong from ſome precipice or other, and break your neck; for elſe I'm afraid you'l never have done with your Riddles and Fooleries. You ask, *Whether or no, when St.* Paul *names Kings, he meant the People?* I confeſs St. *Paul* commands us to pray for Kings, but he had commanded us to pray for the People before, *verſ.* 1. But there are ſome for all that, both among Kings and common People, that we are forbidden to pray for; and if a man muſt not ſo much as be prayed for, may he not be puniſhed? What ſhould hinder? But, *when* Paul *wrote this Epiſtle, he that reigned was the moſt profligate Perſon in the World.* That's falſe. For *Ludovicus Capellus* makes it evident, that this Epiſtle likewiſe was writ in *Claudius*'s time. When St. *Paul* has occaſion to ſpeak of *Nero*, he calls him not a King, but a *Lion*; that is, a wild, ſavage Beaſt, from whoſe jaws he is glad he was delivered, 2 *Tim.* 4. So that it is for Kings, not for Beaſts that we are to *pray, that under them we may live a quiet and a peaceable life, in all godlineſs and honeſty.* Kings and their Intereſt are not the things here intended to be advanced and ſecured; 'tis the publick Peace, Godlineſs and Honeſty, whoſe eſtabliſhment we are commanded to endeavour after, and to pray for. But is there any People in the World that would not chuſe rather to live an honeſt and careful Life, tho never free from War and Troubles, in the defence of themſelves and their Families, whether againſt Tyrants or Enemies (for I make no difference) than under the power of a Tyrant or an Enemy to ſpin out a Life equally troubleſome, accompanied with Slavery and Ignominy? That the latter is the more deſirable of the two, I'll prove by a Teſtimony of your own; not becauſe I think your Authority worth quoting, but that all Men may obſerve how double-tongu'd you are, and how mercenary your Pen is. " Who would not rather, *ſay you*, bear with thoſe " diſſenſions that through the emulation of great Men often happen in an Ariſtocratical Government, than live under the Tyrannical Government of one, " where nothing but certain miſery and ruin is to be look'd for? The People of " *Rome* preferr'd their Commonwealth, tho never ſo much ſhatter'd with civil " Broils, before the intolerable Yoke of their Emperors. When a People to " avoid Sedition, ſubmits to a Monarchy, and finds by experience, that that is " the worſt evil of the two, they often deſire to return to their former Govern" ment again. Theſe are your own words, and more you have to this purpoſe in that Diſcourſe concerning Biſhops, which under a feigned name you wrote againſt *Petavius* the *Jeſuit*; though your ſelf are more a *Jeſuit* than he, nay worſe than any of that Crew. We have already heard the ſenſe of the Scripture upon this Subject; and it has been worth our while to take ſome pains to find it out. But perhaps it will not be ſo to enquire into the Judgment of the Fathers, and to ranſack their Volumes: for if they aſſert any thing which is not warranted by the Word of God, we may ſafely reject their authority, be it never ſo great; and particularly that expreſſion that you alledg out of *Ireneus*, " That God in his Providence orders it ſo, that ſuch Kings reign as are " ſutable to, and proper for the People they are to govern, all Circumſtances " conſidered. That expreſſion, I ſay, is directly contrary to Scripture. For though God himſelf declared openly that it was better for his own people to be governed by Judges than by Kings, yet he left it to them to change that Form of Government for a worſe, if they would themſelves. And we read frequently, that when the body of the People has been good, they have had a wicked King, and contrariwiſe that a good King has ſometimes reign'd when the People have been wicked. So that wiſe and prudent Men are to conſider and ſee what is profitable and fit for the People in general; for it is very certain that the ſame Form of Government is not equally convenient for all Nations, nor for the ſame Nation at all times; but ſometimes one, ſometimes another may be more proper, according as the induſtry and valour of the People may increaſe or decay. But if you deprive the People of this liberty of ſetting up what Government they like beſt among themſelves, you take that from them, in which the life of all Civil Liberty conſiſts. Then you tell us of *Juſtin Martyr*, of his humble and ſubmiſſive behaviour to the *Antonines*, thoſe beſt of Emperours; as if any body would not do the like to Princes of ſuch moderation as they were. " *How* " *much worſe Chriſtians are we in theſe days, than thoſe were? They were content to* " *live under a Prince of another Religion.* Alas! They were private Perſons, and infinitely inferior to the contrary party in ſtrength and number. *But now Papiſts will not endure a Proteſtant Prince, nor Proteſtants one that is Popiſh.* You

do

do well and diſcreetly, in ſhowing your ſelf to be neither Papiſt nor Proteſtant. And you are very liberal in your conceſſions; for now you confeſs that all ſorts of Chriſtians agree in that very thing, that you alone take upon you with ſo much impudence and wickedneſs, to cry down and oppoſe. And how unlike thoſe Fathers that you commend, do you ſhow your ſelf? They wrote Apologies for the Chriſtians to Heathen Princes; you in defence of a wicked Popiſh King, againſt Chriſtians and Proteſtants. Then you entertain us with a number of impertinent quotations out of *Athenagoras* and *Tertullian*: Things that we have already heard out of the Writings of the Apoſtles, much more clearly and intelligibly expreſt. But *Tertullian* was quite of a different opinion from yours, of a King's being a Lord and Maſter over his Subjects: Which you either knew not, or wickedly diſſembled. For he, though he were a Chriſtian, and directed his diſcourſe to a Heathen Emperor, had the confidence to tell him, that an Emperor ought not to be called *Lord*. " *Auguſtus* " himſelf, *ſays he*, that formed this Empire, refus'd that appellation: 'Tis a " Title proper to God only. Not but that the Title of Lord and Maſter may " in ſome ſenſe be aſcribed to the Emperor: But there is a peculiar ſenſe of that " word, which is proper to God only; and in that ſenſe, I will not aſcribe it " to the Emperor. I am the Emperor's free-man. God alone is my *Lord* and " *Maſter*. And the ſame Author, in the ſame Diſcourſe; how inconſiſtent, " *ſays he*, are thoſe two Appellations, *Father* of his Countrey, and *Lord* and " *Maſter*? And now I wiſh you much joy of *Tertullian*'s authority, whom it had been a great deal better you had let alone. *But* Tertullian *calls them Parricides that ſlew* Domitian. And he does well, for ſo they were, his Wife and Servants conſpir'd againſt him. And they ſet one *Parthenius* and *Stephanus*, who were accus'd for concealing part of the publick Treaſure, to make him away. If the Senate and the People of *Rome* had proceeded againſt him according to the cuſtom of their Anceſtors; had given Judgment of Death againſt him, as they did once againſt *Nero*; and had made ſearch for him to put him to death; do ye think *Tertullian* would have called them *Parricides*? If he had, he would have deſerv'd to be hang'd, as you do. I give the ſame anſwer to your quotation out of *Origen*, that I have given already to what you have cited out of *Irenaus*. *Athanaſius* indeed ſays, that Kings are not accountable before humane Tribunals. But I wonder who told *Athanaſius* this? I do not hear that he produces any authority from *Scripture*, to confirm this aſſertion. And I'll rather believe Kings and Emperors themſelves, who deny that they themſelves have any ſuch Privilege, than I will *Athanaſius*. Then you quote *Ambroſius*, who after he had been a *Proconſul*, and after that became a *Catechumen*, at laſt got into a Biſhoprick: But for his authority, I ſay, that his Interpretation of thoſe words of *David*, *againſt thee only have I ſinned*, is both ignorant and adulatory. He was willing all others ſhould be enthrall'd to the Emperor, that he might enthral the Emperor to himſelf. We all know with what a Papal Pride and Arrogancy he treated *Theodoſius* the Emperor, how he took upon him to declare him guilty of that Maſſacre at *Theſſalonica*, and to forbid him coming into the Church; how miſerably raw in Divinity, and unacquainted with the Doctrine of the Goſpel, he ſhewed himſelf upon that occaſion; when the Emperor fell down at his feet, he commanded him to get him out of the Porch. At laſt, when he was received again into the Communion of the Church, and had offered, becauſe he continued ſtanding near to the Altar, the Magiſterial Prelate commanded him out of the Rails; *O Emperor*, ſays he, *theſe inner places are for the Prieſts only, 'tis not lawful for others to come within them!* Does this ſound like the behaviour of a Miniſter of the Goſpel, or like that of a *Jewiſh* High-Prieſt? And yet this man, ſuch as we hear he was, would have the Emperor ride other People, that himſelf might ride him, which is a common trick of almoſt all Eccleſiaſticks. With words to this purpoſe, he put back the Emperor as inferior to himſelf: *You rule over men,* ſaid he, *that are partakers of the ſame Nature, and Fellow-ſervants with your ſelf: For there is one only Lord and King over all, to wit, the Creator of all.* This is very pretty! This piece of truth, which the craft and flattery of Clergy-men has all along endeavoured to ſuppreſs and obſcure, was then brought to light by the furious paſſion, or to ſpeak more mildly, by the ignorant indiſcreet zeal of one of them. After you have diſplai'd *Ambroſe*'s ignorance, you ſhow your own, or rather, vent a Hereſie in affirming point blank, That *under the Old Teſtament, there was no ſuch thing as forgiveneſs of Sins upon the account of Chriſt's ſufferings*;

*ſince* David *confeſs'd his tranſgreſſion, ſaying, Againſt thee only have I ſinned*, P. 68. 'Tis the Orthodox Tenet, that there never was any remiſſion of Sins, but by the blood of the Lamb that was ſlain from the beginning of the World. I know not whoſe Diſciple you are, that ſet up for a Broacher of new Hereſies: but certain I am, that that great Divnie's Diſciple whom you are ſo angry with, did not miſtake himſelf, when he ſaid that any one of *David*'s Subjects might have ſaid, *againſt thee only have I ſinned*, as properly, and with as much right, as *David* himſelf. Then you quote St. *Auguſtine*, and produce a company of *Hipponenſian* Divines. What you alledg out of St. *Auſtin*, makes not at all againſt us. We confeſs that, as the Prophet *Daniel* has it, it's God that changeth times, ſets up one Kingdom, and pulls down another; we only deſire to have it allow'd us, that he makes uſe of Men as his Inſtruments. If God alone gave a Kingdom to King *Charles*, God alone has taken it from him again, and given it to the Parliament, and to the People. If therefore our Allegiance was due to King *Charles*, becauſe God had given him a Kingdom; for the ſame reaſon it is now due to the preſent Magiſtracy. For your ſelf confeſs, that God has given our Magiſtrates ſuch power as he uſes to give to wicked Princes, for the puniſhment of the Nation. And the conſequence of this will be, that according to your own opinion, our preſent Magiſtrates being rais'd and appointed by God, cannot lawfully be depoſed by any, but God himſelf. Thus you overthrow the opinion you pretend to maintain, which is a thing very frequent with you: Your Apology for the King, carries its deaths-wound in it. You have attained to ſuch a prodigious degree of Madneſs and Stupidity, as to prove it unlawful upon any account whatſoever, to lift up ones finger againſt Magiſtrates, and with the very next breath to affirm that it's the duty of their Subjects to riſe up in Rebellion againſt them. You tell us that St. *Jerom* calls *Iſmael* that ſlew *Gedalia*, a Parricide or Traytor: And it is very true, that he was ſo: For *Gedalia* was Deputy Governour of *Judæa*, a good man, and ſlain by *Iſmael* without any cauſe. The ſame Author in his Comment upon the Book of *Eccleſiaſtes*, ſays, that *Solomon*'s command to keep the King's Commandment, is the ſame with St. *Paul*'s Doctrine, upon the ſame ſubject; and deſerves commendation for having made a more moderate Conſtruction of that Text, than moſt of his Contemporaries. You ſay you will forbear enquiring into the Sentiments of Learned Men that lived ſince St. *Auguſtine*'s time: but to ſhew that you had rather diſpence with a Lie, than not quote any Author that you think makes for you, in the very next period but one, you produce the Authorities of *Iſidore*, *Gregory*, and *Otho*, *Spaniſh* and *Dutch* Authors, that liv'd in the moſt barbarous and ignorant ages of all; whoſe Authorities, if you knew how much we deſpiſe, you would not have told a Lie to have quoted them. But would you know the reaſon why he dares not come ſo low as to the preſent times? Why he does as it were hide himſelf, and diſappear, when he comes towards our own times? The reaſon is, Becauſe he knows full well, that as many Eminent Divines as there are of the Reformed Church, ſo many Adverſaries he would have to encounter. Let him take up the Cudgels, if he thinks fit; he will quickly find himſelf run down with innumerable Authorities out of *Luther*, *Zuinglius*, *Calvin*, *Bucer*, *Martyr*, *Pareus*, and the reſt. I could oppoſe you with Teſtimonies out of Divines that have flouriſhed even in *Leyden*. Though that famous Univerſity and renowned Commonwealth, which has been as it were a Sanctuary for Liberty, thoſe Fountains and Streams of all Polite Learning, have not yet been able to waſh away that ſlaviſh Ruſt that ſticks to you, and infuſe a little Humanity into you. Finding your ſelf deſtitute of any aſſiſtance or help from Orthodox Proteſtant Divines, you have the impudence to betake your ſelf to the *Sorboniſts*, whoſe College you know is devoted to the Romiſh Religion, and conſequently but of very weak authority amongſt Proteſtants. We are willing to deliver ſo wicked an aſſertor of Tyranny as you, to be drown'd in the *Sorbon*, as being aſham'd to own ſo deſpicable a Slave as you ſhow your ſelf to be, by maintaining that the whole body of a Nation is not equal in power to the moſt ſlothful degenerate Prince that may be. You labour in vain to lay that upon the Pope, which all free Nations, and all Orthodox Divines own and aſſert. But the Pope and his Clergy, when they were in a low Condition, and but of ſmall account in the World, were the firſt Authors of this pernicious abſurd Doctrine of yours: and when by preaching ſuch Doctrine they had gotten power into their own hands, they became the worſt of Tyrants themſelves. Yet they engaged all Princes to them by the cloſeſt tye imaginable, perſwading the World that was now beſotted with their Superſtition, that it was unlawful to depoſe Princes tho never ſo bad, unleſs the Pope diſpenſed with their Allegiance to them, by abſolving them from their Oaths. But you avoid Orthodox Writers, and endeavour to burden the truth with prejudice and calumny, by making the Pope the firſt aſſertor of what is a known and common received Opinion amongſt them; which if you did not do it cunningly, you would make your ſelf appear to be neither Papiſt nor Proteſtant, but a kind of a Mongrel *Idumean Herodian.* For as they of old adored one moſt inhumane bloody Tyrant for the *Meſſias*, ſo you would have the World fall down and worſhip all. You boaſt that *you have confirm'd your Opinion by the Teſtimonies of the Fathers that flouriſhed in the four firſt Centuries; whoſe Writings only are Evangelical, and according to the truth of the Chriſtian Religion.* This man is paſt all ſhame! how many things did they preach, how many things have they publiſhed, which *Chriſt* and his Apoſtles never taught? How many things are there in their Writings, in which all Proteſtant Divines differ from them? But what is that Opinion that you have confirm'd by their Authorities? Why, *That evil Princes are appointed by God.* Allow that, as all other pernicious and deſtructive things are. What then? why, *that therefore they have no Judg but God alone, that they are above all humane Laws; that there is no Law, written or unwritten, no Law of Nature, nor of God, to call them to account before their own Subjects.* But how comes that to paſs? Certain I am, that there is no Law againſt it: No Penal Law excepts Kings. And all reaſon and juſtice requires, that thoſe that offend, ſhould be puniſhed according to their deſerts, without reſpect of Perſons. Nor have you hitherto produced any one Law, either written or unwritten, of God or of Nature, by which this is forbidden. What ſtands in the way then? Why may not Kings be proceeded againſt? why, *becauſe they are appointed by God, be they never ſo bad.* I do not know whether I had beſt call you a Knave, or a Fool, or ignorant, unlearned Barbarian. You ſhow your ſelf a vile Wretch, by propagating a Doctrine ſo deſtructive and pernicious; and y'are a Fool for backing it with ſuch ſilly Arguments. God ſays in *Iſa.* 54. *I have created the ſlayer to deſtroy.* Then by your reaſon a Murderer is above the Laws. Turn this topſy turvy, and conſider it as long as you will, you'll find the Conſequence to be the ſame with your own. For the Pope is appointed by God, juſt as Tyrants are, and ſet up for the puniſhment of the Church, which I have already demonſtrated out of your own Writings; *And yet*, ſay you, *Wal. Meſ. pag.* 412. *becauſe he has raiſed his Primacy to an inſufferable height of power, ſo as that he has made it neither better nor worſe than plain downright Tyranny, both he and his Biſhops may be put down more lawfully than they were at firſt ſet up.* You tell us that the Pope and the Biſhops (tho God in his wrath appointed them) may yet lawfully be rooted out of the Church, becauſe they are Tyrants; and yet you deny that 'tis lawful to depoſe a Tyrant in the Commonwealth, and that for no other reaſon than becauſe God appointed him, tho he did it in his anger. What ridiculous ſtuff this is! for whereas the Pope cannot hurt a Man's Conſcience againſt his own will, for in the Conſciences of Men it is that his Kingdom conſiſts, yet you are for depoſing him as a grievous Tyrant, in whoſe own power it is not to be a Tyrant; and yet you maintain that a Tyrant properly and truly ſo called, a Tyrant that has all our Lives and Eſtates within his reach, without whoſe aſſiſtance the Pope himſelf could not exerciſe his Tyranny in the Church, ought for Conſcience ſake to be born withal and ſubmitted to. Theſe aſſertions compar'd with one another betray your Childiſhneſs to that degree, that no Man can read your Books, but muſt of neceſſity take notice of your ignorance, raſhneſs, and incogitancy. But you allege another reaſon, *Humane Affairs would be turn'd upſide down.* They would ſo, and be chang'd for the better. Humane Affairs would certainly be in a deplorable condition, if being once troubled and diſorder'd, there were a neceſſity of their continuing always ſo. I ſay, they would be chang'd for the better, for the King's power would revert to the People, from whom it was firſt derived and conferred upon one of themſelves; and the power would be transferred from him that abuſed it, to them that were prejudiced and injured by the abuſe of it; than which nothing can be more juſt, for there could not well be an *Umpire* in ſuch a caſe; Who would ſtand to the judgment of a Foreigner? all Mankind would equally be ſubject to the Laws; there would be no Gods of fleſh and blood: Which kind of Deities whoever goes about to ſet up in the World, they are equally injurious to Church and Commonwealth. Now I muſt turn your own Weapons upon you again. You ſay, *There can be no greater Hereſy than this, to ſet up one Man in Chriſt's Seat. Theſe two are infallible marks of Antichriſt, Infallibility in Spirituals, and Omnipotence in Temporals. Apparat. ad Prim. pag.* 171. Do you pretend that Kings are infallible? If you do not, why do you make them Omnipotent? And how comes it to paſs that an unlimited power in one Man ſhould be accounted leſs deſtructive to Temporal things, than it is to Eccleſiaſtical? Or do you think that God takes no care at all of Civil Affairs? If he takes none himſelf, I'm ſure he does not forbid us to take care which way they go. If he does take any care about them, certainly he would have the ſame Reformation made in the Commonwealth, that he would have made in the Church, eſpecially it being obvious to every Mans experience that Infallibility and Omnipotency being arrogated to one Man, are equally miſchievous in both. God has not ſo modelled the Government of the World as to make it the duty of any Civil Community to ſubmit to the Cruelties of Tyrants, and yet to leave the Church at liberty to free themſelves from Slavery and Tyranny: nay, rather quite contrary, he has put no Arms into the Churches hand but thoſe of Patience and Innocence, Prayer and Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline; but the Commonwealth, all the Magiſtracy are by him entruſted with the preſervation and execution of the Laws, with the power of puniſhing and revenging; he has put the Sword into their hands. I cannot but ſmile at this Man's prepoſterous whimſies; in Eccleſiaſticks he's *Helvidius*, *Thraſeas*, a perfect *Tyrannicide*. In Politicks no Man more a Lackey and Slave to Tyrants than he. If his Doctrine hold, not we only that have depos'd our King, but the Proteſtants in general, who againſt the minds of their Princes have rejected the Pope, are all Rebels alike. But I've confounded him long enough with his own Arguments. Such is the nature of the Beaſt, leſt his Adverſary ſhould be unprovided, he himſelf furniſhes him with Weapons. Never did any Man give his Antagoniſt greater advantages againſt himſelf than he does. They that he has to do withal, will be ſooner weary of purſuing him, than he of flying.

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## CHAP. IV.

PErhaps you think, *Salmaſius*, that you have done enough to ingratiate your ſelf with Princes; that you have deſerved well of 'em: but if they conſider their own Intereſt, and take their meaſures according to what it really is, not according to the falſe Gloſs that your flatteries have put upon it, there never was any Man in the World that deſerv'd ſo ill of 'em as you, none more deſtructive and pernicious to them and their intereſt in the whole World than your ſelf. For by exalting the Power of Kings above all Humane Laws, you tell all Mankind that are ſubject to ſuch a Government, that they are no better than Slaves, and make them but the more deſirous of Liberty by diſcovering to them their error, and putting that into their heads that they never ſo much as dreamt of before, to wit, that they are Slaves to their Princes. And without doubt ſuch a ſort of Government will be more irkſome and unſufferable, by how much the more you perſwade the World, that it is not by the allowance and ſubmiſſion of Nations, that Kings have obtained this exorbitant Power; but that it is abſolutely eſſential to ſuch a form of Government, and of the nature of the thing itſelf. So that whether you make the World of your mind or no, your Doctrine muſt needs be miſchievous and deſtructive, and ſuch as cannot but be abhorred of all Princes. For if you ſhould work men into a perſwaſion that the Right of Kings is without all bounds, they would no longer be ſubject to a Kingly Government; if you miſs of your aim, yet you make men weary of Kings, by telling them that they aſſume ſuch a power to themſelves, as of right belonging to them. But if Princes will allow of thoſe Principles that I aſſert; if they will ſuffer themſelves and their own power to be circumſcribed by Laws, inſtead of an uncertain, weak and violent Government, full of cares and fears, they will reign peaceably, quietly, and ſecurely. If they ſlight this counſel of mine, though wholſome in its ſelf, becauſe of the meanneſs of the Author, they ſhall know that it is not my counſel only, but what was anciently adviſed by one of the wiſeſt of Kings. For *Lycurgus* King of *Lacedemon*, when he obſerved that his own Relations that were Princes of *Argos* and *Meſſana*, by endeavouring to introduce an Arbitrary Government, had ruin'd themſelves and their People; he, that he might benefit his Country, and ſecure the Succeſſion to his own Family, could think upon no better expedient, than to communicate his Power to the Senate, and taking the great Men of the Realm into part of the Government with himſelf; and by this means the Crown continued in his Family for many ages. But whether it was *Lycurgus*, or, as ſome learned men are of opinion, *Theopompus*, that introduced that mixt Form of Government among the *Lacedemonians*, ſomewhat more than a hundred years after *Lycurgus*'s time (of whom it is recorded, that he uſed to boaſt, that by advancing the Power of the Senate above that of the Prince, he had ſetled the Kingdom upon a ſure Foundation, and was like to leave it in a laſting and durable condition to his Poſterity) which of them ſoever it was, I ſay, he has left a good Example to Modern Princes; and was as creditable a Counſellor, as his Counſel was ſafe. For that all men ſhould ſubmit to any one man, ſo as to acknowledg a Power in him ſuperior to all humane Laws, neither did any Law ever enact, nor indeed was it poſſible that any ſuch Law ſhould ever be; for that cannot be ſaid to be a Law, that ſtrikes at the root of all Laws, and takes them quite away. It being apparent that your Poſitions are inconſiſtent with the nature of all Laws, being ſuch as render them no Laws at all. You endeavour notwithſtanding, in this Fourth Chapter, to make good by Examples, what you have not been able to do by any Reaſons that you have alledged hitherto. Let's conſider whether your Examples help your Cauſe; for they many times make things plain, which the Laws are either altogether ſilent in, or do but hint at. We'll begin firſt with the *Jews*, whom we ſuppoſe to have known moſt of the mind of God; and then, according to your own method, we'll come to the Times of Chriſtianity. And firſt, for thoſe Times in which the *Iſraelites* being ſubject to Kings, who, or howſoever they were, did their utmoſt to caſt that ſlaviſh yoke from off their necks. *Eglon* the King of *Moab* had made a Conqueſt of them; the Seat of his Empire was at *Jericho*; he was no contemner of the true God; when his Name was mentioned, he roſe from his Seat: The *Iſraelites* had ſerved him eighteen Years; they ſent a Preſent to him, not as to an Enemy, but to their own Prince; notwithſtanding which outward Veneration and Profeſſion of Subjection, they kill him by a wile, as an Enemy to their Countrey. You'll ſay perhaps, that *Ehud*, who did that action, had a Warrant from God for ſo doing. He had ſo, 'tis like; and what greater Argument of its being a warrantable and praiſe-worthy action? God uſes not to put Men upon things that are unjuſt, treacherous and cruel, but upon ſuch things as are vertuous and laudable. But we read no where that there was any poſitive Command from Heaven in the caſe. *The Iſraelites called upon God*; So did we. And God ſtirred up a Saviour for them; ſo he did for us. *Eglon* of a Neighbouring Prince became a Prince of the *Jews*; of an Enemy to them he became their King. Our Gentleman of an *Engliſh* King became an Enemy to the *Engliſh* Nation; ſo that he ceas'd to be a King. Thoſe Capacities are inconſiſtent No Man can be a Member of the State, and an Enemy to it at the ſame time. *Antony* was never lookt upon by the *Romans* as a Conſul, nor *Nero* as an Emperor, after the Senate had voted them both Enemies. This *Cicero* tells us in his *Fourth Philippick*: *If* Antony *be a Conſul*, ſays he, Brutus *is an Enemy*; *but if* Brutus *be a Saviour and Preſerver of the Commonwealth*, Antony *is an Enemy: none but robbers count him a Conſul.* By the ſame reaſon, ſay I, who but Enemies to their Countrey look upon a Tyrant as a King? So that *Eglon*'s being a Foreigner, and King *Charles* a Prince of our own, will make no difference in the caſe; both being Enemies, and both Tyrants, they are in the ſame circumſtances. If *Ehud* kill'd him juſtly, we have done ſo too in putting our King to death. *Sampſon* that Renowned Champion of the *Hebrews*, tho his Countrey-men blam'd him for it, *Doſt thou not know*, ſay they, *that the Philiſtines have dominion over us?* Yet againſt thoſe *Philiſtines*, under whoſe Dominion he was, he himſelf undertook a War in his own Perſon, without any other help;

and whether he acted in purſuance of a Command from Heaven, or was prompted by his own Valour only; or whatſoever inducement he had, he did not put to death one, but many that tyrannized over his Countrey, having firſt called upon God by Prayer, and implored his Aſſiſtance. So that *Sampſon* counted it no act of Impiety, but quite contrary, to kill thoſe that enſlaved his Countrey, tho they had dominion over himſelf too; and tho the greater part of his Countrymen ſubmitted to their Tyranny. *But yet* David *who was both a King and a Prophet, would not take away* Saul's *life, becauſe he was God's anointed.* Does it follow that becauſe *David* refuſed to do a thing, therefore we are obliged not to do that very thing? *David* was a private Perſon, and would not kill the King; is that a precedent for a Parliament, for a whole Nation? *David* would not revenge his own Quarrel, by putting his Enemy to death by ſtealth; does it follow that therefore the Magiſtrates muſt not puniſh a Malefactor according to Law? He would not kill a King; Muſt not an Aſſembly of the States therefore puniſh a Tyrant? He ſcrupled the killing of God's anointed; Muſt the People therefore ſcruple to condemn their own anointed? Eſpecially one that after having ſo long profeſſed Hoſtility againſt his own People, had waſh'd off that anointing of his, whether Sacred or Civil, with the Blood of his own Subjects. I confeſs that thoſe Kings whom God by his Prophets anointed to be Kings, or appointed to ſome ſpecial ſervice, as he did *Cyrus*, *Iſa.* 44. may not improperly be called the *Lord's anointed*; but all other Princes, according to the ſeveral ways of their coming to the Government, are the People's anointed, or the Army's, or many times the anointed of their own Faction only. But taking it for granted, That all Kings are God's anointed, you can never prove, That therefore they are above all Laws, and not to be called in queſtion, what Villanies ſoever they commit. What if *David* laid a charge upon himſelf and other private Perſons not to ſtretch forth their hands againſt the Lords anointed? Does not God himſelf command Princes not ſo much as *to touch his anointed?* Which were no other than his People, *Pſal.* 105. He preferred that anointing wherewith his People were anointed, before that of Kings, if any ſuch thing were. Would any man offer to infer from this place of the *Pſalmiſt*, That Believers are not to be called in queſtion, tho they offend againſt the Laws, becauſe God commands Princes not to touch his Anointed? King *Solomon* was about to put to death *Abiathar* the Prieſt, tho he were *God's Anointed* too; and did not ſpare him becauſe of his *Anointing*, but becauſe he had been his Father's Friend. If that Sacred and Civil Anointing, wherewith the High-Prieſt of the *Jews* was anointed, whereby he was not only conſtituted High-Prieſt, but a Temporal Magiſtrate in many caſes, did not exempt him from the Penalty of the Laws; how comes a Civil Anointing only to exempt a Tyrant? But you ſay, *Saul was a Tyrant, and worthy of death:* What then? It does not follow, that becauſe he deſerved it, that *David* in the circumſtances he was then under, had power to put him to death without the People's Authority, or the Command of the Magiſtracy. But was *Saul* a Tyrant? I wiſh you would ſay ſo; indeed you do ſo, though you had ſaid before in your *Second Book*, page 32. That *he was no Tyrant, but a good King, and choſen of God.* Why ſhould falſe Accuſers, and Men guilty of Forgery be branded, and you eſcape without the like ignominious Mark? For they practiſe their Villanies with leſs Treachery and Deceit than you write, and treat of matters of the greateſt moment. *Saul* was a good King, when it ſerv'd your turn to have him ſo; and now he's a Tyrant, becauſe it ſutes with your preſent purpoſe. But 'tis no wonder that you make a Tyrant of a good King; for your Principles look as if they were invented for no other deſign, than to make all good Kings ſo. But yet *David*, tho he would not put to death his Father-in-Law, for Cauſes and Reaſons that we have nothing to do withal, yet in his own Defence he raiſed an Army, took and poſſeſſed Cities that belong'd to *Saul*, and would have defended *Keilah* againſt the King's Forces, had he not underſtood that the Citizens would be falſe to him. Suppoſe *Saul* had beſieged the Town, and himſelf had been the firſt that had ſcal'd the Walls; do you think *David* would preſently have thrown down his Arms, and have betray'd all thoſe that aſſiſted him to his *anointed* Enemy? I believe not. What reaſon have we to think *David* would have ſtuck to do what we have done, who when his Occaſions and Circumſtances ſo required, proffered his Aſſiſtance to the *Philiſtines*, who were then the profeſſed Enemies of his Country, and did that againſt *Saul*, which I am ſure we ſhould never have done againſt our Tyrant? I'm weary of mentioning your Lies, and aſham'd of them. You ſay, 'tis a Maxim of the *Engliſh*, *That Enemies are rather to be ſpared than Friends*; and that therefore *we conceived we ought not to ſpare our King's Life, becauſe he had been our Friend.* You impudent Lyar, what Mortal ever heard this Whimſy before you invented it? But we'll excuſe it. You could not bring in that thredbare Flouriſh, of our being more fierce than our own Maſtiffs (which now comes in the fifth time, and will as oft again before we come to the end of your Book) without ſome ſuch Introduction. We are not ſo much more fierce than our own Maſtiffs, as you are more hungry than any Dog whatſoever, who return ſo greedily to what you have vomited up ſo often. Then you tell us, That *David* commanded the *Amalekite* to be put to death, who pretended to have killed *Saul.* But that Inſtance, neither in reſpect of the Fact, nor the Perſon, has any Affinity with what we are diſcourſing of. I do not well underſtand what cauſe *David* had to be ſo ſevere upon that Man, for pretending to have haſtned the King's death, and in effect but to have put him out of his pain, when he was dying; unleſs it were to take away from the *Iſraelites* all ſuſpicion of his own having been inſtrumental in it, whom they might look upon as one that had revolted to the *Philiſtines*, and was part of their Army. Juſt ſuch another Action as this of *David*'s, do all Men blame in *Domitian*, who put to death *Epaphroditus*, becauſe he had helped *Nero* to kill himſelf. After all this, as another inſtance of your Impudence, you call him not only the *anointed of the Lord*, but *the Lord's Chriſt*, who a little before you had ſaid was a Tyrant, and acted by the impulſe of ſome evil Spirit. Such mean thoughts you have of that Reverend Name, that you are not aſham'd to give it to a Tyrant, whom you your ſelf confeſs to have been poſſeſſed with the Devil. Now I come to that Precedent, from which every Man that is not blind muſt needs infer the Right of the People to be ſuperior to that of Kings. When *Solomon* was dead, the People aſſembled themſelves at *Sichem* to make *Rehoboam* King. Thither himſelf went, as one that ſtood for the place, that he might not ſeem to claim the Succeſſion as his Inheritance, nor the ſame Right over a freeborn People that every Man has over his Father's Sheep and Oxen. The People propoſe Conditions, upon which they were willing to admit him to the Government. He deſires three days time to adviſe; he conſults with the old Men; they tell him no ſuch thing, as that he had an abſolute Right to ſucceed, but perſwade him to comply with the People, and ſpeak them fair, it being in their Power whether he ſhould reign or not. Then he adviſes with the young Men that were brought up with him; they, as if *Salmaſius*'s Phrenſy had taken them, thunder this Right of Kings into his Ears; perſwade him to threaten the People with *Whips* and *Scorpions*: And he anſwered the People as they adviſed him. When all *Iſrael* ſaw that the King hearkned not to them, then they openly proteſt the Right of the People, and their own Liberty; *What portion have we in David? To thy Tents, O Iſrael: now look to thine own Houſe, David.* When the King ſent *Adoram* to them, they ſtoned him with Stones, and perhaps they would not have ſtuck to have ſerv'd the King himſelf ſo, but he made haſte and got out of the way. The next News is of a great Army rais'd by *Rehoboam* to reduce the *Iſraelites* to their Allegiance. God forbids him to proceed, *Go not up*, ſays he, *to war againſt your Brethren the Children of Iſrael; for this thing is of me.* Now conſider; heretofore the People had deſired a King; God was diſpleaſed with them for it, but yet permitted them to make a King, according to that Right that all Nations have to appoint their own Governors. Now the People reject *Rehoboam* from ruling them; and this God not only ſuffers them to do, but forbids *Rehoboam* to make War againſt them for it, and ſtops him in his undertaking; and teaches him withal, that thoſe that had revolted from him, were not Rebels in ſo doing; but that he ought to look upon them as Brethren. Now recollect your ſelf: You ſay that all Kings are of God, and that therefore the People ought not to reſiſt them, be they never ſuch Tyrants. I anſwer you, The Convention of the People, their Votes, their Acts, are likewiſe of God, and that by the Teſtimony of God himſelf in this place; and conſequently according to your Argument, by the Authority of God himſelf, Princes ought not to reſiſt the People. For as certain as it is, that Kings are of God, and whatever Argument you may draw from thence to enforce a Subjection on and Obedience to them: So certain is it, that free Aſſemblies of the Body of the People are of God, and that naturally affords the ſame Argument for their Right of reſtraining Princes from going beyond their Bounds, and rejecting them if there be occaſion; nor is their ſo doing a juſtifiable Cauſe of War, any more than the People of *Iſrael*'s rejecting *Rehoboam* was. You ask, why the People did not revolt from *Solomon?* Who but you would ask ſuch an impertinent Queſtion? You ſee they did revolt from a Tyrant, and were neither puniſhed, nor blam'd for it. It is true, *Solomon* fell into ſome Vices, but he was not therefore a Tyrant; he made amends for his Vices by many excellent Vertues, that he was famous for, by many Benefits which accrued to the Nation of the *Jews* by his Government. But admit that he had been a Tyrant: Many times the Circumſtances of a Nation are ſuch, that the People will not, and many times ſuch, that they cannot depoſe a Tyrant. You ſee they did it when it was in their Power. *But*, ſay you, Jeroboam's *Act was ever had in Deteſtation; 'twas looked upon as an unjuſt revolt from a lawful Prince; he and his Succeſſors were accounted Rebels.* I confeſs we find his revolt from the true Worſhip of God often found fault with; but I no where find him blam'd for revolting from *Rehoboam*; and his Succeſſors are frequently ſpoken of as wicked Princes, but not as Rebels. *Acting contrary to Law and Right*, ſay you, *cannot introduce, or eſtabliſh a Right.* I pray, what becomes then of your Right of Kings? Thus do you perpetually baffle your ſelf. You ſay, *Adulteries, Murders, Thefts are daily committed with impunity.* Are you not aware, that here you give an anſwer to your own Queſtion, how it comes to paſs, that Tyrants do ſo often eſcape unpuniſhed? You ſay, *Thoſe Kings were Rebels, and yet the Prophets do no where diſſwade the People from their Allegiance.* And why do you, ye raſcally falſe Prophet, endeavour to perſwade the People of *England* not to yield Obedience to their preſent Magiſtrates, tho in your Opinion they are Rebels? *This* Engliſh *Faction of Robbers*, ſay you, *alledg for themſelves, that by ſome immediate Voice from Heaven, they were put upon their bloody Enterprize.* It is notoriouſly evident, that you were diſtracted when you wrote theſe Lines; for as you have put the words together, they are neither Latin, nor Senſe. And that the *Engliſh* pretend to any ſuch warrant, as a Juſtification of their Actions, is one of thoſe many Lies and Fictions that your Book is full of. But I proceed to urge you with Examples. *Libna*, a great City revolted from *Joram*, becauſe he had forſaken God; 'twas the King therefore that was guilty, not the City, nor is the City blam'd for it. He that conſiders the reaſon that's given why that City rejected his Government, muſt conclude that the Holy Ghoſt rather approves of what they did, then condemns them for it. *Theſe kind of revolts are no precedents*, ſay you. But why were you then ſo vain, as to promiſe in the beginning of this Chapter, that you would argue from Examples, whereas all the Examples that you alledg, are meer Negatives, which prove nothing? and when we urge Examples that are ſolid and poſitive, you ſay they are no Precedents. Who would endure ſuch a way of arguing? You challenged us at Precedents; we produced them; and what do you do? You hang back, and get out of the way. I proceed: *Jehu* at the Command of a Prophet, ſlew a King; nay, he ordered the death of *Ahaziah*, his own Liege Prince. If God would not have Tyrants put to death by their own Subjects, if it were a wicked thing ſo to do, a thing of a bad Example; why did God himſelf command it? If he commanded it, it was a lawful, commendable, and a praiſe-worthy Action. It was not therefore lawful to kill a Tyrant, becauſe God commanded it; but God commanded it, becauſe antecedently to his Command, it was a juſtifiable, and a lawful Action. Again, *Jehoiada* the High-Prieſt did not ſcruple to depoſe *Athaliah*, and kill her, tho ſhe had been ſeven years in actual Poſſeſſion of the Crown. *But*, ſay you, *ſhe took upon her the Government when ſhe had no Right to it.* And did not you ſay your ſelf, but a while ago, *That* Tiberius *aſſumed the Soveraignty when it belonged not at all to him?* And yet you then affirm'd, that according to our Saviour's Doctrine, we ought to yield Obedience to ſuch Tyrants as he was. 'Twere a moſt ridiculous thing to imagine, that a Prince, who gets in by Uſurpation, may lawfully be depoſed; but one that rules tyrannically may not. *But*, ſay you, *Athaliah* could not poſſibly reign according to the Law of the *Jewiſh* Kingdom, *Thou ſhalt ſet over thee a King, ſays God Almighty; he does not ſay, Thou ſhalt ſet over thee a Queen.* If this Argument have any weight, I may as well ſay, the Command of God was, that the People ſhould ſet over themſelves a King, not a Tyrant. So that I'm even with you. *Amazias* was a ſlothful, idolatrous Prince, and was put to death, not by a few Conſpirators; but rather, it ſhould ſeem, by the Nobility, and by the Body of the People. For he fled from *Jeruſalem*, had none to ſtand by him, and they purſued him to *Lachiſh:* They took counſel againſt him, ſays the Hiſtory, becauſe he had forſaken God: And we do not find that *Azarius* his Son proſecuted thoſe that had cut off his Father. You quote a great many frivolous paſſages out of the *Rabbins*, to prove that the Kings of the *Jews* were ſuperiour to the *Sanhedrim*. You do not conſider *Zedekia*'s own words, *Jerem* 38. *The King is not he that can do any thing againſt you.* So that this was the Prince's own ſtile. Thus he confeſſed himſelf inferior to the great Council of the Realm. *Perhaps*, ſay you, *he meant that he durſt not deny them any thing for fear of Sedition.* But what does your *perhaps* ſignify, whoſe moſt poſitive aſſerting any thing is not worth a Louſe? For nothing in Nature can be more fickle and inconſiſtent than you are. How oft have you appear'd in this Diſcourſe inconſtant with your ſelf; unſaying with one Breath what you had ſaid with another? Here, again, you make Compariſons betwixt King *Charles*, and ſome of the good Kings of *Judah*. You ſpeak contemptibly of *David*, as if he were not worthy to come in competition with him. *Conſider* David, ſay you, *an Adulterer, a Murderer; King* Charles *was guilty of no ſuch Crimes.* Solomon *his Son, who was accounted wiſe*, &c. Who can with patience hear this filthy, raſcally Fool, ſpeak ſo irreverently of Perſons eminent both in Greatneſs and Piety? Dare you compare King *David* with King *Charles*; a moſt Religious King and Prophet, with a Superſtitious Prince, and who was but a Novice in the Chriſtian Religion; a moſt prudent, wiſe Prince with a weak one; a valiant Prince with a cowardly one; finally, a moſt juſt Prince with a moſt unjuſt one? Have you the impudence to commend his Chaſtity and Sobriety, who is known to have committed all manner of Leudneſs in company with his Confident the Duke of *Buckingham?* It were to no purpoſe to enquire into the private Actions of his Life, who publickly at Plays would embrace and kiſs the Ladies laſciviouſly, and handle Virgins and Matrons Breaſts, not to mention the reſt? I adviſe you therefore, you counterfeit *Plutarch*, to abſtain from ſuch like Parallels, leſt I be forced to publiſh thoſe things concerning King *Charles*, which I am willing to conceal. Hitherto we have entertain'd our ſelves with what the People of the *Jews* have acted or attempted againſt Tyrants, and by what Right they did it in thoſe times, when God himſelf did immediately, as it were, by his Voice from Heaven govern their Commonwealth. The Ages that ſucceeded, do not afford us any Authority, as from themſelves, but confirm us in our Opinion by their imitating the Actions of their Fore-fathers. For after the *Babyloniſh* Captivity, when God did not give any new command concerning the Crown, tho the Royal Line was not extinct, we find the People returning to the old Moſaical Form of Government again. They were one while Tributaries to *Antiochus*, King of *Syria*; yet when he injoyn'd them things that were contrary to the Law of God, they reſiſted him, and his Deputies, under the Conduct of their Prieſts, the *Maccabees*, and by force regain'd their former Liberty. After that, whoever was accounted moſt worthy of it, had the Principality conferr'd upon him. Till at laſt, *Hircanus* the Son of *Simon*, the Brother of *Judah*, the *Maccabee*, having ſpoiled *David*'s Sepulchre, entertain'd foreign Soldiers, and began to inveſt the Prieſthood with a kind of Regal Power. After whoſe time his Son *Ariſtobulus* was the firſt that aſſum'd the Crown; he was a Tyrant indeed, and yet the People ſtirred not againſt him, which is no great wonder, for he reigned but one Year. And he himſelf being overtaken with a grievous Diſeaſe, and repenting of his own Cruelty and Wickedneſs, deſired nothing more than to dye, and had his wiſh. His Brother *Alexander* ſucceeded him; *and againſt him*, you ſay, *the People raiſed no Inſurrection*, tho he were a Tyrant too. And this Lie might have gone down with us, if *Joſephus*'s Hiſtory had not been extant. We ſhould then have had no memory of thoſe times, but what your *Joſippus* would afford us, out of whom you tranſcribe a few ſenſeleſs and uſeleſs Apothegms of the *Phariſees*. The Hiſtory is thus: *Alexander* adminiſtred the Publick Affairs ill, both in War and Peace; and tho he kept in pay great numbers of *Piſidians* and *Cilicians*, yet could he not protect himſelf from the Rage of the People: but whilſt he was ſacrificing they fell upon him, and had almoſt ſmother'd him with

Boughs of Palmtrees and Citron-trees. Afterward the whole Nation made War upon him ſix Years, during which time, when many thouſands of the *Jews* had been ſlain, and he himſelf being at length deſirous of Peace, demanded of them, what they would have him do to ſatisfy them; they told him nothing could do that, but his Blood, nay, that they ſhould hardly pardon him after his death. This Hiſtory you perceiv'd was not for your purpoſe, and ſo you put it off with a few Phariſaical Sentences; when it had been much better, either to have let it quite alone, or to have given a true Relation of it: but you truſt to Lies more than to the Truth of your Cauſe. Even thoſe eight hundred *Phariſees*, whom he commanded to be crucified, were of their number that had taken up Arms againſt him. And they with the reſt of the People had ſolemnly proteſted, That if they could ſubdue the King's Forces, and get his Perſon into their Power, they would put him to death. After the death of *Alexander*, his Wife *Alexandra* took the Government upon her, as *Athalia* had formerly done, not according to Law (for you have confeſſed, that the Laws of the *Jews* admitted not a Female to wear the Crown) but ſhe got it partly by force, for ſhe maintain'd an Army of Foreigners; and partly by favour, for ſhe had brought over the *Phariſees* to her Intereſt, which ſort of Men were of the greateſt Authority with the People. Them ſhe had made her own, by putting the Power into their Hands, and retaining to her ſelf only the Name. Juſt as the *Scotch* Presbyterians lately allowed *Charles* the Name of King, but upon condition, that he would let them be King in effect. After the death of *Alexandra*, *Hyrcanus* and *Ariſtobulus*, her Sons, contended for the Sovereignty: *Ariſtobulus* was more induſtrious, and having a greater Party, forced his Elder Brother out of the Kingdom. A while after, when *Pompey* paſſed through *Syria*, in his return from the *Mithridatick* War; the *Jews*, ſuppoſing they had now an opportunity of regaining their Liberty, by referring their Cauſe to him, diſpatcht an Embaſſy to him in their own Names; they renounce both the Brothers; complain that they had enſlaved them. *Pompey* depoſed *Ariſtobulus*, leaves the Prieſthood, and ſuch a Principality as the Laws allowed to *Hyrcanus* the Elder. From that time forward he was called High-Prieſt, and *Ethnarcha*. After theſe times in the Reign of *Archelaus*, the Son of *Herod*, the *Jews* ſent fifty Ambaſſadors to *Auguſtus Cæſar*; accuſed *Herod* that was dead, and *Archelaus* his Son, that then reigned; they depoſed him as much as in them lay, and petition'd the Emperor, that the People of the *Jews* might be govern'd without a King. *Cæſar* was moved at their entreaty, and did not appoint a King over them, but a Governour, whom they called an *Ethnarch*. When that Governour had preſided ten years over *Judea*, the People ſent Ambaſſadors again to *Rome*, and accuſed him of Tyranny. *Cæſar* heard them graciouſly; ſent for the Governour, condemn'd him to perpetual Exile, and baniſhed him to *Vienna*. Anſwer me now, That People that accuſed their own Princes, that deſir'd their Condemnation, that deſir'd their Puniſhment, would not they themſelves rather, if it had been in their Power, and that they might have had their choice; would not they, I ſay, rather have put them to death themſelves? You do not deny, but that the People, and the Nobles often took up Arms againſt the *Roman* Deputies, when by their Avarice, or their Cruelty, their Government was burdenſome and oppreſſive. But you give a ridiculous reaſon for this, as all the reſt of yours are. You ſay, *They were not yet accuſtomed to the Yoke*; very like they were not, under *Alexander*, *Herod*, and his Son. *But*, ſay you, *they would not raiſe War againſt* Caius Cæſar, *nor* Petronius. I confeſs they did not, and they did very prudently in abſtaining, for they were not able. Will you hear their own words upon that occaſion? *We will not make War*, ſay they, *becauſe we cannot*. That thing which they themſelves acknowledg, they refrain'd from for want of Ability; you, falſe Hypocrite, pretend they abſtain'd from out of Religion. Then with a great deal of toil you do juſt nothing at all; for you endeavour to prove out of the Fathers (tho you had done it as ſuperficially before) that Kings are to be prayed for. That good Kings are to be pray'd for, no Man denies; nay, and bad ones too, as long as there are any hopes of them: ſo we ought to pray for Highway-men, and for our Enemies. But how? Not that they may plunder, ſpoil and murder us; but that they may repent. We pray both for Thieves and Enemies; and yet whoever dreamt but that it was lawful to put the Laws in execution againſt one, and to fight againſt the other?

I value not the *Egyptian* Liturgy that you quote; but the Prieſt that you mention, who prayed that *Commodus* might ſuceed his Father in the Empire, did not pray for any thing in my opinion, but imprecated all the miſchiefs imaginable to the *Roman* State. You ſay, *that we have broken our Faith, which we engaged more than once in ſolemn Aſſemblies to preſerve the Authority and Majeſty of the King.* But becauſe hereafter you are more large upon that ſubject, I ſhall paſs it by in this place; and talk with you when you come to it again. You return then to the Fathers; concerning whom take this in ſhort. Whatever they ſay, which is not warranted by the Authority of the Scriptures, or by good Reaſon, ſhall be of no more regard with me, than if any other ordinary Man had ſaid it. The firſt that you quote is *Tertullian*, who is no Orthodox Writer, notorious for many errors; whoſe authority, if he were of your opinion, would ſtand you in no ſtead. But what ſays he? He condemns Tumults and Rebellions. So do we. But in ſaying ſo, we do not mean to deſtroy all the Peoples Rights and Privileges, all the Authority of Senates, the Power of all Magiſtrates, the King only excepted. The Fathers declaim againſt Seditions raſhly raiſed, by the giddy heat of the multitude; they ſpeak not of the inferior Magiſtrates, of Senates, of Parliaments encouraging the People to a lawful oppoſing of a Tyrant. Hence *Ambroſe* whom you quote, “ Not to reſiſt, *ſays he*, but to weep and to ſigh, “ theſe are the Bulwarks of the Prieſthood; what one is there of our little number who dares ſay to the Emperor, I do not like your Laws? This is not allowed the Prieſts, and ſhall Lay-men pretend to it? 'Tis evident of what ſort of Perſons he ſpeaks, *viz.* of the Prieſts, and ſuch of the People as are private Men, not of the Magiſtrates. You ſee by how weak and prepoſterous a reaſon he lighted a Torch as it were to the diſſentions that were afterwards to ariſe betwixt the Laity and the Clergy concerning even Civil, or Temporal Laws. But becauſe you think you preſs hardeſt upon us with the Examples of the Primitive Chriſtians; who tho they were haraſſed as much as a People could be, yet, you ſay, *they never took up Arms againſt the Emperour:* I will make it appear, in the firſt place, that for the moſt part they could not: Secondly, that whenever they could, they did: And thirdly, that whether they did or did not, they were ſuch a ſort of People, as that their example deſerves but to have little ſway with us. Firſt therefore, no Man can be ignorant of this, that when the Commonwealth of *Rome* expired, the whole and ſovereign power in the Empire was ſetled in the Emperour; that all the Souldiers were under his pay; inſomuch that if the whole Body of the Senate, the *Equeſtrian* Order, and all the common People had endeavoured to work a change, they might have made way for a maſſacre of themſelves, but could not in any probability retrieve their loſt Liberty: for the Empire would ſtill have continued, tho they might perhaps have been ſo lucky as to have kill'd the Emperour. This being ſo, what could the Chriſtians do? 'tis true there were a great many of them; but they were diſperſed, they were generally Perſons of mean quality, and but of ſmall intereſt in the World. How many of them would one Legion have been able to keep in awe? Could ſo inconſiderable a body of Men as they were in thoſe days, ever expect to accompliſh an Enterprize that many famous Generals, and whole Armies of tried Soldiers had loſt their lives in attempting? When about 300 years after our Saviour's Nativity, which was near upon 20 years before the Reign of *Conſtantine* the Great, when *Diocleſian* was Emperour, there was but one Chriſtian Legion in the whole *Roman* Empire; which Legion for no other reaſon than becauſe it conſiſted of Chriſtians, was ſlain by the reſt of the Army at a Town in *France* called *Octodurum*. *The Chriſtians*, ſay you, *conſpir'd not with* Caſſius, *with* Albinus, *with* Niger; and does *Tertullian* think they merited by not being willing to loſe their lives in the quarrels of Infidels? 'Tis evident therefore that the Chriſtians could not free themſelves from the yoke of the *Roman* Emperours; and it could be no ways advantageous to their intereſt to conſpire with Infidels, as long as Heathen Emperours reign'd. But that afterwards the Chriſtians made War upon Tyrants, and defended themſelves by force of Arms when there was occaſion, and many times revenged upon Tyrants their Enormities, I am now about to make appear. In the firſt place, *Conſtantine* being a Chriſtian, made War upon *Licinius*, and cut him off, who was his Partner in the Sovereign Power, becauſe he moleſted the *Eaſtern* Chriſtians; by which act of his he declared thus much at leaſt, That one Magiſtrate might puniſh another: For he for his Subjects ſake puniſhed *Li-*

*cinius*, who to all intents was as abſolute in the Empire as himſelf, and did not leave the vengeance to God alone: *Licinius* might have done the ſame to *Conſtantine*, if there had been the like occaſion. So then, if the matter be not wholly reſerved to Gods own Tribunal, but that Men have ſomething to do in the caſe, why did not the Parliament of *England* ſtand in the ſame relation to King *Charles*, that *Conſtantine* did to *Licinius*? The Soldiers made *Conſtantine* what he was. But our Laws have made our Parliaments equal, nay, ſuperior to our Kings. The Inhabitants of *Conſtantinople* reſiſted *Conſtantius* an *Arian* Emperour, by force of Arms, as long as they were able; they oppoſed *Hermogenes* whom he had ſent with a Military power to depoſe *Paul* an Orthodox Biſhop; the houſe whither he had betaken himſelf for ſecurity, they fired about his ears, and at laſt killed him right out. *Conſtans* threatned to make War upon his Brother *Conſtantius*, unleſs he would reſtore *Paul* and *Athanaſius* to their Biſhopricks. You ſee thoſe holy Fathers, when their Biſhopricks were in danger, were not aſhamed to ſtir up their Prince's own Brother to make War upon him. Not long after, the Chriſtian Soldiers, who then made whom they would Emperors, put to death *Conſtans* the Son of *Conſtantinus*, becauſe he behaved himſelf diſſolutely and proudly in the Government, and tranſlated the Empire to *Magnentius*. Nay, thoſe very perſons that ſaluted *Julian* by the name of Emperour, againſt *Conſtantius*'s will, who was actually in poſſeſſion of the Empire, (for *Julian* was not then an Apoſtate, but a vertuous and valiant perſon) are they not amongſt the number of thoſe Primitive Chriſtians, whoſe Example you propoſe to us for our imitation? Which action of theirs, when *Conſtantius* by his Letters to the People very ſharply and earneſtly forbad, (which Letters were openly read to them) they all cried out unanimouſly, That themſelves had but done what the Provincial Magiſtrates, the Army, and the Authority of the Commonwealth had decreed. The ſame perſons declared War againſt *Conſtantius*, and contributed as much as in them lay, to deprive him both of his Government and his Life. How did the Inhabitants of *Antioch* behave themſelves, who were none of the worſt ſort of Chriſtians? I'll warrant you they prayed for *Julian*, after he became an Apoſtate, whom they uſed to rail at in his own preſence, and ſcoffing at his long Beard bid him make Ropes of it: Upon the news of whoſe death they offer'd publick Thankſgivings, made Feaſts, and gave other publick Demonſtrations of Joy. Do you think they uſed when he was alive to pray for the continuance of his life and health? Nay, is it not reported, that a Chriſtian Soldier in his own Army was the Author of his death? *Sozomen*, a Writer of Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, does not deny it, but commends him that did it, if the Fact were ſo; 'For it is no wonder, *ſays he*, that ſome of his own Soldiers 'might think within himſelf, that not only the *Greeks*, but all Mankind hitherto 'had agreed that it was a commendable action to kill a Tyrant; and that they 'deſerve all mens praiſe, who are willing to die themſelves to procure the liberty of all others: ſo that that Soldier ought not raſhly to be condemned, 'who in the Cauſe of God and of Religion, was ſo zealous and valiant. Theſe are the words of *Sozomen*, a good and Religious Man of that age. By which we may eaſily apprehend what the general opinion of pious men in thoſe days was upon this point. *Ambroſe* himſelf being commanded by the Emperour *Valentinian* the Younger, to depart from *Milan*, refuſed to obey him, but defended himſelf and the Palace by force of Arms againſt the Emperour's Officers, and took upon him, contrary to his own Doctrin, *to reſiſt the higher powers*. There was a great ſedition raiſed at *Conſtantinople* againſt the Emperour *Arcadius*, more than once, by reaſon of *Chryſoſtom*'s Exile. Hitherto I have ſhewn how the Primitive Chriſtians behaved themſelves towards Tyrants; how not only the Chriſtian Soldiers, and the People, but the Fathers of the Church themſelves, have both made War upon them, and oppoſed them with force, and all this before St. *Auſtin*'s time: for you your ſelf are pleaſed to go down no lower; and therefore I make no mention of *Valentinian* the Son of *Placidia*, who was ſlain by *Maximus* a Senator, for committing Adultery with his Wife; nor do I mention *Avitus* the Emperour, whom, becauſe he diſbanded the Soldiers, and betook himſelf wholly to a luxurious life, the *Roman* Senate immediately depoſed; becauſe theſe things came to paſs ſome years after St. *Auſtin*'s death. But all this I give you: Suppoſe I had not mentioned the practice of the Primitive Chriſtians; ſuppoſe they never had ſtirred in oppoſition to Tyrants; ſuppoſe they had accounted it unlawful ſo to do; I will make it appear that they were not ſuch Perſons, as that we ought to rely upon their Authority, or can ſafely follow their Example. Long before *Conſtantin*'s time the generality of Chriſtians had loſt much of the Primitive Sanctity and Integrity both of their Doctrine and Manners. Afterwards, when he had vaſtly enriched the Church, they began to fall in love with Honour and Civil Power, and then the Chriſtian Religion went to wrack. Firſt Luxury and Sloth, and then a great drove of Hereſies and Immoralities broke looſe among them; and theſe begot Envy, Hatred and Diſcord, which abounded every where. At laſt, they that were linked together into one Brotherhood by that holy band of Religion, were as much at variance and ſtrife among themſelves, as the moſt bitter Enemies in the world could be. No reverence for, no conſideration of their duty was left amongſt them: the Soldiers and Commanders of the Army, as oft as they pleaſed themſelves, created new *Emperors*, and ſometimes killed good ones as well as bad. I need not mention ſuch as *Verannio*, *Maximus*, *Eugenius*, whom the Soldiers all of a ſudden advanced and made them Emperors; nor *Gratian*, an excellent Prince; nor *Valentinian* the younger, who was none of the worſt, and yet were put to death by them. It is true, theſe things were acted by the Soldiers, and Soldiers in the Field; but thoſe Soldiers were Chriſtians, and lived in that Age which you call Evangelical, and whoſe example you propoſe to us for our imitation. Now you ſhall hear how the Clergy managed themſelves: Paſtors and Biſhops, and ſometimes thoſe very Fathers whom we admire and extol to ſo high a degree, every one of whom was a Leader of their ſeveral Flocks; thoſe very men, I ſay, fought for their Biſhopricks, as Tyrants did for their Soveraignty; ſometimes throughout the City, ſometimes in the very Churches, ſometimes at the Altar, Clergy-men and Lay-men fought promiſcuouſly; they ſlew one another, and great ſlaughters were made on both ſides. You may remember *Damaſus* and *Vrciſinus*, who were Contemporaries with *Ambroſe*. It would be too long to relate the tumultuary Inſurrections of the Inhabitants of *Conſtantinople*, *Antioch*, and *Alexandria*, eſpecially thoſe under the Conduct and Management of *Cyrillus*, whom you extol as a Preacher up of Obedience; when the Monks in that Fight, within the City, had almoſt ſlain *Oreſtes*, *Theodoſius*'s Deputy. Now who can ſufficiently wonder at your Impudence, or Careleſsneſs and Neglect? “ *Till St.* Auſtin'*s time*, ſay you, *and lower* “ *down than the Age that he lived in, there is not any mention extant in Hiſtory, of any* “ *private Perſon, of any Commander, or of any number of Conſpirators, that have* “ *put their Prince to death, or taken up Arms againſt him.* I have named to you out of known and approved Hiſtories, both private Perſons and Magiſtrates, that with their own hands have ſlain not only bad, but very good Princes: Whole Armies of Chriſtians, many Biſhops amongſt them, that have fought againſt their own Emperors. You produce ſome of the Fathers, that with a great flouriſh of words, perſuade or boaſt of Obedience to Princes: And I, on the other ſide, produce both thoſe ſame Fathers, and others beſides them, that by their actions have declined Obedience to their Princes, even in lawful things; have defended themſelves with a Military Force againſt them; others that have oppoſed forcibly, and wounded their Deputies; others that being Competitors for Biſhopricks, have maintained Civil Wars againſt one another: As if it were lawful for Chriſtians to wage War with Chriſtians for a Biſhoprick, and Citizens with Citizens; but unlawful to fight againſt a Tyrant, in defence of our Liberty, of our Wives and Children, and of our Lives themſelves. Who would own ſuch Fathers as theſe? You produce St. *Auſtin*, who you ſay, aſſerts that *the Power of a Maſter over his Servants, and a Prince over his Subjects, is one and the ſame thing.* But I anſwer; If St. *Auſtin* aſſert any ſuch thing, he aſſerts what neither our Saviour, nor any of his Apoſtles ever aſſerted; tho for the confirmation of that Aſſertion, than which nothing can be more falſe, he pretends to rely wholly upon their Authority. The three or four laſt Pages of this Fourth Chapter, are ſtuffed with meer Lies, or things careleſly and looſely put together, that are little to the purpoſe: And that every one that reads them, will diſcover by what has been ſaid already. For what concerns the Pope, againſt whom you declaim ſo loudly, I am content you ſhould bawl at him, till you are hoarſe. But whereas you endeavour to perſwade the ignorant, That *all that called themſelves Chriſtians, yielded an entire obedience to Princes, whether good or bad, till the Papal Power grew to that height, that it was acknowledged* *ſuperior to that of the Civil Magiſtrate, and till he took upon him to abſolve Subjects from their Allegiance* : I have ſufficiently proved by many Examples before and ſince the age that St. *Auguſtin* lived in, that nothing can be more falſe. Neither does that ſeem to have much more truth in it, which you ſay in the laſt place; *viz. That Pope* Zachary *abſolved the* French-men *from their Oath of Allegiance to their King*. For *Francis Hottoman*, who was both a *French-man* and a Lawyer, and a very learned man, in the 13th Chapter of his *Francogallia*, denies that either *Chilperic* was depoſed, or the Kingdom tranſlated to *Pepin* by the Pope's Authority; and he proves out of very Ancient Chronicles of that Nation, That the whole affair was tranſacted in the great Council of the Kingdom, according to the Original Conſtitution of that Government. Which being once done, the *French* Hiſtories, and Pope *Zachary* himſelf, deny that there was any neceſſity of abſolving his Subjects from their Allegiance. For not only *Hottoman*, but *Guiccard*, a very eminent Hiſtorian of that Nation, informs us, That the Ancient Records of the Kingdom of *France* teſtify, That the Subjects of that Nation upon the firſt inſtitution of Kingſhip amongſt them, reſerved a power to themſelves, both of chuſing their Princes, and of depoſing them again, if they thought fit: And that the Oath of Allegiance which they took, was upon this expreſs condition; *to wit*, That the King ſhould likewiſe perform what at his Coronation he ſwore to do. So that if Kings by miſgoverning the People committed to their charge, firſt broke their own Oath to their Subjects, there needs no Pope to diſpenſe with the Peoples Oaths; the Kings themſelves by their own perfidiouſneſs having abſolved their Subjects. And finally, Pope *Zachary* himſelf in a Letter of his to the *French*, which you your ſelf quote, renounces, and aſcribes to the People that Authority which you ſay he aſſumes to himſelf: For "if a "Prince be accountable to the People, being beholden to them for his Royalty; "if the People, ſince they make Kings, have the ſame Right to depoſe them, as the very words of that Pope are; it is not likely that the *French-men* would by any Oath depart in the leaſt from that Ancient Right, or ever tye up their own hands, ſo as not to have the ſame Right that their Anceſtors always had, to depoſe bad Princes, as well as to honour and obey good ones; nor is it likely that they thought themſelves obliged to yield that Obedience to Tyrants, which they ſwore to yield only to good Princes. A People obliged to Obedience by ſuch an Oath, is diſcharged of that Obligation, when a lawful Prince becomes a Tyrant, or gives himſelf over to Sloth and Voluptuouſneſs; the rule of Juſtice, the very Law of Nature diſpenſes with ſuch a Peoples Allegiance. So that even by the Pope's own opinion, the People were under no Obligation to yield Obedience to *Chilperic*, and conſequently had no need of a Diſpenſation.

## CHAP. V.

THO I am of opinion, *Salmaſius*, and always was, That the Law of God does exactly agree with the Law of Nature; ſo that having ſhown what the Law of God is, with reſpect to Princes, and what the practiſe has been of the People of God, both *Jews* and *Chriſtians*, I have at the ſame time, and by the ſame Diſcourſe, made appear what is moſt agreeable to the Law of Nature: yet becauſe you pretend *to confute us moſt powerfully by the Law of Nature*, I will be content to admit that to be neceſſary, which before I had thought would be ſuperfluous; that in this Chapter I may demonſtrate, That nothing is more ſutable to the Law of Nature, than that Puniſhment be inflicted upon Tyrants. Which if I do not evince, I will then agree with you, that likewiſe by the Law of God they are exempt. I do not purpoſe to frame a long Diſcourſe of Nature in general, and the original of Civil Societies; that Argument has been largely handled by many Learned Men, both *Greek* and *Latin*. But I ſhall endeavour to be as ſhort as may be; and my deſign is not ſo much to confute you (who would willingly have ſpared this pains) as to ſhow that you confute your ſelf, and deſtroy your own Poſitions. I'll begin with that firſt Poſition which you lay down as a Fundamental, and that ſhall be the Groundwork of my enſuing Diſcourſe. *The Law of Nature*, ſay you, *is a Principle imprinted on all mens minds, to regard the good of all Mankind, conſidering men as united together in Societies. But this innate Principle cannot procure that common good, unleſs, as there are people that muſt be governed, ſo that very Principle aſcertain who ſhall govern them.* To wit, leſt the ſtronger oppreſs the weaker, and thoſe perſons, who for their mutual Safety and Protection have united themſelves together, ſhould be diſunited and divided by Injury and Violence, and reduced to a beaſtial ſavage life again. This I ſuppoſe is what you mean. *Out of the number of thoſe that united into one body*, you ſay, *there muſt needs have been ſome choſen, who excelled the reſt in Wiſdom and Valour; that they either by force, or by perſwaſion, might reſtrain thoſe that were refractory, and keep them within due bounds. Sometimes it would ſo fall out that one ſingle Perſon, whoſe Conduct and Valour was extraordinary, might be able to do this, and ſometimes more aſſiſted one another with their Advice and Counſel. But ſince it is impoſſible that any one man ſhould order all things himſelf, there was a neceſſity of his conſulting with others, and taking ſome into part of the Government with himſelf: So that whether a ſingle perſon reign, or whether the Supreme Power reſide in the body of the People, ſince it is impoſſible that all ſhould adminiſter the affairs of the Commonwealth, or that one man ſhould do all, the Government does always lie upon the ſhoulders of many.* And afterwards you ſay, *Both Forms of Government, whether by many or a few, or by a ſingle perſon, are equally according to the Law of Nature; for both proceed from the ſame Principle of Nature*, viz. *That it is impoſſible for any ſingle perſon ſo to govern alone, as not to admit others into a ſhare of the Government with himſelf.* Tho I might have taken all this out of the Third Book of *Ariſtotle*'s Politicks, I choſe rather to tranſcribe it out of your own Book; for you ſtole it from him, as *Prometheus* did Fire from *Jupiter*, to the ruin of Monarchy, and overthrow of your ſelf, and your own opinion. For enquire as diligently as you can for your life, into the Law of Nature, as you have deſcribed it, you will not find the leaſt footſtep in it of Kingly Power, as you explain it. *The Law of Nature*, ſay you, *in ordering who ſhould govern others, reſpected the univerſal good of all mankind.* It did not then regard the private good of any particular perſon, not of a Prince, ſo that the King is for the People, and conſequently the People ſuperior to him; which being allowed, it is impoſſible that Princes ſhould have any right to oppreſs or enſlave the people; that the inferior ſhould have right to tyrannize over the ſuperior. So that ſince Kings cannot pretend to any right to do miſchief, the right of the people muſt be acknowledged according to the Law of Nature to be ſuperior to that of Princes; and therefore by the ſame right, that before Kingſhip was known, men united their Strength and Counſels for their mutual Safety and Defence; by the ſame right, that for the preſervation of all mens Liberty, Peace, and Safety, they appointed one or more to govern the reſt; by the ſame right they may depoſe thoſe very perſons, whom for their Valour or Wiſdom they advanced to the Government, or any others that rule diſorderly, if they find them by reaſon of their ſlothfulneſs, folly, or impiety, unfit for Government: ſince Natnre does not regard the good of one, or of a few, but of all in general. For what ſort of perſons were they whom you ſuppoſe to have been choſen? You ſay, *they were ſuch as excelled in Courage and Conduct*, to wit, ſuch as by Nature ſeemed fitteſt for Government; who by reaſon of their excellent Wiſdom and Valour, were enabled to undertake ſo great a Charge. The conſequence of this I take to be, That right of Succeſſion is not by the Law of Nature; that no Man by the Law of Nature has right to be King, unleſs he excel all others in Wiſdom and Courage; that all ſuch as reign, and want theſe qualifications, are advanced to the Government by Force or Faction; have no right by the Law of Nature to be what they are, but ought rather to be Slaves than Princes. For Nature appoints that Wiſe Men ſhould govern Fools, not that Wicked Men ſhould rule over Good Men; Fools over Wiſe Men: And conſequently, they that take the Government out of ſuch mens hands, act according to the Law of Nature. To what end Nature directs Wiſe Men ſhould bear the Rule, you ſhall hear in your own words; *viz.* " *That by Force or by Perſwaſion, they may keep ſuch* " *as are unruly, within due bounds.* But how ſhould he keep others within the bounds of their duty, that neglects, or is ignorant of, or wilfully acts contrary to his own? Alledg now, if you can, any dictate of Nature, by which we are enjoined to neglect the wiſe Inſtitutions of the Law of Nature, and have no regard to them in Civil and Publick Concerns, when we ſee what great and admirable things Nature her ſelf effects in things that are inanimate and void of ſenſe, rather than loſe her end. Produce any Rule of Nature, or Natural Juſtice, by which inferior Criminals ought to be puniſhed, but Kings and Princes to go unpuniſhed; and not only ſo, but tho guilty of the greateſt Crimes imaginable, be had in Reverence, and almoſt adored. You agree, That *all Forms of Government, whether by many, or a few, or by a ſingle perſon, are equally agreeable to the Law of Nature.* So that the perſon of a King is not by the Law of Nature more ſacred than a Senate of Nobles, or Magiſtrates, choſen from amongſt the common people, who you grant may be puniſhed, and ought to be, if they offend; and conſequently, Kings ought to be ſo too, who are appointed to rule for the very ſame end and purpoſe that other Magiſtrates are. *For* ſay you, *Nature does not allow any ſingle perſon to bear rule ſo entirely, as not to have Partners in the Government.* It does not therefore allow of a Monarch; it does not allow one ſingle perſon to rule ſo, as that all others ſhould be in a ſlaviſh ſubjection to his Commands only. You that give Princes ſuch Partners in the Government, *as in whom,* to uſe your own words, *the Government always reſides,* do at the ſame time make others Colleagues with them, and equal to them; nay, and conſequently you ſettle a power in thoſe Colleagues of puniſhing, and of depoſing them. So that while you your ſelf go about, not to extol a Kingly Government, but to eſtabliſh it by the Law of Nature, you deſtroy it; no greater misfortune could befal Soveraign Princes, than to have ſuch an Advocate as you are. Poor, unhappy wretch! what blindneſs of mind has ſeiz'd you, that you ſhould unwittingly take ſo much pains to diſcover your knavery and folly, and make it viſible to the world (which before you conceal'd, in ſome meaſure and diſguis'd) that you ſhould be ſo induſtrious to heap diſgrace and ignominy upon your ſelf. What offence does Heaven puniſh you for, in making you appear in publick, and undertake the defence of a deſperate Cauſe, with ſo much impudence and childiſhneſs, and inſtead of defending it, to betray it by your ignorance? What Enemy of yours would deſire to ſee you in a more forlorn, deſpicable condition than you are, who have no refuge left from the depth of miſery, but in your own imprudence and want of ſenſe, ſince by your unskilful and ſilly defence, you have rendered Tyrants the more odious and deteſtable, by aſcribing to them an unbounded liberty of doing miſchief with Impunity; and conſequently have created them more Enemies than they had before? But I return to your Contradictions. When you had reſolved with your ſelf to be ſo wicked as to endeavour to find out a foundation for Tyranny in the Law of Nature, you ſaw a neceſſity of extolling Monarchy above other ſorts of Government; which you cannot go about to do, without doing as you uſe to do, that is contradicting your ſelf. For having ſaid but a little before, *That all Forms of Government, whether by more or fewer, or by a ſingle perſon, are equally according to the Law of Nature,* now you tell us, *that of all theſe ſorts of Government, that of a ſingle perſon is moſt natural.* Nay, though you had ſaid in expreſs terms but lately, *That the Law of Nature does not allow that any Government ſhould reſide entirely in one man.* Now upbraid whom you will with the putting of Tyrants to death; ſince you your ſelf by your own folly, have cut the Throats of all Monarchs, nay even of Monarchy it ſelf. But it is not to the purpoſe for us here to diſpute which Form of Government is beſt, by one ſingle perſon, or by many. I confeſs many eminent and famous men have extolled Monarchy; but it has always been upon this ſuppoſition, that the Prince were a very excellent perſon, and one that of all others deſerved beſt to reign; without which Suppoſition, no Form of Government can be ſo prone to Tyranny as Monarchy is. And whereas you reſemble a Monarchy to the Government of the World, by one Divine Being, I pray anſwer me, Whether you think that any other can deſerve to be inveſted with a power here on Earth, that ſhall reſemble his power that governs the World, except ſuch a perſon as does infinitely excel all other Men, and both for Wiſdom and Goodneſs in ſome meaſure reſemble the Deity? and ſuch a perſon in my opinion, none can be but the Son of God himſelf. And whereas you make a Kingdom to be a kind of Family, and make a compariſon betwixt a Prince and the Maſter of a Family; obſerve how lame the Parallel is. For a Maſter of a Family begot part of his Houſhold, at leaſt he feeds all thoſe that are of his houſe, and upon that account deſerves to have the Government; but the reaſon holds not in the caſe of a Prince; nay 'tis quite contrary. In the next place, you propoſe to us for our imitation the example of inferior Creatures, eſpecially of Birds, and amongſt them of Bees, which according to your skill in Natural Philoſophy, are a ſort of Birds too; *The Bees have a King over them.* The Bees of *Trent* you mean; don't you remember? all other Bees, you your ſelf confeſs to be Commonwealths. But leave off playing the fool with Bees; they belong to the Muſes, and hate, and (you ſee) confute ſuch a Beetle as you are. *The Quails are under a Captain.* Lay ſuch ſnares for your own *Bitterns*; you are not Fowler good enough to catch us. Now you begin to be perſonally concerned. *Gallus Gallinaceus*, a Cock, ſay you, *has both Cocks and Hens under him.* How can that be, ſince you your ſelf that are *Gallus*, and but too much *Gallinaceus*, by report cannot govern your own ſingle Hen, but let her govern you? So that if a *Gallinaceus* be a King over many Hens, you that are a ſlave to one, muſt own your ſelf not to be ſo good as a *Gallinaceus*, but ſome *Stercorarius Gallus*, ſome Dunghil-Cock or other. For matter of Books, there is no body publiſhes huger Dunghils than you, and you diſturb all people with your ſhitten Cock-crow; that's the only property in which you reſemble a true Cock. I'll throw you a great many Barley-corns, if in ranſacking this Dunghil Book of yours, you can ſhow me but one Jewel. But why ſhould I promiſe you Barley, that never peckt at Corn, as that honeſt plain Cock that we read of in *Æſop*, but at Gold, as that Roguey Cock in *Plautus*, though with a different event; for you found a hundred *Jacobuſſes*, and he was ſtruck dead with *Euclio*'s Club, which you deſerve more than he did. But let us go on: *That ſame natural reaſon that deſigns the good and ſafety of all Mankind, requires, that whoever is once promoted to the Soveraignty, be preſerved in the poſſeſſion of it.* Who ever queſtion'd this, as long as his preſervation is conſiſtent with the ſafety of all the reſt? But is it not obvious to all men that nothing can be more contrary to natural reaſon than that any one man ſhould be preſerved and defended to the utter ruin and deſtruction of all others? But yet (you ſay) *it is better to keep and defend a bad Prince, nay one of the worſt that ever was, than to change him for another; becauſe his ill Government cannot do the Commonwealth ſo much harm as the diſturbances will occaſion, which muſt of neceſſity be raiſed before the people can get rid of him.* But what is this to the Right of Kings by the Law of Nature? If Nature teaches me rather to ſuffer my ſelf to be robbed by High-way men, or if I ſhould be taken Captive by ſuch, to purchaſe my Liberty with all my Eſtate, than to fight with them for my life, can you infer from thence, that they have a natural right to rob and ſpoil me? Nature teaches men to give way ſometimes to the violence and outrages of Tyrants, the neceſſity of affairs ſometimes enforces a Toleration with their enormities; what foundation can you find in this forced patience of a Nation, in this compulſory ſubmiſſion, to build a Right upon, for Princes to tyrannize by the Law of Nature? That Right which Nature has given the people for their own preſervation, can you affirm that ſhe has inveſted Tyrants with for the people's ruin and deſtruction? Nature teaches us, of two evils to chuſe the leaſt; and to bear with oppreſſion, as long as there is a neceſſity of ſo doing; and will you infer from hence, that Tyrants have ſome Right by the Law of Nature to oppreſs their Subjects, and go unpuniſhed, becauſe as circumſtances may fall out, it may ſometimes be a leſs miſchief to bear with them than to remove them? Remember what your ſelf once wrote concerning Biſhops againſt a Jeſuit; you were then of another opinion than you are now: I have quoted your words formerly; you there affirm *that ſeditious Civil diſſentions and diſcords of the Nobles and Common People againſt and amongſt one another, are much more tolerable, and leſs miſchievous than certain miſery and deſtruction under the Government of a ſingle perſon, that plays the Tyrant.* And you ſaid very true. For you had not then run mad; you had not then been bribed with *Charles* his *Jacobuſſes*. You had not got the *King's-Evil*. I ſhould tell you perhaps, if I did not know you, that you might be aſhamed thus to prevaricate. But you can ſooner burſt than bluſh, who have caſt off all ſhame for a little profit. Did you not remember, that the Commonwealth of the people of *Rome* flouriſhed and became glorious when they had baniſhed their Kings? Could you poſſibly forget that of the *Low Countries?* which after it had ſhook off the Yoke of the King of *Spain*, after long and tedious Wars, but crown'd with ſucceſs, obtained its Liberty, and feeds ſuch a pitiful Grammarian as your ſelf with a Penſion; but not with a deſign that their youth might be ſo infatuated by your

Sophiſtry, as to chuſe rather to return to their former Slavery than inherit the Glorious Liberty which their Anceſtors purchaſed for them. May thoſe pernicious principles of yours be baniſhed with your ſelf into the moſt remote and barbarous Corners of the World. And laſt of all, the Commonwealth of *England* might have afforded you an example, in which *Charles*, who had been their King, after he had been taken captive in War, and was found incurable, was put to death. But *they have defaced and impoveriſhed the Iſland with Civil broils and diſcords, which under its Kings was happy, and ſwam in Luxury.* Yea, when it was almoſt buried in Luxury and Voluptuouſneſs, and the more inured thereto, that it might be enthralled the more eaſily; when its Laws were aboliſhed, and its Religion agreed to be ſold, they delivered it from Slavery. You are like him that publiſhed *Simplicius* and *Epictetus* in the ſame Volume; a very grave Stoick, *Who call an Iſland happy, becauſe it ſwims in Luxury.* I'm ſure no ſuch Doctrine ever came out of *Zeno*'s School. But why ſhould not you, who would give Kings a power of doing what they liſt, have liberty your ſelf to broach what new Philoſophy you pleaſe? Now begin again to act your part. *There never was in any King's Reign ſo much blood ſpilt, ſo many Families ruined.* All this is to be imputed to *Charles*, not to us, who firſt raiſed an Army of *Iriſhmen* againſt us; who by his own Warrant authorized the *Iriſh* Nation to conſpire againſt the *Engliſh*; who by their means ſlew two hundred thouſand of his *Engliſh* Subjects in the Province of *Vlſter*, beſides what Numbers were ſlain in other parts of that Kingdom; who ſollicited two Armies towards the deſtruction of the Parliament of *England*, and the City of *London*; and did many other actions of Hoſtility before the Parliament and People had liſted one Soldier for the preſervation and defence of the Government. What Principles, what Law, what Religion ever taught men rather to conſult their eaſe, to ſave their Money, their Blood, nay their Lives themſelves, than to oppoſe an Enemy with force? for I make no difference betwixt a Foreign Enemy and another, ſince both are equally dangerous and deſtructive to the good of the whole Nation. The People of *Iſrael* ſaw very well, that they could not poſſibly puniſh the *Benjamites* for murdering the *Levite*'s Wife, without the loſs of many Mens Lives: And did that induce them to ſit ſtill? Was that accounted a ſufficient Argument why they ſhould abſtain from War, from a very Bloody Civil War? Did they therefore ſuffer the death of one poor Woman to be unrevenged? Certainly if Nature teaches us rather to endure the Government of a King, though he be never ſo bad, than to endanger the lives of a great many Men in the recovery of our Liberty; it muſt teach us likewiſe not only to endure a Kingly Government, which is the only one that you argue ought to be ſubmitted to, but even an Ariſtocracy and a Democracy: Nay, and ſometimes it will perſwade us, to ſubmit to a Multitude of Highway-men, and to Slaves that mutiny. *Fulvius* and *Rupilius*, if your Principles had been received in their days, muſt not have engaged in the Servile War (as their Writers call it) after the *Prætorian* Armies were ſlain: *Craſſus* muſt not have marched againſt *Spartacus*, after the Rebels had deſtroyed one *Roman* Army, and ſpoil'd their Tents: Nor muſt *Pompey* have undertaken the *Piratick* War. But the State of *Rome* muſt have purſued the dictates of Nature, and muſt have ſubmitted to their own Slaves, or to the Pyrates rather than run the hazard of loſing ſome Mens Lives. You do not prove at all, that Nature has imprinted any ſuch notion as this of yours on the minds of Men: And yet you cannot forbear boding us ill luck, and denouncing the Wrath of God againſt us (which may Heaven divert, and inflict it upon your ſelf, and all ſuch Prognoſticators as you) who have puniſhed as he deſerved, one that had the name of our King, but was in Fact our implacable Enemy; and we have made Atonement for the death of ſo many of our Countreymen, as our Civil Wars have occaſion'd, by ſhedding his Blood, that was the Author and Cauſe of them. Then you tell us, that a Kingly Government appears to be more according to the Laws of Nature, becauſe *more Nations, both in our days and of old, have ſubmitted to that Form of Government, than ever did to any other.* I anſwer, If that be ſo, it was neither the effect of any dictate of the Law of Nature, nor was it in Obedience to any Command from God. God would not ſuffer his own People to be under a King; he conſented at laſt, but unwillingly: what Nature and right Reaſon dictates, we are not to gather from the practiſe of moſt Nations, but of the wiſeſt and moſt prudent. The *Grecians*, the *Romans*, the

*Italians*, and *Carthaginians*, with many other, have of their own accord, out of choice, preferr'd a Commonwealth to a Kingly Government; and theſe Nations that I have named, are better inſtances than all the reſt. Hence *Sulpitius Severus* ſays, 'That the very name of a King was always very odious among 'freeborn People. But theſe things concern not our preſent purpoſe, nor many other Impertinences that follow over and over again. I'll make haſte to prove that by Examples which I have proved already by Reaſon; *viz.* That it is very agreeable to the Law of Nature, that Tyrants ſhould be puniſhed; and that all Nations by the inſtinct of Nature, have puniſhed them; which will expoſe your Impudence, and make it evident, that you take a liberty to publiſh palpable downright Lies. You begin with the *Egyptians*; and indeed, who does not ſee, that you play the Gipſy your ſelf throughout? *Amongſt them*, ſay you, *there is no mention extant of any King, that was ever ſlain by the People in a Popular Inſurrection, no War made upon any of their Kings by their Subjects, no attempt made to depoſe any of them.* What think you then of *Oſiris*, who perhaps was the firſt King that the *Egyptians* ever had? Was not he ſlain by his Brother *Typhon*, and five and twenty other Conſpirators? And did not a great part of the Body of the People ſide with them, and fight a Battel with *Iſis* and *Orus*, the late King's Wife and Son? I paſs by *Seſoſtris*, whom his Brother had well nigh put to death, and *Chemmis*, and *Cephrenes*, againſt whom the People were deſervedly enraged; and becauſe they could not do it while they were alive, they threatned to tear them in pieces after they were dead. Do you think that a People that durſt lay violent hands upon good Kings, had any reſtraint upon them, either by the Light of Nature or Religion, from putting bad ones to Death? Could they that threatned to pull the dead Bodies of their Princes out of their Graves, when they ceaſed to do miſchief, (tho by the Cuſtom of their own Country, the Corps of the meaneſt Perſon was ſacred and inviolable) abſtain from inflicting Puniſhment upon them in their Life-time, when they were acting all their Villanies, if they had been able; and that upon ſome Maxim of the Law of Nature? I know you would not ſtick to anſwer me in the affirmative, how abſurd ſoever it be; but that you may not offer at it, I'll pull out your Tongue. Know then, that ſome Ages before *Cephrenes*'s time, one *Ammoſis* was King of *Egypt*, and was as great a Tyrant, as who has been the greateſt; him the People bore with. This you are glad to hear; this is what you would be at. But hear what follows, my honeſt Tell-troth. I ſhall ſpeak out of *Diodorus*, *They bore with him for ſome while, becauſe he was too ſtrong for them:* But when *Actiſanes* King of *Ethiopia* made war upon him, they took that opportunity to revolt, ſo that being deſerted, he was eaſily ſubdued, and *Egypt* became an Acceſſion to the Kingdom of *Ethiopia*. You ſee the *Egyptians*, as ſoon as they could, took up Arms againſt a Tyrant; they joined Forces with a Foreign Prince, to depoſe their own King, and diſinherit his Poſterity; they choſe to live under a moderate and good Prince, as *Actiſanes* was, tho a Foreigner, rather than under a Tyrant of their own. The ſame People with a very unanimous Conſent took up Arms againſt *Apries*, another Tyrant, who relied upon Foreign Aids that he had hired to aſſiſt him. Under the Conduct of *Amaſis* their General they conquered, and afterward ſtrangled him, and placed *Amaſis* in the Throne. And obſerve this Circumſtance in the Hiſtory; *Amaſis* kept the Captive King a good while in the Palace, and treated him well: At laſt, when the People complain'd that he nouriſhed his own and their Enemy; he delivered him into their hands, who put him to death in the manner I have mentioned. Theſe things are related by *Herodotus* and *Diodorus*. Where are you now? Do you think that any Tyrant would not chuſe a *Hatchet* rather than a *Halter*? *Afterwards*, ſay you, *when the* Egyptians *were brought into ſubjection by the* Perſians, *they continued faithful to them*; which is moſt falſe, they never were faithful to them: For in the fourth year after *Cambyſes* had ſubdued them, they rebelled. Afterward, when *Xerxes* had tamed them, within a ſhort time they revolted from his Son *Artaxerxes*, and ſet up one *Inarus* to be their King. After his death they rebell'd again, and created one *Tachus* King, and made war upon *Artaxerxes Mnemon*. Neither were they better Subjects to their own Princes, for they depoſed *Tachus*, and conferr'd the Government upon his Son *Nectanebus*, till at laſt *Artaxerxes Ochus* brought them the ſecond time under ſubjection to the *Perſian* Empire. When they were under the *Macedonian* Empire, they declared by their Actions, that Tyrants ought to be under ſome reſtraint:

They threw down the Statutes and Images of *Ptolomæus Phyſco*, and would have killed him, but that the mercenary Army that he commanded, was too ſtrong for them. His Son *Alexander* was forced to leave his Country by the meer violence of the People, who were incenſed againſt him for killing his Mother. And the People of *Alexandria* dragged his Son *Alexander* out of the Palace, whoſe inſolent Behaviour gave juſt Offence, and killed him in the Theatre. And the ſame People depoſed *Ptolomæus Auletes* for his many Crimes. Now, ſince it is impoſſible that any Learned Man ſhould be ignorant of theſe things that are ſo generally known; and ſince it is an inexcuſable Fault in *Salmaſius* to be ignorant of them, whoſe Profeſſion it is to teach them others, and whoſe very aſſerting things of this nature ought to carry in it ſelf an Argument of Credibility; it is certainly a very ſcandalous thing (I ſay) either that ſo ignorant, illiterate a Blockhead, ſhould to the ſcandal of all Learning, profeſs himſelf, and be accounted a Learned Man, and obtain Salaries from Princes and States; or that ſo impudent and notorious a Lyar ſhould not be branded with ſome particular mark of Infamy, and for ever baniſhed from the Society of learned and honeſt Men. Having ſearched among the *Egyptians* for Examples, let us now conſider the *Ethiopians* their Neighbours. They adore their Kings, whom they ſuppoſe God to have appointed over them, even as if they were a ſort of Gods: And yet whenever the Prieſts condemn any of them, they kill themſelves: And on that manner, ſays *Diodorus*, they puniſh all their Criminals; they put them not to death, but ſend a Miniſter of Juſtice to command them to deſtroy their own Perſons. In the next place you mention the *Aſſyrians*, the *Medes*, and the *Perſians*, who of all others were moſt obſervant of their Princes: And you affirm, contrary to all Hiſtorians that have wrote any thing concerning thoſe Nations, That *the Regal Power there, had an unbounded Liberty annexed to it, of doing what the King liſted.* In the firſt place the Prophet *Daniel* tells us, how the *Babylonians* expelled *Nebuchadnezzar* out of Human Society, and made him graze with the Beaſts, when his Pride grew to be inſufferable. The Laws of thoſe Countries were not entituled the Laws of their Kings, but the Laws of the *Medes* and *Perſians*; which Laws were irrevocable, and the Kings themſelves were bound by them: Inſomuch that *Darius* the *Mede*, tho he earneſtly deſired to have delivered *Daniel* from the hands of the Princes, yet could not effect it. *Thoſe Nations*, ſay you, *thought it no ſufficient pretence to reject a Prince, becauſe he abuſed the Right that was inherent in him as he was Sovereign.* But in the very writing of theſe words you are ſo ſtupid, as that with the ſame breath that you commend the Obedience and Submiſſiveneſs of thoſe Nations, of your own accord you make mention of *Sardanapalus*'s being deprived of his Crown by *Arbaces*. Neither was it he alone that accompliſhed that Enterpriſe; for he had the aſſiſtance of the Prieſts (who of all others were beſt verſed in the Law) and of the People; and it was wholly upon this account that he depoſed him, becauſe he abuſed his authority and power, not by giving himſelf over to cruelty, but to luxury and effeminacy. Run over the Hiſtories of *Herodotus*, *Cteſias*, *Diodorus*, and you will find things quite contrary to what you aſſert here; you will find that thoſe Kingdoms were deſtroyed for the moſt part by Subjects, and not by Foreigners; that the *Aſſyrians* were brought down by the *Medes*, who then were their Subjects, and the *Medes* by the *Perſians*, who at that time were likewiſe ſubject to them. You your ſelf confeſs, that *Cyrus rebell'd, and that at the ſame time in divers parts of the Empire little upſtart Governments were formed by thoſe that ſhook off the Medes.* But does this agree with what you ſaid before? Does this prove the obedience of the *Medes* and *Perſians* to their Princes, and that *Jus Regium* which you had aſſerted to have been univerſally received amongſt thoſe Nations? What Potion can cure this brainſick Frenzy of yours? You ſay, *It appears by Herodotus how abſolute the Perſian Kings were.* *Cambyſes* being deſirous to marry his Siſter, conſulted with the Judges, who were the Interpreters of the Laws, to whoſe Deciſion all difficult matters were to be referred. What anſwer had he from them? They told him, they knew no Law which permitted a Brother to marry his Siſter; but another Law they knew, that the Kings of *Perſia* might do what they liſted. Now to this I anſwer, if the Kings of *Perſia* were really ſo abſolute, what need was there of any other to interpret the Laws, beſides the King himſelf? Thoſe ſuperfluous unneceſſary Judges would have had their abode and reſidence in any other place rather than in the Palace, where they were altogether uſeleſs. Again, if thoſe Kings might do whatever they would, It is not credible that ſo ambitious a Prince as *Cambyſes* was, ſhould be ſo ignorant of that grand Prerogative, as to conſult with the Judges, whether what he deſired were according to Law. What was the matter then? either they deſigned to humour the King, as you ſay they did, or they were afraid to croſs his inclination, which is the account that *Herodotus* gives of it; and ſo told him of ſuch a Law, as they knew would pleaſe him, and in plain terms made a fool of him; which is no new thing with Judges and Lawyers now a days. *But*, ſay you, Artabanus *a* Perſian *told* Themiſtocles, *that there was no better Law in* Perſia, *than that by which it was enacted, That Kings were to be honoured and adored*. An excellent Law that was without doubt which commanded Subjects to *adore* their Princes! but the Primitive Fathers have long ago damned it; and *Artabanus* was a proper perſon to commend ſuch a Law, who was the very Man that a little while after ſlew *Xerxes* with his own hand. You quote Regicides to aſſert Royalty. I am afraid you have ſome deſign upon Kings. In the next place you quote the Poet *Claudian*, to prove how obedient the *Perſians* were. But I appeal to their Hiſtories and Annals, which are full of the Revolts of the *Perſians*, the *Medes*, the *Bactrians*, and *Babylonians*, and give us frequent inſtances of the Murders of their Princes. The next perſon whoſe authority you cite, is *Otanes* the *Perſian*, who likewiſe killed *Smerdis* then King of *Perſia*, to whom, out of the hatred which he bore to a Kingly Government, he reckons up the impieties and injurious actions of Kings, their violation of all Laws, their putting Men to Death without any legal Conviction, their Rapes and Adulteries; and all this you will have called the Right of Kings, and ſlander *Samuel* again as a teacher of ſuch Doctrines. You quote *Homer*, who ſays that Kings derive their Authority from *Jupiter*; to which I have already given an anſwer. For King *Philip* of *Macedon*, whoſe aſſerting the Right of Kings, you make uſe of: I'll believe *Charles* his deſcription of it, as ſoon as his. Then you quote ſome Sentences out of a fragment of *Diogenes* a *Pythagorean*; but you do not tell us what ſort of a King he ſpeaks of. Obſerve therefore how he begins that Diſcourſe; for whatever follows muſt be underſtood to have relation to it. ‘Let him be ‘ King, *ſays he*, that of all others is moſt juſt, and ſo he is that acts moſt according to Law; for no Man can be King that is not juſt; and without Laws ‘ there can be no Juſtice. This is directly oppoſite to that Regal Right of yours. And *Ecphantas*, whom you likewiſe quote, is of the ſame opinion: ‘Whoſoever takes upon him to be a King, ought to be naturally moſt pure and clear ‘ from all imputation. And a little after, ‘Him, *ſays he*, we call a King, that ‘ governs well, and he only is properly ſo. So that ſuch a King as you ſpeak of, according to the Philoſophy of the *Pythagoreans*, is no King at all. Hear now what *Plato* ſays in his *Eighth Epiſtle:* ‘Let Kings, *ſays he*, be liable ‘ to be called to account for what they do: Let the Laws controul not only the ‘ People, but Kings themſelves, if they do any thing not warranted by Law. I'll mention what *Ariſtotle* ſays in the *Third Book of his Politicks*; ‘It is neither for ‘ the Publick Good, nor is it juſt, *ſays he*, ſeeing all men are by nature alike ‘ and equal, that any one ſhould be Lord and Maſter over all the reſt, where ‘ there are no Laws: nor is it for the Publick Good, or Juſt, that one man ‘ ſhould be a Law to the reſt, where there are Laws; nor that any one, tho ‘ a good man, ſhould be Lord over other good men, nor a bad man over bad ‘ men. And in the *Fifth Book*, ſays he, ‘That King whom the People refuſe to be ‘ govern'd by, is no longer a King, but a Tyrant. Hear what *Xenophon* ſays in *Hiero:* ‘People are ſo far from revenging the deaths of Tyrants, that they ‘ confer great Honour upon him that kills one, and erect Statues in their Temples to the Honour of Tyrannicides. Of this I can produce an Eye-witneſs, *Marcus Tullius*, in his Oration *pro Milone*, ‘The *Grecians*, *ſays he*, aſcribe Divine Worſhip to ſuch as kill Tyrants: What things of this nature have I myſelf ſeen at *Athens*, and in the other Cities of *Greece*? How many Religious ‘ Obſervances have been inſtituted in honour of ſuch men? How many Hymns? ‘ They are conſecrated to Immortality and Adoration, and their Memory endeavoured to be perpetuated. And laſtly, *Polybius*, a Hiſtorian of great Authority and Gravity, in the *Sixth Book* of his *Hiſtory* ſays thus: ‘When Princes began ‘ to indulge their own Luſts and ſenſual Appetites, then Kingdoms were turned ‘ into ſo many Tyrannies, and the Subjects began to conſpire the death of their ‘ Governors; neither was it the profligate ſort that were the Authors of thoſe

‘ Deſigns, but the moſt Generous and Magnanimous. I could quote many ſuch like paſſages, but I ſhall inſtance in no more. From the Philoſophers you appeal to the Poets; and I am very willing to follow you thither. *Æſchylus is enough to inform us, That the Power of the Kings of* Greece *was ſuch, as not to be liable to the cenſure of any Laws, or to be queſtioned before any Human Judicature; for he in that Tragedy that is called,* The Suppliants, *calls the King of the* Argives, *a Governor not obnoxious to the Judgment of any Tribunal.* But you muſt know (for the more you ſay, the more you diſcover your raſhneſs and want of judgment) you muſt know, I ſay, that one is not to regard what the Poet ſays, but what perſon in the Play ſpeaks, and what that perſon ſays; for different perſons are introduced, ſometimes good, ſometimes bad; ſometimes wiſe men, ſometimes fools; and ſuch words are put into their mouths, as it is moſt proper for them to ſpeak; not ſuch as the Poet would ſpeak, if he were to ſpeak in his own perſon. The Fifty Daughters of *Danaus* being baniſhed out of *Egypt*, became Suppliants to the King of the *Argives*; they begg'd of him, that he would protect them from the *Egyptians*, who purſued them with a Fleet of Ships. The King told them he could not undertake their Protection, till he had imparted the matter to the people; ‘ For, *ſays he*, if I ſhould make a promiſe to you, I ſhould not ‘ be able to perform it, unleſs I conſult with them firſt. The Women being Strangers and Suppliants, and fearing the uncertain ſuffrages of the people, tell him, ‘ That the Power of all the people reſides in him alone; that he judg‘ es all others, but is not judged himſelf by any. He anſwers: ‘ I have told you ‘ already, That I cannot do this thing that you deſire of me, without the peo‘ ples conſent; nay, and tho I could, I would not. At laſt he refers the matter to the people; ‘ I will aſſemble the people, *ſays he*, and perſwade them to pro‘ tect you. The people met, and reſolved to engage in their quarrel; inſomuch that *Danaus* their Father bids his Daughters, ‘ be of good cheer, for the ‘ People of the Countrey, in a popular Convention, had voted their Safeguard ‘ and Defence. If I had not related the whole thing, how raſhly would this impertinent *Ignoramus* have determined concerning the Right of Kings among the *Grecians*, out of the mouths of a few Women that were Strangers and Suppliants, tho the King himſelf, and the Hiſtory be quite contrary? The ſame thing appears by the ſtory of *Oreſtes* in *Euripides*, who after his Father's death was himſelf King of the *Argives*, and yet was called in queſtion by the people for the death of his Mother, and made to plead for his Life, and by the major ſuffrage was condemned to die. The ſame Poet in his Play called *The Suppliants*, declares, That at *Athens* the Kingly Power was ſubject to the Laws; where *Theſeus* then King of that City is made to ſay theſe words: ‘ This is a free City, ‘ it is not govern'd by one man; the people reigns here. And his Son *Demophoon*, who was King after him, in another Tragedy of the ſame Poet, called *Heraclidæ*; ‘ I do not exerciſe a Tyrannical Power over them, as if they were *Barbarians:* ‘ I am upon other terms with them; but if I do them juſtice, they will do me ‘ the like. *Sophocles* in his *Oedipus* ſhows, That anciently in *Thebes* the Kings were not abſolute neither: Hence ſays *Tireſias* to *Oedipus*, ‘ I am not your ‘ Slave. And *Creon* to the ſame King, ‘ I have ſome Right in this City, *ſays he*, ‘ as well as you. And in another Tragedy of the ſame Poet, called *Antigone*, *Æmon* tells the King, ‘ That the City of *Thebes* is not govern'd by a ſingle per‘ ſon. All men know that the Kings of *Lacedemon* have been arraigned, and ſometimes put to death judicially. Theſe inſtances are ſufficient to evince what Power the Kings in *Greece* had. Let us conſider now the *Romans:* You betake your ſelf to that paſſage of *C. Memmius* in *Saluſt*, of Kings having a liberty to do what they liſt, and go unpuniſhed; to which I have given an anſwer already. *Saluſt* himſelf ſays in expreſs words, ‘ That the ancient Government of *Rome* ‘ was by their Laws, tho the Name and Form of it was Regal: which Form of Government, when it grew into a Tyranny, you know they put down and changed. *Cicero* in his Oration againſt *Piſo*, ‘ Shall I, *ſays he*, account him a Conſul, ‘ who would not allow the Senate to have any Authority in the Commonwealth? ‘ Shall I take notice of any man as Conſul, if at the ſame time there be no ſuch ‘ thing as a Senate; when of old, the City of *Rome* acknowledged not their ‘ Kings, if they acted without or in oppoſition to the Senate? Do you hear; the very Kings themſelves at *Rome* ſignified nothing without the Senate. *But*, ſay you, *Romulus governed as he liſted*; and for that you quote *Tacitus*.

No wonder : The Government was not then eſtabliſhed by Law ; they were a confus'd multitude of ſtrangers, more likely regulated than a State; and all Mankind lived without Laws, before Governments were ſetled. But when *Romulus* was dead, tho all the People were deſirous of a King, not having yet experienced the ſweetneſs of Liberty, yet, as *Livy* informs us, ‘ The Sovereign Power reſided in the People ; ſo that they parted not with more Right than they retained. The ſame Author tells us, ‘ That the ſame Power was afterwards extorted from them by their Emperours. *Servius Tullius* at firſt reigned by fraud, and as it were a Deputy to *Tarquinius Priſcus* ; but afterward he referred it to the People, Whether they would have him reign or no ? At laſt, ſays *Tacitus*, he became the Author of ſuch Laws as the Kings were obliged to obey. Do you think he would have done ſuch an injury to himſelf and his Poſterity, if he had been of opinion that the Right of Kings had been above all Laws ? Their laſt King *Tarquinius Superbus*, was the firſt that put an end to that cuſtom of conſulting the Senate concerning all Publick Affairs ; for which very thing, and other enormities of his, the People depoſed him, and baniſhed him and his Family. Theſe things I have out of *Livy* and *Cicero*, than whom you will hardly produce any better Expoſitors of the Right of Kings among the *Romans*. As for the Dictatorſhip, that was but temporary, and was never made uſe of, but in great extremities, and was not to continue longer than ſix Months. But that which you call the Right of the *Roman* Emperours, was no Right, but a plain downright Force ; and was gained by War only. *But Tacitus*, ſay you, *that lived under the Government of a ſingle Perſon, writes thus ; The Gods have committed the Sovereign Power in human Affairs to Princes only, and have left to Subjects the honour of being obedient*. But you tell us not where *Tacitus* has theſe words, for you were conſcious to your ſelf, that you impoſed upon your Readers in quoting them ; which I preſently ſmelt out, tho I could not find the place of a ſudden : For that Expreſſion is not *Tacitus*'s own, who is an approved Writer, and of all others the greateſt Enemy to Tyrants ; but *Tacitus* relates that of *M. Terentius*, a Gentleman of *Rome*, being accuſed for a Capital Crime, amongſt other things that he ſaid to ſave his Life, flattered *Tiberius* on this manner. It is in the *Sixth Book* of his *Annals*. ‘ The Gods have entruſted you with the ultimate Judgment in all things ; they have left us the honour of Obedience. And you cite this paſſage as if *Tacitus* had ſaid it himſelf ; you ſcrape together whatever ſeems to make for your Opinion, either out of oſtentation, or out of weakneſs ; you would leave out nothing that you could find in a Baker's, or a Barber's Shop ; nay, you would be glad of any thing that looked like an Argument, from the very Hangman. If you had read *Tacitus* himſelf, and not tranſcribed ſome looſe Quotations out of him by other Authors, he would have taught you whence that Imperial Right had its Original. ‘ After the Conqueſt of *Aſia*, *ſays he*, the whole ſtate of our Affairs was turned upſide down ; nothing of the ancient integrity of our Forefathers was left amongſt us ; all men ſhook off that former equality which had been obſerved, and began to have a reverence for the Mandates of Princes. This you might have learned out of the *Third Book* of his *Annals*, whence you have all your Regal Right. ‘ When that ancient equality was laid aſide, and inſtead thereof Ambition and Violence took place, Tyrannical Forms of Government ſtarted up, and fixed themſelves in many Countries. This ſame thing you might have learned out of *Dio*, if your natural Levity and Unſetledneſs of Judgment would have ſuffered you to apprehend any thing that's ſolid. He tells us in the *Fifty third Book* of his *Hiſtory*, out of which Book you have made ſome quotation already, That *Octavius Cæſar*, partly by Force, and partly by Fraud, brought things to that paſs, that the Emperors of *Rome* became no longer fettered by Laws. For he, tho he promiſed to the people in publick that he would lay down the Government, and obey the Laws, and become ſubject to others ; yet under pretence of making War in ſeveral Provinces of the Empire, ſtill retained the Legions, and ſo by degrees invaded the Government, which he pretended he would refuſe. This was not regularly getting from under the Law, but breaking forcibly through all Laws, as *Spartacus* the Gladiator might have done ; and then aſſuming to himſelf the ſtyle of Prince or Emperor, as if God or the Law of Nature had put all Men and all Laws into ſubjection under him. Would you enquire a little further into the Original of the Right of the *Roman* Emperors ? *Marcus Antonius*, whom *Cæſar* (when by taking up Arms againſt the

Commonwealth, he had got all the Power into his hands) had made Conſul, when a Solemnity called the *Lupercalia* was celebrated at *Rome*, as had been contrived before-hand that he ſhould ſet a Crown upon *Cæſar*'s head, though the people ſighed and lamented at the ſight, cauſed it to be entred upon record, That *Marcus Antonius* at the *Lupercalia*, made *Cæſar* King at the Inſtance of the people. Of which action *Cicero* in his ſecond *Philippick* ſays, 'Was *Lucius Tarquinius* therefore expelled, *Spurius Caſſius*, *Sp. Melius*, and *Marcus Manilius* put to death, that after many ages *Marcus Antonius* ſhould make a King in *Rome* contrary to Law? But you deſerve to be tortured, and loaded with everlaſting diſgrace, much more than *Mark Antony*; tho I would not have you proud becauſe he and your ſelf are put together: for I do not think ſo deſpicable a Wretch as you fit to be compared with him in any thing but his Impiety; you that in thoſe horrible *Lupercalia* of yours, ſet not a Crown upon one Tyrant's head, but upon all, and ſuch a Crown as you would have limited by no Laws, nor liable to any. Indeed if we muſt believe the Oracles of the Emperors themſelves (for ſo ſome Chriſtian Emperors, as *Theodoſius* and *Valens*, have called their Edicts, *Cod. lib.* 1. *tit.* 14.) the Authority of the Emperors depends upon that of the Law. So that the Majeſty of the Perſon that reigns, even by the Judgment, or call it the Oracle of the Emperors themſelves, muſt ſubmit to the Laws, on whoſe Authority it depends. Hence *Pliny* tells *Trajan* in his *Panegyrick*, when the Power of the Emperors was grown to its height, 'A Principality, and an Abſolute Sovereignty are quite different things. *Trajan* puts down whatever looks like a Kingdom; he rules like a Prince, that there may be no room for a Magiſterial Power. And afterwards, 'Whatever I have ſaid of other Princes, I ſaid that I might ſhow how our Prince reforms and corrects the Manners of Princes, which by long cuſtom have been corrupted and depraved. Are not you aſhamed to call that the Right of Kings, that *Pliny* calls the corrupt and depraved Cuſtoms of Princes? But let this ſuffice to have been ſaid in ſhort of the Right of Kings, as it was taken at *Rome*. How they dealt with their Tyrants, whether Kings or Emperors, is generally known. They expelled *Tarquin*. *But*, ſay you, *How did they expel him? Did they proceed againſt him judicially? No ſuch matter: When he would have come into the City, they ſhut the gates againſt him.* Ridiculous Fool! What could they do but ſhut the gates, when he was haſtning to them with part of the Army? And what great difference will there be, whether they baniſhed him, or put him to death, ſo they puniſhed him one way or other? The beſt men of that age kill'd *Cæſar* the Tyrant in the very Senate. Which action of theirs, *Marcus Tullius*, who was himſelf a very excellent Man, and publickly call'd the Father of his Countrey, both elſewhere and particularly in his ſecond *Philippick*, extols wonderfully. I'll repeat ſome of his words: 'All good men kill'd *Cæſar*, as far as in them lay. Some Men could not adviſe in it, others wanted Courage to act in it, others wanted an Opportunity, all had a good will to it. And afterwards, 'What greater and more glorious Action (ye holy gods!) ever was performed, not in this City only, but in any other Country? what Action more worthy to be recommended to everlaſting memory? I am not unwilling to be included within the number of thoſe that adviſed it, as within the *Trojan* Horſe. The paſſage of *Seneca* may relate both to the *Romans*, and the *Grecians*, 'There cannot be a greater, nor more acceptable Sacrifice offered up to *Jupiter*, than a wicked Prince. For if you conſider *Hercules*, whoſe words theſe are, they ſhew what the Opinion was of the principal Men amongſt the *Grecians* in that Age. If the Poet, who flouriſhed under *Nero*, (and the moſt worthy Perſons in Plays generally expreſs the Poet's own Senſe) then this paſſage ſhows us what *Seneca* himſelf and all good Men, even in *Nero*'s time, thought was fit to be done to a Tyrant; and how vertuous an Action, how acceptable to God they thought it to kill one. So every good Man of *Rome*, as far as in him lay, kill'd *Domitian*. *Pliny* the Second owns it openly in his *Panegyrick* to *Trajan* the Emperor, 'We took pleaſure in daſhing thoſe proud Looks againſt the Ground, in piercing him with our Swords, in mangling him with Axes, as if he had bled and felt pain at every ſtroke: No Man could ſo command his paſſion of Joy, but that he counted it a piece of Revenge to behold his mangled Limbs, his Members torn aſunder, and after all, his ſtern and horrid Statues thrown down and burnt. *And afterwards*, 'They cannot love good Princes enough,

‘ that cannot hate bad ones as they deſerve. Then amongſt other Enormities of *Domitian*, he reckons this for one, that he put to death *Epaphroditus*, that had kill'd *Nero*: ‘ Had we forgotten the avenging *Nero*'s death? Was it likely that ‘ he would ſuffer his Life and Actions to be ill ſpoken of, whoſe death he revenged? He ſeems to have thought it almoſt a Crime not to kill *Nero*, that counts it ſo great a one to puniſh him that did it. By what has been ſaid, it is evident, that the beſt of the *Romans* did not only kill Tyrants, as oft as they could, and howſoever they could; but that they thought it a commendable, and a praiſeworthy Action ſo to do, as the *Grecians* had done before them. For when they could not proceed judicially againſt a Tyrant in his life-time, being inferior to him in Strength and Power, yet after his death they did it, and condemn'd him by the *Valerian* Law. For *Valerius Publicola*, *Junius Brutus* his Colleague, when he ſaw that Tyrants, being guarded with Soldiers, could not be brought to a legal Trial, he deviſed a Law to make it lawful to kill them any way, tho uncondemn'd; and that they that did it, ſhould afterwards give an account of their ſo doing. Hence, when *Caſſius* had actually run *Caligula* through with a Sword, tho every Body elſe had done it in their hearts, *Valerius Aſiaticus*, one that had been Conſul, being preſent at the time, cried out to the Soldiers that began to mutiny becauſe of his death, *I wiſh I my ſelf had kill'd him.* And the Senate at the ſame time was ſo far from being diſpleaſed with *Caſſius* for what he had done, that they reſolved to extirpate the Memory of the Emperors, and to raze the Temples that had been erected in Honour of them. When *Claudius* was preſently ſaluted Emperor by the Soldiers, they forbad him by the Tribune of the People to take the Government upon him; but the Power of the Soldiers prevailed. The Senate declared *Nero* an Enemy, and made enquiry after him, to have puniſhed him according to the Law of their Anceſtors; which required, that he ſhould be ſtript naked, and hung by the Neck upon a forked Stake, and whipt to death. Conſider now, how much more mildly and moderately the *Engliſh* dealt with their Tyrant, tho many are of Opinion, that he cauſed the ſpilling of more Blood than ever *Nero* himſelf did. So the Senate condemn'd *Domitian* after his death; they commanded his Statues to be pull'd down and daſh'd in pieces, which was all they could do. When *Commodus* was ſlain by his own Officers, neither the Senate, nor the People puniſht the Fact, but declared him an Enemy, and enquired for his dead Corps to have made it an Example. An Act of the Senate made upon that occaſion is extant in *Lampridius*: ‘ Let the Enemy of his Country be depriv'd of all his Titles; let the Parricide ‘ be drawn, let him be torn in pieces in the *Spoliary*, let the Enemy of the gods, ‘ the Executioner of the Senate be drag'd with a Hook, *&c.* The ſame Perſons in a very full Senate condemn'd *Didius Julianus* to death, and ſent a Tribune to ſlay him in the Palace. The ſame Senate depoſed *Maximinus*, and declared him an Enemy. Let us hear the words of the Decree of the Senate concerning him, as *Capitolinus* relates it: ‘ The Conſul put the queſtion, Conſcript Fathers, what ‘ is your pleaſure concerning the *Maximines? They anſwered*, ‘ They are Enemies, ‘ they are Enemies, who ever kills them ſhall be rewarded. Would you know now, whether the People of *Rome*, and the Provinces of the Empire obeyed the Senate, or *Maximine* the Emperor? Hear what the ſame Author ſays, The Senate wrote Letters into all the Provinces, requiring them to take care of their Common Safety and Liberty; the Letters were publickly read. And the Friends, the Deputies, the Generals, the Tribunes, the Soldiers of *Maximine*, were ſlain in all places; very few Cities were found that kept their Faith with the publick Enemy. *Herodian* relates the ſame thing. But what need we give any more Inſtances out of the *Roman* Hiſtories? Let us now ſee what manner of thing the Right of Kings was in thoſe days, in the Nations that bordered upon the Empire. *Ambiorix*, a King of the *Gauls*, confeſſes, ‘ The Nature of his Dominion to be ‘ ſuch, that the People have as great Power over him, as he over them. And conſequently, as well as he judged them, he might be judged by them. *Vercingetorix*, another King in *Gaul*, was accuſed of Treaſon by his own People. Theſe things *Cæſar* relates in his Hiſtory of the *Gallick* Wars. ‘ Neither is the ‘ Regal Power among the *Germans* abſolute and uncontroulable; leſſer matters ‘ are ordered and diſpoſed by the Princes; greater Affairs by all the People. ‘ The King or Prince is more conſiderable by the Authority of his Perſwaſions, ‘ than by any Power that he has of commanding. If his Opinion be not ap-

‘ prov'd of, they declare their diſlike of it by a general murmuring Noiſe. This is out of *Tacitus.* Nay, and you your ſelf now confeſs, that what but of late you exclaim'd againſt as an unheard of thing, has been often done, to wit, That *no leſs than fifty* Scotiſh *Kings have been either Baniſhed, or Impriſoned, or put to death, nay, and ſome of them publickly executed.* Which having come to paſs in our very Iſland; why do you, as if it were your Office to conceal the violent deaths of Tyrants, by burying them in the dark, exclaim againſt it as an abominable and unheard of thing? You proceed to commend the *Jews* and *Chriſtians* for their Religious Obedience even to Tyrants, and to heap one Lie upon another, in all which I have already confuted you. Lately you made large Encomiums on the Obedience of the *Aſſyrians* and *Perſians*, and now you reckon up their Rebellions; and tho but of late you ſaid they never had rebell'd at all, now you give us a great many reaſons why they rebell'd ſo often. Then you reſume the Narrative of the manner of our King's death, which you had broken off long ſince; that if you had not taken care ſufficiently to appear ridiculous, and a Fool then, you may do it now. You ſaid, *He was led through the Members of his own Court.* What you mean by the Members of the Court, I would gladly know. You enumerate the Calamities that the *Romans* underwent by changing their Kingdom into a Commonwealth. In which I have already ſhown how groſly you give your ſelf the Lie. What was it you ſaid when you wrote againſt the Jeſuit? You demonſtrated, That *in an* Ariſtocracy, *or a popular State there could but be Seditions and Tumults, whereas under a Tyrant nothing was to be looked for, but certain Ruin and Deſtruction:* And dare you now ſay, you vain corrupt Mortal, That *thoſe Seditions were Puniſhments inflicted upon them for baniſhing their Kings?* Forſooth, becauſe King *Charles* gave you a hundred *Jacobuſſes*, therefore the *Romans* ſhall be puniſhed for baniſhing their Kings. But ‘ they that kill'd *Julius* ‘ *Ceſar*, did not proſper afterwards. I confeſs, if I would have had any Tyrant ſpared, it ſhould have been him. For altho he introduced a Monarchical Government into a Free State by force of Arms, yet perhaps himſelf deſerved a Kingdom beſt; and yet I conceive that none of thoſe that killed him can be ſaid to have been puniſhed for ſo doing, any more than *Caius Anthonius*, *Cicero*'s Colleague, for deſtroying *Catiline*, who when he was afterward condemn'd for other Crimes, ſays *Cicero* in his Oration *pro Flacco*, Catiline's *Sepulchre was adorned with Flowers.* For they that favoured *Catiline*, then rejoyced; *They gave out then, that what* Catiline *did was juſt*, to encreaſe the Peoples hatred againſt thoſe that had cut him off. Theſe are Artifices, which wicked Men make uſe of, to deter the beſt of Men from puniſhing Tyrants, and flagitious Perſons. I might as eaſily ſay the quite contrary, and inſtance in them that have killed Tyrants, and proſpered afterwards; if any certain inference might be drawn in ſuch Caſes from the events of things. You object further, *That the* Engliſh *did not put their Hereditary King to death in like manner, as Tyrants uſe to be ſlain, but as Robbers and Traytors are executed.* In the firſt place I do not, nor can any wiſe Man underſtand what a Crown's being Hereditary ſhould contribute to a King's Crimes being unpuniſhable. What you aſcribe to the *Barbarous Cruelty* of the *Engliſh*, proceeded rather from their Clemency and Moderation, and as ſuch, deſerves Commendation; who, tho the being a Tyrant is a Crime that comprehends all ſorts of Enormities, ſuch as Robberies, Treaſons, and Rebellions againſt the whole Nation, yet were contented to inflict no greater puniſhment upon him for being ſo, than they uſed of courſe to do upon any common Highway-man, or ordinary Traytor. You hope *ſome ſuch Men as* Harmodius *and* Thraſibulus *will riſe up amongſt us, and make expiation for the King's death by ſhedding their Blood that were the Authors of it.* But you will run mad with deſpair, and be deteſted by all good Men, and put an end to that wretched Life of yours, by hanging your ſelf, before you ſee Men like *Harmodius* avenging the Blood of a Tyrant upon ſuch as have done no other than what they did themſelves. That you will come to ſuch an end is moſt probable, nor can any other be expected of ſo great a Rogue; but the other thing is an utter impoſſibility. You mention thirty Tyrants that rebelled in *Gallienus*'s time. And what if it fall out, that one Tyrant happens to oppoſe another, muſt therefore all they that reſiſt Tyrants be accounted ſuch themſelves? You cannot perſwade Men into ſuch a belief, you Slave of a Knight; nor your Author *Trebellius Pollio*, the moſt inconſiderable of all Hiſtorians that have writ. *If any of the Emperors were declared* Enemies *by the Senate*, you ſay, *it was done by Faction, but could not have been by Law.* You put us in mind what it was that made Emperours at firſt: It was Faction and Violence, and to ſpeak plainer, it was the madneſs of *Anthony*, that made Generals at firſt rebel againſt the Senate, and the People of *Rome*; there was no Law, no Right for their ſo doing. *Galba*, you ſay, *was puniſhed for his Inſurrection againſt* Nero. Tell us likewiſe how *Veſpaſian* was puniſhed for taking up Arms againſt *Vitellius*; *There was as much difference*, you ſay, *betwixt* Charles *and* Nero, *as betwixt thoſe* Engliſh *Butchers, and the* Roman *Senators of that Age.* Deſpicable Villain! by whom it is Scandalous to be commended, and a Praiſe to be evil ſpoken of: But a few Periods before, diſcourſing of this very thing, you ſaid, That *the* Roman *Senate under the Emperors, was in effect but an Aſſembly of Slaves in Robes:* And here you ſay, *That very Senate was an Aſſembly of Kings*; which if it be allowed, then are Kings according to your own Opinion, but Slaves with Robes on. Kings are bleſſed, that have ſuch a Fellow as you to write in their praiſe, than whom no Man is more a Raſcal, no Beaſt more void of Senſe, unleſs this one thing may be ſaid to be peculiar to you, that none ever brayed ſo learnedly. You make the Parliament of *England* more like to *Nero*, than to the *Roman* Senate. This itch of yours of making ſilly Similitudes, enforces me to rectify you, whether I will or no: And I will let you ſee how like King *Charles* was to *Nero*. *Nero* you ſay, *commanded his own Mother to be run through with a Sword.* But *Charles* murdered both his Prince, and his Father, and that by Poyſon. For to omit other evidences; he that would not ſuffer a Duke that was accuſed for it, to come to his Tryal, muſt needs have been guilty of it himſelf. *Nero* ſlew many thouſands of *Chriſtians*; but *Charles* ſlew many more. There were thoſe, ſays *Suetonius*, that praiſed *Nero* after he was dead, that long'd to have had him again, *That hung Garlands of Flowers upon his Sepulchre*, and gave out that they would never proſper that had been his Enemies. And ſome there are tranſported with the like Phrenſy, that wiſh for King *Charles* again, and extol him to the higheſt degree imaginable, of whom you a Knight of the Halter are a Ringleader. *The Engliſh Soldiers more Savage than their own Maſtiffs, erected a new and unheard-of Court of Juſtice.* Obſerve this ingenions Symbol, or Adage of *Salmaſius*, which he has now repeated ſix times over, *more Savage than their own Maſtiffs.* Take notice, Orators and School-Maſters; pluck, if you are wiſe, this Elegant Flower, which *Salmaſius* is ſo very fond of: Commit this Flouriſh of a Man, that is ſo much a Maſter of Words, to your Deſks for ſafe Cuſtody, leſt it be loſt. Has your rage made you forget words to that degree, that like a Cuckcoo, you muſt needs ſay the ſame thing over and over again? What ſtrange thing has befallen you? The Poet tells us, that Spleen and Rage turn'd *Hecuba* into a Dog; and it has turn'd you, the Lord of St. *Lupus*, into a Cuckoo. Now you come out with freſh Contradictions. You had ſaid before, *pag.* 113. That *Princes were not bound by any Laws, neither Coercive, nor Directory; that they were bound by no Law at all.* Now you ſay, That *you will diſcourſe by and by of the difference betwixt ſome Kings and others, in point of Power; ſome having had more, ſome leſs.* You ſay, *You will prove that Kings cannot be judged, nor condemn'd by their own Subjects, by a moſt ſolid Argument*; but you do it by a very ſilly one, and 'tis this: You ſay, *There was no other difference than that betwixt the Judges, and the Kings of the* Jews; *and yet the reaſon why the* Jews *required to have Kings over them, was becauſe they were weary of their Judges, and hated their Government.* Do you think, that, becauſe they might judg and condemn their Judges, if they miſbehaved themſelves in the Government, they therefore hated and were weary of them, and would be under Kings, whom they ſhould have no Power to reſtrain and keep within Bounds, tho they ſhould break through all Laws? Who but you ever argued ſo childiſhly? So that they deſired a King for ſome other reaſon, than that they might have a Maſter over them, whoſe Power ſhould be ſuperior to that of the Law; which reaſon what it was, it is not to our preſent purpoſe to make a Conjecture. Whatever it was, both God and his Prophets tells us, it was no piece of prudence in the People to deſire a King. And now you fall foul upon your *Rabbins*, and are very angry with them for ſaying, That a King might be judged and condemned to undergo Stripes; out of whoſe Writings you ſaid before you had proved that the Kings of the *Jews* could not be judged. Wherein you confeſs, that you told a Lye when you ſaid you had proved any ſuch thing out of their Writings.

Writings. Nay, you come at laſt to forget the Subject you were upon, of writing in the King's Defence, and raiſe little impertinent Controverſies about *Solomon*'s Stables, and how may Stalls he had for his Horſes. Then of a Jocky you become a Ballad-ſinger again, or rather, as I ſaid before, a raving diſtracted Cuckoo. You complain, That *in theſe latter Ages, Diſcipline has been more remiſs, and the Rule leſs obſerved and kept up to*; viz. becauſe one Tyrant is not permitted, without a Check from the Law, to let looſe the Reins of all Diſcipline, and corrupt all Mens manners. This Doctrine, you ſay, the *Browniſts* introduced amongſt thoſe of the Reform'd Religion; ſo that *Luther*, *Calvin*, *Zuinglius*, *Bucer*, and all the moſt Celebrated Orthodox Divines are *Browniſts* in your Opinion. The *Engliſh* have the leſs reaſon to take your Reproaches ill, becauſe they hear you belching out the ſame Slanders againſt the moſt eminent Doctors of the Church, and in effect againſt the whole Reformed Church it ſelf.

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# CHAP. VI.

AFter having diſcours'd upon the Law of God, and of Natute, and handled both ſo untowardly, that you have got nothing by the bargain but a deſerved reproach of ignorance and knavery; I cannot apprehend what you can have farther to alledg in defence of your Royal Cauſe, but meer trifles. I for my part hope I have given ſatisfaction already to all good and learned men, and done this Noble Cauſe right, ſhould I break off here; yet leſt I ſhould ſeem to any to decline your variety of arguing and ingenuity, rather than your immoderate impertinence, and tittle-tattle, I'll follow you where ever you have a mind to go; but with ſuch brevity as ſhall make it appear, that after having perform'd whatever the neceſſary defence of the Cauſe required, if not what the dignity of it merited, I now do but comply with ſome mens expectation, if not their curioſity. *Now*, ſay you, *I ſhall alledg other and greater Arguments.* What! greater Arguments than what the Law of God and Nature afforded? Help *Lucina!* The mountain *Salmaſius* is in labour! It is not for nothing that he has got a She-Husband. Mortals expect ſome extraordinary Birth. *If he that is, and is called a King, might be accuſed before any other Power, that Power muſt of neceſſity be greater than that of the King; and if ſo, then muſt that Power be indeed the Kingly Power, and ought to have the name of it: For a Kingly Power is thus defined; to wit, the Supreme Power in the State reſiding in a ſingle Perſon, and which has no ſuperior.* O ridiculous Birth! a Mouſe crept out of the Mountain! Help Grammarians! one of your number is in danger of periſhing! The Law of God and of Nature are ſafe; but *Salmaſius*'s Dictionary is undone. What if I ſhould anſwer you thus? That words ought to give place to things; that we having taken away Kingly Government it ſelf, do not think our ſelves concerned about its name, and definition; let others look to that, who are in love with Kings: We are contented with the enjoyment of our Liberty; ſuch an anſwer would be good enough for you. But to let you ſee that I deal fairly with you throughout, I will anſwer you, not only from my own, but from the opinion of very wiſe and good men, who have thought that the Name and Power of a King are very conſiſtent with a Power in the People and the Law, ſuperior to that of the King himſelf. In the firſt place *Lycurgus*, a man very eminent for wiſdom, deſigning, as *Plato* ſays, to ſecure a Kingly Government as well as it was poſſible, could find no better expedient to preſerve it, than by making the Power of the Senate, and of the *Ephori*, that is, the Power of the People, ſuperior to it. *Theſeus*, in *Euripides*, King of *Athens*, was of the ſame opinion; for he to his great honour reſtored the People to their Liberty, and advanced the Power of the People above that of the King, and yet left the Regal Power in that City to his Poſterity. Whence *Euripides* in his Play called the *Suppliants*, introduces him ſpeaking on this manner: 'I have advanced the People themſelves into the 'Throne, having freed the City from Slavery, and admitted the People to a 'ſhare in the Government, by giving them an equal right of Suffrage. And in another place to the Herald of *Thebes*, 'In the firſt place, *ſays he*, you begin 'your Speech, Friend, with a thing that is not true, in ſtiling me a Monarch;

‘ for this City is not governed by a ſingle Perſon, but is a Free State; the People ‘ reigns here. Theſe were his words, when at the ſame time he was both called, and really was King there. The Divine *Plato* likewiſe in his Eight Epiſtle, *Lycurgus*, ſays he, *introduced the Power of the Senate and of the* Ephori, *a thing very preſervative of Kingly Government, which by this means has honourably flouriſhed for ſo many Ages, becauſe the Law in effect was made King.* Now the Law cannot be King, unleſs there be ſome, who, if there ſhould be occaſion, may put the Law in execution againſt the King. A Kingly Government ſo bounded and limited, he himſelf commends to the *Sicilians:* ‘ Let the People enjoy their Liberty under a ‘ Kingly Government; let the King himſelf be accountable; let the Law take ‘ place even againſt Kings themſelves, if they act contrary to Law. *Ariſtotle* likewiſe in the third Book of his *Politicks*, ‘ Of all Kingdoms, *ſays he*, that are go‘ vern'd by Laws, that of the *Lacedemonians* ſeems to be moſt truly and properly ſo. And he ſays, all forms of Kingly Governments are according to ſetled and eſtabliſht Laws, but one, which he calls παμβασιλεία, or *Abſolute Monarchy*, which he does not mention ever to have obtain'd in any Nation. So that *Ariſtotle* thought ſuch a Kingdom, as that of the *Lacedemonians* was, to be and deſerve the name of a Kingdom more properly than any other; and conſequently that a King, tho ſubordinate to his own People, was neverthelеſs actually a King, and properly ſo called. Now ſince ſo many and ſo great Authors aſſert that a Kingly Government both in name and thing may very well ſubſiſt even where the People, tho they do not ordinarily exerciſe the Supream Power, yet have it actually reſiding in them, and exerciſe it upon occaſion; be not you of ſo mean a Soul as to fear the downfall of Grammar, and the confuſion of the ſignification of words to that degree, as to betray the Liberty of Mankind, and the State, rather than your Gloſſary ſhould not hold water. And know for the future, that words muſt be conformable to things, not things to words. By this means you'll have more wit, and not run on *in infinitum*, which now you're afraid of. *It was to no purpoſe then for* Seneca, *you ſay, to deſcribe thoſe three forms of Government, as he has done.* Let *Seneca* do a thing to no purpoſe, ſo we enjoy our Liberty. And if I miſtake us not, we are other ſort of Men than to be enſlav'd by *Seneca's* Flowers. And yet *Seneca*, tho he ſays that the Sovereign Power in a Kingly Government reſides in a ſingle Perſon, ſays withal that *the Power is the People's*, and by them committed to the King for the welfare of the whole, not for their ruin and deſtruction; and that the People has not given him a propriety in it, but the uſe of it. *Kings at this rate*, you ſay, *do not reign by God, but by the People.* As if God did not ſo over-rule the People, that they ſet up ſuch Kings, as it pleaſes God. Since *Juſtinian* himſelf openly acknowledges, that the *Roman* Emperours derived their Authority from that *Royal Law, whereby the People granted to them and veſted in them all their own Power and Authority.* But how oft ſhall we repeat theſe things over and over again? Then you take upon you to intermeddle with the Conſtitution of our Government, in which you are no ways concerned, who are both a Stranger and a Foreigner; but it ſhows your ſawcineſs, and want of good manners. Come then, let us hear your Solœciſms, like a buſy Coxcomb as you are. You tell us, but 'tis in falſe *Latin*, that *what thoſe Deſperadoes ſay, is only to deceive the People.* You Raſcal! was it not for this that you a Renegado Grammarian, were ſo forward to intermeddle with the Affairs of our Government, that you might introduce your Solœciſms and Barbariſms amongſt us? But ſay, How have we deceiv'd the People? *The form of Government which they have ſet up, is not Popular, but Military.* This is what that herd of Fugitives and Vagabonds hired you to write. So that I ſhall not trouble my ſelf to anſwer you, who bleat what you know nothing of, but I'll anſwer them that hired you. *Who excluded the Lords from Parliament, was it the People?* Ay it was the People; and in ſo doing they threw an intolerable Yoke of Slavery from off their necks. Thoſe very Soldiers, who you ſay did it, were not Foreigners, but our own Country-men, and a great part of the People; and they did it with the conſent, and at the deſire of almoſt all the reſt of the People, and not without the Authority of the Parliament neither. *Was it the People that cut off part of the Houſe of Commons, forcing ſome away? &c.* Yes, I ſay, it was the People. For whatever the better and ſounder part of the Senate did, in which the true power of the People reſided, why may not the People be ſaid to have done it? What if the greater part of the Senate ſhould chuſe to be Slaves, or to expoſe the Government to ſale, ought not the leſſer number to interpoſe, and endeavour to retain their Liberty, if it be in their power? *But the Officers of the Army and their Soldiers did it.* And we are beholden to thoſe Officers for not being wanting to the State, but repelling the Tumultuary violence of the Citizens and Mechanicks of *London*, who, like that Rabble that appear'd for *Clodius*, had but a little before beſet the very Parliament Houſe? Do you therefore call the right of the Parliament, to whom it properly and originally belongs to take care of the Liberty of the People both in Peace and War, a Military Power? But 'tis no wonder that thoſe Traitors that have dictated theſe paſſages to you, ſhould talk at that rate; ſo that profligate faction of *Anthony* and his adherents uſed to call the Senate of *Rome*, when they armed themſelves againſt the Enemies of their Country, The Camp of *Pompey*. And now I'm glad to underſtand that they of your party envy *Cromwell*, that moſt valiant General of our Army, for undertaking that Expedition in *Ireland*, (ſo acceptable to Almighty God) ſurrounded with a joyful crowd of his Friends, and proſecuted with the well-wiſhes of the people, and the prayers of all good men: For I queſtion not but at the news of his many Victories there, they are by this time burſt with ſpleen. I paſs by many of your impertinencies concerning the *Roman* Soldiers. What follows is moſt notoriouſly falſe: *The power of the people*, ſay you, *ceaſes where there is a King.* By what Law or Right is that? Since it is known that almoſt all Kings, of what Nations ſoever, received their Authority from the people upon certain conditions; which if the King do not perform, I wiſh you would inform us, why that Power, which was but a truſt, ſhould not return to the people, as well from a King, as from a Conſul, or any other Magiſtrate. For when you tell us, that 'tis neceſſary for the Publick Safety, you do but trifle with us; for the ſafety of the Publick is equally concerned, whether it be from a *King*, or from a *Senate*, or from a *Triumvirate*, that the power wherewith they were entruſted, revert to the people, upon their abuſe of it; and yet you your ſelf grant that it may ſo revert from all ſorts of Magiſtrates, a King only excepted. Certainly, if no people in their right wits ever committed the Government either to a King, or other Magiſtrates, for any other purpoſe than for the common good of them all, there can be no reaſon why, to prevent the utter ruin of them all, they may not as well take it back again from a King, as from other Governors; nay, and it may with far greater eaſe be taken from one, than from many. And to inveſt any mortal creature with a power over themſelves, on any other terms than upon truſt, were extreme madneſs; nor is it credible that any people ſince the Creation of the World, who had freedom of will, were ever ſo miſerably ſilly, as either to part with the power for ever, and to all purpoſes, or to revoke it from thoſe whom they had entruſted with it, but upon moſt urgent and weighty reaſons. If diſſenſions, if Civil Wars, are occaſioned thereby, there cannot any Right accrue from thence to the King, to retain that power by force of arms, which the people challenge from him as their own. Whence it follows that what you ſay, and we do not deny, That *Governors are not lightly to be changed*, is true with reſpect to the Peoples Prudence, not the King's Right; but that therefore they ought never to be changed, upon no occaſion whatſoever, that does not follow by no means; nor have you hitherto alledged any thing, nor made appear any Right of Kings to the contrary, but that all the people concurring, they may lawfully be depoſed, when unfit for Government; provided it may be done, as it has been often done in your own Countrey of *France*, without any Tumults or Civil Wars. Since therefore the Safety of the People, and not that of a Tyrant, is the Supreme Law; and conſequently ought to be alledged on the Peoples behalf againſt a Tyrant, and not for him againſt them: you that go about to pervert ſo ſacred and ſo glorious a Law, with your fallacies and juglings; you who would have this Supreme Law, and which of all others is moſt beneficial to Mankind, to ſerve only for the Impunity of Tyrants; let me tell you (ſince you call us *Engliſhmen* ſo often *inſpired*, and *Enthuſiaſts*, and *Prophets*) let me, I ſay, be ſo far a Prophet, as to tell you, That the Vengeance of God and Man hangs over your head for ſo horrid a Crime; altho your ſubjecting all Mankind to Tyranny, as far as in you lies, which in effect is no better than condemning them to be devoured by wild Beaſts, is in it ſelf part of its own Vengeance; and whitherſoever you fly, and whereſoever you wander, will firſt or laſt purſue you with its Furies, and overtake you, and cauſe you to rave worſe than you do at preſent.

ſent. I come now to your ſecond Argument, which is not unlike the firſt: If the People may reſume their Liberty, *there would be no difference*, ſay you, *betwixt a Popular State and a Kingdom; but that in a Kingdom one Man rules, and in a Popular State many.* And what if that were true; would the State have any prejudice by it? But you your ſelf tell us of other differences that would be notwithſtanding; to wit, of *Time and Succeſſion*; *for in popular States, the Magiſtrates are generally choſen yearly*; whereas Kings, if they behave themſelves well, are perpetual; and in moſt Kingdoms there is a Succeſſion in the ſame Family. But let them differ from one another, or not differ, I regard not thoſe petty things: In this they agree, that when the Publick Good requires it, the People may without doing injury to any, reſume that Power for the Publick Safety, which they committed to another for that end and purpoſe. *But according to the Royal Law, by the* Romans *ſo called, which is mentioned in the Inſtitutes, the People of* Rome *granted all their Power and Authority to the Prince.* They did ſo by compulſion; the Emperor being willing to ratify their Tyranny by the Authority of a Law. But of this we have ſpoken before; and their own Lawyers commenting upon this place in the Inſtitutes, confeſs as much. So that we make no queſtion but the People may revoke what they were forced to grant, and granted againſt their wills. But moſt rational it is to ſuppoſe, that the People of *Rome* transferred no other power to the Prince, than they had before granted to their own Magiſtrates; and that was a power to govern according to Law, and a revocable, not an abſurd, tyrannical power. Hence it was that the Emperors aſſumed the Conſular Dignity, and that of the Tribunes of the People; but after *Julius Cæſar*, not one of them pretended to the Dictatorſhip: In the *Circus Maximus* they uſed to adore the People, as I have ſaid already out of *Tacitus* and *Claudian*. *But as heretofore many private perſons have ſold themſelves into ſlavery, ſo a whole Nation may.* Thou Goal-bird of a Knight, thou day-ſpirit, thou everlaſting ſcandal to thy Native Countrey! The moſt deſpicable Slaves in the World ought to abhor and ſpit upon ſuch a Factor for Slavery, ſuch a publick Pander as thou art. Certainly if people had ſo enſlaved themſelves to Kings, then might Kings turn them over to other Maſters, or ſell them for Money; and yet we know that Kings cannot ſo much as alienate the Demeſnes of the Crown: And ſhall he, that has but the Crown, and the Revenues that belong to it, as an Uſufructuary, and thoſe given him by the People, can he be ſaid to have, as it were, purchaſed the People, and made them his Propriety? Tho you were bored through both ears, and went barefoot, you would not be ſo vile and deſpicable, ſo much more contemptible than all Slaves, as the broaching ſuch a ſcandalous Doctrine as this makes you. But go on, and puniſh your ſelf for your Rogueries, as now you do, tho againſt your will. You frame a long Diſcourſe of the Law of War; which is nothing to the purpoſe in this place: For neither did *Charles* conquer us; and for his Anceſtors, if it were never ſo much granted that they did, yet have they often renounced their Title as Conquerors. And certain it is, That we were never ſo conquered, but that as we ſwore Allegiance to them, ſo they ſwore to maintain our Laws, and govern by them: Which Laws, when *Charles* had notoriouſly violated, taken in what capacity you will, as one who had formerly been a Conqueror, or was now a perjured King, we ſubdued him by force, he himſelf having begun with us firſt. And according to your own opinion, *Whatever is acquired by War, becomes his property that acquired it.* So that how full ſoever you are of words, how impertinent ſoever a babler, whatever you prate, how great a noiſe ſoever you make, what Quotations ſoever out of the Rabbins, tho you make your ſelf never ſo hoarſe, to the end of this Chapter, aſſure your ſelf, That nothing of it makes for the King, he being now conquered, but all for us, who by God's aſſiſtance are Conquerors.

# CHAP. VII.

TO avoid two very great inconveniences, and, conſidering your own weight, very weighty ones indeed, you denied in the foregoing Chapter, That the Peoples Power was ſuperior to that of the King; for if that ſhould be granted, Kings muſt provide themſelves of ſome other name, becauſe the People would indeed be King, and ſome diviſions in your Syſtem of Politicks would be confounded: the firſt of which inconveniences would thwart with your Dictionary, and the latter overthrow your Politicks. To theſe I have given ſuch an anſwer as ſhows, That tho our own Safety and Liberty were the principal things I aimed the preſervation of, yet withal, I had ſome conſideration of ſalving your Dictionary, and your Politicks. *Now*, ſay you, *I will prove by other arguments, That a King cannot be judged by his own Subjects; of which Arguments this ſhall be the greateſt and moſt convincing, That a King has no Peer in his Kingdom.* What? Can a King have no Peer in his Kingdom? What then is the meaning of thoſe Twelve Ancient Peers of the Kings of *France?* Are they Fables and Trifles? Are they called ſo in vain, and in mock only? Have a care how you affront thoſe Principal Men of that Kingdom: Who if they are not the King's Peers, as they are called, I am afraid your Dictionary, which is the only thing you are concerned for, will be found more faulty in *France*, than in *England.* But go to, let's hear your demonſtration, that a King has no Peer in his own Kingdom. *Becauſe*, ſay you, *the People of* Rome, *when they had baniſh'd their King, appointed not one, but two Conſuls; and the reaſon was, That if one of them ſhould tranſgreſs the Laws, his Collegue might be a check to him.* There could hardly have been deviſed any thing more ſilly: How came it to paſs then, that but one of the Conſuls had the bundles of Rods carried before him, and not both, if two were appointed, that each might have a Power over the other? And what if both had conſpired againſt the Commonwealth? Would not the Caſe then be the very ſame that it would have been, if one Conſul only had been appointed without a Collegue? But we know very well, that both Conſuls, and all other Magiſtrates were bound to obey the Senate, whenever the Senate and the People ſaw, that the Intereſt of the Commonwealth ſo required. We have a famous inſtance of that in the *Decemvirs*, who tho they were inveſted with the Power of Conſuls, and were the chief Magiſtrates, yet the Authority of the Senate reduced them all, tho they ſtruggled to retain their Government. Nay, we read that ſome Conſuls before they were out of office, have been declared Enemies, and Arms been taken up againſt them; for in thoſe days no man looked upon him as a Conſul, who acted as an Enemy. So War was waged againſt *Antony*, tho a Conſul, by Authority of the Senate; in which being worſted, he would have been put to death, but that *Octavius*, affecting the Empire, ſided with him to ſubvert the Commonwealth. Now whereas you ſay, *That it is a property peculiar to Kingly Majeſty, that the power reſides in a ſingle perſon*; that's but a looſe expreſſion, like the reſt of what you ſay, and is contradicted by your ſelf a little after: *For the* Hebrew *Judges*, you ſay, *ruled as long as they lived, and there was but one of them at a time: The Scripture alſo calls them Kings; and yet they were accountable to the great Council.* Thus we ſee, That an itch of Vain-glory, in being thought to have ſaid all that can be ſaid, makes you hardly ſay any thing but contradictions. Then I aſk, what kind of Government that was in the *Roman* Empire, when ſometimes two, ſometimes three Emperors, reign'd all at once? Do you reckon them to have been Emperors, that is, Kings, or was it an *Ariſtocracy*, or a *Triumvirate?* Or will you deny, that the *Roman* Empire under *Antoninus* and *Verus*, under *Diocleſian* and *Maximian*, under *Conſtantine* and *Licinius*, was ſtill but one entire Empire? If theſe Princes were not Kings, your three Forms of Government will hardly hold; if they were, then it is not an eſſential Property of a Kingly Government, to reſide in a ſingle perſon. *If one of theſe offend*, ſay you, *then may the other refer the matter to the Senate, or the People, where he may be accuſed and condemned.* And does not the Senate and the People then judg, when the matter is ſo referred to them? So that if you will give any credit to your ſelf, there needs not one Collegue to judg another. Such a miſerable Advocate as you, if you were not ſo wretched a fellow as you are, would deſerve compaſſion; you lie every way ſo open to blows, that if one were minded for ſports-ſake to make a Paſs at any part of you, he could hardly miſs, let him aim where he would. *'Tis ridiculous*, ſay you, *to imagine, That a King will ever appoint Judges to condemn himſelf.* But I can tell you of an Emperor, that was no ridiculous perſon, but an Excellent Prince, and that was *Trajan*, who when he delivered a Dagger to a certain *Roman* Magiſtrate, as the cuſtom was, that being the badg of his Office, frequently thus admoniſhed him, 'Take this Sword, and uſe it for me, if I do as I ought; if otherwiſe, againſt me; for Miſcarriages in the Supreme Magiſtrate are leſs excuſable. This *Dion* and *Aurelius Victor* ſay of him: You ſee here, that a worthy Emperor appointed one to judg himſelf, tho he did not make him his equal. *Tiberius* perhaps might have ſaid as much out of Vanity and Hypocriſie; but 'tis almoſt a crime to imagine that ſo good and vertuous a Prince as *Trajan*, did not really ſpeak as he thought, and according to what he apprehended right and juſt. How much more reaſonable was it that tho he were ſuperior to the Senate in power, and might if he would, have refuſed to yield them any obedience, yet he actually did obey them, as by virtue of his office he ought to do, and acknowledged their Right in the Government to be ſuperior to his own? For ſo *Pliny* tells us in his *Panegyrick*, 'The Senate both deſired and commanded you to be Conſul a fourth time; you may know by the Obedience you pay them, that this is no word of Flattery, but of Power. And a little after, 'This is the deſign you aim at, to reſtore our loſt Liberty. And *Trajan* was not of that mind alone; the Senate thought ſo too, and were of opinion, That their Authority was indeed Supreme: For they that could command their Emperor, might judg him. So the Emperor *Marcus Aurelius*, when *Caſſius* Governor of *Syria* endeavoured to get the Empire from him, referred himſelf either to the Senate, or the People of *Rome*, and declared himſelf ready to lay down the Government, if they would have it ſo. Now how ſhould a man determine of the Right of Kings better, and more truly, than out of the very mouths of the beſt of Kings? Indeed every good King accounts either the Senate, or the People, not only equal, but ſuperior to himſelf by the Law of Nature. But a Tyrant being by nature inferior to all men, every one that is ſtronger than he, ought to be accounted not only his equal but ſuperior: For as heretofore nature taught men from Force and Violence to betake themſelves to Laws; ſo wherever the Laws are ſet at naught, the ſame dictate of nature muſt neceſſarily prompt us to betake our ſelves to Force again. 'To be of this opinion, *ſays* Cicero *pro Seſtio*, is a ſign of Wiſdom; to put it in practice, argues Courage and Reſolution; and to do both, is the effect of Vertue in its perfection. Let this ſtand then as a ſetled Maxim of the Law of Nature, never to be ſhaken by any Artifices of Flatterers, That the Senate, or the People, are ſuperior to Kings, be they good or bad: Which is but what you your ſelf do in effect confeſs, when you tell us, That the Authority of Kings was derived from the People. For that power which they transferred to Princes, doth yet naturally, or as I may ſay virtually reſide in themſelves notwithſtanding: for ſo natural cauſes that produce any effect by a certain eminency of operation, do always retain more of their own virtue and energy than they impart; nor do they by communicating to others, exhauſt themſelves. You ſee, the cloſer wee keep to Nature, the more evidently does the Peoples Power appear to be above that of the Prince. And this is likewiſe certain, That the People do not freely, and of choice, ſettle the Government in their King abſolutely, ſo as to give him a Propriety in it, nor by Nature can do ſo; but only for the Publick Safety and Liberty, which when the King ceaſes to take care of, then the People in effect have given him nothing at all: For Nature ſays the People gave it him to a particular end and purpoſe; which end, if neither Nature nor the People can attain, the Peoples Gift becomes no more valid, than any other void Covenant or Agreement. Theſe Reaſons prove very fully, That the People are ſuperior to the King; and ſo your *greateſt and moſt convincing Argument*, *That a King cannot be judged by his People, becauſe he has no Peer in his Kingdom, nor any Superior*, falls to the ground. For you take that for granted, which we by no means allow. *In a popular State*, ſay you, *the Magiſtrates being appointed by the People, may likewiſe be puniſhed for their Crimes by the People: In an Ariſtocracy the Senators may be puniſhed by their Collegues:*

*legues: But 'tis a prodigious thing to proceed criminally againſt a King in his own Kingdom, and make him plead for his Life.* What can you conclude from hence, but that they who ſet up Kings over them, are the moſt miſerable and moſt ſilly People in the World? But, I pray, what's the reaſon why the People may not puniſh a King that becomes a Malefactor, as well as they may popular Magiſtrates and Senators in an Ariſtocracy? Do you think that all they who live under a Kingly Government, were ſo ſtrangely in love with Slavery, as when they might be free, to chuſe Vaſſalage, and to put themſelves all and entirely under the dominion of one man, who often happens to be an ill Man, and often a Fool, ſo as whatever cauſe might be, to leave themſelves no refuge in, no relief from the Laws nor the Dictates of Nature, againſt the Tyranny of a moſt outragious Maſter, when ſuch a one happens? Why do they then tender Conditions to their Kings, when they firſt enter upon their Government, and preſcribe Laws for them to govern by? Do they do this to be trampled upon the more, and be the more laughed to ſcorn? Can it be imagined, that a whole People would ever ſo vilify themſelves, depart from their own intereſt to that degree, be ſo wanting to themſelves, as to place all their hopes in one Man, and he very often the moſt vain Perſon of them all? To what end do they require an Oath of their Kings, not to act any thing contrary to Law? We muſt ſuppoſe them to do this, that (poor Creatures!) they may learn to their ſorrow, That Kings only may commit Perjury with impunity. This is what your own wicked Concluſions hold forth. *If a King that is elected, promiſe any thing to his People upon Oath, which if he would not have ſworn to, perhaps they would not have choſe him, yet if he refuſe to perform that promiſe, he falls not under the Peoples cenſure. Nay, tho he ſwear to his Subjects at his Election, That he will adminiſter Juſtice to them according to the Laws of the Kingdom; and that if he do not, they ſhall be diſcharged of their Allegiance, and himſelf* ipſo facto *ceaſe to be their King, yet if he break this Oath, 'tis God and not Man that muſt require it of him.* I have tranſcribed theſe lines, not for their Elegance, for they are barbarouſly expreſſed; nor becauſe I think there needs any anſwer to them, for they anſwer themſelves, they explode and damn themſelves by their notorious falſhood and loathſomneſs: but I did it to recommend you to Kings for your great Merits; that among ſo many places as there are at Court, they may put you into ſome Preferment or Office that may be fit for you. Some are Princes Secretaries, ſome their Cupbearers, ſome Maſters of the Revels; I think you had beſt be Maſter of the Perjuries to ſome of them. You ſhan't be Maſter of the Ceremonies, you are too much a Clown for that; but their Treachery and Perfidiouſneſs ſhall be under you care. But that Men may ſee that you are both a Fool and a Knave to the higheſt degree, let us conſider theſe laſt aſſertions of yours a little more narrowly; *A King*, ſay you, *tho he ſwear to his Subjects at his Election that he will govern according to Law*, and that if he do not, *they ſhall be diſcharged of their Allegiance, and he himſelf* ipſo facto *ceaſe to be their King*; yet can he not be depoſed or puniſhed by them. Why not a King, I pray, as well as popular Magiſtrates? becauſe in a popular State, the People do not transfer all their Power to the Magiſtrates. And do they in the Caſe that you have put, veſt it all in the King, when they place him in the Government upon thoſe terms expreſly, to hold it no longer than he uſes it well? Therefore it is evident, that a King ſworn to obſerve the Laws, if he tranſgreſs them, may be puniſhed and depoſed, as well as popular Magiſtrates. So that you can make no more uſe of that invincible Argument of the Peoples transferring all their Right and Power to the Prince; you your ſelf have battered it down with your own Engines. Hear now another *moſt powerful and invincible Argument of his*, why Subjects cannot judg their Kings, *becauſe he is bound by no Law, being himſelf the ſole Lawgiver.* Which having been proved already to be moſt falſe, this great reaſon comes to nothing, as well as the former. But the reaſon why Princes have but ſeldom been proceeded againſt for perſonal and private Crimes, as Whoredom, and Adultery, and the like, is not becauſe they could not juſtly be puniſhed even for ſuch, but leſt the People ſhould receive more prejudice through diſturbances that might be occaſioned by the King's death, and the change of Affairs, than they would be profited by the puniſhment of one Man or two. But when they begin to be univerſally injurious and inſufferable, it has always been the Opinion of all Nations, that then, being Tyrants, it is lawful to put them to death any how, condemn'd or uncondemn'd. Hence *Cicero* in his Second *Philippick*, ſays thus of thoſe that kill'd *Cæſar*, 'They were the firſt that ran through with their Swords, not a Man who affected to be King, but who was actually ſetled in the Government; which, as it was a worthy and godlike Action, ſo it's ſet before us for our imitation. How unlike are you to him! *Murder, Adultery, Injuries, are not regal and publick, but private and perſonal Crimes.* Well ſaid Paraſite! you have obliged all Pimps and Profligates in Courts by this Expreſſion. How ingeniouſly do you act, both the Paraſite, and the Pimp, with the ſame breath? *A King that is an Adulterer, or a Murderer, may yet govern well, and conſequently ought not to be put to death, becauſe together with his Life he muſt loſe his Kingdom; and it was never yet allowed by God's Laws, or Man's, that for one and the ſame Crime, a Man was to be puniſhed twice.* Infamous foul-mouth Wretch! By the ſame reaſon the Magiſtrates in a popular State, or in an *Ariſtocracy*, ought never to be put to death, for fear of double Puniſhment; no Judg, no Senator muſt die, for they muſt loſe their Magiſtracy too, as well as their Lives. As you have endeavoured to take all Power out of the Peoples hands, and veſt it in the King, ſo you would all Majeſty too: A delegated tranſlatitious Majeſty we allow, but that Majeſty does chiefly and primarily reſide in him, you can no more prove, than you can, that Power and Authority does. *A King*, you ſay, *cannot commit Treaſon againſt his People, but a People may againſt their King.* And yet a King is what he is for the People only, not the People for him. Hence I infer, that the whole Body of the People, or the greater part of them muſt needs have greater Power than the King. This you deny, and begin to caſt up accounts. *He is of greater Power than any one, than any two, than any three, than any ten, than any hundred, than any thouſand, than any ten thouſand*; be it ſo, *He is of more Power than half the Peeple.* I will not deny that neither; *Add now half of the other half, will he not have more Power than all thoſe?* Not at all. Go on, why do you take away the Board? Do you not underſtand Progreſſion in Arithmetick? He begins to reckon after another manner. *Has not the King, and the Nobility together, more Power?* No, Mr. *Changeling*, I deny that too. If by the Nobility, whom you ſtile *Optimates*, you mean the Peers only; for it may happen, that amongſt the whole number of them, there may not be one Man deſerving that Appellation; for it often falls out, that there are better and wiſer Men than they amongſt the Commons, whom in conjunction with the greater, or the better part of the People, I ſhould not ſcruple to call by the Name of, and take them for all the People. *But if the King is not ſuperiour in Power to all the People together, he is then a King but of ſingle Perſons, he is not the King of the whole Body of the People.* You ſay well, no more he is, unleſs they are content he ſhould be ſo. Now, ballance your Accounts, and you will find that by miſcaſting, you have loſt your Principal. *The* Engliſh *ſay, that the Right of Majeſty originally and principally reſides in the People; which Principle would introduce a Confuſion of all States.* What, of an *Ariſtocracy* and *Democracy*? But let that paſs. What if it ſhould overthrow a *Gynæcocracy* too? (*i.e.* a Government of one or more Women) under which State or Form of Government, they ſay, you are in danger of being beaten at home; would not the *Engliſh* do you a kindneſs in that, you ſheepiſh Fellow, you? But there's no hope of that. For 'tis moſt juſtly ſo ordered, ſince you would ſubject all Mankind to Tyranny abroad, that you your ſelf ſhould live in a ſcandalous moſt unmanlike Slavery at home. *We muſt tell you*, you ſay, *what we mean by the word People.* There are a great many other things, which you ſtand more in need of being told: For of things that more immediately concern you, you ſeem altogether ignorant, and never to have learnt any thing but Words and Letters, nor to be capable of any thing elſe. But this you think you know, that by the word People, we mean the Common People only, excluſive of the Nobility, becauſe *we have put down the Houſe of Lords.* And yet that very thing ſhows, that under the word People, we comprehend all our Natives, of what Order and Degree ſoever; in that we have ſetled one Supreme Senate only, in which the Nobility alſo, as a part of the People (not in their own Right, as they did before; but repreſenting thoſe Burroughs or Counties, for which they may be choſe) may give their Votes. Then you inveigh againſt the Common People, as being *blind and brutiſh, ignorant of the art of governing*; you ſay there's *nothing more empty, more vain, more inconſtant, more uncertain than they.* All which is very true of your ſelf, and it's true likewiſe of the Rabble, but not of the middle ſort, amongſt whom the moſt prudent Men, and moſt skilful in Affairs are generally found; others are moſt commonly diverted either by Luxury and Plenty, or by Want and Poverty, from Vertue, and the ſtudy of Laws and Government. *There are many ways,* you ſay, *by which Kings come to the Crown, ſo as not to be beholden to the People at all for it*; and eſpecially, *thoſe that inherit a Kingdom.* But thoſe Nations moſt certainly be Slaves, and born to Slavery, that acknowledg any one to be their Lord and Maſter ſo abſolutely, as that they are his inheritance, and come to him by deſcent, without any conſent of their own; they deſerve not the Appellation of Subjects, nor of Freemen, nor can they be juſtly reputed ſuch; nor are they to be accounted as a Civil Society, but muſt be looked on as the Poſſeſſions and Eſtate of their Lord, and his Family: For I ſee no difference as to the Right of Ownerſhip betwixt them, and Slaves, or Beaſts. Secondly, *They that come to the Crown by Conqueſt, cannot acknowledg themſelves to have receiv'd from the People the Power they uſurp.* We are not now diſcourſing of a Conqueror, but of a conquered King; what a Conqueror may lawfully do, we'll diſcourſe elſewhere; do you keep to your Subject. But whereas you aſcribe to Kings that ancient Right that Maſters of Families have over their Houſholds, and take an example from thence of their Abſolute Power; I have ſhown already over and over, that there is no likeneſs at all betwixt them. And *Ariſtotle* (whom you name ſo often) if you had read him, would have taught you as much in the beginning of his Politicks, where he ſays they judg amiſs that think there is but little difference betwixt a King, and a Maſter of a Family: *For that there is not a numerical, but a ſpecifical difference betwixt a Kingdom and a Family.* For when Villages grew to be Towns and Cities, that Regal Domeſtick Right vaniſhed by degrees, and was no more owned. Hence *Diodorus* in his firſt Book ſays, That anciently Kingdoms were tranſmitted not to the former Kings Sons, but to thoſe that had beſt deſerved of the People. And *Juſtin*, 'Originally, *ſays he*, the Government of Nations, and of Countries, was by Kings, who were exalted to that height of Majeſty, not by popular Ambition, but for their Moderation which commended them to good Men. Whence it is manifeſt, that in the very beginning of Nations, that Fatherly and Hereditary Government gave way to Vertue, and the Peoples Right: Which is the moſt natural reaſon and cauſe, and was the true riſe of Kingly Government. For at firſt, Men entred into Societies, not that any one might inſult over all the reſt, but that in caſe any ſhould injure other, there might be Laws and Judges to protect them from wrong, or at leaſt to puniſh the wrong doers. When Men were at firſt diſpers'd and ſcattered aſunder, ſome wiſe and eloquent Man perſwaded them to enter into Civil Societies; *that he himſelf*, ſay you, *might exerciſe Dominion over them, when ſo united.* Perhaps you meant this of *Nimrod*, who is ſaid to have been the firſt Tyrant. Or elſe it proceeds from your own malice only, and certainly it cannot have been true of thoſe great and generous ſpirited Men, but is a Fiction of your own, not warranted by any Authority that I ever heard of. For all ancient Writers tell us, that thoſe firſt Inſtituters of Communities of Men, had a regard to the good and ſafety of Mankind only, and not to any private advantages of their own, or to make themſelves great or powerful. One thing I cannot paſs by, which I ſuppoſe you intended for an Emblem, to ſet off the reſt of this Chapter: *If a Conſul*, ſay you, *had been to be accuſed before his Magiſtracy expired, there muſt have been a Dictator created for that purpoſe*; tho you had ſaid before, *that for that very reaſon there were two of them.* Juſt ſo your Poſitions always agree with one another, and almoſt every Page declares how weak and frivolous whatever you ſay or write upon any Subject, is. *Under the ancient Engliſh Saxon Kings*, you ſay, *the People were never called to Parliaments.* If any of our own Countrymen had aſſerted ſuch a thing, I could eaſily have convinced him that he was in an error. But I am not ſo much concerned at your miſtaking our Affairs, becauſe y'are a Foreigner. This in effect is all you ſay of the Right of Kings in general. Many other things I omit, for you uſe many Digreſſions, and put things down that either have no ground at all, or are nothing to the purpoſe, and my deſign is not to vie with you in Impertinence.

# CHAP. VIII.

IF you had publiſhed your own opinion, *Salmaſius*, concerning the Right of Kings in general, without affronting any Perſons in particular, notwithſtanding this alteration of Affairs in *England*, as long as you did but uſe your own liberty in writing what your ſelf thought fit, no *Engliſh* Man could have had any cauſe to have been diſpleaſed with you, nor would you have made good the opinion you maintain ever a whit the leſs. For if it be a poſitive Command both of *Moſes* and of Chriſt himſelf, *That all Men whatſoever, whether* Spaniards, French, Italians, Germans, Engliſh *or* Scotch, *ſhould be ſubject to their Princes, be they good or bad*, which you aſſerted, *Pag.* 127. to what purpoſe was it for you, who are a Foreigner and unknown to us, to be tampering with our Laws, and to read us Lectures out of them as out of your own Papers and Miſcellanies, which, be they how they will, you have taught us already in a great many words, that they ought to give way to the Laws of God? But now it is apparent that you have undertaken the defence of this Royal Cauſe, not ſo much out of your own inclination, as partly becauſe you were hired, and that at a good round price too, conſidering how things are with him that ſet you on work; and partly, 'tis like, out of expectation of ſome greater reward hereafter, to publiſh a ſcandalous Libel againſt the *Engliſh*, who are injurious to none of their Neighbours, and meddle with their own matters only. If there were no ſuch thing as that in the caſe, is it credible that any Man ſhould be ſo impudent or ſo mad, as tho he be a ſtranger, and at a great diſtance from us, yet of his own accord to intermeddle with our Affairs, and ſide with a Party? What the Devil, is it to you what the *Engliſh* do amongſt themſelves? What would you have, Pragmatical Puppy? What would you be at? Have you no concerns of your own at home? I wiſh you had the ſame concerns that that famous *Olus*, your fellow buſy-body in the *Epigram*, had; and perhaps ſo you have; you deſerve them I'm ſure. Or did that Hotſpur your Wife, who encouraged you to write what you have done for out-law'd *Charles*'s ſake, promiſe you ſome profitable Profeſſors place in *England*, and God knows what Gratifications at *Charles*'s Return? But aſſure your ſelves, my Miſtreſs and my Maſter, that *England* admits neither of *Wolves*, nor Owners of *Wolves*: So that it's no wonder you ſpit ſo much Venom at our *Engliſh* Maſtiffs. It were better for you to return to thoſe Illuſtrious Titles of yours in *France*; firſt to that hunger-ſtarved Lordſhip of yours at * St. Lou; and in the next place to the Sacred Conſiſtory of the moſt Chriſtian King. Being a Counſellor to the Prince, you are at too great a diſtance from your own Countrey. But I ſee full well that ſhe neither deſires you, nor your Counſel; nor did it appear ſhe did, when you were there a few years ago, and began to lick a Cardinal's Trencher; ſhe's in the right, by my troth, and can very willingly ſuffer ſuch a little Fellow as you, that are but one half of a Man, to run up and down with your Miſtreſs of a Wife, and your Deſks full of Trifles and Fooleries, till you light ſome where or other upon a Stipend, large enough for a Knight of the Grammar, or an Illuſtrious Critick on Horſeback; if any Prince or State has a mind to hire a Vagabond Doctor that is to be ſold at a good round Price. But here's one that will bid for you; whether you're a Merchantable Commodity or not, and what you are worth we ſhall ſee by and by. You ſay, *The Parricides aſſert, that the Government of* England *is not meerly Kingly, but that it is a mixt Government.* Sir *Thomas Smith*, a Country-man of ours in *Edward* the Sixth's days, a good Lawyer, and a Stateſman, one whom you your ſelf will not call a Parricide, in the beginning of a Book which he wrote *of the Commonwealth of England*, aſſerts the ſame thing, and not of our Government only, but of almoſt all others in the World, and that out of *Ariſtotle*; and he ſays it is not poſſible that any Government ſhould otherwiſe ſubſiſt. But as if you thought it a crime to ſay any thing, and not unſay it again, you repeat your former thredbare Contradictions. You ſay, *There neither is nor ever was any Nation that did not underſtand by the very name of a King, a Perſon whoſe authority is inferior to God alone, and who is accountable to no other.* And yet a little after you confeſs, *that the name of a King was formerly given to ſuch Powers and Magiſtrates, as had not a full and abſolute right of themſelves, but had a dependance upon the People,*

* *St.* Lou, *in Latin,* Sanctus Lupus, *Saint* Wolf, *is the name of a place in* France, *where* Salmaſius *had ſome ſmall Eſtate, and was called ſo from St.* Lupus *a* German *Biſhop, who with St.* German *came over into* England, Anno Dom. 429.

*ple, as the* Suffetes *among the* Carthaginians, *the* Hebrew *Judges, the Kings of the* Lacedemonians, *and of* Arragon. Are you not very conſiſtent with your ſelf? Then you reckon up five ſeveral ſorts of Monarchies out of *Ariſtotle*; in one of which only that Right obtain'd, which you ſay is common to all Kings. Concerning which I have ſaid already more than once, that neither doth *Ariſtotle* give an inſtance of any ſuch Monarchy, nor was there ever any ſuch in being; the other four he clearly demonſtrates that they were bounded by Eſtabliſht Laws, and the King's Power ſubject to thoſe Laws. The firſt of which four was that of the *Lacedemonians*, which in his opinion did of all others beſt deſerve the name of a Kingdom. The ſecond was ſuch as obtain'd among Barbarians, which was laſting, becauſe regulated by Laws, and becauſe the People willingly ſubmitted to it; whereas by the ſame Author's opinion in his third Book, what King ſo ever retains the Soveraignty againſt the People's will, is no longer to be accounted a King, but a downright Tyrant; all which is true likewiſe of his third ſort of Kings, which he calls *Æſymnetes*, who were choſen by the People, and moſt commonly for a certain time only, and for ſome particular purpoſes, ſuch as the *Roman* Dictators were. The fourth ſort he makes of ſuch as reigned in the Heroical days, upon whom for their extraordinary merits the People of their own accord conferr'd the Government, but yet bounded by Laws; nor could theſe retain the Soveraignty againſt the will of the People: nor do theſe four ſorts of Kingly Governments differ, he ſays, from Tyranny in any thing elſe, but only in that theſe Governments are with the good liking of the People, and That againſt their will. The fifth ſort of Kingly Government, which he calls παμβασίλεια, or abſolute Monarchy, in which the Supreme Power reſides in the King's Perſon, which you pretend to be the right of all Kings, is utterly condemn'd by the Philoſopher, as neither for the good of Mankind, nor conſonant to Juſtice or Nature, unleſs ſome People ſhould be content to live under ſuch a Government, and withal confer it upon ſuch as excel all others in vertue. Theſe things any man may read in the third Book of his *Politicks*. But you, I believe, that once in your life you might appear witty and florid, pleaſed your ſelf with making a compariſon *betwixt theſe five ſorts of Kingly Government, and the five Zones of the World; betwixt the two extremes of Kingly power, there are three more temperate Species interpoſed, as there lie three Zones betwixt the Torrid and the Frigid.* Pretty Rogue! what ingenious compariſons he always makes us! May you for ever be baniſhed, whither you your ſelf condemn *an abſolute Kingdom* to be, that is, to the frigid *Zone*, which when you are there, will be doubly cold to what it was before. In the mean while we ſhall expect that new faſhioned ſphere which you deſcribe, from you our modern *Archimedes*, in which there ſhall be two extreme *Zones*, one Torrid, and the other Frigid, and three temperate ones lying betwixt. *The Kings of the* Lacedæmonians, you ſay, *might lawfully be Impriſoned, but it was not lawful to put them to death.* Why not? Becauſe the Miniſters of Juſtice, and ſome Foreign Soldiers, being ſurpriſed at the Novelty of the thing, thought it not lawful to lead *Agis* to his Execution, though condemn'd to die? And the People of *Lacedemon*, were diſpleaſed at his death, not becauſe condemn'd to die, though a King, but becauſe he was a good man and popular, and had been circumvented by a faction of the great ones. Says *Plutarch*, "*Agis* was the firſt King that was put to death "by the *Ephori*; in which words he does not pretend to tell us what lawfully might be done, but what actually was done. For to imagin that ſuch as may lawfully accuſe a King, and impriſon him, may not alſo lawfully put him to death, is a childiſh conceit. At laſt you betake your ſelf to give an account of the Right of *Engliſh* Kings. *There never was*, you ſay, *but one King in England.* This you ſay, becauſe you had ſaid before, that *unleſs a King be ſole in the Government, he cannot be a King.* Which if it be true, ſome of them, who I had thought had been Kings of *England*, were not really ſo; for to omit many of our *Saxon* Kings, who had either their Sons, or their Brothers Partners with them in the Government, it is known that King *Henry* II. of the *Norman* Race, reign'd together with his Son. *Let them ſhew*, ſay you, *a Preſident of any Kingdom under the Government of a ſingle perſon, who has not an abſolute power; though in ſome Kingdoms more remiſs, in others more intenſe.* Do you ſhow any Power that's *abſolute*, and yet *remiſs*, you Aſs; is not that power that's abſolute, the Supreme Power of all? How can it then be both ſupreme and remiſs? Whatſoever Kings you ſhall acknowledg to be inveſted with a remiſs (or a leſs) power, thoſe I will eaſily make appear to have no abſolute power; and conſequently to be inferior to a People, free by nature, who is both its own Law-giver, and can make the Regal Power more or leſs intenſe or remiſs; that is, greater or leſs. Whether the whole Iſland of *Britain* was anciently governed by Kings, or no, is uncertain. It's moſt likely that the form of their Government changed according to the Exigencies of the Times. Whence *Tacitus* ſays, *The* Britains *anciently were under Kings; now the great Men amongſt them divide them into Parties and Factions.* When the *Romans* left them, they were about forty years without Kings; they were not always therefore under a Kingly Government, as you ſay they were. But when they were ſo, that the Kingdom was Hereditary, I poſitively deny; which that it was not, is evident both from the Series of their Kings, and their way of creating them: for the conſent of the People is asked in expreſs words. When the King has taken the accuſtomed Oath, the Archbiſhop ſtepping to every ſide of the Stage erected for that purpoſe, asks the People four ſeveral times in theſe words, *Do you conſent to have this Man to be your King?* Juſt as if he ſpoke to them in the *Roman* Stile, *Vultis, Jubetis hunc Regnare?* 'Is it your pleaſure, do you appoint this Man to reign? Which would be needleſs, if the Kingdom were by the Law hereditary. But with Kings, Uſurpation paſſes very frequently for Law and Right. You go about to ground *Charles's* Right to the Crown, who was ſo often conquered himſelf, upon the Right of Conqueſt. *William*, ſirnamed the *Conqueror*, ſorſooth, ſubdued us. But they who are not ſtrangers to our Hiſtory, know full well, that the Strength of the *Engliſh* Nation was not ſo broken in that one Fight at *Haſtings*, but that they might eaſily have renewed the War. But they choſe rather to accept of a King, than to be under a Conqueror and a Tyrant: They ſwear therefore to *William*, to be his Liege-men, and he ſwears to them at the Altar, to carry himſelf towards them as a good King ought to do in all reſpects. When he broke his Word, and the *Engliſh* betook themſelves again to their Arms, being diffident of his Strength, he renewed his Oath upon the Holy Evangeliſts, to obſerve the Ancient Laws of *England*. And therefore, if after that he miſerably oppreſſed the *Engliſh*, (as you ſay he did) he did it not by Right of Conqueſt, but by Right of Perjury. Beſides, it is certain, that many Ages ago, the Conquerors and Conquered coaleſced into one and the ſame People: So that that Right of Conqueſt, if any ſuch ever were, muſt needs have been antiquated long ago. His own words at his death, which I give you out of a *French Manuſcript* written at *Caen*, put all out of doubt, *I appoint no Man* (ſays he) *to inherit the Kingdom of England.* By which words, both his pretended Right of Conqueſt, and the Hereditary Right, were diſclaim'd at his death, and buried together with him. I ſee now that you have gotten a place at Court, as I foretold you would; you are made the King's Chief Treaſurer and Steward of his Court-Craft: And what follows, you ſeem to write *ex Officio*, as by virtue of your Office, Magnificent Sir. *If any preceding* Kings; *being thereunto compelled by Factions of Great Men, or Sedition: amongſt the Common People, have receded in ſome meaſure from their Right, that cannot prejudice the Succeſſor; but that he is at liberty to reſume it.* You ſay well; if therefore at any time our Anceſtors have through neglect loſt any thing that was their Right, why ſhould that prejudice us their Poſterity? If they would promiſe for themſelves to become Slaves, they could make no ſuch promiſe for us; who ſhall always retain the ſame Right of delivering our ſelves out of Slavery, that they had of enſlaving themſelves to any whomſoever. You wonder how it comes to paſs that a King of *Great Britain* muſt now a-days be looked upon as one of the Magiſtrates of the Kingdom only; whereas in all other Kingly Governments in *Chriſtendom*, Kings are inveſted with a Free and Abſolute Authority. For the *Scots*, I remit you to *Buchanan:* For *France*, your own Native Countrey, to which you ſeem to be a ſtranger, to *Hottoman's Franco-Gallia*, and *Girardus* a *French* Hiſtorian; for the reſt, to other Authors, of whom none that I know of, were *Independents:* Out of whom you might have learned a quite other Leſſon concerning the Right of Kings, than what you teach. Not being able to prove that a Tyrannical Power belongs to the Kings of *England* by Right of Conqueſt, you try now to do it by Right of Perjury. Kings profeſs themſelves to reign *By the Grace of God:* What if they had profeſſed themſelves to be Gods? 'I believe if they had, you might have eaſily have been brought to become one of their Prieſts.

So the Archbiſhops of *Canterbury* pretended to Archbiſhop it by *Divine Providence.* Are you ſuch a Fool, as to deny the Popes being a King in the Church, that you may make the King greater than a Pope in the State? But in the Statutes of the Realm the King is called our *Lord.* You are become of a ſudden a wonderful *Nomenclater* of our Statutes: But you know not that many are called Lords and Maſters, who are not really ſo: You know not how unreaſonable a thing it is to judg of Truth and Right by Titles of Honour, not to ſay of Flattery. Make the ſame Inference, if you will, from the Parliament's being called the *King's Parliament*; for it is called the King's Bridle too, or a Bridle to the King: and thereſore the King is no more Lord or Maſter of his Parliament, than a Horſe is of his Bridle. But why not the King's Parliament, ſince the *King ſummons them?* I'll tell you why; becauſe the Conſuls uſed to indict a Meeting of the Senate, yet were they not Lords over that Council. When the King therefore ſummons or calls together a Parliament, he does it by virtue and in diſcharge of that Office, which he has received from the People, that he may adviſe with them about the weighty Affairs of the Kingdom, not his own particular Affairs. Or when at any time the Parliament debated of the King's own Affairs, if any could properly be called his own, they were always the laſt things they did; and it was in their choice when to debate of them, and whether at all or no, and depended not upon the King's Pleaſure. And they whom it concerns to know this, know very well, that Parliaments anciently, whether ſummoned or not, might by Law meet twice a Year: But the Laws are called too, *The King's Laws.* Theſe are flattering Aſcriptions; a King of *England* can of himſelf make no Law: For he was not conſtituted to make Laws, but to ſee thoſe Laws kept, which the People made. And you your ſelf here confeſs, That *Parliaments meet to make Laws:* Wherefore the Law is alſo called the Law of the Land, and the Peoples Law. Whence King *Ethelſtane* in the Preface to his Laws, ſpeaking to all the People, *I have granted you every thing,* ſays he, *by your own Law.* And in the Form of the Oath, which the Kings of *England* uſed to take before they were made Kings, the People ſtipulate with them thus; *Will you grant thoſe juſt Laws, which the People ſhall chuſe?* The King anſwers, *I will.* And you are infinitely miſtaken in ſaying, That *when there is no Parliament ſitting, the King governs the whole State of the Kingdom, to all intents and purpoſes, by a Regal Power.* For he can determine nothing of any moment, with reſpect to either Peace or War; nor can he put any ſtop to the Proceedings of the Courts of Juſtice. And the Judges therefore ſwear, that they will do nothing judicially, but according to Law, though the King by Word, or Mandate, or Letters under his own Seal, ſhould command the contrary. Hence it is that the King is often ſaid in our Law to be an *Infant*; and to poſſeſs his Rights and Dignities, as a Child or a Ward does his: See the *Mirror, Cap.* 4. *Sect.* 22. And hence is that common Saying amongſt us, That *the King can do no wrong:* Which you, like a Raſcal, interpret thus, *Whatever the King does, is no Injury, becauſe he is not liable to be puniſhed for it.* By this very Comment, if there were nothing elſe, the wonderful Impudence and Villany of this Fellow, diſcovers it ſelf ſufficiently. *It belongs to the Head,* you ſay, *to command, and not to the Members: The King is the Head of the Parliament.* You would not trifle thus, if you had any guts in your brains. You are miſtaken again (but there's no end of your miſtakes) in not diſtinguiſhing the King's Counſellors from the States of the Realm: For neither ought he to make choice of all of them, nor of any of theſe, which the reſt do not approve of; but for electing any Member of the Houſe of Commons, he never ſo much as pretended to it. Whom the People appointed to that Service, they were ſeverally choſen by the Votes of all the People in their reſpective Cities, Towns, and Counties. I ſpeak now of things univerſally known, and therefore I am the ſhorter. But you ſay, *'Tis falſe that the Parliament was inſtituted by the People, as the Worſhippers of Saint Independency aſſert.* Now I ſee why you took ſo much pains in endeavouring to ſubvert the Papacy; you carry another Pope in your belly, as we ſay. For what elſe ſhould you be in labour of, the Wife of a Woman, a He-Wolf, impregnated by a She-Wolf, but either a Monſter, or ſome new ſort of Papacy? You now make He-Saints, and She-Saints, at your pleaſure, as if you were a true genuine Pope. You abſolve Kings of all their ſins; and as if you had utterly vanquiſh'd and ſubdu'd your Antagoniſt the Pope, you adorn your ſelf with his ſpoils. But becauſe you have not yet profligated the Pope quite, till the ſecond and third, and perhaps the fourth and fifth Part of your Book of his Supremacy come out, which Book will nauſeate a great many Readers to death, ſooner than you'll get the better of the Pope by it; let it ſuffice you in the mean time, I beſeech you, to become ſome Antipope or other. There's another She-Saint, beſides that Independency that you deride, which you have Canoniz'd in good earneſt; and that is, the Tyranny of Kings: You ſhall therefore by my conſent be the High-Prieſt of Tyranny; and that you may have all the Pope's Titles, you ſhall be a *Servant of the Servants* not of God, but of the Court. For that Curſe pronounced upon *Canaan*, ſeems to ſtick as cloſe to you, as your Shirt. You call the People *a Beaſt*. What are you then your ſelf? For neither can that Sacred Conſiſtory, nor your Lordſhip of St. *Lou*, exempt you its Maſter from being one of the People, nay, of the Common People; nor can make you other than what you really are, a moſt loathſom Beaſt. Indeed, the Writings of the Prophets ſhadow out to us the Monarchy and Dominion of Great Kings by the Name, and under the Reſemblance of a Great Beaſt. You ſay, *That there is no mention of Parliaments held under our Kings, that reigned before* William *the Conqueror*. It is not worth while to jangle about a *French* word: The thing was always in being; and you your ſelf allow that in the *Saxon* times, *Concilia Sapientum Wittena-gemots*, are mentioned. And there are wiſe Men among the Body of the People, as well as amongſt the Nobility. But *in the Statute of* Merton *made in the twentieth year of King* Henry *the 3d, the Earls and Barons are only named*. Thus you are always impoſed upon by words, who yet have ſpent your whole Life in nothing elſe but words; for we know very well that in that age, not only the Guardians of the Cinque-Ports, and Magiſtrates of Cities, but even Tradeſmen are ſometimes called Barons; and without doubt they might much more reaſonably call every Member of Parliament, tho never ſo much a Commoner, by the Name of a Baron. For that in the fifty ſecond Year of the ſame King's Reign, the Commoners as well as the Lords were ſummoned, the Statute of *Marlbridge*, and moſt other Statutes, declare in expreſs words; which Commoners King *Edward the Third*, in the Preface to the Statute-Staple, calls, *Magnates Comitatum*, *The Great Men of the Counties*, as you very learnedly quote it for me; thoſe to wit, *That came out of the ſeveral Counties, and ſerved for them*; which number of Men conſtituted the Houſe of Commons, and neither were Lords, nor could be. Beſides, a Book more Ancient than thoſe Statutes, called, *Modus habendi Parliamenta*, i.e. *The manner of holding Parliaments*, tells us, That the King, and the Commons may hold a Parliament, and enact Laws, tho the Lords, the Biſhops, are abſent; but that with the Lords, and the Biſhops, in the abſence of the Commons, no Parliament can be held. And there's a reaſon given for it, *viz.* becauſe Kings held Parliaments and Councils with their People before any Lords or Biſhops were made; beſides, the Lords ſerve for themſelves only, the Commons each for the County, City, or Burrough that ſent them. And that therefore the Commons in Parliament repreſent the whole Body of the Nation; in which reſpect they are more worthy, and every way preferable to the Houſe of Peers. *But the power of Judicature*, you ſay, *never was inveſted in the Houſe of Commons*. Nor was the King ever poſſeſſed of it: Remember tho, that originally all Power proceeded, and yet does proceed from the People. Which *Marcus Tullius* excellently well ſhows in his Oration, *De lege Agraria*, *Of the* Agrarian *Law*: 'As all Powers, Authorities, and publick Adminiſtrations 'ought to be derived from the whole Body of the People; ſo thoſe of them 'ought in an eſpecial manner ſo to be derived, which are ordained and appointed for the Common Benefit and Intereſt of all; to which Imployments every 'particular Perſon may both give his Vote for the chuſing ſuch Perſons, as he 'thinks will take moſt care of the Publick, and withal by voting and making 'Intereſt for them, lay ſuch Obligations upon them, as may entitle them to 'their Friendſhip, and good Offices in time to come. Here you ſee the true riſe and original of Parliaments, and that it was much ancienter than the *Saxon* Chronicles. Whilſt we may dwell in ſuch a light of Truth and Wiſdom, as *Cicero*'s Age afforded, you labour in vain to blind us with the darkneſs of obſcurer times. By the ſaying whereof I would not be underſtood to derogate in the leaſt from the Authority and Prudence of our Anceſtors, who moſt certainly went further in the enacting of good Laws, than either the Ages they lived in, or their own Learning or Education ſeem to have been capable of; and tho ſometimes they made Laws that were none of the beſt, yet as being conſcious to themſelves of the Ignorance and Infirmity of Human Nature, they have conveyed this Doctrine down to Poſterity, as the foundation of all Laws, which likewiſe all our Lawyers admit, That if any Law, or Cuſtom, be contrary to the Law of God, of Nature, or of Reaſon, it ought to be looked upon as null and void. Whence it follows, that tho it were poſſible for you to diſcover any Statute, or other publick Sanction, which aſcribed to the King a Tyrannical Power, ſince that would be repugnant to the Will of God, to Nature, and to right Reaſon, you may learn from that general and primary Law of ours, which I have juſt now quoted, that it will be null and void. But you will never be able to find that any ſuch Right of Kings has the leaſt Foundation in our Law. Since it is plain therefore, that the Power of Judicature was originally in the People themſelves, and that the People never did by any Royal Law part with it to the King, (for the Kings of *England* neither uſe to judg any Man, nor can by the Law do it, otherwiſe than according to Laws ſetled and agreed to: *Fleta, Book* 1. *Cap.* 17.) it follows, that this Power remains yet whole and entire in the People themſelves. For that it was either never committed to the Houſe of Peers, or if it were, that it may lawfully be taken from them again, you your ſelf will not deny. But, *It is in the King's. Power*, you ſay, *to make a Village into a Burrough, and that into a City; and conſequently, the King does in effect create thoſe that conſtitute the Commons Houſe of Parliament.* But, I ſay, that even Towns and Burroughs are more ancient than Kings; and that the People is the People, tho they ſhould live in the open Fields. And now we are extreamly well pleaſed with your *Angliciſms*, *COUNTY COURT, THE TURNE. HUNDREDA:* you have quickly learnt to count your hundred *Jacobuſſes* in *Engliſh.*

*Quis expedivit Salmaſio ſuam HUNDREDAM?*  
*Picamque docuit verba noſtra conari?*  
*Magiſter artis venter, & Jacobæi*  
*Centum, exulantis viſcera marſupii Regis.*  
*Quod ſi doloſi ſpes refulſerit nummi,*  
*Ipſe Antichriſti modò qui Primatum Papæ*  
*Minatus uno eſt diſſipare ſufflatu,*  
*Cantabit ultrò Cardinalitium melos.*

Who taught *Salmaſius*, that *French* chatt'ring Pye,  
To aim at *Engliſh*, and *HUNDREDA* cry?  
The ſtarving Raſcal, fluſht with juſt a *Hundred*  
*Engliſh* Jacobuſſes, *HUNDREDA* blunder'd.  
An out-law'd King's laſt ſtock. — A hundred more,  
Would make him pimp for th' Antichriſtian Whore;  
And in *Rome*'s praiſe employ his poyſon'd Breath,  
Who threatn'd once to ſtink the Pope to death.

The next thing you do is to trouble us with a long Diſcourſe of the Earls and the Barons, to ſhow that the King made them all; which we readily grant, and for that reaſon they were moſt commonly at the King's beck; and therefore we have done well to take care, that for the future they ſhall not be Judges of a Free People. You affirm, That *the Power of calling Parliaments as often as he pleaſes, and of diſſolving them when he pleaſes, has belonged to the King time out of mind.* Whether ſuch a vile, mercenary Foreigner as you, who tranſcribe what ſome Fugitives dictate to you, or the expreſs Letter of our own Laws are more to be credited in this matter, we ſhall enquire hereafter. But ſay you, *there is another Argument, and an invincible one, to prove the Power of the Kings of* England *ſuperior to that of the Parliament; the King's Power is perpetual and of courſe, whereby he adminiſters the Government ſingly without the Parliament; that of the Parliament is extraordinary, or out of courſe, and limited to particulars only, nor can they enact any thing ſo as to be binding in Law, without the King.* Where does the great force of this Argument lie? in the words of *courſe and perpetual?* Why, many inferior Magiſtrates have an *ordinary* and *perpetual* Power, thoſe whom we call Juſtices of Peace. Have they therefore the Supreme Power? And I have ſaid already, that the King's

Power is committed to him, to take care, by interpoſing his Authority, that nothing be done contrary to Law, and that he may ſee to the due obſervation of our Laws, not to top his own upon us: and conſequently that the King has no Power out of his Courts; nay all the ordinary power is rather the Peoples, who determine all Controverſies themſelves by Juries of Twelve Men. And hence it is that when a Malefactor is asked at his Arraignment, *How will you be tried?* he anſwers always according to Law and Cuſtom, *by God and my Country*; not by God and the King, or the King's Deputy. But the Authority of the Parliament, which indeed and in truth is the Supreme Power of the People committed to that Senate, if it may be called extraordinary, it muſt be by reaſon of its Eminence and Superiority; elſe it is known they are called *Ordines*, and therefore cannot properly be ſaid to be *extra ordinem, out of order*; and if not actually, as they ſay, yet virtually they have a perpetual Power and Authority over all Courts and ordinary Magiſtrates, and that without the King. And now it ſeems our barbarous terms grate upon your Critical Ears, forſooth! whereas, if I had leiſure, or that if it were worth my while, I could reckon up ſo many Barbariſms of yours in this one Book, as if you were to be chaſtiz'd for them as you deſerve, all the School-boys Ferula's in *Chriſtendom* would be broken upon you; nor would you receive ſo many pieces of Gold as that wretched Poet did of old, but a great many more Boxes o'th' ear. You ſay, *'Tis a Prodigy more monſtrous than all the moſt abſurd Opinions in the World put together, that the* Bedlams *ſhould make a diſtinction betwixt the King's Power and his Perſon.* I will not quote what every Author has ſaid upon this Subject; but if by the words *Perſonam Regis*, you mean what we call in *Engliſh*, the *Perſon of the King*; *Chryſoſtom*, who was no *Bedlam*, might have taught you, that it is no abſurd thing to make a diſtinction betwixt that and his Power; for that Father explains the Apoſtle's command of being ſubject to the Higher Powers, to be meant of the thing, the Power it ſelf, and not of the Perſons of the Magiſtrates. And why may not I ſay that a King, who acts any thing contrary to Law, acts ſo far forth as a private Perſon, or a Tyrant, and not in the capacity of a King inveſted with a Legal Authority? If you do not know that there may be in one and the ſame Man more *Perſons* or *Capacities* than one, and that thoſe Capacities may in thought and conception be ſevered from the man himſelf, you are altogether ignorant both of *Latin* and Common Senſe. But this you ſay to abſolve Kings from all ſin and guilt; and that you may make us believe that you are gotten into the Chair your ſelf, which you have pull'd the Pope out of. *The King*, you ſay, *is ſuppoſed not capable of committing any crime, becauſe no puniſhment is conſequential upon any crime of his.* Whoever therefore is not puniſht, offends not; it is not the theft, but the puniſhment that makes the Thief. *Salmaſius* the Grammarian commits no Solœciſms now, becauſe he is from under the Ferula; when you have overthrown the Pope, let theſe, for God's ſake, be the Canons of your Pontificate, or at leaſt your Indulgences, whether you ſhall chuſe to be called the High-Prieſt St. Tyranny, or St. Slavery. I paſs by the reproachful Language which towards the latter end of the Chapter you give the State of the Commonwealth, and the Church of *England*; 'tis common to ſuch as you are, you contemptible Varlet, to rail at thoſe things moſt, that are moſt praiſe-worthy. But that I may not ſeem to have aſſerted any thing raſhly concerning the Right of the Kings of *England*, or rather concerning the Peoples Right with reſpect to their Princes; I will now alledg out of our ancient Hiſtories a few things indeed of many, but ſuch as will make it evident that the *Engliſh* lately tried their King according to the ſetled Laws of the Realm, and the Cuſtoms of their Anceſtors. After the *Romans* quitted this Iſland, the *Britains* for about forty years were *ſui Juris*, and without any Kings at all. Of whom thoſe they firſt ſet up, ſome they put to death. And for that, *Gildas* reprehends them, not as you do, for killing their Kings, but for killing them uncondemned, and (to uſe his own words) *Non pro veri examinatione*, without enquiring into the matter of Fact. *Vortigern* was for his Inceſtuous Marriage with his own Daughter condemn'd (as *Nennius* informs us, the moſt ancient of all our Hiſtorians next to *Gildas*) by St. *German*, *and a General Council of the Britains*, and his Son *Vortimer* ſet up in his ſtead. This came to paſs not long after St. *Auguſtine*'s death, which is enough to diſcover how futilous you are, to ſay, as you have done, that it was a *Pope*, and *Zachary* by name, who firſt held the lawfulneſs of judging Kings. About the year of our Lord 600, *Mercantius*, who then reign'd in *Wales*, was by *Oudeceus* Biſhop of *Landaff*, condemn'd to Exile, for the Murder of his Uncle, though he got the Sentence off by beſtowing ſome Lands upon the Church. Come we now to the *Saxons*, whoſe Laws we have, and therefore I ſhall quote none of their Precedents. Remember that the *Saxons* were of a *German* Extract, who neither inveſted their Kings with any abſolute, unlimited power, and conſulted in a Body of the more weighty affairs of Government; whence we may perceive that in the time of our *Saxon* Anceſtors *Parliaments* (the name it ſelf only excepted) had the Supreme Authority. The name they gave them, was *Councils of Wiſe-men*; and this in the Reign of *Ethelbert*, of whom *Bede* ſays, *That he made Laws in imitation of the Roman Laws*, cum concilio ſapientum; *by the advice, or in a Council of his Wiſe-men.* So Edwyn, King of *Northumberland*; and *Ina* King *of the Weſt-Saxons*, *having conſulted with their Wiſe-men, and the Elders of the People*, made new Laws. Other Laws K. *Alfred* made, *by the advice* in like manner of *his Wiſe-men*; and he ſays himſelf, *That it was by the conſent of them all, that they were commanded to be obſerved.* From theſe and many other like places, it is as clear as the Sun, that choſen Men even from amongſt the Common People, were Members of the Supreme Councils, unleſs we muſt believe that no Men are wiſe, but the Nobility. We have likewiſe a very ancient Book, called the *Mirror of Juſtices*, in which we are told, That the *Saxons*, when they firſt ſubdued the *Britains*, and choſe themſelves Kings, required an Oath of them, to ſubmit to the Judgment of the Law, as much as any of their Subjects, *Cap.* 1. *Sect.* 2. In the ſame place 'tis ſaid, that it is but juſt that the King have his Peers in Parliament, to take Cognizance of wrongs done by the King, or the Queen; and that there was a Law made in King *Alored*'s time, that Parliaments ſhould be holden twice a year at *London*, or oftner, if need were: Which Law, when through neglect it grew into diſuſe, was revived by two Statutes in King *Edward* the Third's time. And in another ancient Manuſcript, called *Modus tenendi Parliamenta*, we read thus, 'If the King diſſolve the Parliament 'before they have diſpatcht the buſineſs, for which the Council was ſummon'd, 'he is guilty of Perjury; and ſhall be reputed to have broken his Coronation 'Oath. For how can he be ſaid to grant thoſe good Laws, which the People chuſe, as he is ſworn to do, if he hinders the People from chuſing them, either by ſummoning Parliaments ſeldomer, or by diſſolving them ſooner than the Publick Affairs require, or admit? And that Oath, which the Kings of *England* take at their Coronation, has always been looked upon by our Lawyers, as a moſt ſacred Law. And what remedy can be found to obviate the great Dangers of the whole State (which is the very end of ſummoning Parliaments) if that Great and Auguſt Aſſembly may be diſſolved at the pleaſure many times of a ſilly, head-ſtrong King? To abſent himſelf from them, is certainly leſs than to diſſolve them; and yet by our Laws, as that *Modus* lays them down, the King neither can, nor ought to abſent himſelf from his Parliament, unleſs he be really indiſpoſed in Health; nor then neither, till twelve of the Peers have been with him to inſpect his Body, and give the Parliament an account of his Indiſpoſition. Is this like the Carriage of Servants to a Maſter? On the other hand, the Houſe of Commons, without whom there can be no Parliament held, tho ſummoned by the King, may withdraw, and having made a Seceſſion, expoſtulate with the King concerning Male-adminiſtration, as the ſame Book has it. But, which is the greateſt thing of all, amongſt the Laws of King *Edward*, commonly called the *Confeſſor*, there is one very excellent, relating to the Kingly Office; which Office, if the King do not diſcharge as he ought, Then, ſays the Law, *He ſhall not retain ſo much as the Name of a King.* And leſt theſe words ſhould not be ſufficiently underſtood, the Example of *Chilperic* King of *France* is ſubjoyn'd, whom the People for that Cauſe depoſed. And that by this Law a wicked King is liable to Puniſhment, that Sword of King *Edward*, called *Curtana*, denotes to us, which the Earl of *Cheſter* uſed to carry in the Solemn Proceſſion at a Coronation; *A token*, ſays *Matthew Paris*, *that he has Authority by Law to puniſh the King, if he will not do his Duty:* and the Sword is hardly ever made uſe of but in Capital Puniſhments. This ſame Law, together with other Laws of that good King *Edward*, did *William* the Conqueror ratifie in the Fourth Year of his Reign, and in a very full Council held at *Verulam*, confirm'd it with a moſt ſolemn Oath: And by ſo doing, he not only extinguiſh'd his Right of Conqueſt, if he ever had any over us, but ſubjected himſelf to be judged according to the Tenor of this very Law. And his Son *Henry* ſwore to the obſervance of King *Edward*'s Laws, and of this amongſt the reſt; and upon thoſe only terms it was, that he was choſen King, whilſt his Elder Brother *Robert* was alive. The ſame Oath was taken by all ſucceeding Kings, before they were crowned. Hence our Ancient and Famous Lawyer *Bracton*, in his firſt Book, Chap. 8. *There is no King in the caſe*, ſays he, *where Will rules the roaſt, and Law does not take place.* And in his Third Book, Chap. 9. *A King is a King ſo long as he rules well; he becomes a Tyrant when he oppreſſes the People committed to his Charge.* And in the ſame Chapter, *The King ought to uſe the Power of Law and Right, as God's Miniſter and Vice-gerent; the Power of wrong is the Devils, and not Gods; when the King turns aſide to do Injuſtice, he is the Miniſter of the Devil.* The very ſame words almoſt another ancient Lawyer has, who was the Author of the Book, called *Fleta*; both of them remembered that truly Royal Law of King *Edward*, that Fundamental Maxim in our Law, which I have formerly mentioned, by which nothing is to be accounted a Law, that is contrary to the Laws of God, or of Reaſon; no more than a Tyrant can be ſaid to be a King, or a Miniſter of the Devil a Miniſter of God. Since therefore the Law is chiefly right Reaſon, if we are bound to obey a King, and a Miniſter of God; by the very ſame Reaſon, and the very ſame Law, we ought to reſiſt a Tyrant, and a Miniſter of the Devil. And becauſe Controverſies ariſe oftner about Names than Things, the ſame Authors tell us, that a King of *England*, thô he have not loſt the Name of a King, yet is as liable to be judged, and ought ſo to be, as any of the Common People. *Bracton*, Book 1. Chap. 8. *Fleta*, Book 1. Chap. 17. *No Man ought to be greater than the King in the Adminiſtration of Juſtice; but he himſelf ought to be as little as the leaſt in receiving Juſtice*, ſi peccat, *if he offend.* Others read it, *ſi petat.* Since our Kings therefore are liable to be judged, whether by the Name of Tyrants, or of Kings, it muſt not be difficult to aſſign their Legal Judges. Nor will it be amiſs to conſult the ſame Authors upon that point. *Bracton*, Book 1. Chap. 16. *Fleta*, Book 1. Chap. 17. *The King has his Superiors in the Government; The Law, by which he is made King, and his Court, to wit, the Earls, and the Barons:* Comites *( Earls ) are as much as to ſay, Companions; and he that has a Companion, has a Maſter; and therefore, if the King will be without a Bridle, that is, not govern by Law, they ought to bridle him.* That the Commons are comprehended in the word Barons, has been ſhown already; nay, and in the Books of our ancient Laws they are frequently ſaid to have been called Peers of Parliament: and eſpecially in the *Modus tenendi*, &c. *There ſhall be choſen* (ſays that Book) *out of all the Peers of the Realm, five and twenty Perſons, of whom five ſhall be Knights, five Citizens, and five Burgeſſes; and two Knights of a County, have a greater Vote in granting and rejecting than the greateſt Earl in* England. And it is but reaſonable they ſhould, for they vote for a whole County, *&c.* the Earls for themſelves only. And who can but perceive that thoſe *Patent Earls*, whom you call Earls made by *Writ* (ſince we have now none that hold their Earldoms by Tenure) are very unfit Perſons to try the King, who conferr'd their Honours upon them? Since therefore by our Law, as appears by that old Book, call'd *The Mirror*, the King has his Peers, who in Parliament have cognizance of wrongs done by the King to any of his People; and ſince it is notoriouſly known, that the meaneſt Man in the Kingdom may even in inferior Courts have the benefit of the Law againſt the King himſelf in caſe of any Injury, or Wrong ſuſtained; how much more conſonant to Juſtice, how much more neceſſary is it, that in caſe the King oppreſs all his People, there ſhould be ſuch as have authority not only to reſtrain him, and keep him within bounds, but to judg and puniſh him? For that Government muſt needs be very ill, and moſt ridiculouſly conſtituted, in which remedy is provided in caſe of little Injuries done by the Prince to private Perſons, and no remedy, no redreſs for greater, no care taken for the ſafety of the whole; no proviſion made to the contrary, but that the King may without any Law ruin all his Subjects, when at the ſame time he cannot by Law ſo much as hurt any one of them. And ſince I have ſhown that it is neither good manners, nor expedient, that the Lords ſhould be the Kings Judges; it follows, that the Power of Judicature in that caſe does wholly, and by very good Right, belong to the Commons, who are both Peers of the Realm, and Barons, and have the Power and

Authority of all the People committed to them. For ſince (as we find it expreſly in our written Law, which I have already cited) the Commons together with the King, make a good Parliament without either Lords or Biſhops, becauſe before either Lords or Biſhops had a Being, Kings held Parliaments with their Commons only; by the very ſame reaſon the Commons apart muſt have the Sovereign Power without the King, and a Power of judging the King himſelf, becauſe before there ever was a King, they in the Name of the whole Body of the Nation held Councils and Parliaments, had the Power of Judicature, made Laws, and made the Kings themſelves, not to lord it over the People, but to adminiſter their publick Affairs. Whom if the King, inſtead of ſo doing ſhall endeavour to injure and oppreſs, our Law pronounces him from time forward not ſo much as to retain the Name of a King, to be no ſuch thing as a King; and if he be no King, what need we trouble our ſelves to find out Peers for him? For being then by all good Men adjudged to be a Tyrant, there are none but who are Peers good enough for him, and proper enough to pronounce Sentence of Death upon him judicially. Theſe things being ſo, I think I have ſufficiently proved what I undertook, by many Authorities, and written Laws; to wit, that ſince the Commons have Authority by very good Right to try the King, and ſince they have actually tried him, and put him to Death, for the miſchief he had done both in Church and State, and without all hope of amendment, they have done nothing therein but what was juſt and regular, for the Intereſt of the State, in diſcharging of their Truſt, becoming their Dignity, and according to the Laws of the Land. And I cannot upon this occaſion, but congratulate my ſelf with the Honour of having had ſuch Anceſtors, who founded this Government with no leſs Prudence, and in as much Liberty as the moſt worthy of the Ancient *Romans* or *Grecians* ever founded any of theirs: and they muſt needs, if they have any knowledg of our Affairs, rejoice over their Poſterity, who when they were almoſt reduced to Slavery, yet with ſo much Wiſdom and Courage vindicated and aſſerted the State, which they ſo wiſely founded upon ſo much Liberty, from the unruly Government of a King.

## CHAP. IX.

I Think by this time 'tis ſufficiently evident that Kings of *England* may be judged even by the Laws of *England*; and that they have their proper Judges, which was the thing to be proved. What do you do farther? (for whereas you repeat many things that you have ſaid before, I do not intend to repeat the anſwers that I have given them) *'Tis an eaſie thing to demonſtrate even from the nature of the things for which Parliaments are ſummon'd, that the King is above the Parliament. The Parliament*, you ſay, *is wont to be aſſembled upon weighty affairs, ſuch as wherein the ſafety of the Kingdom and of the People, is concerned.* If therefore the King call Parliaments together, not for his own concerns, but thoſe of the Nation, nor to ſettle thoſe neither, but by their own conſent, at their own diſcretion, what is he more than a Miniſter, and as it were an Agent for the People? ſince without their Suffrages that are choſen by the People, he cannot enact the leaſt thing whatſoever, either with relation to himſelf, or any body elſe? Which proves likewiſe that 'tis the King's duty to call Parliaments whenever the People deſire it; ſince the Peoples and not the King's concerns are to be treated of by that Aſſembly, and to be ordered as they ſee cauſe. For although the King's aſſent be required for faſhion ſake, which in leſſer matters, that concerned the welfare of private perſons only, he might refuſe, and uſe that form, *the King will adviſe*; yet in thoſe greater affairs that concern'd the publick ſafety, and liberty of the People in general, he had no negative voice: for it would have been againſt his Coronation-Oath to deny his aſſent in ſuch caſes, which was as binding to him as any Law could be, and againſt the chief Article of *Magna Charta*, Cap. 29. 'We will not deny to any man, nor will we delay to render to every man Right and Juſtice. Shall it not be in the King's power to deny Juſtice, and ſhall it be in his power to deny the enacting of juſt Laws? Could he not deny Juſtice to any particular perſon, and could he to all his People? Could he not do it in inferior Courts, and could he in the Supreme Court of all? Or, can any King be ſo arrogant as to pretend to know what's juſt and profitable better than the whole body of the People? Eſpecially, ſince 'he is 'created and choſen for this very end and purpoſe, to do Juſtice to all, as *Bracton* ſays, *Lib.* 3. *Cap.* 9. that is, to do Juſtice according to ſuch Laws as the People agree upon. Hence is what we find in our Records, 7 *H.* 4. *Rott. Parl. num.* 59. 'The King has no Prerogative that derogates from Juſtice and Equity. And formerly when Kings have refuſed to confirm Acts of Parliament, to wit, *Magna Charta*, and ſome others, our Anceſtors have brought them to it by force of Arms. And yet our Lawyers never were of opinion that thoſe Laws were leſs valid, or leſs binding, ſince the King was forced to aſſent to no more than what he ought in Juſtice to have aſſented to voluntarily, and without conſtraint. Whilſt you go about to prove that Kings of other Nations have been as much under the power of their Senates or Counſels, as our Kings were, you do not argue us into Slavery, but them into Liberty. In which you do but that over again, that you have from the very beginning of your Diſcourſe, and which ſome ſilly Leguleians now and then do, to argue unawares againſt their own Clients. But you ſay, *We confeſs that the King wherever he be, yet is ſuppoſed ſtill to be preſent in his Parliament by virtue of his power; inſomuch that whatever is tranſacted there, is ſuppoſed to be done by the King himſelf:* and then as if you had got ſome petty bribe or ſmall morſel, and tickled with the remembrance of your Purſe of Gold, *We take*, ſay you, *what they give us*; and take a Halter then, for I'm ſure you deſerve it. But we do not give it for granted, which is the thing you thought would follow from thence, *That therefore that Court acts only by virtue of a delegated Power from the King.* For when we ſay that the Regal Power, be it what it will, cannot be abſent from the Parliament, do we thereby acknowledg that Power to be Supreme? Does not the King's Authority ſeem rather to be transferred to the Parliament, and, as being the leſſer of the two, to be compriſed in the greater? Certainly if the Parliament may reſcind the King's Acts whether he will or no, and revoke Privileges granted by him, to whomſoever they be granted: If they may ſet bounds to his Prerogative, as they ſee cauſe, if they may regulate his yearly Revenue, and the Expences of his Court, his Retinue, and generally all the concerns of his Houſhold; If they may remove his moſt intimate Friends and Counſellors, and as it were pluck them out of his boſom, and bring them to condign puniſhment: Finally, if any Subject may by Law appeal from the King to the Parliament (all which things, that they may lawfully be done, and have been frequently practiſed, both our Hiſtories and Records, and the moſt eminent of our Lawyers aſſure us) I ſuppoſe no man in his right wits will deny the Authority of the Parliament to be ſuperior to that of the King. For even in an *Interregnum* the Authority of the Parliament is in being, and (than which nothing is more common in our Hiſtories) they have often made a free Choice of a Succeſſor, without any regard to a Hereditary deſcent. In ſhort, the Parliament is the Supreme Council of the Nation, conſtituted and appointed by a moſt free People, and armed with ample power and authority, for this end and purpoſe; *viz.* to conſult together upon the moſt weighty affairs of the Kingdom; the King was created to put their Laws in execution. Which thing after the Parliament themſelves had declared in a publick Edict (for ſuch is the Juſtice of their Proceedings, that of their own accord they have been willing to give an account of their actions to other Nations) is it not prodigious, that ſuch a pitiful fellow as you are, a man of no authority, of no credit, of no figure in the world, a meer *Burgundian* ſlave, ſhould have the impudence to accuſe the Parliament of *England*, aſſerting by a publick Inſtrument their own and their Countries Right, *of a deteſtable and horrid Impoſture?* Your Country may be aſhamed, you Raſcal, to have brought forth a little inconſiderable fellow of ſuch profligate impudence. But perhaps you have ſomewhat to tell us that may be for our good: Go on, we'll hear you. *What Laws*, ſay you *can a Parliament enact, in which the Biſhops are not preſent?* Did you then, ye Mad-man, expel the Order of Biſhops out of the Church to introduce them into the State? O wicked Wretch, who ought to be delivered over to Satan, whom the Church ought to forbid her Communion, as being a Hypocrite, and an Atheiſt, and no Civil Society of men to acknowledg as a member, being a publick Enemy, and a Plague-ſore to the common Liberty of Mankind; who, where the Goſpel fails you, endeavour to prove out of *Ariſtotle*, *Halicarnaſſeum*, and then from ſome Popiſh Authorities of the moſt corrupt ages, that the King of *England* is the head of the Church of *England*, to the end that you may, as far as in you lies, bring in the Biſhops again, his Intimates and Table-Companions, grown ſo of late, to rob and tyrannize in the Church of God, whom God himſelf has depoſed and degraded, whoſe very Order you had heretofore aſſerted in Print that it ought to be rooted out of the world, as deſtructive of and pernicious to the Chriſtian Religion. What Apoſtate did ever ſo ſhamefully and wickedly deſert as this man has done, I do not ſay his own which indeed never was any, but the Chriſtian Doctrine which he had formerly aſſerted? *The Biſhops being put down, who under the King, and by his permiſſion held Plea of Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes, upon whom*, ſay you, *will that Juriſdiction devolve?* O Villain, have ſome regard at leaſt to your own Conſcience; Remember before it be too late, if at leaſt this admonition of mine come not too late, remember that this mocking the Holy Spirit of God is an inexpiable crime, and will not be left unpuniſht. Stop at laſt, and ſet bounds to your fury, leſt the Wrath of God lay hold upon you ſuddenly, for endeavouring to deliver the flock of God, his Anointed ones that are not to be touched, to Enemies and cruel Tyrants, to be cruſht and trampled on again, from whom himſelf by a high and ſtretched out arm had ſo lately delivered them; and from whom you your ſelf maintained that they ought to be delivered, I know not whether for any good of theirs, or in order to the hardning of your own heart, and to further your own damnation. If the Biſhops have no right to lord it over the Church, certainly much leſs have Kings, whatever the Laws of Men may be to the contrary. For they that know any thing of the Goſpel know thus much, that the Government of the Church is altogether Divine and Spiritual, and no Civil Conſtitution. Whereas you ſay, That *in Secular Affairs, the Kings of* England *have always had the Sovereign Power:* Our Laws do abundantly declare that to be falſe. Our Courts of Juſtice are erected and ſuppreſſed, not by the King's Authority, but that of the Parliament; and yet in any of them, the meaneſt Subject might go to Law with the King: nor is it a rare thing for the Judges to give Judgment againſt him, which if the King ſhould endeavour to obſtruct by any Prohibition, Mandate, or Letters, the Judges were bound by Law, and by their Oaths not to obey him, but to reject ſuch Inhibitions as null and void in Law. The King could not impriſon any Man, or ſeize his Eſtate as forfeited; he could not puniſh any Man, not ſummoned to appear in Court, where not the King but the ordinary Judges gave Sentence; which they frequently did, as I have ſaid, againſt the King. Hence our *Bracton*, lib. 3. cap. 9. *The Regal Power*, ſays he, *is according to Law; he has no power to do any wrong, nor can the King do any thing but what the Law warrants.* Thoſe Lawyers that you have conſulted, Men that have lately fled their Countrey, may tell you another tale, and acquaint you with ſome Statutes, not very ancient neither, but made in King *Edward* 4th's, King *Henry* 6th's, and King *Edward* 6th's days; but they did not conſider, That what power ſoever thoſe Statutes gave the King, was conferred upon him by Authority of Parliament, ſo that he was beholding to them for it; and the ſame power that conferr'd it, might at pleaſure reſume it. How comes it to paſs that ſo acute a diſputant as you, ſhould ſuffer your ſelf to be impoſed upon to that degree, as to make uſe of that very Argument to prove the King's Power to be Abſolute and Supreme, than which nothing proves more clearly, That it is ſubordinate to that of the Parliament? Our Records of the greateſt Authority with us, declare, That our Kings owe all their Power, not to any Right of Inheritance, of Conqueſt, or Succeſſion, but to the People. So in the Parliament Rolls of King *Hen. 4. numb.* 108. we read, That the Kingly Office and Power was granted by the Commons to King *Henry* the *4th*, and before him, to his Predeceſſor King *Richard* the *2d.* juſt as Kings uſe to grant Commiſſioners Places, and Lieutenantſhips to their Deputies, by Edicts and Patents. Thus the Houſe of Commons ordered expreſly to be entred upon record, ‘That ‘they had *granted to King* Richard *to uſe the ſame good Liberty that the Kings of* Eng‘land *before him had uſed:* Which becauſe that King abuſed to the ſubverſion of the Laws, and *contrary to his Oath at his Coronation*, the ſame perſons that granted him that power, took it back again, and depoſed him. The ſame Men, as appears by the ſame Record, declared in open Parliament, ‘That having confidence ‘in the Prudence and Moderation of King *Henry* the *4th.* they will and enact, ‘That he enjoy the ſame Royal Authority that his Anceſtors enjoyed. Which if it had been any other than in the nature of a Truſt, as this was, either thoſe Houſes of Parliament were fooliſh and vain, to give what was none of their own, or thoſe Kings that were willing to receive as from them, what was already theirs, were too injurious both to themſelves and their Poſterity; neither of which is likely. *A third part of the Regal Power*, ſay you, *is converſant about the Militia*; *this the Kings of* England *have uſed to order and govern, without Fellow or Competitor.* This is as falſe as all the reſt that you have taken upon the credit of Fugitives: For in the firſt place, both our own Hiſtories, and thoſe of Foreigners, that have been any whit exact in the relation of our Affairs, declare, That the making of Peace and War, always did belong to the Parliament. And the Laws of St. *Edward*, which our Kings were bound to ſwear that they would maintain, make this appear beyond all exception, in the Chapter *De Heretochiis*, *viz*. ‘That there were certain Officers appointed in every Province and County throughout the Kingdom, that were called *Heretochs*, in Latin *Duces*, *Commanders of Armies*, that were to command the Forces of the ſeveral Counties, not for the Honour of the Crown only, ‘but for the good of the Realm. And they were choſen by the General Council, and in the ſeveral Counties at publick Aſſemblies of the Inhabitants, as Sheriffs ought to be choſen. Whence it is evident, That the Forces of the Kingdom, and the Commanders of thoſe Forces, were anciently, and ought to be ſtill, not at the King's Command, but at the People's; and that this moſt reaſonable and juſt Law obtained in this Kingdom of ours no leſs than heretofore it did in the Commonwealth of the *Romans*. Concerning which, it will not be amiſs to hear what *Cicero* ſays, *Philip*. 1. ‘All the Legions, all the Forces of the Commonwealth, whereſoever they are, are the People of *Rome's*; nor are thoſe Legions that deſerted the Conſul *Antonius*, ſaid to have been *Antony*'s, but the Commonwealth's Legions. This very Law of St. *Edward*, together with the reſt, did *William* the Conqueror, at the deſire and inſtance of the People, confirm by Oath, and added over and above, *cap*. 56. ‘That all Cities, Boroughs, Caſtles, ſhould be ſo watched every night, as the Sheriffs, the Aldermen, and other Magiſtrates, ſhould think meet for the ſafety of the Kingdom. And in the *6th* Law, ‘Caſtles, Boroughs, and Cities, were firſt built for the Defence of the People, and therefore ought to be maintained free and entire, by all ways and means. What then? Shall Towns and Places of Strength in times of Peace be guarded againſt Thieves and Robbers by common Councils of the ſeveral Places; and ſhall they not be defended in dangerous times of War, againſt both Domeſtick and Foreign Hoſtility, by the Common Council of the whole Nation? If this be not granted, there can be *no Freedom*, no *Integrity*, no *Reaſon* in the guarding of them; nor ſhall we obtain any of thoſe ends, for which the Law it ſelf tells us, that Towns and Fortreſſes were at firſt founded. Indeed our Anceſtors were willing to put any thing into the King's Power, rather than their Arms, and the Garriſons of their Towns; conceiving that to be neither better nor worſe, than betraying their Liberty to the Fury and Exorbitancy of their Princes. Of which there are ſo very many inſtances in our Hiſtories, and thoſe ſo generally known, that it would be ſuperfluous to mention any of them here. But *the King owes protection to his Subjects*; *and how can he protect them, unleſs he have Men and Arms at Command?* But, ſay I, he had all this for the good of the Kingdom, as has been ſaid, not for the deſtruction of his People, and the ruin of the Kingdom: Which in King *Henry* the 3d's time, one *Leonard*, a Learned Man in thoſe days, in an Aſſembly of Biſhops, told *Ruſtandus*, the Pope's Nuncio and the King's Procurator, in theſe words; ‘All Churches are the Pope's, as all Temporal things are ſaid to be the King's, for Defence and Protection, not his in Propriety and Ownerſhip, as we ſay; they are his to defend, not to deſtroy. The aforementioned Law of St. *Edward*, is to the ſame purpoſe; and what does this import more than a Truſt? Does this look like abſolute power? Such a kind of Power a Commander of an Army always has, that is, a delegated Power; and yet both at home and abroad he is never the leſs able to defend the People that chuſe him. Our Parliaments would anciently have contended with our Kings about their Liberty and the Laws of St. *Edward*, to very little purpoſe; and 'twould have been an unequal match betwixt the Kings and them, if they had been of opinion, that the Power of the Sword belonged to him alone: for how unjuſt Laws ſoever their Kings would have impoſed upon them, their *Charter*, tho never ſo *great*, would have been a weak Defence againſt Force. But ſay you, *What would the Parliament be the better for the Militia, ſince without the King's Aſſent they cannot raiſe the leaſt Farthing from the People towards the maintaining it?* Take you no thought for that: For in the firſt place you go upon a falſe ſuppoſition, *That Parliaments cannot impoſe Taxes without the King's Aſſent,* upon the People that ſend them, and whoſe concerns they undertake. In the next place, you that are ſo officious an enquirer into other mens matters, cannot but have heard, That the People of their own accord, by bringing in their Plate to be melted down, raiſed a great Sum of Money towards the carrying on of this War againſt the King. Then you mention the largeneſs of our King's Revenue: You mention over and over again *Five Hundred and Forty Thouſands:* That *thoſe of our Kings that have been eminent for their Bounty and Liberality, have uſed to give Large Boons out of their own Patrimony.* This you were glad to hear; 'twas by this Charm, that thoſe Traytors to their Countrey allured you, as *Balaam* the Prophet was enticed of old, to curſe the People of God, and exclaim againſt the Judicial Diſpenſations of his Providence. You Fool! what was that unjuſt and violent King the better for ſuch abundance of Wealth? What are you the better for it? Who have been no partaker of any part of it, that I can hear of (how great hopes ſoever you may have conceiv'd of being vaſtly enriched by it) but only of a hundred pieces of Gold, in a Purſe wrought with beads. Take that reward of thine Iniquity, *Balaam,* which thou haſt loved, and enjoy it. You go on to play the Fool; *The ſetting up of a Standard is a Prerogative that belongs to the King only.* How ſo? Why becauſe *Virgil* tells us in his *Æneis,* 'That *Turnus* ſet up a Standard on the top of the Tower at *Laurentum,* for an 'Enſign of War. And do not you know, *Grammarian,* that every General of an Army does the ſame thing? But, ſays *Ariſtotle, The King muſt always be provided of a Military Power, that he may be able to defend the Laws; and therefore the King muſt be ſtronger than the whole body of the People.* This man makes Conſequences juſt as *Oenus* does Ropes in Hell; which are of no uſe but to be eaten by Aſſes. For a number of Soldiers given to the King by the People, is one thing; and the ſole power of the Militia is quite another thing; the latter, *Ariſtotle* does not allow that Kings ought to be Maſters of, and that in this very place which you have quoted: *He ought,* ſays he, *to have ſo many armed men about him, as to make him ſtronger than any one man, than many men got together; but he muſt not be ſtronger than all the People,* Polit. lib. 3. cap. 4. Elſe inſtead of protecting them, it would be in his power to ſubject both People and Laws to himſelf. For this is the difference betwixt a King and a Tyrant: A King, by conſent of the Senate and People, has about him ſo many armed men, as to enable him to reſiſt Enemies, and ſuppreſs Seditions. A Tyrant, againſt the Will both of Senate and People, gets as great a number as he can, either of Enemies, or profligate Subjects to ſide with him againſt the Senate and the People. The Parliament therefore allowed the King, as they did whatever he had beſides, the ſetting up of a *Standard*; not to wage War againſt his own People, but to defend them againſt ſuch as the Parliament ſhould declare Enemies to the State: If he acted otherwiſe, himſelf was to be accounted an Enemy; ſince according to the very Law of St. *Edward,* or according to a more ſacred Law than that, the Law of Nature it ſelf, he loſt the name of a King, and was no longer ſuch. Whence *Cicero* in his *Philip.* 'He forfeits his Command in the Army, and Intereſt in the Government, that employs them againſt the State. Neither could the King compel thoſe that held of him by Knight-Service, to ſerve him in any other War, than ſuch as was made by conſent of Parliament; which is evident by many Statutes. So for Cuſtoms and other Subſidies for the maintenance of the Navy; the King could not exact them without an Act of Parliament; as was reſolved about twelve years ago, by the ableſt of our Lawyers, when the King's Authority was at the height. And long before them, *Forteſcue,* an Eminent Lawyer, and Chancellor to King *Henry* the 6th, 'The King of *England, ſays he,* 'can neither alter the Laws, nor exact Subſidies without the People's conſent; nor can any Teſtimonies be brought from Antiquity, to prove the *Kingdom of* England to have been *merely Regal.* 'The King, ſays *Bracton,* has a Juriſdiction over all his Subjects; that is, in his Courts of Juſtice, where Juſtice is adminiſtred in the King's name indeed, but according to our own Laws. 'All 'are ſubject to the King; that is, every particular man is; and ſo *Bracton* explains himſelf in the places that I have cited. What follows is but turning the ſame ſtone over and over again; (at which ſport I believe you are able to tire *Si-*

ſiphus himſelf) and is ſufficiently anſwered by what has been ſaid already. For the reſt, if our Parliaments have ſometimes complimented good Kings with ſubmiſſive expreſſions, tho neither ſavouring of Flattery nor Slavery, thoſe are not to be accounted due to Tyrants, nor ought to prejudice the Peoples Right: good manners and civility do not infringe Liberty. Whereas you cite out of Sir *Edw. Coke* and others, 'That the Kingdom of *England* is an *Abſolute Kingdom*; that is ſaid with reſpect to any Foreign Prince, or the Emperor; becauſe as *Camden* ſays, 'It is not under the Patronage of the Emperor: but both of them affirm that the Government of *England* reſides not in the King alone, but in a Body Politick. Whence *Forteſcue* in his Book *de Laud. Leg. Angl. cap.* 9. 'The 'King of *England*, *ſays he*, governs his People, not by a merely Regal, but a 'Political Power; for the *Engliſh* are govern'd by Laws of their own making. Foreign Authors were not ignorant of this: Hence *Philip de Comines*, a Grave Author, in the *Fifth Book of his Commentaries*, 'Of all the Kingdoms of the 'Earth, *ſays he*, that I have any knowledg of, there is none in my opinion, 'where the Government is more moderate, where the King has leſs power of 'hurting his People, than in *England*. Finally, *'Tis ridiculous*, ſay you, *for them to affirm that Kingdoms were ancienter than Kings; which is as much as if they ſhould ſay, that there was Light before the Sun was created.* But with your good leave, Sir, we do not ſay that Kingdoms, but that the People were before Kings. In the mean time, who can be more ridiculous than you, who deny there was Light before the Sun had a being? You pretend to a curioſity in other mens matters, and have forgot the very firſt things that were taught you. *You wonder how they that have ſeen the King upon his Throne, at a Seſſion of Parliament* (ſub aureo & ſerico Cœlo, *under a golden and ſilken Heaven*) *under a Canopy of State, ſhould ſo much as make a queſtion whether the Majeſty reſided in him, or in the Parliament?* They are certainly hard of belief, whom ſo lucid an Argument coming down from Heaven, cannot convince. Which Golden Heaven, you, like a Stoick, have ſo devoutly and ſeriouſly gaz'd upon, that you ſeem to have forgot what kind of Heaven *Moſes* and *Ariſtotle* deſcribe to us; for you deny that there was any Light in *Moſes*'s Heaven, before the Sun; and in *Ariſtotle*'s you make three temperate Zones. How many Zones you obſerved in that Golden and Silken Heaven of the King's, I know not; but I know you got one Zone (a Purſe) well tempered with a Hundred Golden Stars by your Aſtronomy.

## CHAP. X.

SInce this whole Controverſy, whether concerning the Right of Kings in general, or that of the King of *England* in particular, is rendred difficult and intricate, rather by the obſtinacy of Parties, than by the nature of the thing it ſelf; I hope they that prefer Truth before the Intereſt of a Faction, will be ſatisfied with what I have alledged out of the Law of God, the Laws of Nations, and the Municipal Laws of my own Countrey, That a King of *England* may be brought to Trial, and put to Death. As for thoſe whoſe minds are either blinded with Superſtition, or ſo dazled with the Splendor and Grandure of a Court, that Magnanimity and true Liberty do not appear ſo glorious to them, as they are in themſelves, it will be in vain to contend with them, either by Reaſon and Arguments, or Examples. But you *Salmaſius*, ſeem very abſurd, as in every other part of your Book, ſo particularly in this, who tho you rail perpetually at the *Independents*, and revile them with all the terms of Reproach imaginable, yet aſſert to the higheſt degree that can be, the *Independency* of a King, whom you defend; and will not allow him to *owe his Sovereignty to the People, but to his Deſcent.* And whereas in the beginning of your Book you complain'd that he was *put to plead for his Life*, here you complain, *That he periſh'd without being heard to ſpeak for himſelf.* But if you have a mind to look into the Hiſtory of his Trial, which is very faithfully publiſh'd in *French*, it may be you'll be of another opinion. Whereas he had liberty given him for ſome days together, to ſay what he could for himſelf, he made uſe of it not to clear himſelf of the Crimes laid to his Charge, but to diſprove the Authority of his Judges, and the Judicature that he was called before. And whenever a Criminal is either mute, or ſays nothing to the purpoſe, there is no Injuſtice in condemning him without hearing him, if his

Crimes are notorious, and publickly known. If you ſay that *Charles* died as he lived, I agree with you: If you ſay that he died piouſly, holily, and at eaſe, you may remember that his Grandmother *Mary*, Queen of *Scots*, an infamous Woman, died on a Scaffold with as much outward appearance of Piety, Sanctity, and Conſtancy, as he did. And leſt you ſhould aſcribe too much to that preſence of mind which ſome common Malefactors have ſo great a meaſure of at their death; many times deſpair, and a hardned heart puts on as it were a Vizor of Courage; and Stupidity, a ſhew of Quiet, and Tranquillity of Mind: Sometimes the worſt of Men deſire to appear good, undaunted, innocent, and now and then religious, not only in their life, but at their death; and in ſuffering death for their villanies, uſe to act the laſt part of their hypocriſy and cheats, with all the ſhow imaginable; and like bad Poets or Stage-players, are very ambitious of being clapp'd at the end of the Play. *Now*, you ſay, *you are come to enquire who they chiefly were, that gave Sentence againſt the King.* Whereas it ought firſt to be enquired into, how you, a Foreigner, and a *French* Vagabond, came to have any thing to do to raiſe a queſtion about our Affairs, to which you are ſo much a Stranger? And what Reward induced you to it? But we know enough of that, and who ſatisfied your curioſity in theſe matters of ours; even thoſe Fugitives, and Traitors to their Countrey, that could eaſily hire ſuch a vain Fellow as you, to ſpeak ill of us. Then an account in writing, of the ſtate of our Affairs, was put into your hands by ſome hair-brain'd, half-Proteſtant, half-Papiſt Chaplain or other, or by ſome ſneaking Courtier, and you were put to tranſlate it into *Latin*; out of that you took theſe Narratives, which, if you pleaſe, we'll examine a little: *Not the hundred thouſandth part of the People conſented to this Sentence of Condemnation.* What were the reſt of the People then that ſuffer'd ſo great a thing to be tranſacted againſt their will? Were they Stocks and Stones, were they mere Trunks of Men only, or ſuch Images of *Britains*, as *Virgil* deſcribes to have been wrought in Tapſtry?

*Purpurea intexti tollunt aulea Britanni.*

And *Britains* interwove held up the Purple Hangings.

For you deſcribe no true *Britains* but painted ones, or rather Needle-wrought Men inſtead of them. Since therefore it is a thing ſo incredible that a warlike Nation ſhould be ſubdued by ſo few, and thoſe of the dregs of the People (which is the firſt thing that occurs in your Narrative) that appears in the very nature of the thing it ſelf to be moſt falſe. *The Biſhops were turn'd out of the Houſe of Lords by the Parliament it ſelf.* The more deplorable is your Madneſs (for are you not yet ſenſible that you rave) to complain of their being turn'd out of the Parliament, whom you your ſelf in a large Book endeavour to prove ought to be turn'd out of the Church. *One of the States of Parliament, to wit, the Houſe of Lords, conſiſting of Dukes, Earls, and Viſcounts, was removed.* And deſervedly were they removed; for they were not deputed to ſit there by any Town or County, but repreſented themſelves only; they had no Right over the People, but (as if they had been ordained for that very purpoſe) uſed frequently to oppoſe their Rights and Liberties. They were created by the King, they were his Companions, his Servants, and as it were, Shadows of him. He being removed, it was neceſſary they ſhould be reduced to the ſame Level with the Body of the People, from amongſt whom they took their riſe. *One part of the Parliament, and that the worſt of all, ought not to have aſſum'd that Power of judging and condemning the King.* But I have told you already, that the Houſe of Commons was not only the chief part of our Parliament, while we had Kings, but was a perfect and entire Parliament of it ſelf, without the Temporal Lords, much more without the Biſhops. But, *The whole Houſe of Commons themſelves were not admitted to have to do with the Trial of the King.* To wit, that part of them was not admitted, that openly revolted to him in their Minds and Councels; whom, tho they ſtil'd him their King, yet they had ſo often acted againſt, as an Enemy. The Parliament of *England*, and the Deputies ſent from the Parliament of *Scotland*, on the 13th of *January*, 1645, wrote to the King, in anſwer to a Letter of his, by which he deſired a deceitful Truce, and that he might treat with them at *London*; that they could not admit him into that City, till he had made Satisfaction to the State for the Civil War that he had raiſed in the three Kingdoms, and for the Deaths of ſo many of his Subjects ſlain by his Order; and till he had agreed to a true and firm Peace upon ſuch Terms as the Parliaments of both

Kingdoms had offered him ſo often already, and ſhould offer him again. He on the other hand either refuſed to hear, or by ambiguous Anſwers eluded their juſt and equal Propoſals, tho moſt humbly preſented to him ſeven times over. The Parliament at laſt, after ſo many years patience, leſt the King ſhould overturn the State by his Wiles and Delays, when in Priſon, which he could not ſubdue in the Field, and leſt the vanquiſh'd Enemy pleaſed with our Diviſions, ſhould recover himſelf, and triumph unexpectedly over his Conquerors, vote that for the future they would have no regard to him, that they would ſend him no more Propoſals, nor receive any from him: After which Vote, there were found even ſome Members of Parliament, who out of the hatred they bore that invincible Army, whoſe Glory they envied, and which they would have had disbanded, and ſent home with diſgrace, after they had deſerved ſo well of their Nation, and out of a ſervile compliance with ſome Seditious Miniſters, finding their opportunity, when many, whom they knew to be otherwiſe minded than themſelves, having been ſent by the Houſe it ſelf to ſuppreſs the Presbyterians, who began already to be turbulent, were abſent in the ſeveral Counties, with a ſtrange Levity, not to ſay Perfidiouſneſs, vote that that inveterate Enemy of the State, who had nothing of a King but the Name, without giving any Satisfaction or Security, ſhould be brought back to *London*, and reſtored to his Dignity and Government, as if he had deſerved well of the Nation by what he had done. So that they preferr'd the King before their Religion, their Liberty, and that very celebrated Covenant of theirs. What did they do in the mean time, who were ſound themſelves, and ſaw ſuch pernicious Councils on foot? Ought they therefore to have been wanting to the Nation, and not provide for its ſafety, becauſe the Infection had ſpread it ſelf even in their own Houſe? But, who ſecluded thoſe ill affected Members? *The Engliſh Army*, you ſay: So that it was not an Army of Foreigners, but of moſt valiant, and faithful, honeſt Natives, whoſe Officers for the moſt part were Members of Parliament; and whom thoſe good ſecluded Members would have ſecluded their Country, and baniſhed into *Ireland*; while in the mean time the *Scots*, whoſe Alliance began to be doubtful, had very conſiderable Forces in four of our Northern Counties, and kept Gariſons in the beſt Towns of thoſe Parts, and had the King himſelf in Cuſtody; whilſt they likewiſe encouraged the tumultuating of thoſe of their own Faction, who did more than threaten the Parliament, both in City and Country, and through whoſe means not only a Civil, but a War with *Scotland* too ſhortly after brake out. If it has been always accounted praiſe-worthy in private Men to aſſiſt the State, and promote the publick Good, whether by Advice or Action; our Army ſure was in no fault, who being ordered by the Parliament to come to Town, obey'd and came, and when they were come, quell'd with eaſe the Faction and Uproar of the King's Party, who ſometimes threatned the Houſe it ſelf. For things were brought to that paſs, that of neceſſity either we muſt be run down by them, or they by us. They had on their ſide moſt of the Shopkeepers and Handicrafts-men of *London*, and generally thoſe of the Miniſters, that were moſt factious. On our ſide was the Army, whoſe Fidelity, Moderation, and Courage were ſufficiently known. It being in our Power by their means to retain our Liberty, our State, our common Safety, do you think we had not been Fools to have loſt all by our negligence and folly? They who had had places of Command in the Kings Army, after their Party were ſubdued, had laid down their Arms indeed againſt their Wills, but continued Enemies to us in their Hearts; and they flock'd to Town, and were here watching all opportunities of renewing the War. With theſe Men, tho they were the greateſt Enemies they had in the World, and thirſted after their Blood, did the *Presbyterians*, becauſe they were not permitted to exerciſe a Civil, as well as an Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction over all others, hold ſecret Correſpondence, and took meaſures very unworthy of what they had formerly both ſaid and done; and they came to that Spleen at laſt, that they would rather enthral themſelves to the King again, than admit their own Brethren to ſhare in their Liberty, which they likewiſe had purchaſed at the price of their own Blood; they choſe rather to be lorded over once more by a Tyrant, polluted with the Blood of ſo many of his own Subjects, and who was enraged, and breath'd out nothing but revenge againſt thoſe of them that were left, than endure their Brethren and Friends to be upon the ſquare with them. The *Independents*, as they are called, were the only men, that from firſt to laſt kept to their point, and knew what uſe to make of their Victory.

They refuſ'd (and wiſely, in my opinion) to make him King again, being then an Enemy; who when he was their King, had made himſelf their Enemy: Nor were they ever the leſs averſe to a Peace, but they very prudently dreaded a new War, or a perpetual Slavery under the name of a Peace. To load our Army with the more reproaches, you begin a ſilly confuſed Narrative of our Affairs; in which tho I find many things falſe, many things frivolous, many things laid to our charge, for which we rather merit; yet I think it will be to no purpoſe for me to write a true relation, in anſwer to your falſe one. For you and I are arguing, not writing Hiſtories, and both ſides will believe our reaſons, but not our narrative; and indeed the nature of the things themſelves is ſuch, that they cannot be related as they ought to be, but in a ſet Hiſtory; ſo that I think it better, as *Saluſt* ſaid of *Carthage*, rather to ſay nothing at all, than to ſay but a little of things of this weight and importance. Nay, and I ſcorn ſo much as to mention the praiſes of great Men, and of Almighty God himſelf (who in ſo wonderful a courſe of Affairs ought to be frequently acknowledged) amongſt your Slanders and Reproaches. I'll therefore only pick out ſuch things as ſeem to have any colour of argument. You ſay, *the* Engliſh *and* Scotch *promiſed by a Solemn Covenant, to preſerve the Majeſty of the King*. But you omit upon what terms they promiſed it; to wit, if it might conſiſt with the ſafety of their Religion and their Liberty. To both which, Religion and Liberty, that King was ſo averſe to his laſt breath, and watcht all opportunities of gaining advantages upon them, that it was evident that his Life was dangerous to their Religion, and the certain ruin of their Liberty. But then you fall upon the King's Judges again: *If we conſider the thing aright, the concluſion of this abominable action muſt be imputed to the* Independents, *yet ſo as the* Presbyterians *may juſtly challenge the glory of its beginning and progreſs.* Hark, ye *Presbyterians*, what good has it done you? How is your Innocence and Loyalty the more cleared by your ſeeming ſo much to abhor the putting the King to death? You your ſelves in the opinion of this everlaſting talkative Advocate of the King, your *accuſer, went more than half-way towards it; you were ſeen acting the fourth Act and more, in this Tragedy; you may juſtly be charged with the King's death, ſince you ſhew'd the way to it; 'twas you and only you that laid his head upon the Block.* Wo be to you in the firſt place, if ever *Charles* his Poſterity recover the Crown of *England*; aſſure your ſelves, you are like to be put in the Black Liſt. But pay your Vows to God, and love your Brethren who have delivered you, who have prevented that calamity from falling upon you, who have ſaved you from inevitable ruin, tho againſt your own wills. You are accuſed likewiſe for that *ſome years ago you endeavoured by ſundry Petitions to leſſen the Kings authority, that you publiſht ſome ſcandalous Expreſſions of the King himſelf in the Papers you preſented him with in the name of the Parliament*; to wit, *in that Declaration of the Lords and Commons of the 26th of May* 1642, *you declar'd openly in ſome mad Poſitions that breath'd nothing but Rebellion, what your thoughts were of the King's authority:* Hotham *by order of Parliament ſhut the gates of* Hull *againſt the King; you had a mind to make a trial by this firſt act of Rebellion how much the King would bear.* What could this Man ſay more if it were his deſign to reconcile the minds of all *Engliſh* Men to one another, and alienate them wholly from the King? for he gives them here to underſtand, that if ever the King be brought back, they muſt not only expect to be puniſht for his Father's death, but for the Petitions they made long ago, and ſome Acts that paſt in full Parliament, concerning the putting down the Common-Prayer and Biſhops, and that of the Triennial Parliament, and ſeveral other things that were enacted with the greateſt conſent and applauſe of all the People that could be; all which will be look'd upon as the Seditions and mad Poſitions of the *Presbyterians*. But this vain fellow changes his mind all of a ſudden; and what but of late, *when he conſidered it aright*, he thought was to be imputed wholly to the *Presbyterians*, now that *he conſiders the ſame thing from firſt to laſt*, he thinks the *Independents* were the ſole Actors of it. But even now he told us, *The* Presbyterians *took up Arms againſt the King, that by them he was beaten, taken captive, and put in priſon*; Now he ſays, *this whole Doctrine of Rebellion is the* Independents *Principle.* O! the faithfulneſs of this Man's Narrative. How conſiſtent he is with himſelf! What need is there of a Counter Narrative to this of his, that cuts its own Throat? But if any man ſhould queſtion whether you are an honeſt Man or a Knave, let him read theſe following lines of yours: *It is time to explain whence and at what time this Sect of Enemies to Kingſhip firſt began. Why truly theſe rare Puritans began* *in Queen* Elizabeths *time to crawl out of Hell, and diſturb not only the Church, but the State likewiſe; for they are no leſs plagues to the latter than to the former.* Now your very ſpeech bewrays you to be a right *Balaam*; for where you deſigned to ſpit out the moſt bitter Poyſon you could, there unwittingly and againſt your will you have pronounc'd a Bleſſing. For it's notoriouſly known all over *England* that if any endeavoured to ſollow the example of thoſe Churches, whether in *France* or *Germany*, which they accounted beſt reformed, and to exerciſe the publick Worſhip of God in a more pure manner, which our Biſhops had almoſt univerſally corrupted with their Ceremonies and Superſtitions; or if any ſeemed either in point of Religion or Morality to be better than others, ſuch perſons were by the Favourers of Epiſcopacy termed *Puritans*. Theſe are they whoſe Principles you ſay are ſo oppoſite to Kingſhip. Nor are they the only perſons, *moſt of the Reformed Religion, that have not ſucked in the reſt of their principles, yet ſeem to have approved of thoſe that ſtrike at Kingly Government.* So that while you inveigh bitterly againſt the *Independents*, and endeavour to ſeparate them from Chriſt's flock, with the ſame breath you praiſe them; and thoſe Principles which almoſt every where you affirm to be peculiar to the *Independents*, here you confeſs have been approved of by moſt of the Reformed Religion. Nay you are arrived to that degree of impudence, impiety and apoſtacy, that though formerly you maintained Biſhops ought to be extirpated out of the Church, root and branch, as ſo many peſts and limbs of Antichriſt, here you ſay the King ought to protect them, for the ſaving of his Coronation-Oath. You cannot ſhow your ſelf a more infamous Villain than you have done already, but by abjuring the Proteſtant Reformed Religion, to which you are a ſcandal. Whereas you tax us with giving a *Toleration of all Sects and Hereſies*, you ought not to find fault with us for that; ſince the Church bears with ſuch a profligate Wretch as you your ſelf, ſuch a vain Fellow, ſuch a Lyar, ſuch a Mercenary Slanderer, ſuch an Apoſtate, one who has the impudence to affirm, That the beſt and moſt pious of Chriſtians, and even moſt of thoſe who profeſs the Reformed Religion, are crept out of Hell, becauſe they differ in opinion from you. I had beſt paſs by the Calumnies that fill up the reſt of this Chapter, and thoſe prodigious Tenets that you aſcribe to the *Independents*, to render them odious; for neither do they at all concern the Cauſe you have in hand, and they are ſuch for the moſt part as deſerve to be laugh'd at, and deſpiſed, rather than receive a ſerious Anſwer.

## CHAP. XI.

YOU ſeem to begin this Eleventh Chapter, *Salmaſius*, though with no modeſty, yet with ſome ſenſe of your weakneſs and trifling in this Diſcourſe. For whereas you propoſed to your ſelf to enquire in this place, by what authority ſentence was given againſt the King? you add immediately, which no body expected from you, that *'tis in vain to make any ſuch enquiry*; to wit, *becauſe the quality of the perſons that did it, leaves hardly any room for ſuch a queſtion.* And therefore as you have been found guilty of a great deal of Impudence and Saucineſs in the undertaking of this Cauſe, ſo ſince you ſeem here conſcious of your own impertinence, I ſhall give you the ſhorter anſwer. To your queſtion then; by what authority the Houſe of Commons either condemn'd the King themſelves, or delegated that Power to others; I anſwer, they did it by virtue of the Supreme Authority on Earth. How they come to have the Supreme Power, you may learn by what I have ſaid already, when I refuted your Impertinencies upon that Subject. If you believed your ſelf that you could ever ſay enough upon any Subject, you would not be ſo tedious in repeating the ſame things ſo many times over. And the Houſecf Commons might delegate their Judicial Power by the ſame reaſon, by which you ſay the King may delegate his, who received all he had from the People. Hence in that Solemn League and Covenant that you object to us, the Parliaments of *England* and *Scotland* ſolemnly proteſt and engage to each other, to puniſh the Traitors in ſuch manner as *the Supreme, Judicial Authority in both Nations, or ſuch as ſhould have a delegate power from them*, ſhould think fit. Now you hear the Parliaments of both Nations proteſt with one voice, that they may delegate their Judicial Power, which they call the Supreme ; ſo that you move a vain and frivolous Controverſy about delegating this power. *But, ſay you, there were added to thoſe Judges that were made choice of out of the Houſe of Commons, ſome Officers of the Army, and it never was known that Soldiers had any right to try a Subject for his life.* I'll ſilence you in a very few words: You may remember that we are not now diſcourſing of a Subject, but of an Enemy ; whom if a General of an Army, after he has taken him Priſoner, reſolves to diſpatch, would he be thought to proceed otherwiſe than according to Cuſtom and Martial Law, if he himſelf with ſome of his Officers ſhould ſit upon him, and try and condemn him ? An Enemy to a State made a Priſoner of War, cannot be lookt upon to be ſo much as a Member, much leſs a King in that State. This is declar'd by that Sacred Law of St. *Edward*, which denies that a bad King is a King at all, or ought to be call'd ſo. Whereas you ſay, it was *not the whole but a part of the Houſe of Commons that try'd and condemned the King*, I give you this anſwer: The number of them, who gave their Votes for putting the King to death, was far greater than is neceſſary according to the cuſtom of our Parliaments to tranſact the greateſt Affairs of the Kingdom, in the abſence of the reſt ; who ſince they were abſent through their own fault (for to revolt to the common Enemy in their hearts is the worſt ſort of abſence) their abſence ought not to hinder the reſt who continued faithful to the cauſe, from preſerving the State ; which when it was in a tottering condition, and almoſt quite reduced to Slavery and utter Ruin, the whole body of the People had at firſt committed to their fidelity, prudence and courage. And they acted their parts like men ; they ſet themſelves in oppoſition to the unruly wilfulneſs, the rage, the ſecret deſigns of an inveterate and exaſperated King ; they prefer'd the common Liberty and Safety before their own ; they out-did all former Parliaments, they out-did all their Anceſtors in Conduct, Magnanimity and Steddineſs to their cauſe. Yet theſe very men did a great part of the People ungratefully deſert in the midſt of their undertaking, tho they had promiſed them all fidelity, all the help and aſſiſtance they could afford them. Theſe were for Slavery and Peace with ſloth and luxury upon any terms: Others demanded their Liberty, nor would accept of a Peace that was not ſure and honourable. What ſhould the Parliament do in this caſe ? ought they to have defended this part of the People, that was ſound and continued faithful to them and their Country, or to have ſided with thoſe that deſerted both ? I know what you will ſay they ought to have done. You are not *Eurylochus*, but *Elpenor*, a miſerable enchanted Beaſt, a filthy Swine, accuſtomed to a ſordid Slavery even under a Woman ; ſo that you have not the leaſt reliſh of true Magnanimity, nor conſequently of Liberty which is the effect of it: You would have all other men Slaves, becauſe you find in your ſelf no generous, ingenuous inclinations ; you ſay nothing, you breath nothing but what's mean and ſervile. You raiſe another ſcruple, to wit, *That he was the King of* Scotland *too, whom we condemn'd* ; as if he might therefore do what he would in *England*. But that you may conclude this Chapter, which of all others is the moſt weak and inſipid, at leaſt with ſome witty querk, *There are two little words*, ſay you, *that are made up of the ſame number of Letters, and differ only in the placing of them, but whoſe ſignifications are wide aſunder, to wit*, Vis *and* Jus, (might and right.) 'Tis no great wonder that ſuch a three letter'd man as you, (*Fur* a Thief) ſhould make ſuch a Witticiſm upon three Letters: 'Tis the greater wonder (which yet you aſſert throughout your Book) that two things ſo directly oppoſite to one another as thoſe two are, ſhould yet meet and become one and the ſame thing in Kings. For what violence was ever acted by Kings, which you do not affirm to be their Right ? Theſe are all the paſſages that I could pick out of nine long Pages, that I thought deſerved an anſwer. The reſt conſiſts either of repetitions of things that have been anſwered more than once, or ſuch as have no relation to the matter in hand. So that my being more brief in this Chapter than in the reſt, is not to be imputed to want of diligence in me, which, how irkſom ſoever you are to me, I have not ſlackned, but to your tedious impertinence, ſo void of matter and ſenſe.

## CHAP. XII.

I Wiſh, *Salmaſius*, that you had left out this part of your Diſcourſe concerning the King's crimes, which it had been more adviſable for your ſelf and your party to have done ; for I'm afraid leſt in giving you an anſwer to it, I ſhould appear too ſharp and ſevere upon him, now he his dead, and hath received his puniſhment. But ſince you choſe rather to diſcourſe confidently and at large upon that Subject, I'll make you ſenſible, that you could not have done a more inconſiderate thing, than to reſerve the worſt part of your cauſe to the laſt, to wit that of ripping up and enquiring into the Kings Crimes; which when I ſhall have proved them to have been true and moſt exorbitant, they will render his memory unpleaſant and odious to all good men, and imprint now in the cloſe of the Controverſy, a juſt hatred of you, who undertake his defence, on the Readers minds. Say you, *His accuſation may be divided into two parts, one is converſant about his Morals, the other taxeth him with ſuch faults as he might commit in his publick capacity.* I'll be content to paſs by in ſilence that part of his life that he ſpent in Banquetings, at Plays, and in the converſation of Women; for what can there be in Luxury and Exceſs, worth relating? And what would thoſe things have been to us, if he had been a private perſon? But ſince he would be a King, as he could not live a private Life, ſo neither could his Vices be like thoſe of a private Perſon. For in the firſt place, he did a great deal of miſchief by his Example: In the ſecond place, all that time that he ſpent upon his luſt, and in his ſports, which was a great part of his time, he ſtole from the State, the Government of which he had undertaken. Thirdly and laſtly, he ſquandered away vaſt Sums of Money, which were not his own, but the publick Revenue of the Nation, in his Domeſtick Luxury and Extravagance. So that in his private life at home he firſt began to be an ill King. But let us rather paſs over to thoſe Crimes *that he is charged with on the account of miſgovernment.* Here you lament his being condemned as a Tyrant, a Traitor, and a Murderer. That he had no wrong done him, ſhall now be made appear. But firſt let us define a Tyrant, not according to vulgar conceits, but the judgment of *Ariſtotle*, and of all Learned Men. He is a *Tyrant* who regards his own welfare and profit only, and not that of the People. So *Ariſtotle* defines one in the Tenth Book of his *Ethicks*, and elſewhere, and ſo do very many others. Whether *Charles* regarded his own or the Peoples good, theſe few things of many that I ſhall but touch upon, will evince. When his Rents and other publick Revenues of the Crown would not defray the Expences of the Court, he laid moſt heavy Taxes upon the People; and when they were ſquandred away, he invented new ones; not for the benefit, honour, or defence of the State, but that he might hoard up, or laviſh out in one Houſe, the Riches and Wealth, not of one but of three Nations. When at this rate he broke looſe, and acted without any colour of Law to warrant his proceedings, knowing that a Parliament was the only thing that could give him check, he endeavoured either wholly to lay aſide the very calling of Parliaments, or calling them juſt as often, and no oftner, than to ſerve his own turn, to make them entirely at his devotion. Which Bridle when he had caſt off himſelf, he put another Bridle upon the People; he put Gariſons of *German* Horſe and *Iriſh* Foot in many Towns and Cities, and that in time of Peace. Do you think he does not begin to look like a Tyrant? In which very thing, as in many other Particulars, which you have formerly given me occaſion to inſtance (tho you ſcorn to have *Charles* compared with ſo cruel a Tyrant as *Nero*) he reſembled him extremely much. For *Nero* likewiſe often threatned to take away the Senate. Beſides he bore extreme hard upon the Conſciences of good men, and compelled them to the uſe of Ceremonies and Superſtitious Worſhip, borrowed from Popery, and by him re-introduced into the Church. They that would not conform, were impriſoned or baniſht. He made War upon the *Scots* twice for no other cauſe than that. By all theſe actions he has ſurely deſerved the name of a Tyrant once over at leaſt. Now I'll tell you why the word Traitor was put into his Indictment: When he aſſured his Parliament by Promiſes, by Proclamations, by Imprecations, that he had no deſign againſt the State, at that very time did he liſt *Papiſts* in *Ireland*, he ſent a private Embaſſie to the King of *Denmark* to beg aſſiſtance from him of Arms, Horſes and Men, expreſly againſt the Parliament; and was endeavouring to raiſe an Army firſt in *England*, and then in *Scotland*. To the *Engliſh* he promiſed the Plunder of the City of *London*, to the *Scots*, that the four *Northern* Counties ſhould be added to *Scotland*, if they would but help him to get rid of the Parliament, by what means ſoever. Theſe Projects not ſucceeding, he ſent over one *Dillon* a Traitor, into *Ireland* with private Inſtructions to the Natives, to fall ſuddenly upon all the *Engliſh* that inhabited there. Theſe are the moſt remarkable inſtances of his Treaſons, not taken up upon hear-ſay and idle reports, but diſcovered by Letters under his own Hand and Seal. And finally I ſuppoſe no man will deny that he was a Murderer, by whoſe order the *Iriſh* took Arms, and put to death with moſt exquiſite Torments, above a hundred thouſand *Engliſh*, who lived peaceably by them, and without any apprehenſion of danger; and who raiſed ſo great a Civil War in the other two Kingdoms. Add to all this, that at the Treaty in the Iſle of *Wight*, the King openly took upon himſelf the guilt of the War, and clear'd the Parliament in the Confeſſion he made there, which is publickly known. Thus you have in ſhort why King *Charles* was adjudged a *Tyrant*, a *Traytor*, and a *Murderer*. *But*, ſay you, *why was he not declared ſo before, neither in that Solemn League and Covenant, nor afterwards when he was delivered to them, either by the* Presbyterians *or the* Independents, *but on the other hand was receiv'd as a King ought to be, with all reverence?* This very thing is ſufficient to perſuade any rational man, that the Parliament entred not into any Councils of quite depoſing the King, but as their laſt refuge, after they had ſuffered and undergone all that poſſibly they could, and had attempted all other ways and means. You alone endeavour maliciouſly to lay that to their charge, which to all good men cannot but evidence their great Patience, Moderation, and perhaps a too long forbearing with the King's Pride and Arrogance. *But in the month of* Auguſt, *before the King ſuffered, the Houſe of Commons, which then bore the only ſway, and was governed by the Independents, wrote Letters to the* Scots, *in which they acquainted them that they never intended to alter the Form of Government that had obtain'd ſo long in* England *under King, Lords, and Commons.* You may ſee from hence, how little reaſon there is to aſcribe the depoſing of the King, to the principles of the Independents. They, that never uſed to diſſemble and conceal their Tenets, even then, when they had the ſole management of affairs, profeſs, *That they never intended to alter the Government.* But if afterwards a thing came into their minds, which at firſt they intended not, why might they not take ſuch a courſe, tho before not intended, as appear'd moſt adviſable, and moſt for the Nation's Intereſt? Eſpecially when they found that the King could not poſſibly be intreated or induced to aſſent to thoſe juſt demands that they had made from time to time, and which were always the ſame from firſt to laſt. He perſiſted in thoſe perverſe ſentiments with reſpect to Religion and his own Right, which he had all along eſpouſed, and which were ſo deſtructive to us; not in the leaſt altered from the man that he was, when in Peace and War, he did us all ſo much miſchief. If he aſſented to any thing, he gave no obſcure hints that he did it againſt his will, and that whenever he ſhould come into power again, he would look upon ſuch his aſſent as null and void. The ſame thing his Son declared by writing under his hand, when in thoſe days he ran away with part of the Fleet, and ſo did the King himſelf by Letters to ſome of his own party in *London*. In the mean time, againſt the avowed ſenſe of the Parliament, he ſtruck up a private Peace with the *Iriſh*, the moſt barbarous Enemies imaginable to *England*, upon baſe diſhonourable terms; but whenever he invited the *Engliſh* to Treaties of Peace, at thoſe very times with all the power he had, and intereſt he could make, he was preparing for War. In this caſe, what ſhould they do, who were intruſted with the care of the Government? Ought they to have betrayed the ſafety of us all to our moſt bitter Adverſary? Or would you have had them left us to undergo the Calamities of another ſeven years War, not to ſay worſe? God put a better mind into them, of preferring, purſuant to that very ſolemn League and Covenant, their Religion, and Liberties, before thoſe thoughts they once had, of not rejecting the King; for they had not gone ſo far as to vote it; all which they ſaw at laſt (tho indeed later than they might have done) could not poſſibly ſubſiſt, as long as the King continued King. The Parliament *ought* and muſt of neceſſity be entirely free, and at liberty to provide for the good of the Nation, as occaſion requires; nor ought they ſo to be wedded to their firſt Sentiments, as to ſcruple the altering their minds, for their own, or the Nation's good, if God put an opportunity into their hands of procuring it. But *the Scots were of another opinion; for they, in a Letter to* Charles, *the King's Son, call his Father a moſt Sacred Prince, and the putting him to death, a moſt execrable Villany.* Do not you talk of the *Scots*, whom you know not; we know them well enough, and know the time, when they called that ſame King, a moſt execrable perſon, a Murderer, and Traitor; and the putting a Tyrant to death a *moſt ſacred* action. Then you pick holes in the King's Charge, as not being properly penn'd; and you ask *why we needed to call him a Traitor and a Murderer, after we had ſtiled him a Tyrant; ſince the word Tyrant, includes all the Crimes that may be:* And then you explain to us grammatically and critically, what a Tyrant is. Away with thoſe

Trifles, you Pedagogue, which that one definition of *Ariſtotle's*, that has lately been cited, will utterly confound; and teach ſuch a Doctor as you, That the word Tyrant (for all your concern is barely to have ſome underſtanding of words) may be applied to one, who is neither a Traitor nor a Murderer. But *the Laws of* England *do not make it Treaſon in the King to ſtir up Sedition againſt himſelf or the People.* Nor do they ſay, That the Parliament can be guilty of Treaſon by depoſing a bad King, nor that any Parliament ever was ſo, tho they have often done it; but our Laws plainly and clearly declare, that a King may violate, diminiſh, nay, and wholly loſe his Royalty. For that expreſſion in the Law of St. *Edward*, of *loſing the name of a King*, ſignifies neither more nor leſs, than being deprived of the Kingly Office and Dignity; which befel *Chilperic* King of *France*, whoſe example, for illuſtration ſake, is taken notice of in the Law it ſelf. There is not a Lawyer amongſt us that can deny, but that the higheſt Treaſon may be committed againſt the Kingdom as well as againſt the King. I appeal to *Glanvile* himſelf, whom you cite, 'If any man attempt to put the King to death, or raiſe 'Sedition in the Realm, it is High Treaſon. So that attempt of ſome Papiſts to blow up the Parliament-Houſe, and the Lords and Commons there with Gunpowder, was by King *James* himſelf, and both Houſes of Parliament, declared to be *High Treaſon*, not againſt the King only, but againſt the Parliament and the whole Kingdom. 'Twould be to no purpoſe to quote more of our Statutes, to prove ſo clear a Truth; which yet I could eaſily do. For the thing it ſelf is ridiculous, and abſurd to imagine, That High Treaſon may be committed againſt the King, and not againſt the People, for whoſe good, nay, and by whoſe leave, as I may ſay, the King is what he is: So that you babble over ſo many Statutes of ours to no purpoſe; you toil and wallow in our Ancient Law-Books, to no purpoſe; for the Laws themſelves ſtand or fall by Authority of Parliament, who always had power to confirm or repeal them; and the Parliament is the ſole Judg of what is Rebellion, what High Treaſon (*læſa Majeſtas*) and what not. Majeſty never was veſted to that degree in the Perſon of the King, as not to be more conſpicuous, and more auguſt in Parliament, as I have often ſhown: But who can endure to hear ſuch a ſenſeleſs Fellow, ſuch a *French* Mountebank as you, declare what our Laws are? And, you *Engliſh* Fugitives, ſo many Biſhops, Doctors, Lawyers, who pretend that all Learning and Ingenuous Literature is fled out of *England* with your ſelves, was there not one of you that could defend the King's Cauſe and your own, and that in good *Latin* alſo, to be ſubmitted to the judgment of other Nations, but that this brain-ſick, beggarly *Frenchman* muſt be hired to undertake the Defence of a poor indigent King, ſurrounded with ſo many Infant-Prieſts and Doctors? This very thing I aſſure you, will be a great imputation to you amongſt Foreigners; and you will be thought deſervedly to have loſt that Cauſe that you were ſo far from being able to defend by Force of Arms, as that you cannot ſo much as write in behalf of it. But now I come to you again, Good-man Gooſcap, who ſcribble ſo finely; if at leaſt you are come to your ſelf again; for I find you here towards the latter end of your Book, in a deep ſleep, and dreaming of ſome voluntary *Death* or other that's nothing to the purpoſe. Then you *deny that 'tis poſſible for a King in his right wits to embroil his People in Seditions, to betray his own Forces to be ſlaughtered by Enemies, and raiſe Factions againſt himſelf.* All which things having been done by many Kings, and particularly by *Charles* the late King of *England*, you will no longer doubt, I hope, eſpecially being addicted to Stoiciſm, but that all Tyrants, as well as profligate Villains, are downright mad. Hear what *Horace* ſays, 'Whoever through a ſenſeleſs Stupidity, or any other 'cauſe whatſoever, hath his Underſtanding ſo blinded, as not to diſcern truth, 'the *Stoicks* account of him as of a mad-man: And ſuch are whole Nations, ſuch 'are Kings and Princes, ſuch are all Mankind; except thoſe very few that are 'Wiſe. So that if you would clear King *Charles* from the Imputation of acting like a Mad-man, you muſt firſt vindicate his integrity and ſhow that he never acted like an ill man. *But a King*, you ſay, *cannot commit Treaſon againſt his own Subjects and Vaſſals.* In the firſt place, ſince we are as free as any People under Heaven, we will not be impos'd upon by any Barbarous Cuſtom of any other Nation whatſoever. In the ſecond place, Suppoſe we had been the King's Vaſſals; that Relation would not have obliged us to endure a Tyrant to reign and lord it over us. All Subjection to Magiſtrates, as our own Laws declare, is circumſcribed, and confined within the bounds of *Honeſty*, and the *Publick Good.* Read *Leg. Hen.* 1. *Cap.* 55. The obligation betwixt a Lord and his Tenants, is mutual, and remains ſo long as the Lord protects his Tenant; (this all our Lawyers tell us) but if the Lord be too ſevere and cruel to his Tenant, and do him ſome heinous Injury, *The whole Relation betwixt them, and whatever Obligation the Tenant is under by having done Homage to his Lord, is utterly diſſolv'd and extinguiſh'd.* Theſe are the very words of *Bracton* and *Fleta.* So that in ſome Caſe, the Law it ſelf warrants even a Slave, or a Vaſſal to oppoſe his Lord, and allows the Slave to kill him, if he vanquiſh him in Battle. If a City, or a whole Nation may not lawfully take this Courſe with a Tyrant, the Condition of Freemen will be worſe than that of Slaves. Then you go about to excuſe King *Charles*'s ſhedding of Innocent Blood, partly by Murders committed by other Kings, and partly by ſome Inſtances of Men put to death by them lawfully. For the matter of the *Iriſh Maſſacre*, you refer the Reader to Εἰκὼν Βασιλική; and I refer you to *Eiconoclaſtes.* The Town of *Rochel* being taken, and the Townſmen betray'd, aſſiſtance ſhown but not afforded them, you will not have laid at *Charles*'s door; nor have I any thing to ſay, whether he was faulty in that buſineſs or not; he did miſchief enough at home; we need not enquire into what Miſdemeanors he was guilty of abroad. But you in the mean time would make all the Proteſtant Churches, that have at any time defended themſelves by force of Arms againſt Princes, who were profeſs'd Enemies of their Religion to have been guilty of Rebellion. Let them conſider how much it concerns them for the maintaining their Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline, and aſſerting their own Integrity, not to paſs by ſo great an Indignity offered them by a Perſon bred up by and amongſt themſelves. That which troubles us moſt, is, that the *Engliſh* likewiſe were betray'd in that Expedition. He, who had deſign'd long ago to convert the Government of *England* into a Tyranny, thought he could not bring it to paſs, till the Flower and Strength of the Military Power of the Nation were cut off. Another of his Crimes was, the cauſing ſome words to be ſtruck out of the uſual Coronation-Oath, before he himſelf would take it. Unworthy and abominable Action! The act was wicked in it ſelf; what ſhall be ſaid of him that undertakes to juſtifie it? For, by the Eternal God, what greater breach of Faith, and Violation of all Laws can poſſibly be imagin'd? What ought to been more ſacred to him, next to the Holy Sacraments themſelves, than that Oath? Which of the two do you think the more flagitious Perſon, him that offends againſt the Law, or him that endeavours to make the Law equally guilty with himſelf? Or rather him who ſubverts the Law it ſelf, that he may not ſeem to offend againſt it? For thus, that King violated that Oath which he ought moſt religiouſly to have ſworn to; but that he might not ſeem openly and publickly to violate it, he craſtily adulterated and corrupted it; and leſt he himſelf ſhould be accounted perjur'd, he turn'd the very Oath into a Perjury. What other could be expected, than that his Reign would be full of Injuſtice, Craſt, and Misfortune, who began it with ſo deteſtable an Injury to his People? And who durſt pervert and adulterate that Law which he thought the only Obſtacle that ſtood in his way, and hindred him from perverting all the reſt of the Laws? But *that Oath* (thus you juſtify him) *lays no other Obligation upon Kings, than the Laws themſelves do; and Kings pretend that they will be bound and limited by Laws, tho indeed they are altogether from under the Power of Laws.* Is it not prodigious, that a Man ſhould dare to expreſs himſelf ſo ſacrilegiouſly, and ſo ſenſeleſly, as to aſſert that an Oath ſacredly ſworn upon the Holy Evangeliſts, may be diſpenſed with, and ſet aſide as a little inſignificant thing, without any Cauſe whatſoever! *Charles* himſelf refutes you, you Prodigy of Impiety: Who thinking that Oath no light matter, choſe rather by a Subterfuge to avoid the force of it, or by a Fallacy to elude it, than openly to violate it; and would rather falſify and corrupt the Oath, than manifeſtly forſwear himſelf after he had taken it. But, *The King indeed ſwears to his People, as the People do to him; but the People ſwear Fidelity to the King, not the King to them.* Pretty Invention! Does not he that promiſes, and binds himſelf by an Oath to do any thing to, or for another, oblige his Fidelity to them that require the Oath of him? Of a truth, every King ſwears *Fidelity*, and *Service*, and *Obedience* to the People, with reſpect to the performance of whatever he promiſes upon Oath to do. Then you run back to *William* the Conqueror, who was forced more than once to ſwear to perform, not what he himſelf would, but what the People, and the great Men of the Realm requir'd of him. If many Kings *are Crown'd without the uſual Solemnity*, and Reign without taking any Oath, the ſame thing may be ſaid of the People; a great many of whom never took the Oath of Allegiance. If the King by not taking an Oath be at Liberty,

berty, the People are ſo too. And that part of the People that has ſworn, ſwore not to the King only, but to the Realm, and the Laws, by which the King came to his Crown; and no otherwiſe to the King, than whilſt he ſhould act according to thoſe Laws, that *the Common People*, that is, the Houſe of Commons, *ſhould chuſe*; (*Quas Vulgus elegerit.*) For it were folly to alter the Phraſe of our Law, and turn it into more genuine Latin. This Clauſe (*Quas Vulgus elegerit*) *Which the Commons ſhall chuſe*, *Charles* before he was crown'd, procured to be razed out. *But*, ſay you, *without the King's aſſent the People can chuſe no Laws*; and for this you cite two Statutes, *viz. Anno* 37. *H.* 6. *Cap.* 15. and 13 *Edw.* 4. *Cap.* 8. but thoſe two Statutes are ſo far from appearing in our Statute-Books, that in the years you mention, neither of thoſe Kings enacted any Laws at all. Go now and complain, that thoſe Fugitives who pretended to furniſh you with matter out of our Statutes, impoſed upon you in it; and let other People in the mean time ſtand aſtoniſh'd at your Impudence and Vanity, who are not aſham'd to pretend to be throughly vers'd in ſuch Books, as it is ſo evident you have never look'd into, nor ſo much as ſeen. And that Clauſe in the Coronation Oath, which ſuch a brazen-fac'd Brawler as you call fictitious, *The King's Friends*, you ſay your ſelf, *acknowledg that it may poſſibly be extant in ſome Ancient Copies, but that it grew into diſuſe, becauſe it had no convenient ſignification.* But for that very reaſon, did our Anceſtors inſert it in the Oath, that the Oath might have ſuch a ſignification as would not be for a Tyrant's conveniency. If it had really grown into diſuſe, which yet is moſt falſe, there was the greater need of reviving it; but even that would have been to no purpoſe, according to your Doctrine: *For that Cuſtom of taking an Oath, as Kings now-adays generally uſe it, is no more*, you ſay, *than a bare Ceremony.* And yet the King, when the Biſhops were to be put down, pretended that he could not do it by reaſon of that Oath. And conſequently, that reverend and ſacred Oath, as it ſerves for the Kings turn, or not, muſt be ſolemn and binding, or an empty Ceremony: Which I earneſtly entreat my Country-men to take notice of, and to conſider what manner of a King they are like to have, if he ever come back. For it would never have entred into the thoughts of this Raſcally foreign Grammarian to write a Diſcourſe of the Rights of the Crown of *England*, unleſs both *Charles Stuart* now in Baniſhment, and tainted with his Fathers Principles, and thoſe Profligate Tutors that he has along with him, had induſtriouſly ſuggeſted to him what they would have writ. They dictated to him, *That the whole Parliament were liable to be proceeded againſt as Traitors, becauſe they declar'd without the Kings Aſſent all them to be Traitors, who had taken up Arms againſt the Parliament of* England; *and that Parliaments were but the King's Vaſſals: That the Oath which our Kings take at their Coronation, is but a Ceremony:* And why not that a Vaſſal too? So that no reverence of Laws, no ſacredneſs of an Oath, will be ſufficient to protect your Lives and Fortunes, either from the Exorbitance of a furious, or the Revenge of an exaſperated Prince, who has been ſo inſtructed from his Cradle, as to think Laws, Religion, nay, and Oaths themſelves ought to be ſubject to his Will and Pleaſure. How much better is it, and more becoming your ſelves, if you deſire Riches, Liberty, Peace, and Empire, to obtain them aſſuredly by your own Vertue, Induſtry, Prudence and Valour, than to long after, and hope for them in vain under the Rule of a King? They, who are of opinion that theſe things cannot be compaſs'd but under a King, and a Lord; it cannot well be expreſſed how mean, how baſe, I do not ſay, how unworthy thoughts they have of themſelves; for in effect, what do they other than confeſs, that they themſelves are lazy, weak, ſenſeleſs, ſilly Perſons, and fram'd for Slavery both in Body and Mind? And indeed all manner of Slavery is ſcandalous and diſgraceful to a freeborn ingenious Perſon; but for you, after you have recovered your loſt Liberty, by God's Aſſiſtance, and your own Arms; after the performance of ſo many valiant Exploits, and the making ſo remarkable an Example of a moſt Potent King, to deſire to return again into a Condition of Bondage and Slavery, will not only be ſcandalous and diſgraceful, but an impious and wicked thing; and equal to that of the *Iſraelites*, who for deſiring to return to the *Egyptian* Slavery, were ſo ſeverely puniſh'd for that ſordid, ſlaviſh Temper of mind, and ſo many of them deſtroy'd by that God, who had been their Deliverer. But what ſay you now, who would perſwade us to become Slaves? *The King*, ſay you, *had a Power of pardoning ſuch as were guilty of Treaſon, and other Crimes; which evinces ſufficiently that the King himſelf was under no Law.* The King might indeed pardon Treaſon, not againſt the Kingdom, but againſt himſelf; and ſo may any body elſe pardon wrongs done to themſelves; and he might, perhaps, pardon ſome other Offences, tho not always; but does it follow, becauſe in ſome Caſes he had the Right of ſaving a Malefactor's life, that therefore he muſt have a Right to deſtroy all good Men? If the King be impleaded in an inferior Court, he is not obliged to anſwer, but by his Attorney: Does it therefore follow, that when he is ſummon'd by all his Subjects to appear in Parliament, he may chuſe whether he will appear or no, and refuſe to anſwer in Perſon? You ſay, *That we endeavour to juſtify what we have done by the* Hollanders *Example*; and upon this occaſion, fearing the loſs of that Stipend with which the *Hollanders* feed ſuch a Murrain and Peſt as you are, if by reviling the *Engliſh*, you ſhould conſequentially reflect upon them that maintain you, you endeavour to demonſtrate *how unlike their Actions and ours are.* The Compariſon that you make betwixt them, I reſolve to omit (tho many things in it are moſt falſe, and other things flattery all over, which yet you thought your ſelf obliged to put down, to deſerve your Penſion.) For the *Engliſh* think they need not alledg the Examples of Foreigners for their Juſtification. They have Municipal Laws of their own, by which they have acted; Laws with relation to the matter in hand, the beſt in the World: They have the Examples of their Anceſtors, great and gallant Men, for their imitation, who never gave way to the Exorbitant Power of Princes, and who have put many of them to death, when their Government became inſupportable. They were born free, they ſtand in need of no other Nation, they can make what Laws they pleaſe for their own good Government. One Law in particular they have a great veneration for, and a very Ancient one it is, enacted by Nature it ſelf, That all Human Laws, all Civil Right and Government muſt have a reſpect to the ſafety and welfare of good Men, and not be ſubject to the Luſts of Princes. From hence to the end of your Book, I find nothing but Rubbiſh and Trifles, pick'd out of the former Chapters; of which you have here raiſed ſo great a heap, that I cannot imagine what other deſign you could have in it, than to preſage the ruin of your whole Fabrick. At laſt, after an infinite deal of tittle tattle you make an end, calling *God to witneſs, that you undertook the defence of this Cauſe, not only becauſe you were deſired ſo to do, but becauſe your own Conſcience told you, that you could not poſſibly undertake the Defence of a better.* Is it fit for you to intermeddle with our matters, with which you have nothing to do, becauſe you were deſired, when we our ſelves did not deſire you? to reproach with contumelious and opprobrious Language, and in a Printed Book, the Supreme Magiſtracy of the *Engliſh* Nation, when according to the authority and power that they are entruſted with, they do but their duty within their own Juriſdiction, and all this without the leaſt injury or provocation from them? (for they did not ſo much as know that there was ſuch a man in the world as you.) And I pray by whom were you deſired? By your Wife, I ſuppoſe, who, they ſay, exerciſes a Kingly Right and Juriſdiction over you; and whenever ſhe has a mind to it (as *Fulvia* is made to ſpeak in that obſcene Epigram, that you collected ſome *Centoes* out of, *Pag.* 320.) cries, *Either write, or let's fight*; That made you write perhaps, leſt the Signal ſhould be given. Or were you asked by *Charles* the Younger, and that profligate Gang of Vagabond Courtiers, and like a ſecond *Balaam* call'd upon by another *Balak* to reſtore a deſperate Cauſe by ill writing, that was loſt by ill fighting? That may be; but there's this difference, for he was a wiſe underſtanding man, and rid upon an Aſs that could ſpeak, to curſe the People of God: Thou art a very talkative Aſs thy ſelf, and rid by a Woman, and being ſurrounded with the healed heads of the Biſhops that heretofore thou hadſt wounded, thou ſeem'ſt to repreſent that Beaſt in the *Revelation*. But they ſay that a little after you had written this Book, you repented of what you had done. 'Tis well if it be ſo; and to make your repentance publick, I think the beſt courſe that you can take will be, for this long Book that you have writ, to take a Halter, and make one long Letter of your ſelf. So *Judas Iſcariot* repented, to whom you are like; and that young *Charles* knew, which made him ſend you the Purſe, *Judas* his Badg; for he had heard before, and found afterward by experience, that you were an Apoſtate and a Devil. *Judas* betray'd *Chriſt* himſelf, and you betray his Church; you have taught heretofore that Biſhops were *Antichriſtian*, and you are now revolted to their Party. You now undertake the Defence of their Cauſe, whom formerly you damn'd to the pit of Hell. Chriſt delivered all men from Bondage, and you endeavour to enſlave all Mankind. Never queſtion, ſince you have been ſuch

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a Villain to God himſelf, his Church, and all Mankind in general, but that the ſame fate attends you that befel your equal, out of deſpair rather than repentance, to be weary of your life, and hang your ſelf, and burſt aſunder as he did; and to ſend before-hand that faithleſs and treacherous Conſcience of yours, that railing Conſcience at good and holy men, to that place of torment that's prepared for you. And now I think, through God's aſſiſtance, I have finiſhed the Work I undertook, to wit, the defence of the Noble Actions of my Country-men at home and abroad, againſt the raging and envious madneſs of this diſtracted Sophiſter; and the aſſerting of the common Rights of the People againſt the unjuſt domination of Kings, not out of any hatred to Kings, but Tyrants: Nor have I purpoſely left unanſwered any one argument alledged by my adverſary, nor any one example or authority quoted by him, that ſeem'd to have any force in it, or the leaſt colour of an argument. Perhaps I have been guilty rather of the other extreme, of replying to ſome of his fooleries and trifles, as if they were ſolid arguments, and thereby may ſeem to have attributed more to them than they deſerved. One thing yet remains to be done, which perhaps is of the greateſt concern of all, and that is, That you, my Country-men, refute this adverſary of yours your ſelves; which I do not ſee any other means of your effecting, than by a conſtant endeavour to outdo all mens bad words by your own good deeds. When you laboured under more ſorts of oppreſſion than one, you betook your ſelves to God for refuge, and he was graciouſly pleaſed to hear your moſt earneſt Prayers and Deſires. He has gloriouſly delivered you the firſt of Nations, from the two greateſt miſchiefs of this life, and moſt pernicious to Vertue, Tyranny and Superſtition; he has endued you with greatneſs of mind to be firſt of Mankind, who after having conquered their own King, and having had him delivered into their hands, have not ſcrupled to condemn him judicially, and purſuant to that Sentence of Condemnation, to put him to death. After the performing ſo glorious an Action as this, you ought to do nothing that's mean and little, not ſo much as to think of, much leſs to do any thing but what is great and ſublime. Which to attain to, this is your only way; as you have ſubdued your Enemies in Field, ſo to make appear, that unarmed, and in the higheſt outward Peace and Tranquillity, you of all Mankind are beſt able to ſubdue Ambition, Avarice, the love of Riches, and can beſt avoid the corruptions that Proſperity is apt to introduce, (which generally ſubdue and triumph over other Nations) to ſhow as great Juſtice, Temperance and Moderation in the maintaining your Liberty, as you have ſhown Courage in freeing your ſelves from Slavery. Theſe are the only Arguments by which you will be able to evince that you are not ſuch Perſons as this Fellow repreſents you, *Traitors*, *Robbers*, *Murderers*, *Parricides*, *Madmen*; that you did not put your King to death out of any ambitious deſign, or a deſire of invading the Rights of others, not out of any ſeditious Principles or ſiniſter Ends; that it was not an act of Fury or Madneſs; but that it was wholly out of love to your Liberty, your Religion, to Juſtice, Vertue, and your Countrey, that you puniſhed a Tyrant. But if it ſhould fall out otherwiſe (which God forbid) if as you have been valiant in War, you ſhould grow debauch'd in Peace, you that have had ſuch viſible demonſtrations of the Goodneſs of God to your ſelves, and his Wrath againſt your Enemies; and that you ſhould not have learned by ſo eminent, ſo remarkable an Example before your Eyes, to fear God, and work Righteouſneſs; for my part, I ſhall eaſily grant and confeſs (for I cannot deny it) whatever ill men may ſpeak or think of you, to be very true. And you will find in a little time, that God's Diſpleaſure againſt you, will be greater than it has been againſt your Adverſaries, greater than his Grace and Favour has been to your ſelves, which you have had larger experience of, than any other Nation under Heaven.

# FIVE
# TRACTS

Publiſhed betwixt the Years 1650, and 1660.

With two PAPERS never before publiſhed.

*VIZ.*

- I. Letters of State to moſt of the Sovereign Princes and Republicks of *Europe*, during the Adminiſtration of the Commonwealth, and the Protectors *Oliver* and *Richard Cromwell*.
- II. A Treatiſe of Civil Power in Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes; ſhewing 'tis not lawful for any Power on Earth to compel in Matters of Religion.
- III. Conſiderations touching the likelieſt Means to remove Hirelings out of the Church, *&c.*
- IV. A Letter to a Friend concerning the Ruptures of the Commonwealth, publiſh'd from the MS.
- V. The ready and eaſy way to eſtabliſh a Free Commonwealth, the Excellence thereof, *&c.*
- VI. The preſent Means, and brief Delineation of a Free Commonwealth; in a Letter to General *Monk*. Publiſh'd from the MS.
- VII. Brief Notes upon a late Sermon, titl'd, *The Fear of God and the King*, preach'd by *Matthew Griffith*, D.D.

*To which is added,*

A Tract entitled, Of True Religion, Hereſie, Schiſm, Toleration, *&c.* printed in the Year 1673.

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AMSTERDAM, MDCXCIV.

# Letters of State

## During the Adminiſtration of the Commonwealth, and the Protectors *Oliver* and *Richard Cromwel.*

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## LETTERS written in the Name of the *Parliament.*

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*The Senate and People of* England, *to the moſt Noble Senate of the City of* Hamborough.

FOR how long a Series of paſt Years, and for what important Reaſons the Friendſhip enter'd into by our Anceſtors with your moſt Noble City, has continu'd to this day, we both willingly acknowledg, together with your ſelves; nor is it a thing diſpleaſing to us, frequently alſo to call to our remembrance. But as to what we underſtand by your Letters dated the 25*th* of *June*, that ſome of our People deal not with that Fidelity and Probity, as they were wont to do in their Trading and Commerce among ye; we preſently referr'd it to the Conſideration of certain Perſons well skill'd in thoſe matters, to the end they might make a more ſtrict enquiry into the Frauds of the Clothiers and other Artificers of the Woolen Manufacture. And we farther promiſe to take ſuch effectual care, as to make you ſenſible of our unalterable Intentions, to preſerve ſincerity and juſtice among our ſelves, as alſo never to neglect any good Offices of our kindneſs that may redound to the welfare of your Commonwealth. On the other hand, there is ſomething likewiſe which we not only require, but which Equity it ſelf, and all the Laws of God and Man demand of your ſelves, That you will not only conſerve inviolable to the Merchants of our Nation their Privileges, but by your Authority and Power defend and protect their Lives and Eſtates, as it becomes your City to do. Which as we moſt earneſtly deſir'd in our former Letters; ſo upon the repeated Complaints of our Merchants that are daily made before us, we now more earneſtly ſolicite and requeſt it: they complaining, That their ſafety, and all that they have in the World, is again in great jeopardy among ye. For although they acknowledg themſelves to have reap'd ſome Benefit for a ſhort time of our former Letters ſent you, and to have had ſome reſpite from the Injuries of a ſort of profligate People; yet ſince the coming of the ſame *Coc—m* to your City (of whom we complain'd before) who pretends to be honour'd with a ſort of Embaſſy from —— the Son of the lately deceas'd King, they have been aſſaulted with all manner of ill Language, Threats, and naked Swords of Ruffians and Homicides, and have wanted your accuſtom'd Protection and Defence; inſomuch, that when two or three of the Merchants, together with the Preſident of the Society, were hurry'd away by ſurprize aboard a certain Privateer, and that the reſt implor'd your Aid, yet they could not obtain any Aſſiſtance from you, till the Merchants themſelves were forc'd to embody their own ſtrength, and reſcue from the hands of Pirates the Perſons ſeiz'd on in that River, of which your City is the Miſtreſs, not without extream hazard of their Lives. Nay, when they had fortunately brought 'em home again, and as it were by force of Arms recover'd 'em from an ignominious Captivity, and carry'd the Pirates themſelves into Cuſtody; we are inform'd that *Coc—m* was ſo audacious as to demand the releaſe of the Pirates, and that the Merchants might be deliver'd Priſoners into his hands. We therefore again, and again, beſeech and adjure ye, if it be your intention that Contracts and Leagues, and the very antient Commerce between both Nations ſhould be preſerv'd, the thing which you deſire, That our People may be able to aſſure themſelves of ſome certain and firm ſupport and reliance upon your Word, your Prudence and Authority; that you would lend 'em a favourable Audience concerning theſe matters, and that you would inflict deſerved Puniſhment as well upon *Coc—m*, and the reſt of his Accomplices in that wicked act, as upon thoſe who lately aſſaulted the Preacher, hitherto unpuniſh'd, or command 'em to depart your Territories; nor that you would believe that expell'd and exil'd *Tarquins* are to be prefer'd before the Friendſhip, and the Wealth, and Power of our Republick. For if you do not carefully provide to the contrary, but that the enemies of our Republick ſhall preſume to think lawful the committing of any Violences againſt us in your City, how unſafe, how ignominious the Reſidence of our People there will be, do you conſider with your ſelves. Theſe things we recommend to your Prudence and Equity, your ſelves to the Protection of Heaven.

*Weſtminſter*, Aug. 10. 1649.

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## *To the Senate of* Hamborough.

YOUR conſpicuous Favour in the doubtful Condition of our Affairs, is now the reaſon, that after Victory and proſperous Succeſs, we can no longer queſtion your good Will and friendly Inclination towards us. As for our parts, the War being almoſt now determin'd, and our Enemies every where vanquiſh'd, we have deem'd nothing more juſt, or more conducing to the firm Eſtabliſhment of the Republick, then that they who by our means (the Almighty being always our Captain and Conductor) have either recover'd their Liberty, or obtain'd their Lives and Fortunes, after the pernicious Ravages of a Civil War, of our free Gift and Grace, ſhould teſtify and pay in exchange to their Magiſtrates Allegiance and Duty in a ſolemn manner, if need requir'd: More eſpecially when ſo many turbulent and exaſperated Perſons, more then once receiv'd into Protection, will make no end, either at home or abroad, of acting perfidiouſly, and raiſing new Diſturbances. To that purpoſe we took care to enjoin a certain form of an Oath, by which all who held any Office in the Common-wealth, or being fortify'd with the Protection of the Law, enjoy'd both Safety, Eaſe, and all other conveniencies of Life, ſhould bind themſelves to Obedience in words preſcrib'd. This we alſo thought proper to be ſent to all Colonies abroad, or where-ever elſe our People reſided for the convenience of Trade; to the end that the Fidelity of thoſe over whom we are ſet, might be prov'd and known to us as it is but reaſonable and neceſſary. Which makes us wonder ſo much the more at what our Merchants write from your City, that they are not permitted to execute our Commands by ſome or other of your *Order* and Degree. Certainly what the moſt Potent United Provinces of the Low Countries, moſt jealous of their Power and their Intereſts, never thought any way belonging to their inſpection, namely whether the *Engliſh* Foreigners ſwore Fidelity and Allegiance to their Magiſtrates at home, either in theſe or thoſe Words, how that ſhould come to be ſo ſuſpected and troubleſom to your City, we muſt plainly acknowledg that we do not underſtand. But this proceeding from the private inclinations or fears of ſome, whom certain Vagabond *Scots*, expell'd their Country, are ſaid to have enforc'd by Menaces, on purpoſe to deter our Merchants from ſwearing Fidelity to us, we impute not to your City. Moſt earneſtly therefore we intreat and conjure ye (for it is not now the intereſt of Trade, but the honour of the Republick it ſelf that lies at ſtake) not to ſuffer any one among ye, who can have no reaſon to concern himſelf in this Affair, to interpoſe his Authority, whatever it be, with that Supremacy which we challenge over our own Subjects, not by the judgment and opinion of Foreigners, but by the Laws of our Country; for who would not take it amiſs, if we ſhould forbid your *Hamburgers*, reſiding here, to ſwear Fidelity to you that are their Magiſtrates at Home? Farewel.

*Jan.* 4. 1649.

*To the moſt Serene and Potent Prince* Philip *the Fourth, King of* Spain.
*The Parliament of the Commonwealth of* England, *Greeting.*

WE ſend to your Majeſty *Anthony Aſcham*, a perſon of Integrity, Learned, and deſcended of an ancient Family, to treat of matters very advantageous, as we hope, as well to the *Spaniſh*, as to the *Engliſh* Nation. Wherefore in friendly manner, we deſire that you would be pleas'd to grant, and order him a Safe and Honourable Paſſage to your Royal City, and the ſame in his return from thence, readily prepar'd to repay the kindneſs when occaſion offers. Or if your Majeſty be otherwiſe inclin'd, that it may be ſignify'd to him with the ſooneſt, what your Pleaſure is in this particular, and that he may be at liberty to depart without moleſtation.

*Feb. 4. 1649.*

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*To the moſt Serene and Potent Prince,* Philip *the Fourth, King of* Spain.
*The Parliament of the Commonwealth of* England, *Greeting.*

WHAT is the Condition of our Affairs, and by what heinous Injuries provok'd and broken, at length we began to think of recovering our Liberty by force of Arms; what conſtituted form of Government we now make uſe of, can neither be conceal'd from your Majeſty, nor any other Perſon who has but caſt an impartial Eye upon our Writings publiſh'd on theſe Occaſions. Neither ought we to think it a difficult thing, among fit and proper judges of things, to render our Fidelity, our Equity, and Patience, manifeſt to all men, and juſtly meriting their Approbation; as alſo to defend our Authority, Honour, and Grandeur, againſt the infamous Tongues of Exiles and Fugitives. Now then, as to what is more the concern of foreign Nations, after having ſubdu'd and vanquiſh'd the Enemies of our Country through the miraculous Aſſiſtance of Heaven, we openly and cordially profeſs our ſelves readily prepar'd to have Peace and Friendſhip, more deſirable than all enlargement of Empire, with our Neighbour Nations. For theſe reaſons we have ſent into *Spain* to your Majeſty, *Anthony Aſcham*, of approv'd Dexterity and Probity, to treat with your Majeſty concerning Friendſhip, and the accuſtom'd Commerce between both Nations; or elſe, if it be your Pleaſure, to open a way for the ratifying of new Articles and Alliances. Our Requeſt therefore is, that you will grant him free Liberty of Acceſs to your Majeſty, and give ſuch Order that care may be taken of his Safety and Honour, while he reſides a Publick Miniſter with your Majeſty; to the end he may freely propoſe what he has in charge from us, for the Benefit, as we hope, of both Nations; and certify to us with the ſooneſt, what are your Majeſty's ſentiments concerning theſe matters.

*Weſtminſter*, Feb. 4. 1649.

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*To the moſt Serene Prince,* John *the Fourth, King of* Portugal. *The Parliament of the Commonwealth of* England, *Greeting.*

AFTER we had ſuffer'd many, and thoſe the utmoſt Miſchiefs of a faithleſs Peace, and inteſtine War, Our being reduc'd to thoſe Exigencies, that if we had any regard to the ſafety of the Republick, there was a neceſſity of altering for the chiefeſt part the form of Government, is a thing which we make no queſtion is well known to your Majeſty, by what we have both publickly written and declar'd in juſtification of our Proceedings. To which, as it is but reaſon, if credit might be rather given than to the moſt malicious Calumnies of looſe and wicked men; perhaps we ſhould find thoſe Perſons more amicably inclin'd, who now abroad have the worſt ſentiments of our Actions. For as to what we juſtify our ſelves to have juſtly and ſtrenuouſly perform'd after the Example of our Anceſtors, in purſuance of our Rights, and for recovery of the native Liberty of *Engliſhmen*, certainly it is not the work of Human force or wit to eradicate the perverſe and obſtinate Opinions of People wickedly inclin'd concerning what we have done. But after all, in reference to what is common to us with all foreign Nations, and more for the general Intereſt on both ſides, we are willing to let the World know, that there is nothing which we more ardently deſire, than that the Friendſhip and Commerce which our People have been accuſtom'd to maintain with all our Neighbours, ſhould be enlarg'd and ſettled in the moſt ample and ſolemn manner. And whereas our People have always driven a very great Trade, and gainful to both Nations, in your Kingdom; we ſhall take care, as much as in us lies, that they may not meet with any Impediment to interrupt their dealings. However, we foreſee that all our Induſtry will be in vain, if, as it is reported, the Pyrates and Revolters of our Nation ſhall be ſuffer'd to have refuge in your Ports, and after they have taken and plunder'd the laden Veſſels of the *Engliſh*, ſhall be permitted to ſell their Goods by publick Outcries at *Liſbon*. To the end therefore that a more ſpeedy Remedy may be apply'd to this growing Miſchief, and that we may be more clearly ſatisfy'd concerning the Peace which we deſire, we have ſent to *Your Majeſty* the moſt noble *Charles Vane*, under the Character of our Agent, with Inſtructions and a Commiſſion, a plenary Teſtimonial of the Truſt we have repoſ'd, and the Employment we have conferr'd upon him. Him therefore we moſt earneſtly deſire your Majeſty graciouſly to hear, to give him Credit, and to take ſuch Order that he may be ſafe in his Perſon and his Honour, within the bounds of your Dominions. Theſe things, as they will be moſt acceptable to us, ſo we promiſe, whenever occaſion offers, that the ſame Offices of kindneſs to your Majeſty ſhall be mutually obſerv'd on all our parts.

*Weſtminſter*, Feb. 4. 1649.

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*To the moſt Serene Prince*, John *the Fourth*, *King of* Portugal. *The Parliament of the Commonwealth of* England, *Greeting*.

ALmoſt daily and moſt grievous Complaints are brought before us, that certain of our Seamen and Officers who revolted from us the laſt Year, and treacherouſly and wickedly carry'd away the Ships with the Command of which they were entruſted, and who having made their eſcape from the Port of *Ireland*, where being blockt up for almoſt a whole Summer together, they very narrowly avoided the Puniſhment due to their Crimes, have now betaken themſelves to the Coaſt of *Portugal*, and the mouth of the River *Tagus*; that there they practiſe furious Piracy, taking and plundering all the *Engliſh* Veſſels they meet with ſailing to and fro upon the account of Trade; and that all the adjoining Seas are become almoſt impaſſable by reaſon of their notorious and infamous Robberies. To which increaſing Miſchief, unleſs a ſpeedy Remedy be apply'd, who does not ſee but that there will be a final end of that vaſt Trade ſo gainful to both Nations, which our People were wont to drive with the *Portugueſes?* Wherefore we again and again requeſt *Your Majeſty*, that you will command thoſe Pyrates and Revolters to depart the Territories of *Portugal:* And that if any pretended Embaſſadors preſent themſelves from ******* that you will not vouchſafe to give them Audience; but that you will rather acknowledg us, upon whom the Supream Power of *England*, by the conſpicuous Favour and Aſſiſtance of the Almighty, is devolv'd; and that the Ports and Rivers of *Portugal*, may not be bar'd and defended againſt your Friends and Confederates Fleet, no leſs ſerviceable to your Emolument, than the Trade of the *Engliſh*.

## *To* Philip *the Fourth, King of* Spain.

HOw heinouſly, and with what Deteſtation your Majeſty reſented the villanous Murder of our Agent, *Anthony Aſcham*, and what has hitherto been done in the proſecution and puniſhment of his Aſſaſſinates, we have been given to underſtand, as well by your Majeſty's own Letters, as from your Embaſſador *Don Alphonſo de Cardenos*. Nevertheleſs, ſo often as we conſider the horridneſs of that bloody Fact, which utterly ſubverts the very Foundations of Correſpondence and Commerce, and of the Privilege of Embaſſadors, moſt ſacred among all Nations, ſo villanouſly violated without ſeverity of Puniſhment, We cannot but with utmoſt importunity repeat our moſt urgent ſuit to your Majeſty, That thoſe Parricides may with all the ſpeed imaginable be brought to Juſtice, and that you would not ſuffer their merited Pains to be ſuſpended any longer by any delay or pretence of Religion. For tho moſt certainly we highly value the Friendſhip of a Potent Prince; yet it behoves us to uſe our utmoſt endeavours, that the Authors of ſuch an enormous Parricide ſhould receive the deſerved Reward of their Impiety. Indeed, we cannot but with a grateful Mind acknowledg that Civility, of which by your Command, our People were not unſenſible, as alſo your ſurpaſſing Affection for us, which lately your Embaſſador at large unfolded to us: Nor will it be diſpleaſing to us to return the ſame good Offices to your Majeſty, and the *Spaniſh* Nation, whenever opportunity offers. Nevertheleſs, if Juſtice be not ſatisfy'd without delay, which we ſtill moſt earneſtly requeſt, we ſee not upon what foundations a ſincere and laſting Friendſhip can ſubſiſt. For the preſervation of which, however, we ſhall omit no juſt and laudable occaſion; to which purpoſe we are likewiſe apt to believe that the preſence of your Embaſſador does not a little conduce.

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## *To the* Spaniſh *Embaſſador.*

*Moſt Excellent Lord,*

THe Council of State, ſo ſoon as their weighty Affairs would permit 'em, having carried into Parlament the four Writings, which it pleas'd your *Excellency* to impart to the Council upon the 19th of *December* laſt, have receiv'd in Command from the Parlament to return this Anſwer to the firſt Head of thoſe Writings, touching the villanous Aſſaſſinates of their late Agent, *Anthony Aſcham*.

The Parlament have ſo long time, ſo often, and ſo juſtly demanded their being brought to deſerved Puniſhment, that there needs nothing further to be ſaid on a thing of ſo great importance, wherein (as your Excellency well obſerv'd) his Royal Majeſty's Authority it ſelf is ſo deeply concern'd, that unleſs Juſtice be done upon ſuch notorious Offenders, all the foundations of Human Society, all the ways of preſerving Friendſhip among Nations, of neceſſity muſt be overturn'd and aboliſh'd. Nor can we apprehend by any Argument drawn from Religion, that the Blood of the Innocent, ſhed by a propenſely malicious Murder, is not to be aveng'd. The Parlament therefore once more moſt urgently preſſes, and expects from his Royal Majeſty, according to their firſt Demands, That Satisfaction be given 'em effectually, and ſincerely in this matter.

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## *To the moſt Serene Prince* Leopold, *Archduke of* Auſtria, *Governor of the* Spaniſh Low Countries, *under King* Philip.

SO ſoon as word was brought us, not without a moſt grievous Complaint, that *Jane Puckering*, an Heireſs of an illuſtrious and opulent Family, while yet by reaſon of her Age, ſhe was under Guardians, not far from the

Houſe wherein ſhe then liv'd at *Greenwich*, was violently forc'd from the Hands and Embraces of her Attendants; and of a ſudden in a Veſſel to that purpoſe ready prepar'd, carri'd off into *Flanders* by the Treachery of one *Walſh*, who has endeavour'd all the ways imaginable, in contempt of Law both Human and Divine, to conſtrain a wealthy Virgin to Marriage, even by terrifying her with menaces of preſent Death. We deeming it proper to apply ſome ſpeedy Remedy to ſo enormous and unheard-of piece of Villany, gave order to ſome Perſons to treat with the Governours of *Newport* and *Oſtend* (for the unfortunate Captive was ſaid to be landed in one of thoſe two places) about reſcuing the *free-born* Lady out of the Hands of the Raviſher. Who, both out of their ſingular Humanity and love of Vertue, lent their aſſiſting Aid to the young Virgin in ſervitude, and by down-right Robbery riff'd from her Habitation: So that to avoid the violence of her imperious Maſters, ſhe was as it were depoſited in a Nunnery, and committed to the charge of the Governeſs of the Society. Wherefore the ſame *Walſh* to get her again into his Clutches, has commenc'd a Suit againſt her in the Eccleſiaſtical Court of the Biſhop of *Tyre*, pretending a Matrimonial Contract between him and her. Now in regard that both the *Raviſher* and the *Raviſh'd* Perſon, are Natives of our Country, as by the Witneſſes upon their Oaths abundantly appears; as alſo for that the ſplendid Inheritance after which moſt certainly the Criminal chiefly gapes, lies within our Territories; ſo that we conceive that the whole cognizance and determination of this Cauſe belongs ſolely to our ſelves: Therefore let him repair hither, he who calls himſelf the Husband, here let him commence his Suit, and demand the delivery of the Perſon whom he claims for his Wife. In the mean time, this it is that we moſt earneſtly requeſt from your Highneſs, which is no more then what we have already requeſted by our Agent reſiding at *Bruſſels*, that you will permit an afflicted and many ways miſus'd Virgin, born of honeſt Parents, but pyrated out of her Native Country, to return, as far as lies in your Power, with freedom and ſafety home again. This not only We upon all opportunities offer'd, as readily prepar'd to return the ſame Favour and Kindneſs to your Highneſs, but alſo Humanity it ſelf, and that ſame hatred of Infamy, which ought to accompany all Perſons of Vertue and Courage in defending the Honour of the Female Sex, ſeem altogether jointly to require at your hands.

*Weſtminſter*, March 28. 1650.

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## *To the moſt Serene Prime,* John *the Fourth, King of* Portugal.

UNderſtanding that *Your Majeſty* had both honourably receiv'd our Agent, and immediately given him a favourable Audience, we thought it became us to aſſure your Majeſty without delay, by ſpeedy Letters from us, that nothing could happen more acceptable to us, and that there is nothing which we have decreed more ſacred, than not to violate by any word or deed of ours, not firſt provok'd, the Peace, the Friendſhip and Commerce, now for ſome time ſettl'd between us and the greateſt number of other Foreign Nations, and amongſt the reſt with the *Portugueſes*. Nor did we ſend the *Engliſh* Fleet to the mouth of the River *Tagus* with any other intention or deſign, then in purſuit of Enemies ſo often put to flight, and for recovery of our Veſſels, which being carry'd away from their Owners by Force and Treachery, the ſame Rabble of Fugitives conducted to your Coaſts, and even to *Lisbon* it ſelf, as to the moſt certain Fairs for the ſale of their Plunder. But we are apt to believe that by this time almoſt all the *Portugueſes* are abundantly convinc'd, from the flagitious manners of thoſe People, of their Audaciouſneſs, their Fury and their Madneſs. Which is the reaſon we are in hopes that we ſhall more eaſily obtain from your Majeſty, Firſt, That you will, as far as in you lies, be aſſiſtant to the moſt illuſtrious *Edward Popham*, whom we have made Admiral of our new Fleet, for the ſubduing thoſe deteſted Freebooters, and that you will no longer ſuffer 'em, together with their Captain, not Gueſts, but Pyrats, not Merchants, but the Peſts of Commerce, and Violaters of the

Law of Nations, to harbour in the Ports and under the ſhelter of the Fortreſſes of your Kingdom; but that where-ever the Confines of *Portugal* extend themſelves, you will command 'em to expell'd as well by Land as by Sea. Or if you are unwilling to proceed to that extremity, at leaſt that with your leave it may be lawful for us with our proper Forces to aſſail our own Revolters and Sea-Robbers; and if it be the pleaſure of Heaven, to reduce 'em into our Power. This, as we have earneſtly deſired in our former Letters, ſo now again with the greateſt ardency and importunity we requeſt of your Majeſty. By this, whether Equity, or act of Kindneſs, you will not only enlarge the fame of your Juſtice over all well govern'd and civil Nations, but alſo in a greater meaſure bind both us and the People of *England*, who never yet had other than a good opinion of the *Portugueſes*, to your ſelf and to your Subjects. Farewel.

*Weſtminſter*, 27 April, 1650.

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## *To the Hamburghers.*

MOre then once we have written concerning the Controverſies of the Merchants, and ſome other things which more nearly concern the Dignity of our Republick, yet no Anſwer has been return'd. But underſtanding that Affairs of that nature can hardly be determin'd by Letters only, and that in the mean time certain ſeditious Perſons have been ſent to your City by ******* authoriz'd with no other Commiſſion than that of Malice and Audaciouſneſs, who make it their buſineſs utterly to extirpate the ancient Trade of our People in your City, eſpecially of thoſe whoſe fidelity to their Country is moſt conſpicuous; therefore we have commanded the worthy and moſt eminent *Richard Bradſhaw* to reſide as our Agent among ye, to the end he may be able more at large to treat and negotiate with your Lordſhips ſuch Matters and Affairs, as are interwoven with the Benefit and Advantages of both Republicks. Him therefore we requeſt ye, with the ſooneſt to admit to a favourable Audience; and that in all things that Credit may be given to him, that Honour paid him, as as is uſual in all Countries, and among all Nations paid to thoſe that bear his Character. Farewel.

*Weſtminſter*, April 2. 1650.

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## *To the Hamburghers.*

*Moſt Noble, Magnificent, and Illuſtrious, our deareſt Friends*;

THat your Sedulities in the Reception of our Agent were ſo cordial and ſo egregious, we both gladly underſtand, and earneſtly exhort ye that you would perſevere in your good Will and Affection toward us. And this we do with ſo much the greater vehemence, as being inform'd that the ſame Exiles of ours, concerning whom we have ſo frequently written, now carry themſelves more inſolently in your City than they were wont to do, and that they not only openly affront, but give out threatning language in a moſt deſpiteful manner againſt our Reſident. Therefore once more by theſe our Letters we would have the ſafety of his Perſon, and the Honour due to his Quality, recommended to your Care. On the other ſide, if you inflict ſevere and timely Puniſhment upon thoſe Fugitives and Ruffians, as well the old ones as the new comers, it will be moſt acceptable to us, and becoming your Authority and Prudence.

*Weſtminſter*, May 31. 1650.

## *To* Philip *the Fourth, King of* Spain.

TO our infinite ſorrow we are given to underſtand, That *Anthony Aſcham*, by us lately ſent our Agent to your Majeſty, and under that Character moſt civilly and publickly receiv'd by your Governours, upon his firſt coming to your Royal City, naked of all defence and guard, was moſt bloodily murder'd in a certain Inn, together with *John Baptiſta de Ripa* his Interpreter, butcher'd at the ſame time. Wherefore we moſt earneſtly requeſt your Majeſty, That deſerved Puniſhment may be ſpeedily inflicted upon thoſe Parricides already apprehended, as it is reported, and committed to cuſtody, who have not only preſum'd to wound our ſelves through his ſides, but have alſo dar'd to ſtab as it were to the very Heart, your Faith of Word and Royal Honour. So that we make no queſtion but what we ſo ardently deſire, would nevertheleſs be done effectually, by a Prince of his own accord ſo juſt and pious, though no body requir'd it. As to what remains we make it our farther ſuit, That the breathleſs Carcaſs may be deliver'd to his Friends and Attendants to be brought back and inter'd in his own Country, and that ſuch care may be taken for the ſecurity of thoſe that remain alive, as is but requiſite; till having obtain'd an Anſwer to theſe Letters, if it may be done, they ſhall return to us the Witneſſes of your Piety and Juſtice.

*Weſtminſter*, June 28. 1650.

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## *To the moſt Excellent Lord,* Anthony John Lewis dela Cerda, *Duke of* Medina Celi, *Governor of* Andaluſia. *The Council of State conſtituted by Authority of Parliament, Greeting.*

WE have receiv'd Advice from thoſe moſt accompliſh'd Perſons, whom we lately ſent with our Fleet into *Portugal* in purſuit of Traitors, and for the recovery of our Veſſels, that they were moſt civilly receiv'd by your Excellency, as often as they happen'd to touch upon the Coaſt of *Gallæcia*, which is under your Government, and aſſiſted with all things neceſſary to thoſe that perform long Voyages. This Civility of yours, as it was always moſt acceptable to us, ſo it is now more eſpecially at this time, while we are ſenſible of the ill will of others in ſome places towards us without any juſt cauſe giv'n on our ſide: Therefore we make it our requeſt to your *Illuſtrious Lordſhip*, that you will perſevere in the ſame good Will and Affection to us, and that you would continue your Favour and Aſſiſtance to our People, according to your wonted Civility, as often as our Ships put in to your Harbours: and be aſſur'd that there is nothing which we deſire of your Lordſhip in the way of Kindneſs, which we ſhall not be ready to repay both to you and yours, whenever the like occaſion ſhall be offer'd us.

Seal'd with the Seal of the Council,

*Weſtminſter*, Nov. 7.
1650.

*J. Bradſhaw*, Preſident.

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## *To the Illuſtrious and Magnificent Senate of the City of* Dantzick.

*Magnificent and moſt Noble Lords, our deareſt Friends*;

MAny Letters are brought us from our Merchants trading upon the Coaſt of *Boruſſia*, wherein they complain of a grievous Tribute impos'd upon 'em in the Grand Council of the *Polanders*, enforcing 'em to pay the tenth part of all their Goods for the Relief of the King of *Scots*, our Enemy. Which in regard it is plainly contrary to the Law of Nations, that Gueſts and Strangers ſhould be dealt withal in ſuch a manner; and moſt unjuſt that they ſhould be compell'd to pay publick Stipends in a Foreign Commonwealth to him from whom they are, by God's Aſſiſtance, deliver'd at home; we make no queſtion but that out of reſpect to that Liberty, which as we underſtand you your ſelves enjoy, you will not ſuffer ſo heavy a Burden to be laid upon Merchants in your City, wherein they have maintain'd a continual Amity and Commerce, to the extraordinary Advantage of the place for many years together. If therefore you think it convenient to undertake the Protection of our Merchants trading among ye, which we aſſuredly expect as well from your Prudence and Equity, as from the Dignity and Grandeur of your City; We ſhall take that care, that you ſhall be ſenſible from time to time, of our grateful acceptance of your Kindneſs, as often as the *Dantzichers* ſhall have any dealings within our Territories, or their Ships, as frequently it happens, put into our Ports.

*Weſtminſter*, Febr. 6. 1650.

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## *To the* Portugal *Agent.*

*Moſt Illuſtrious Lord,*

WE receiv'd your Letters dated from *Hampton* the 15th of this Month, wherein you ſignify, That you are ſent by the King of *Portugal* to the Parlament of the Commonwealth of *England*; but ſay not under what Character, whether of Embaſſador, or Agent, or Envoy, which we would willingly underſtand by your Credential Letters from the King, a Copy of which you may ſend us with all the ſpeed you can. We would alſo further know, whether you come with a Plenary Commiſſion, to give us Satisfaction for the Injuries, and to make Reparation for the Damages which your King has done this Republick, protecting our Enemy all the laſt Summer in his Harbours, and prohibiting the *Engliſh* Fleet, then ready to aſſail Rebels and Fugitives, which our Admiral had purſu'd ſo far; but never reſtraining the Enemy from falling upon ours. If you return us word that you have ample and full Commiſſion to give us Satisfaction concerning all theſe Matters, and ſend us withal a Copy of your Recommendatory Letters, we ſhall then take care, that you may with all ſpeed repair to us upon the *Publick Faith*: At which time, when we have read the King's Letters, you ſhall have liberty freely to declare what further Commands you have brought along with you.

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## *The Parlament of the Common-wealth of* England, *to the moſt Serene Prince* D. Ferdinand, *Grand Duke of* Tuſcany, *&c.*

WE have receiv'd your Highneſs's Letters, dated *April* 22. 1651. and deliver'd to us by your Reſident, *Signor Almerick Salvetti*, wherein we readily perceive how greatly your Highneſs favours the *Engliſh Name*, and the Value you have for this Nation; which not only our Merchants, that for many Years have traded in your Ports, but alſo certain of our young Nobility, either travelling through your Cities, or reſiding there for the improvement of their Studies, both teſtify and confirm. Which as they are things moſt grateful and acceptable to us; we alſo on our parts make this Requeſt to your *Highneſs*, That your *Serenity* will perſevere in your accuſtom'd good Will and Affection towards our Merchants, and other Citizens of our Republick, travelling through the *Tuſcan* Territories. On the other ſide, we promiſe and undertake, as to what concerns the Parliament, That nothing ſhall be wanting which may any way conduce to the Confirmation and Eſtabliſhment of that Commerce and mutual Friendſhip that now has been of long continuance between both Nations, and which it is our earneſt wiſh and deſire ſhould be preſerv'd to perpetuity by all Offices of Humanity, Civility, and mutual Obſervance.

*Weſtminſter*,
Jan.20.1651.

Sealed with the Seal of the Parlament, and ſubſcribed by *William Lenthall* Speaker of the Parlament of the Commonwealth of *England*.

## *The Parlament of the Commonwealth of* England, *to the Illuſtrious and Magnificent Senate of the City of* Hamborough.

*Moſt Noble, Magnificent, and Illuſtrious, our deareſt Friends;*

THE Parlament of the Commonwealth of *England*, out of their earneſt deſire to continue and preſerve the ancient Friendſhip and mutual Commerce between the *Engliſh* Nation and your City, not long ſince ſent thither *Richard Bradſhaw* Eſq; with the Character of our Reſident; and among other Inſtructions tending to the ſame purpoſe, gave him an expreſs Charge to demand Juſtice againſt certain Perſons within your Juriſdiction, who endeavour'd to murder the *Preacher* belonging to the *Engliſh* Society, and who likewiſe laid impious hands upon the Deputy-Preſident, and ſome of the principal Merchants of the ſame Company, and hurri'd 'em away aboard a Privateer. And although the aforeſaid Reſident, upon his firſt Reception and Audience, made known to your Lordſhips in a particular manner the Commands which he receiv'd from us; upon which it was expected that you would have made thoſe Criminals ere this a ſevere Example of your Juſtice: yet when we underſtood our Expectations were not anſwer'd, conſidering with our ſelves what danger both our People and their Eſtates were in, if ſufficient Proviſion were not made for their Security and Protection againſt the Malice of their Enemies, We again ſent Orders to our aforeſaid Reſident, to repreſent to your Lordſhips our Judgment upon the whole Matter; as alſo to exhort and perſwade ye, in the Name of this Republick, to be careful of preſerving the Friendſhip and Alliance contracted between this Commonwealth and your City, as alſo the Traffick and Commerce no leſs advantagious for the Intereſt of both; and to that end, that you would not fail to protect our Merchants, together with their Privileges, from all Violation, and more particularly againſt the Inſolencies of one *Garmes*, who has carry'd himſelf contumeliouſly toward this Republick, and publickly cited to the *Chamber* of *Spire*, certain Merchants of the *Engliſh* Company reſiding in your City, to the great contempt of this Commonwealth, and trouble of our Merchants; for which we expect ſuch Reparation, as ſhall be conſentaneous to Equity and Juſtice.

To treat of theſe Heads, and whatever elſe more largely belongs to the common Friendſhip of both Republicks, we have order'd our Reſident aforeſaid to attend your Lordſhips, requeſting that ample Credit may be given to him in ſuch Matters as he ſhall propoſe relating to theſe Affairs.

*Weſtminſter*, Seal'd with the Parlament Seal, and ſubſcrib'd
*Mar.* 12. 1651. *Speaker*, &c.

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## *The Parlament of the Commonwealth of* England, *to the moſt Serene* Chriſtiana, *Queen of the* Swedes, Goths *and* Vandals, *&c. Greeting.*

*Moſt Serene Queen;*

WE have receiv'd and read your Majeſty's Letters to the Parlament of *England*, dated from *Stockholm* the *26th* of *September* laſt, and deliver'd by *Peter Spering Silvercroon*; and there is nothing which we more vehemently and cordially deſire, than that the ancient Peace, Traffick and Commerce of long continuance between the *Engliſh* and *Swedes*, may prove diuturnal, and every day encreaſe. Nor did we queſtion but that your Majeſty's Embaſſador was come amply inſtructed to make thoſe Propoſals chiefly which ſhould be moſt for the Intereſt and Honour of both Nations, and which we were no leſs readily prepar'd to have heard, and to have done effectually that which ſhould have been thought moſt ſecure and beneficial on both ſides. But it pleas'd the Supreme Moderator and Governour of all things, that before he had deſir'd to be heard as to thoſe Matters which he had in charge from your Majeſty to propound to the Parlament, he departed this Life, (whoſe loſs we took with that heavineſs and ſorrow, as became Perſons whom it no leſs behov'd to acquieſce in the Will of the Almighty) whence it comes to paſs that we are prevented hitherto from knowing your Majeſty's Pleaſure, and that there is a ſtop at preſent put to this Negotiation. Wherefore we thought we could do no leſs then by theſe our Letters, which we have given to our Meſſenger on purpoſe ſent with theſe unhappy Tydings, to ſignify to your Majeſty, how acceptable your Letters, how grateful your publick Miniſter were to the *Parlament of the Commonwealth of* England; as alſo how earneſtly we expect your Friendſhip, and how highly we ſhall value the Amity of ſo great a Princeſs; aſſuring your Majeſty, that we have thoſe Thoughts of encreaſing the Commerce between this Republick and your Majeſty's Kingdom, as we ought to have of a thing of the higheſt Importance, which for that reaſon will be moſt acceptable to the *Parlament of the Commonwealth of* England. And ſo we recommend your Majeſty to the protection of the Divine Providence.

*Weſtminſter*, Seal'd with the Parlament Seal, and Subſcrib'd,
*March*—1651. *Speaker*, &c.

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### *The Parlament of the Commonwealth of* England, *to the moſt Serene and Potent Prince*, Philip *the Fourth*, *King of* Spain, *Greeting*.

THE Merchants of this Commonwealth, who trade in your Majeſties Territories, make loud Complaints of extraordinary Violence and Injuries offer'd 'em, and of new Tributes impoſ'd upon 'em by the Governours and other Officers of your Ports and Places where they traffick, and particularly in the *Canary* Iſlands, and this againſt the Articles of the League ſolemnly ratifi'd by both Nations on the account of Trade; the truth of which Complaints they have confirm'd by Oath. And they make it out before us, that unleſs they can enjoy their Privileges, and that their Loſſes be repair'd; laſtly, That except they may have ſome certain Safeguard and Protection for themſelves and their Eſtates againſt thoſe Violences and Injuries, they can no longer traffick in thoſe Places. Which Complaints of theirs being duly weigh'd by us, and believing the unjuſt Proceedings of thoſe Miniſters, either not at all to have reach'd your Knowledg, or elſe to have been untruly repreſented to your Majeſty, we deem'd it convenient to ſend the Complaints themſelves, together with theſe our Letters, to your Majeſty. Nor do we queſtion but that your Majeſty, as well out of your love of Juſtice, as for the ſake of that Commerce no leſs gainful to your Subjects than our People, will command your Governours to deſiſt from thoſe unjuſt Oppreſſions of our Merchants, and ſo order it, that they may obtain ſpeedy Juſtice, and due Satisfaction for thoſe Injuries done 'em by *Don Pedro de Carillo de Guzman*, and others; and that your Majeſty will take care that the Merchants aforeſaid may reap the Fruit of thoſe Articles; and be ſo far under your Protection, that both their Perſons and their Eſtates may be ſecure and free from all manner of Injury and Vexation. And this they believe they ſhall for the greateſt part obtain, if your Majeſty will be pleas'd to reſtore 'em that Expedient, taken from 'em, of a Judg Conſervator, who may be able to defend 'em from a new Conſulſhip more uneaſie to 'em; leſt if no ſhelter from Injuſtice be allow'd 'em, there ſhould follow a neceſſity of breaking off that Commerce which has hitherto brought great Advantages to both Nations, while the Articles of the League are violated in ſuch a manner.

*Weſtm. Aug.*— 1651.

## *To the moſt Serene Prince, the Duke of* Venice, *and the moſt Illuſtrious Senate.*

*Moſt Serene Prince, moſt Illuſtrious Senate, our deareſt Friends;*

CErtain of our Merchants, by name *John Dickins*, and *Job Throkmorton*, with others, have made their Complaints unto us, That upon the 28*th* of *November* 1651, having ſeiz'd upon a hundred Buts of *Caveare* in the Veſſel called the *Swallow*, riding in the *Downs*, *Iſdac Taylour* Maſter, which were their own proper Goods, and laden aboard the ſame Ship in the *Muſcovite* Bay of *Archangel*, and this by the Authority of our Court of Admiralty; in which Court, the Suit being there depending, they obtain'd a Decree for the delivery of the ſaid Buts of *Caveare* into their poſſeſſion, they having firſt given Security to abide by the Sentence of that Court: And that the ſaid Court, to the end the ſaid Suit might be brought to a Concluſion, having written Letters, according to cuſtom, to the Magiſtrates and Judges of *Venice*; wherein they requeſted liberty to cite *John Piatti* to appear by his Proctor in the *Engliſh* Court of Admiralty, where the Suit depended, and prove his Right: Nevertheleſs that the ſaid *Piatti*, and one *David Rutts* a *Hollander*, while this Cauſe depends here in our Court, put the ſaid *John Dickins*, and thoſe other Merchants, to a vaſt deal of trouble about the ſaid *Caveare*, and ſolicite the Seizure of their Goods and Eſtates as forfeited for Debt. All which things, and whatever elſe has hitherto been done in our foreſaid Court, is more at large ſet forth in thoſe Letters of Requeſt aforemention'd; which after we had view'd, we thought proper to be tranſmitted to the moſt Serene Republick of *Venice*, to the end they might be aſſiſtant to our Merchants in this Cauſe. Upon the whole, therefore, it is our earneſt Requeſt to your Highneſs, and the moſt Illuſtrious Senate, That not only thoſe Letters may obtain their due Force and Weight; but alſo that the Goods and Eſtates of the Merchants, which the foreſaid *Piatti* and *David Rutts*, have endeavour'd to make liable to Forfeiture, may be diſcharg'd; and that the ſaid Defendants may be referr'd hither to our Court, to try what Right they have in their Claim to this *Caveare*. Wherein your Highneſs, and the moſt Serene Republick will do as well what is moſt juſt in it ſelf, as what is truly becoming the ſpotleſs Amity between both Republicks: And laſtly, what will gratefnlly be recompenc'd by the good Will and kind Offices of this Republick, whenever Occaſion offers.

*Whitehall*, Feb. —
1652.

Seal'd with the Seal of the Council, and Subſcrib'd
*Preſident* of the Council.

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## *To the* Spaniſh Embaſſador.

*Moſt Excellent Lord,*

THE Council of State, according to a Command from the Parlament, dated the 2*d* of *March*, having taken into ſerious deliberation your Excellencies Paper of the 15*th* of *February*, deliver'd to the Commiſſioners of this Council, wherein it ſeem'd good to your Excellency to propoſe that a Reply might be given to two certain Heads therein ſpecify'd as previous, returns the following Anſwer to your Excellency.

The Parlament when they gave an Anſwer to thoſe things which were propos'd by your Excellency at your firſt Audience, as alſo in thoſe Letters which they wrote to the moſt Serene King of *Spain*, gave real and ample Demonſtrations how grateful and how acceptable that Friendſhip and that mutual Alliance which was offer'd by his Royal Majeſty, and by your ſelf in his Name, would be to 'em; and how fully they were reſolv'd, as far as in them lay, to make the ſame Returns of Friendſhip and good Offices.

After that, it ſeem'd good to your Excellency, at your firſt Audience in Council upon the 19*th* of *December Oldſtile*, to propound to this Council, as

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a certain Ground or Method for an auſpicious Commencement of a ſtricter Amity, that ſome of their Body might be nominated, who might hear what your Excellency had to propoſe; and who having well weigh'd the benefit that might redound from thence, ſhould ſpeedily report the ſame to the Council. To which requeſt of yours that ſatisfaction might be given, the Council appointed certain of their number to attend your Excellency, which was done accordingly. But inſtead of thoſe things which were expected to have bin propounded, the Conference produc'd no more than the abovemention'd Paper: To which the Anſwer of the Council is this.

When the Parlament ſhall have declar'd their Minds, and your Excellency ſhall have made the Progreſs as above expected, we ſhall be ready to confer with your Excellency, and to treat of ſuch Matters as you ſhall propoſe in the Name of the King your Maſter, as well in reference to the Friendſhip already concluded, as the entring into another more ſtrict and binding; or as to any thing elſe which ſhall be offer'd by our ſelves in the Name of this Republick: And when we deſcend to Particulars, we ſhall return ſuch Anſwers as are moſt proper, and the Nature of the thing propos'd ſhall require.

*Whitehall*, March 21. 1652.

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## *The Parlament of the Common-wealth of* England, *to the moſt Serene Prince* Frederick *the Third, King of* Denmark, *&c. Greeting.*

*Moſt Serene and Potent King,*

WE have receiv'd your Majeſty's Letters, dated from *Copenhagen* the 21*ſt* of *December* laſt, and deliver'd to the Parlament of the Commonwealth of *England* by the Noble *Henry Willemſem Roſenwyng de Lynſacker*, and moſt gladly perus'd 'em, with that affection of mind which the Matters therein propounded juſtly merit, and requeſt your Majeſty to be fully perſwaded of this, That the ſame Inclinations, the ſame Deſires of continuing and preſerving the ancient Friendſhip, Commerce, and Alliance for ſo many Years maintain'd between *England* and *Denmark*, which are in your Majeſty, are alſo in us. Not being ignorant, that though it has pleas'd Divine Providence, beholding this Nation with ſuch a benign and favourable Aſpect, to change for the better the receiv'd Form of the former Government among us; nevertheleſs, that the ſame Intereſts on both ſides, the ſame common Advantages, the ſame mutual Alliance and Free Traffick which produc'd the former Leagues and Confederacies between both Nations, ſtill endure and obtain their former Force and Virtue, and oblige both to make it their common ſtudy, by rendring thoſe Leagues the moſt beneficial that may be to each other, to eſtabliſh alſo a nearer and ſounder Friendſhip for the time to come. And if your Majeſty ſhall be pleas'd to purſue thoſe Counſels which are manifeſted in your Royal Letters, the Parlament will be ready to embrace the ſame with all Alacrity and Fidelity, and to contribute all thoſe things to the utmoſt of their power, which they ſhall think may conduce to that end. And they perſwade themſelves that your Majeſty for this reaſon, will take thoſe Counſels in reference to this Republick, which may facilitate the good ſucceſs of thoſe things propounded by your Majeſty to our ſelves ſo deſirous of your Amity. In the mean time the Parlament wiſhes all Happineſs and Proſperity to your Majeſty and People.

*Weſtminſter*, April —
1652.

Under the Seal of the Parlament, and ſubſcrib'd
in its Name, and by the Authority of it,
*Speaker*, &c.

*The*

### *The Parlament of the Common-wealth of* England, *to the moſt Illuſtriou and Magnificent, the Proconſuls and Senators of the* Hanſe-Towns, *Greeting.*

*Moſt Noble, Magnificent, and Illuſtrious, our deareſt Friends ;*

THE *Parlament of the Common-wealth of* England, has both receiv'd and perus'd your Letters of the 16*th* of *January* laſt, deliver'd by your Publick Miniſter *Leo ab Ayſema*, and by their Authority have given him Audience; at what time he declar'd the cordial and friendly Inclinations of your Cities toward this Republick, and deſir'd that the ancient Friendſhip might ſtill remain on both ſides. The Parlament therefore, for their parts, declare and aſſure your Lordſhips, That they deem nothing more grateful to themſelves, than that the ſame Friendſhip and Alliance which has hitherto bin maintain'd between this Nation and thoſe Cities, ſhould be renew'd, and firmly ratify'd; and that they will be ready upon all occaſions fitly offer'd, what they promiſe in Words, ſolemnly to perform in real Deeds; and expect that their ancient Friends and Confederates ſhould deal by them with the ſame Truth and Integrity. But as to thoſe things which your Reſident has more particularly in charge, in regard they were by us referr'd entire to the *Council of State*, and his Propoſals were to be there conſider'd, they tranſacted with him there, and gave him ſuch Anſwers, as ſeem'd moſt conſentaneous to Equity and Reaſon, of which your Reſident is able to give you an Account; whoſe Prudence and conſpicuous Probity proclaim him worthy the publick Character by you conferr'd upon him.

*Weſtminſter*, April—
1652.

Under the Seal of the Parlament, in the
Name, and by the Authority of it,
Subſcrib'd, *Speaker*, &c.

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### *The Parlament of the Common-wealth of* England, *to the Illuſtrious and Magnificent Senate of the City of* Hamborough, *Greeting.*

*Moſt Noble, Magnificent, and Illuſtrious, our deareſt Friends ;*

THE Parlament of the Common-wealth of *England* has receiv'd and perus'd your Letters, dated from *Hamborough* the 15*th* of *January* laſt, and deliver'd by the Noble *Leo ab Ayſema*, yours and the reſt of the *Hanſeatic* Cities Reſident, and by their own Authority gave him Audience; and as to what other particular Commands he had from your City, they have referr'd 'em to the Council of State, and gave 'em Orders to receive his Propoſals, and to treat with him as ſoon as might be, concerning all ſuch things as ſeem'd to be Juſt and Equal: which was alſo done accordingly. And as the Parlament has made it manifeſt, that they will have a due regard to what ſhall be propos'd by your Lordſhips, and have teſtify'd their ſingular Goodwill toward your City, by ſending their Reſident thither, and commanding his Abode there; ſo on the other ſide they expect and deſervedly require from your Lordſhips, that the ſame Equity be return'd to them, in things which are to the Benefit of this Republick, either already propos'd, or hereafter to be propounded by our ſaid Reſident in their Name to your City, anciently our Friend and Confederate.

*Weſtminſter, April*—
1652.

Under the Seal of the Parlament, in the
Name, and by the Authority of it,
Subſcrib'd, *Speaker*, &c.

## *The Council of State of the Republick of* England, *to the moſt Serene Prince* Ferdinand *the Second, Grand Duke of* Tuſcany, *Greeting.*

THE *Council of State* being inform'd by Letters from *Charles Longland*, who takes care of the Affairs of the *Engliſh* in your Highneſſes Court of *Legborn*, that lately fourteen Men of War, belonging to the *United Provinces*, came into that Harbour, and openly threatned to ſink or burn the *Engliſh* Ships that were riding in your Port; but that your *Serenity*, whoſe Protection and Succour the *Engliſh* Merchants implor'd, gave Command to the Governour of *Legborn*, that he ſhould aſſiſt and defend the *Engliſh* Veſſels, they deem'd it their Duty to certify to your Highneſs how acceptable that Kindneſs and Protection which you ſo favourably afforded the *Engliſh* Nation, was to this Republick; and do promiſe your Highneſs that they will always keep in remembrance the Merit of ſo deſerving a Favour, and will be ready upon all occaſions to make the ſame returns of Friendſhip and good Offices to your People, and to do all things elſe which may conduce to the preſervation and continuance of the uſual Amity and Commerce between both Nations. And whereas the *Dutch* Men of War, even in the time of Treaty offer'd by themſelves, were ſo highly perfidious, as to fall upon our Fleet in our own Roads, (in which foul Attempt, God, as moſt juſt Arbiter, ſhew'd himſelf offended and oppoſite to their Deſign) but alſo in the Ports of Foreigners endeavour'd to take or ſink our Merchant Veſſels; we thought it alſo neceſſary to ſend this Declaration alſo of the Parlament of the Commonwealth of *England*, to your Highneſs, the publiſhing of which was occaſion'd by the Controverſies at preſent ariſen between this Republick and the *United Provinces*. By which your Highneſs may eaſily perceive how unjuſt and contrary to all the Laws of God and of Nations thoſe People have acted againſt this Republick; and how cordially the Parlament labour'd, for the ſake of pnblick Tranquillity, to have retain'd their priſtin Friendſhip and Alliance.

*White-Hall*, July 29.
1652.

In the Name, and by the Authority of
the Council, ſubſcrib'd, *Preſident*.

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## *To the* Spaniſh *Embaſſador.*

*Moſt Excellent Lord*,

THE *Council of State*, upon mature deliberation of that Paper which they receiv'd from your Excellency, $\frac{27\ \textit{May}}{6\ \text{of}\ \textit{June}}$ 1652. as alſo upon that which your Excellency at your Audience the $\frac{6}{16}$ of this Month deliver'd to the Council, return this Anſwer to both thoſe Papers: That the Parlament, &c. was always very deſirous of preſerving the firm Friendſhip and good Peace ſettled at preſent between this Republick and his Royal Majeſty of *Spain*, from the time that firſt your Excellency ſignify'd the tendency of his Majeſty's Inclinations that way, and was always ready to ratify and confirm the ſame to the benefit and advantage of both Nations. And this the Council of State in the Name, and by Command of the Parlament, in their Papers oftimes made known to your Excellency; and particularly, according to your Excellency's deſire, made choice of Commiſſioners to attend and receive from your Excellency ſuch Propoſals as might conduce to the ſame purpoſe. At which meeting, inſtead of making ſuch Propoſals, it ſeem'd good to your Excellency only to propound ſome general Matters, as it were previous to a future Conference, concerning which it ſeem'd to the Council that the Parlament had in former Papers fully made known their Sentiments. Nevertheleſs, for more ample and accumulative ſatisfaction, and to remove all Scruples from your Excellency concerning thoſe Matters which they at that time propos'd, the Council in that Paper, dated $\frac{31\ \textit{March},}{10\ \textit{April},}$ declar'd themſelves ready to come to a Conference with your Excellency concerning thoſe things which you had in charge from his Royal Majeſty, as well in reference to the priſtin Amity, as to any farther Negotiation; as alſo touching ſuch Matters as ſhould be exhibited by us, in the name of this Republick; and when we came to ſuch Particulars as were to the purpoſe, and the nature of the thing requir'd, then to give convenient Anſwers. To which it ſeem'd good to your Excellency to make no Reply, nor to proceed any farther in that Affair for almoſt two Months. About that time the Council receiv'd from your Excellency your firſt Paper, dated $\frac{27\ \text{May,}}{6\ \text{June.}}$ wherein you only made this Propoſal, That the Articles of Peace and League between the late King *Charles* and your Maſter, dated the $\frac{6}{16}$ of *November* 1630. might be review'd, and that the ſeveral Heads of it might be either enlarg'd or left out according to the preſent condition of times and things, and the late *Alteration of Government.* Which being no more than what we our ſelves briefly and clearly ſignify'd in our foreſaid Paper of the $\frac{31\ \text{March,}}{10\ \text{April,}}$ the Council expected that ſome particular Articles would have bin propounded out of that League, with thoſe Amplifications and Alterations of which you made mention; ſince otherwiſe it is impoſſible for us to return any other Anſwer concerning this matter than what we have already given. And whereas your Excellency in your laſt Paper ſeems to charge us with delay, the Council therefore took a ſecond review of the foreſaid Paper of the $\frac{27\ \text{of May,}}{6\ \text{of Jun,}}$ and of what was therein propounded, and are ſtill of opinion, that they have fully ſatisfy'd your Excellency in that former Paper: to which they can only farther add, That ſo ſoon as your Excellency ſhall be pleas'd, either out of the Leagues already made, or in any other manner, to frame ſuch Conditions as ſhall be accommodated to the preſent ſtate of Things and Times, upon which you deſire to have the foundations of Friendſhip laid on your ſide, they will immediately return you ſuch Anſwers as by them ſhall be thought juſt and reaſonable, and which ſhall be ſufficient Teſtimonials that the Parlament ſtill perſeveres in the ſame deſires of preſerving an untainted and firm Amity with the King your Maſter, and that on their parts they will omit no honeſt Endeavours, and worthy of themſelves, to advance it to the higheſt Perfection.

Furthermore the Council deems it to be a part of their Duty, that your Excellency ſhould be put in mind of that Paper of ours, dated *Jan.* 30. 1651. to which in regard your Excellency has return'd no Anſwer as yet, we preſs and expect that ſatisfaction be given to the Parlament, as to what is therein mention'd.

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## *The Anſwer of the Council of State to the Reply of the Lords Embaſſadors Extraordinary from the King of* Denmark *and* Norway, *deliver'd to the Commiſſioners of the Council, to the Anſwer which the Council gave to their fourteen Demands.*

TO the end that Satisfaction may be given to the foreſaid Lords Embaſſadors in reference to the Anſwer of the Council to the fifth, ſixth, ſeventh, eighth and ninth Article, the Council conſents that this following Clauſe ſhall be added at the end of their Anſwers: That is to ſay, beſides ſuch Colonies, Iſlands, Ports and Places under the Dominion of either Party, to which it is by Law provided that no body ſhall reſort upon the account of Trade or Commerce, unleſs upon ſpecial leave firſt obtain'd of that Party to which that Colony, Iſland, Port or Places belong.

The receiving of any Perſon into any Ship that ſhall be driven in by ſtreſs of Weather into the Rivers, Ports or Bays belonging to either Party, ſhall not render that Veſſel liable to any trouble or ſearch, by the Anſwer of the Council to the eleventh Article, as the foreſaid Lords Embaſſadors in their Reply ſeem to have underſtood, unleſs it be where ſuch a receiving ſhall be againſt the Laws, Statutes, or Cuſtom of that Place where the Veſſel put in, wherein it ſeems to the Council, that there is nothing of ſeverity ordain'd, but what equally conduces to the ſecurity of both Republicks.

As to the proving the Property of ſuch Ships and Goods as ſhall be caſt aſhore by Shipwrack, the Council deems it neceſſary that an Oath be adminiſtred in thoſe Courts which are already, or ſhall hereafter be conſtituted; where the Claimers may be ſeverally heard, and every body's Right be determin'd and adjudg'd, which cannot be ſo clearly and ſtrictly done by written Certificates, whence many Scruples and Doubts may ariſe, and many Frauds and Deceits creep into that ſort of Proof, which it concerns both Parties to prevent. The Council alſo deems it juſt, that a certain time be prefix'd, before which time, whoever does not prove himſelf the lawful Owner of the ſaid Goods, ſhall be excluded to avoid Suits. But as to the manner of putting periſhable Goods to ſale that are caſt aſhore by Shipwrack, the Council thinks it meet to propoſe the way of ſelling by inch of Candle, as being the moſt probable means to procure the true Value of the Goods for the beſt advantage of the Proprietors. Nevertheleſs, if the foreſaid Lords Embaſſadors ſhall propoſe any other method already found out which may more properly conduce to this end, the Council will be no hinderance, but that what is juſt may be put in practice. Neither is it to be underſtood, that the Conſideration of this matter ſhall put any ſtop to the Treaty.

As to the Puniſhment of thoſe who ſhall violate the propounded Treaty, the Council has made that Addition which is mention'd in their Anſwer to the fourteenth Article, for the greater force and efficacy of that Article, and thereby to render the League it ſelf more firm and laſting.

As to the laſt Clauſe of the fourteenth Article, we think it not proper to give our Aſſent to thoſe Leagues and Alliances, of which mention is made in the aforeſaid Anſwers, and which are only generally propounded, before it be more clearly apparent to us what they are. Bnt when your Excellencies ſhall be pleas'd to explain thoſe Matters more clearly to the Council, we may be able to give a more expreſs Anſwer to thoſe Particulars.

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## *A Reply of the Council of State to the Anſwer of the foreſaid Lords Embaſſadors, which was return'd to the ſix Articles propounded by the Council aforeſaid, in the Name of the Republick of* England.

THE Council having view'd the Commiſſions of the foreſaid Lords Embaſſadors, giving them Power to tranſact with the Parlament or their Commiſſioners, concerning all things expedient to be tranſacted in order to the reviving the old Leagues or adding new ones, believ'd indeed the foreſaid Lords to have bin furniſh'd with that Authority as to be able to return Anſwers, and negotiate all things, as well ſuch as ſhould be propounded by this Republick, as on the behalf of the *King of Denmark and Norway*, and ſo did not expect the Replies which it has pleas'd the foreſaid Lords Embaſſadors to give to the *firſt*, *ſecond*, third and *fifth* Demand of the Council, whereby of neceſſity a ſtop will be put to this Treaty, in regard it is but juſt in it ſelf, and ſo reſolv'd on in Council to comprehend the whole League, and to treat at the ſame time as well concerning thoſe things which regard this Republick, as thoſe other Matters which concern the King of *Denmark* and *Norway*. Wherefore it is the earneſt deſire of the Council, that your Excellencies would be pleas'd to return an Anſwer to our firſt, ſecond, third and fifth Demand.

As to the fourth Article concerning the Cuſtoms of *Gluckſtadt*, in regard they are now aboliſh'd, as your Excellencies have mention'd in your Anſwer, the Council preſſes that their Abrogation may be ratifi'd by this Treaty, leſt they ſhould be re-impos'd hereafter.

As to the ſixth Article concerning Pyracy, the Council inſerted it, as equally appertaining to the benefit of both, and to the eſtabliſhing of Trade in common, which is much diſturb'd by Pyrates and Sea-Robbers. And whereas the Anſwer of the Lords Embaſſadors, as to this Article, relates only to Enemies, but makes no mention of Pyrates, the Council therefore deſires a more diſtinct Reply to it.

And whereas the foreſaid Lords Embaſſadors in their Reply to the Anſwer of the Council have paſs'd over both their tenth Article, and the Anſwer of the Council to it, the Council have thought it neceſſary to add this following Article to their following Demands:

That the people and Inhabitants of the Republick of *England* trading into any Kingdoms, Regions, or Territories of the King of *Denmark* and *Norway*, ſhall not for the future pay any more Cuſtoms, Tribute, Taxes, Duties or Stipends, or in any other manner than the People of the *United Provinces*, or any other Foreign Nation that pays the leaſt, coming in or going out of Harbour; and ſhall enjoy the ſame and as equally ample Freedom, Privileges and Immunities, both coming and going, and ſo long as they ſhall reſide in the Country, as alſo in fiſhing, trading, or in any other manner which any other People of a Foreign Nation enjoys, or may enjoy in the foreſaid Kingdoms, and throughout the whole Dominions of the ſaid King of *Denmark* and *Norway:* Which Privileges alſo the Subjects of the King of *Denmark* and *Norway* ſhall equally enjoy throughout all the Territories and Dominions of the *Republick* of *England.*

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## *The Council of State of the Republick of* England, *to the moſt Serene Prince,* Ferdinand *the Second, Grand Duke of* Tuſcany, *Greeting.*

*Moſt Serene Prince, our deareſt Friend;*

THE *Council of State* underſtanding, as well by your Highneſs's Agent here reſiding, as by *Charles Longland*, chief Factor for the *Engliſh* at *Leghorn*, with what Affection and Fidelity your Highneſs undertook the Protection of the *Engliſh* Veſſels putting into the Port of *Leghorn* for ſhelter, againſt the *Dutch* Men of War threatning 'em with nothing but Ranſack and Deſtruction, by their Leters of the *29th* of *July* (which they hope are by this time come to your Highneſs's hands) have made known to your Highneſs how grateful and how acceptable it was to 'em; and at the ſame time ſent to your *Serenity* a Declaration of the *Parlament of the Commonwealth of* England concerning the preſent Differences between this *Republick* and the *United Provinces.* And whereas the Council has again bin inform'd by the ſame *Charles Longland*, what further Commands your Highneſs gave for the ſecurity and defence of the *Engliſh* Veſſels, notwithſtanding the oppoſite Endeavours of the *Dutch*, they deem'd this opportunity not to be paſs'd over, to let your Highneſs underſtand once more, how highly they eſteem your Juſtice and ſingular Conſtancy in defending their Veſſels, and how acceptable they took ſo great a piece of Service. Which being no mean teſtimony of your ſolid Friendſhip and Affection to this Republick, your Highneſs may aſſure your ſelf, that the ſame Offices of Kindneſs and good Will towards your Highneſs ſhall never be wanting in us; ſuch as may be able to demonſtrate how firmly we are reſolv'd to cultivate both long and conſtantly, to the utmoſt of our Power, that Friendſhip which is between your *Serenity* and this Republick. In the mean time we have expreſly commanded all our Ships upon their entrance into your Ports, not to fail of paying the accuſtom'd Salutes by firing their Guns, and to give all other due Honours to your Highneſs.

Seal'd with the Council-Seal,
and ſubſcrib'd, *Preſident.*

*White-Hall*, Sept.——1652.

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## *To the* Spaniſh *Embaſſador,* Alphonſo de Cardenas.

*Moſt Excellent Lord,*

YOur Excellency's Letters of the $\frac{1}{11}$ of *November* 1652. deliver'd by your Secretary, together with two Petitions inclos'd, concerning the Ships, the *Sampſon* and *Sun Salvadore*, were read in Council. To which the Council returns this Anſwer, That the *Engliſh* Man of War meeting with the aforeſaid Ships, not in the *Downs*, as your Excellency writes, but in the open Sea, brought 'em into Port as Enemies Ships, and therefore lawful Prize; and the Court of Admiralty, to which it properly belongs to take cognizance of all Cauſes of this nature, have undertaken to determin the Right in diſpute. Where all Parties concern'd on both ſides ſhall be fully and freely heard, and you may be aſſur'd that Right ſhall take place. We have alſo ſent your Excellency's requeſt to the Judges of that Court, to the end we may more certainly underſtand what progreſs they have made in their proceeding to Judgment. Of which ſo ſoon as we are rightly inform'd, we ſhall take care that ſuch Orders ſhall be given in this matter, as ſhall correſpond with Juſtice, and become the Friendſhip that is between this Republick and your King. Nor are we leſs confident, that his Royal Majeſty will by no means permit the Goods of the Enemies of this Commonwealth to be conceal'd, and eſcape due Confiſcation under the ſhelter of being own'd by his Subjects.

Seal'd with the Council-Seal, and ſubſcrib'd,

*White-Hall*, Nov. 11.
1652.

*William Maſham*, Preſident.

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## *To the* Spaniſh *Embaſſador.*

*Moſt Excellent Lord,*

BUT lately the Council has bin inform'd by Captain *Badiley*, Admiral of the Fleet of this *Republick* in the *Streights*, that after he himſelf, together with three other Men of War, had for two days together engag'd eleven of the *Dutch*, put into *Porto Longone*, as well to repair the Damages he had receiv'd in the Fight, as alſo to ſupply himſelf with Warlike Ammunition; where the Governour of the Place perform'd all the good Offices of a moſt juſt and courteous Perſon, as well towards his own, as the reſt of the Men of War under his Conduct. Now in regard that that ſame Place is under the Dominion of the moſt Serene King of *Spain*, the *Council* cannot but look upon the ſingular Civility of that Gariſon to be the copious fruit of that ſtricter mutual Amity ſo auſpiciouſly commenc'd; and therefore deem it to be a part of their Duty to return their Thanks to his Majeſty for a Kindneſs ſo opportunely receiv'd, and deſire your Excellency to ſignify this to your moſt Serene King, and to aſſure him that the *Parlament of the Commonwealth of* England will be always ready to make the ſame returns of Friendſhip and Civility upon all occaſions offer'd.

Seal'd with the Council-Seal, and ſubſcrib'd,

*Weſtminſter*, Nov. 11.
1652.

*William Maſham*, Preſident.

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## *The Parlament of the Commonwealth of* England, *to the moſt Serene Prince,* Ferdinand *the Second, Grand Duke of* Tuſcany, *Greeting.*

*Moſt Serene Prince, our deareſt Friend;*

THE *Parlament of the Commonwealth of* England has receiv'd your Letters dated from *Florence*, *Auguſt* 17. concerning the reſtitution of a certain Ship laden with Rice, which Ship is claim'd by Captain *Cardi* of *Legborn*. And though the Judges of our Admiralty have already pronounc'd Sentence in that Cauſe againſt the foreſaid *Cardi*, and that there be an Appeal depending before the Delegates; yet upon your Highneſs's Requeſt, the Parlament, to teſtify how much they value the good Will and Alliance of a Prince ſo much their Friend, have given order to thoſe who are entruſted with this Affair, that the ſaid Ship, together with the Rice, or at leaſt the full Price of it be reſtor'd to the foreſaid Captain *Cardi*; the fruit of which Command his Proctor here has effectually already reap'd. And as your

Highneſs by favourably affording your Patronage and Protection to the Ships of the *Engliſh* in your Port of *Legborn*, has in a more eſpecial manner ty'd the Parlament to your Serenity; ſo will they, on the other ſide, take care, as often as opportunity offers, that all their Offices of ſincere Friendſhip and good Will towards your Highneſs may be ſolidly effectual and permanent; withal recommending your Highneſs to the Divine Benignity and Protection of the Almighty.

*Weſtminſter*, Nov. 1652.

Seal'd with the Seal of the Commonwealth, and ſubſcrib'd,
*Speaker*, &c.

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## *The Parlament of the Commonwealth of* England, *to the moſt Serene and Potent Prince, King of* Denmark, *&c.*

*Moſt Serene and Potent King,*

THE *Parlament of the Commonwealth of* England have receiv'd Information from their Admiral of that Fleet ſo lately ſent to *Copenhagen*, your Majeſty's Port, to convoy our Merchants homeward bound, that the foreſaid Ships are not permitted to return along with him, as being detain'd by your Majeſty's Command; and upon his producing your Royal Letters declaring your Juſtifications of the matter of Fact, the Parlament denies that the Reaſons laid down in thoſe Letters for the detaining of thoſe Ships are any way ſatisfactory to 'em. Therefore that ſome ſpeedy Remedy may be appli'd in a matter of ſo great moment, and ſo highly conducing to the proſperity of both Nations, for preventing a greater perhaps enſuing miſchief, the Parlament have ſent their *Reſident* at *Hamborough*, *Richard Bradſhaw*, Eſquire, a Perſon of great Worth and known Fidelity, with expreſs Commands to treat with your Majeſty, as their Agent alſo in *Denmark*, concerning this Affair: And therefore we entreat your Majeſty to give him a favourable Audience and ample Credit in whatever he ſhall propoſe to your Majeſty on our behalf, in reference to this matter; in the mean time recommending your Majeſty to the Protection of Divine Providence.

*Weſtminſter*, Nov. 6. 1652.

Under the Seal of the Parlament, and in their Name, and by their Authority, ſubſcrib'd,
*Speaker*, &c.

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## *The Parlament of the Commonwealth of* England, *to the moſt Serene Prince the Duke of* Venice, *Greeting.*

THE *Parlament of the Commonwealth of* England has receiv'd your Highneſs's Letters, dated *June* 1. 1652. and deliver'd by *Lorenzo Pallutio*, wherein they not only gladly perceive both yours, and the cordial Inclinations of the Senate toward this Republick, but have willingly laid hold of this opportunity to declare their ſingular Affection and good Will towards the moſt Serene Republick of *Venice*; which they ſhall be always ready to make manifeſt both really and ſincerely, as often as opportunity offers. To whom alſo all the ways and means that ſhall be propounded to 'em for the preſerving or encreaſing mutual Friendſhip and Alliance, ſhall be ever moſt acceptable. In the mean time we heartily pray that all things proſperous, all things favourable, may befal your Highneſs and the moſt Serene Republick.

*Weſtminſter*, December, 1652.

Seal'd with the Parlament-Seal, and ſubſcrib'd,
*Speaker*, &c.

## *The Parlament of the Republick of* England, *to the moſt Serene Prince,* Ferdinand *the Second, Grand Duke of* Tuſcany, *Greeting.*

ALthough the Parlament of the Republick of *England* ſome time ſince redoubl'd their Commands to all the chief Captains and Maſters of Ships arriving in the Ports belonging to your Highneſs, to carry themſelves peacefully and civilly, and with becoming obſervance and Duty to a moſt Serene Prince, whoſe Friendſhip this Republick ſo earneſtly endeavours to preſerve, as having bin oblig'd by ſo many great Kindneſſes; an Accident altogether unexpected has fallen out, through the Inſolence, as they hear, of Captain *Appleton* in the Port of *Leghorn*, who offer'd Violence to the Sentinel then doing his Duty upon the Mole, againſt the Faith and Duty which he owes this Republick, and in contempt of the Reverence and Honour which is juſtly owing to your Highneſs: the relation of which Action, as it was really committed, the Parlament has underſtood by your Letters of the *7th* and *9th* of *December*, dated from *Florence*; as alſo more at large by the moſt Worthy *Almeric Salvetti*, your Reſident here. And they have ſo ſincerely laid to heart your Highneſs's Honour, which is the main concern of this Complaint, that they have referr'd it to the *Council of State*, to take care that Letters be ſent to Capt. *Appleton*, to come away without ſtop or ſtay by Land, in order to his giving an Account of this unwonted and extraordinary Act (a Copy of which Letters is ſent herewith enclos'd) who ſo ſoon as he ſhall arrive, and be accus'd of the Fact, we promiſe that ſuch a courſe ſhall be taken with him, as may ſufficiently teſtify that we no leſs heinouſly brook the violation of your Right, than the infringement of our own Authority. Moreover, upon mature Debate concerning the recover'd Ship, call'd the *Phœnix* of *Leghorn*, which Affair is alſo related and preſs'd by your Highneſs and your Reſident here, to have bin done by Captain *Appleton*, contrary to promiſe given, whereby he was oblig'd not to fall upon even the *Hollanders* themſelves within ſight of the *Lantborn*; and that your Highneſs, truſting to that Faith, promis'd ſecurity to the *Hollanders* upon your word; and therefore that we ought to take care for the ſatisfaction of thoſe who ſuffer damage under the Protection of your Promiſe; the Parlament begs of your Excellency to be aſſur'd, That this Fact, as it was committed without their Advice or Command, ſo it is moſt remote from their Will and Intention that your Highneſs ſhould undergo any Detriment or Diminution of your Honour by it. Rather they will make it their buſineſs that ſome Expedient may be found out for your Satisfaction, according to the nature of the Fact upon Examination of the whole matter. Which that they may ſo much the more fully underſtand, they deem it neceſſary that Captain *Appleton* himſelf ſhould be heard, who was bound by the ſame Faith, and is thought by your Excellency at leaſt to have conſented to the violation of it; eſpecially ſince he is ſo ſuddenly to return home. And ſo ſoon as the Parlament has heard him, and have more at large conferr'd with your Reſident concerning this matter of no ſmall moment, they will pronounce that Sentence that ſhall be Juſt, and conſentaneous to that extream good-will which they bear to your Highneſs, and no way unworthy the favours by you conferr'd upon 'em. Of which, that your Highneſs might not make the leaſt queſtion in the mean time, we were willing to certify your Highneſs by this Expreſs on purpoſe ſent, that we ſhall omit no opportunity to teſtify how greatly we value your Friendſhip.

*Weſtminſter*, Decemb.
14. 1652.

Seal'd with the Parlament Seal,
and Subſcrib'd,
*Speaker*, &c.

*The*

## *The Council of State of the Republick of* England, *to the moſt Seren Prince,* Frederick, Heire *of* Norway, *Duke of* Sleſwick, Holſatia, Stormaria, Ditmarſh, *Count in* Oldenburgh *and* Delmenhort, *Greeting.*

THough it has pleaſ'd the moſt wiſe God, and moſt merciful Moderator of all things, beſides the Burden which he laid upon us in common with our Anceſtors, to wage moſt juſt Wars in defence of our Liberty againſt Tyrannical Uſurpation, ſignally alſo to ſuccour us with thoſe Auſpices and that Divine Aſſiſtance, beyond what he afforded to our Predeceſſors, that we have bin able not only to extinguiſh a Civil War, but to extirpate the Cauſes of it for the future, as alſo to repel the unexpected Violences of Foreign Enemies; neverthleſs, with grateful minds, as much as in us lies, acknowledging the ſame Favour and Benignity of the ſupreme Deity towards us, we are not ſo puft up with the ſucceſs of our Affairs, but that rather inſtructed in the ſingular Juſtice and Providence of God, and having had long experience our ſelves, we abominate the thoughts of War, if poſſible to be avoided, and moſt eagerly embrace Peace with all men. Therefore as hitherto we never were the firſt that violated or deſir'd the violation of that Friendſhip, or thoſe antient Privileges of Leagues that have bin ratify'd between us and any Princes or People whatever; ſo your Highneſs, in conſideration of your antient Amity with the *Engliſh*, left us by our Anceſtors, may with a moſt certain Aſſurance, promiſe both your ſelf and your People all things equitable, and all things friendly from us. Laſtly, as we highly value, which is no more than what is juſt and reaſonable, the teſtimonies of your Affection and good Offices offer'd us, ſo we ſhall make it our buſineſs that you may not at any time be ſenſible of the want of ours, either to your ſelf or yours. And ſo we moſt heartily recommend your Highneſs to the Omnipotent Protection of the Almighty God.

*Whitehall,*
*July*—1653.

Seal'd with the Council-Seal,
and Subſcrib'd, *Preſident.*

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## *To the Count of* Oldenburgh.

*Moſt Illuſtrious Lord,*

THE *Parlament of the Commonwealth of* England have receiv'd an extraordinary Congratulation from your Excellency, moſt kindly and courteouſly deliver'd to us by word of mouth by *Herman Mylius*, your Counſellor and Doctor of Laws; who wiſh'd all things lucky and proſperous, in your Name, to the Parlament and *Engliſh* Intereſt, and deſir'd that the Friendſhip of this Republick might remain inviolable within your Territories. He alſo deſir'd Letters of ſafe Conduct, to the end your Subjects may the more ſecurely trade and ſail from place to place; together with our Orders to our publick Miniſters abroad, to be aiding and aſſiſting to your Excellency and your Intereſts with their good Offices and Counſels. To which Requeſts of his we willingly conſented, and granted both our Friendſhip, the Letters deſir'd, and our Orders to our Publick Miniſters under the Seal of the Parliament. And though it be ſome Months ago ſince your Publick Miniſter firſt came to us, however that delay neither aroſe from any unwillingneſs on our part to aſſent to the requeſt made in your Excellency's Name, or that your Deputy was at any time wanting in his Sedulity (whoſe Solicitations were daily and earneſt with all the Diligence and Importunity that became him, to the end he might be diſpatch'd) but only it happen'd ſo, that at that time the greateſt and moſt weighty Affairs of the Republick were under Debate and ſerious Negotiation. Of which we thought meet to certify your Illuſtrious Lordſhip, leſt any body through a falſe conſtruction of this delay, ſhould think thoſe

Favours unwillingly or hardly obtain'd, which were moſt gladly granted by the Parlament of the Commonwealth of *England*. In whoſe Name theſe are commanded to be Sign'd,

*Henry Scobel*, Clerk of the Parlament.

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*To the moſt Illuſtrious and Noble Senators*, Scultets, Landam, *and Senators of the Evangelick Cantons of* Switzerland, Zurick, Bern, Glaris, Bale, Schaffhuſen, Appenzel, *alſo of the Confederates of the ſame Religion in the Country of the* Griſons, *of* Geneva, St. Gall, Mulhauſen *and* Bienne; *our deareſt Friends.*

YOUR Letters, moſt Illuſtrious Lords and deareſt Confederates, dated *December* 24. full of civility, good-will, and ſingular affection towards us and our Republick, and what ought always to be greater and more ſacred to us, breathing Fraternal and truly Chriſtian Charity, we have receiv'd. And in the firſt place we return Thanks to Almighty God, who has rais'd and eſtabliſh'd both you and ſo many noble *Cities*, not ſo much intrench'd and fortifi'd with thoſe encloſures of Mountains, as with your innate Fortitude, Piety, moſt prudent and juſt Adminiſtration of Government, and the Faith of mutual Confederacies, to be a firm and inacceſſible ſhelter for all the truly Orthodox. Now then that you, who over all *Europe* were the firſt of Mortals who after deluges of barbarous Tyrants from the North, Heaven proſpering your Valour, recover'd your Liberty, and being obtain'd, for ſo many Years have preſerv'd it untainted with no leſs Prudence and Moderation; that you ſhould have ſuch noble ſentiments of our Liberty recover'd; that you, ſuch ſincere Worſhippers of the Goſpel, ſhould be ſo conſtantly perſwaded of our Love and Affection for the Orthodox Faith, is that which is moſt acceptable and welcome to us. But as to your exhorting us to Peace, with a Pious and Affectionate intent, as we are fully aſſur'd, certainly ſuch an Admonition ought to be of great weight with us; as well in reſpect of the thing it ſelf which you perſwade, and which of all things is chiefly to be deſir'd, as alſo for the great Authority which is to be allow'd your Lordſhips above others in this particular, who in the midſt of loud tumultuous Wars on every ſide, enjoy the ſweets of Peace both at home and abroad, and have approv'd your ſelves the beſt example to all others of embracing and improving Peace; and laſtly, for that you perſwade us to the very thing which we our ſelves of our own accords, and that more than once, conſulting as well our own, as the intereſt of the whole Evangelical Communion, have begg'd by Embaſſadors, and other publick Miniſters, namely, Friendſhip and a moſt ſtrict League with the *United Provinces*. But how they treated our Embaſſadors ſent to 'em to negotiate, not a bare Peace, but a brotherly Amity and moſt ſtrict League; what Provocations to War they afterwards gave us, how they fell upon us in our own Roads in the midſt of their Embaſſadors Negotiations for Peace and Alliance, little dreaming any ſuch Violence, you will abundantly underſtand by our Declaration ſet forth upon this ſubject, and ſent you together with theſe our Letters. But as for our parts, we are wholly intent upon this, by God's Aſſiſtance, though proſperous hitherto, ſo to carry our ſelves, that we may neither attribute any thing to our own Strength or Forces, but all things to God alone, nor be inſolently puft up with our Succeſs; and we ſtill retain the ſame ready Inclinations to embrace all occaſions of making a juſt and honeſt Peace. In the mean time your ſelves, *Illuſtrious and moſt excellent Lords*, in whom this pious and noble Sedulity, out of meer Evangelical Affection, exerts it ſelf to reconcile and pacify contending Brethren, as ye are worthy of all applauſe among men, ſo doubtleſs will ye obtain the Celeſtial Reward of Peace-makers with God; to whoſe ſupreme Benignity and Favour we heartily recommend in our Prayers both you and yours, no leſs ready to make returns of all good Offices both of Friends and Brethren, if in any thing we may be ſerviceable to your Lordſhips.

*Weſtminſter*,
*Octob.* 1653.

Seal'd with the Parliament Seal, and Subſcrib'd,
*Speaker*, &c.

To

## *To the* Spaniſh *Embaſſador.*

*Moſt Illuſtrious Lord,*

UPON grievous Complaints brought before us by *Philip Noel*, *John Godal*, and the Society of Merchants of *Foy* in *England*, that a certain Ship of theirs call'd the *Ann* of *Foy*, an *Engliſh* Ship by them fitted out, and laden with their own Goods, in her return home to the Port of *Foy* about *Michaelmas* laſt, was unjuſtly, and without any cauſe ſet upon and taken by a certain Privateer of *Oſtend*, *Eraſmus Bruer* Commander, and the Seamen unworthily and barbarouſly us'd: The Council of State wrote to the Marquis of *Leda* concerning it (a Copy of which Letter we alſo ſend encloſ'd to your Excellency) and expected from him, that without delay Orders would have bin given for the doing of Juſtice in this matter. Nevertheleſs after all this, the foreſaid *Noel*, together with the ſaid Company make further heavy Complaint, that altho our Letters were deliver'd to the Marqueſs, and that thoſe Merchants from that time forward betook themſelves to *Bruges* to the Court there held for Maritim Cauſes, and there aſſerted and prov'd their Right, and the Verity of their Cauſe, yet that Juſtice was deni'd 'em; and that they were ſo hardly dealt with, that though the Cauſe had bin ripe for Trial above three Months, nevertheleſs they could obtain no Sentence from that Court, but that their Ship and Goods are ſtill detain'd, notwithſtanding the great Expences they have bin at in proſecuting their Claim. Now your Excellency well knows it to be contrary to the Law of Nations, of Traffick, and that Friendſhip which is at preſent ſettl'd between the *Engliſh* and *Flemings*, that any *Oſtender* ſhould take any *Engliſh* Veſſel, if bound for *England* with *Engliſh* Goods; and that whatever was inhumanly and barbarouſly done to the *Engliſh* Seamen by that Commander, deſerves a rigorous Puniſhment. The Council therefore recommends the whole matter to your Excellency, and makes it their requeſt that you would write into *Flanders* concerning it, and take ſuch ſpeedy care that this buſineſs may no longer be delay'd, but that Juſtice may be done in ſuch a manner that the foreſaid Ship, together with the Damages, Coſts and Intereſt, which the *Engliſh* have ſuſtain'd and bin out of Purſe, by reaſon of that illegal Seizure, may be reſtor'd and made good to 'em by the Authority of the Court, or in ſome other way; and that care be taken that hereafter no ſuch Violence may be committed, but that the Amity between our People and the *Flemings* may be preſerv'd without any Infringment.

Sign'd in the Name, and by the Command of the Council
of State, appointed by Authority of Parlament.

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## *To the Marquiſs of* Leda.

GREAT Complaints are brought before us by *Philip Noel*, *John Godal*, and the Company of *Foy* Merchants, concerning a Ship of theirs, call'd the *Ann* of *Foy*, which being an *Engliſh* Veſſel by them fitted out, and laden with their own Goods, in her return home to her own Port about *Michaelmas* laſt, was taken unawares by a Freebooter of *Oſtend*, *Eraſmus Bruer* Commander. It is alſo further related, that the *Oſtenders*, when the Ship was in their Power, us'd the Seamen too inhumanly, by ſetting lighted Match to their Fingers, and plunging the Maſter of the Ship in the Sea till they had almoſt drown'd him, on purpoſe to extort a falſe Confeſſion from him, that the Ship and Goods belong'd to the *French*. Which though the Maſter and the reſt of the Ships Crew reſolutely deni'd, nevertheleſs the *Oſtenders* carri'd away the Ship and Goods to their own Port. Theſe things, upon ſtrict enquiry and examination of Witneſſes, have bin made manifeſt in the *Admiralty Court* in *England*, as will appear by the Copies of the *Affidavits* herewith ſent your Lordſhip. Now in regard that that ſame Ship, call'd the *Ann* of *Foy*, and all her lading of Merchandize and Goods belong truly and properly to the *Engliſh*, ſo that there is no apparent reaſon why the *Oſtender* ſhould ſeize by force either the one or the other, much leſs carry away the Maſter of the Ship, and uſe the Seamen ſo unmercifully: and whereas according to the Law of Nations, and in reſpect to the Friendſhip between the *Flemings* and *Engliſh*, that Ship and Goods ought to be reſtor'd, we make it our earneſt requeſt to your Excellency, that the *Engliſh* may have ſpeedy Juſtice done, and that Satisfaction may be given for their Loſſes, to the end the Traffick and Friendſhip which is between the *Engliſh* and *Flemings* may be long and inviolably preſerv'd.

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## *To the* Spaniſh *Embaſſador.*

THE Parlament of the Commonwealth of *England*, underſtanding that ſeveral of the People of this City daily reſort to the Houſes of your Excellency and other Embaſſadors and Publick Miniſters from Foreign Nations here reſiding, meerly to hear Maſs, gave Order to the *Council of State* to let your Excellency underſtand, That whereas ſuch Reſort is prohibited by the Laws of the Nation, and of very evil Example in this our Republick, and extreamly ſcandalous, that they deem it their duty to take care that no ſuch thing be permitted henceforward, and to prohibit all ſuch Aſſemblies for the future. Concerning which, 'tis our deſire that your Excellency ſhould have a fair Advertiſment, to the end that henceforth your Excellency may be more careful of admitting any of the People of this Republick to hear Maſs in your Houſe. And as the Parlament will diligently provide that your Excellencies Rights and Privileges ſhall be preſerv'd inviolable, ſo they perſwade themſelves that your Excellency, during your abode here, would by no means that the Laws of this Republick ſhould be violated by your ſelf or your Attendants.

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## *A Summary of the particular real Damages ſuſtain'd by the* Engliſh *Company, in many Places of the* Eaſt-Indies, *from the* Dutch *Company in* Holland.

1. THE Damages comprehended in the ſixteen Articles, and formerly exhibited, amounting to 298555 Royals ½, which is of our Money —— —— 74638 *l.* 15 *s.* 00 *d.*

2. We demand Satisfaction to be given for the incomes of the Iſland of *Pularon*, from the year 1622. to this time, of two hundred thouſand Royals ½, beſides the future Expence, till the right of Juriſdiction over that Iſland be reſtor'd in the ſame Condition as when it was wreſted out of our Hands, as was by League agreed to, amounting of our Money to —— 50000 *l.* 00 *s.* 00 *d.*

3. We demand Satisfaction for all the Merchandize, Proviſion and Furniture taken away by the Agents of the *Dutch* Company in the *Indies*, or to them deliver'd, or to any of their Ships bound thither, or returning home; which Sum amounts to 80635 Royals, of our Money —20158 *l.* 00 *s.* 00 *d.*

4. We demand Satisfaction for the Cuſtoms of *Dutch* Merchandize laden on board their Ships in *Perſia*, or landed there from the year 1624, as was granted us by the King of *Perſia*, which we cannot value at leſs than fourſcore thouſand Royals, —————————— 2000 *l.* 00 *s.* 00 *d.*

5. We demand Satisfaction for four Houſes maliciouſly and unjuſtly burnt at *Jocatra*, together with the Warehouſes, Magazines and Furniture, occaſion'd by the *Dutch* Governor there, of all which we had Information from the Place it ſelf, after we had exhibited our firſt Complaints; the Total of which Damage we value at —————————— 50000 *l.* 00 *s.* 00 *d.*

We demand Satisfaction for 32899 pound of Pepper taken out of the Ship *Endymion* in 1649, the Total of which Damage amounts to 6000 *l.* 00 *s.* 00 *d.*

220796 *l.* 15 *s.* 00 *d.*

## *A Summary of ſome particular damages ſuſtain'd alſo from the* Dutch Eaſt-India *Company.*

1. FOR Damages ſuſtain'd by thoſe who beſieg'd *Bantam*, whence it came to paſs that for ſix years together we were excluded from that Trade, and conſequently from an opportunity of laying out in Pepper ſix hundred thouſand Royals, with which we might have laden our homeward bound Ships; for want of which lading they rotted upon the Coaſt of *India*. In the mean time our Stock in *India* was waſted and conſum'd in Mariners Wages, Proviſion and other Furniture; ſo that they could not value their Loſs at leſs than twenty hundred and four thouſand Royals —— —— 600000 *l.* 00 *s.* 00 *d.*

2. More for Damages by reaſon of our due part loſt of the Fruits in the *Molucca* Iſlands, *Banda* and *Amboyna*, from the time that by the ſlaughter of our men we were thence expell'd, till the time that we ſhall be ſatisfi'd for our Loſs and Expences; which ſpace of time from the year 1622, to this preſent year 1650, for the yearly Revenue of 250000 *lib.* amounts in 28 years to —
—— 700000 *l.* 00 *s.* 00 *d.*

3. We demand Satisfaction for one hundred and two thouſand nine hundred fifty nine Royals, taken from us by the *Mogul*'s People, whom the *Dutch* protected in ſuch a manner, that we never could repair our Loſſes out of the Money or Goods of that People which lay in their *Junks*, which we endeavour'd to do, and was in our Power had not the *Dutch* unjuſtly defended 'em. Which loſt Money we could have trebled in *Europe*, and value at —— ——
—— —— 77020 *l.* 00 *s.* 00 *d.*

4. For the Cuſtoms of *Perſia*, the half part of which was by the King of *Perſia* granted to the *Engliſh*, *Anno* 1624. Which to the year 1629, is valued at eight thouſand Royals; to which add the four thouſand *Lib.* which they are bound to pay ſince 1629, which is now one and twenty Years, and it makes up the Sum of —— —— —— —— —— 84000 *l.* 00 *s.* 00 *d.*

*From the firſt Account* —— —— —— —— 220796 *l.* 15 *s.*

*Sum Total* —— —— —— —— —— —— 1681996 *l.* 15 *s.*

*The Intereſt from that time will far exceed the Principal.*

# LETTERS

## Written in the Name of *OLIVER* the PROTECTOR.

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### *To the Count of* Oldenburgh.

*Moſt Illuſtrious Lords*,

BY your Letters dated *January* 20. 1654. I have bin given to underſtand, That the noble *Frederick Matthias Woliſog*, and *Chriſtopher Griphiander* were ſent with certain Commands from your Illuſtrious Lordſhip into *England*; who when they came to us, not only in your Name congratulated our having taken upon us the Government of the *Engliſh* Republick, but alſo deſir'd that you and your Territories might be comprehended in the Peace which we are about to make with the *Low-Countries*, and that we would confirm by our preſent Authority the Letters of ſafe Conduct lately granted your Lordſhip by the Parlament. Therefore in the firſt place we return your Lordſhip our hearty thanks for your friendly Congratulation, as it becomes us; and theſe will let you know that we have readily granted your two Requeſts. Nor ſhall you find us wanting upon any opportunity, which may at any time make manifeſt our Affection to your Lordſhip. And this we are apt to believe you will underſtand more at large from your Agents, whoſe Fidelity and Diligence in this Affair of yours, in our Court, has bin eminently conſpicuous. As to what remains, we moſt heartily wiſh the Bleſſings of Proſperity and Peace, both upon you and your Affairs.

Your Illuſtrious Lordſhip's moſt Affectionate, *Oliver*  
Protector of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, &c.

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### *To the Count of* Oldenburgh.

*Moſt Illuſtrious Lord*,

WE receiv'd your Letters, dated *May* 2. from *Oldenburgh*, moſt welcome upon more than one account; as well for that they were full of ſingular Civility and Good-will towards us, as becauſe they were deliver'd by the hand of the moſt Illuſtrious Count *Antony*, your beloved Son; which we look upon as ſo much the greater Honour, as not having truſted to Report, but with our own Eyes, and by our own Obſervation diſcern'd his Vertues becoming ſuch an illuſtrious Extraction, his noble Manners and Inclinations, and laſtly his extraordinary Affection toward our ſelves. Nor is it be queſtion'd but he diſplays to his own People the ſame fair hopes at home, that he will approve himſelf the Son of a moſt worthy and moſt excellent Father, whoſe ſignal Vertue and Prudence has all along ſo manag'd Affairs, that the whole Territory of *Oldenburgh* for many years has enjoy'd a profound Peace, and all the bleſſings of Tranquillity in the midſt of the raging confuſions of War thundring on every ſide. What reaſon therefore why we ſhould not value ſuch a Friendſhip that can ſo wiſely and providently ſhun the Enmity of all men? Laſtly, Moſt Illuſtrious Lord, 'tis for your Magnificent * Preſent that we return you Thanks; but 'tis of Right, and your Merits claim, that we are cordially

* *The Horſes which threw him out of the Coach-box.*

*Weſtminſter,*  
*June* 25. 1654.

Your Illuſtrious Lordſhip's moſt Affectionate,  
*Oliver*, &c.

Superſcrib'd, *To the moſt Illuſtrious Lord*, Antony Gunther, *Count in* Oldenburgh, *and* Delmenhorſt, *Lord in* Jehvern *and* Kniphauſen.

### Oliver *Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland, *&c. To the moſt Serene Prince* Charles Guſtavus *King of the* Sweeds, Goths, *and* Vandals, *Great Prince of* Finland, *Duke of* Eſthonia, Carelia, Breme, Verden, Stettin *in* Pomerania, Caſſubia *and* Vandalia; *Prince of* Rugia, *Lord of* Ingria, Wiſmaria; *as alſo Count* Palatine *of the* Rhine, *and Duke of* Bavaria, Cleves, *and* Monts, *&c. Greeting.*

*Moſt Serene King,*

THough it be already divulg'd over all the World that the Kingdom of the *Swedes* is tranſlated to your Majeſty with the extraordinary Applauſe and Deſires of the People, and the free Suffrages of all the Orders of the Realm; yet that your Majeſty ſhould rather chuſe that we ſhould underſtand the welcome News by your moſt friendly Letters, than by the common voice of Fame, we thought no ſmall Argument both of your good will toward us, and of the Honour done us among the firſt. Voluntarily therefore, and of Right we congratulate this acceſſion of Dignity to your egregious Merits, and the moſt worthy guerdon of ſo much Vertue. And that it may be lucky and proſperous to your Majeſty, to the Nation of the *Swedes*, and the true Chriſtian Intereſt, which is alſo what you chiefly wiſh, with joint Supplications we implore of God. And whereas your Majeſty aſſures us, That the preſerving entire the League and Alliance lately concluded between this Republick and the Kingdom of *Sweden* ſhall be ſo far your care, that the preſent Amity may not only continue firm and inviolable, but if poſſible, every day encreaſe and grow to a higher Perfection, to call it into queſtion, would be a piece of Impiety, after the Word of ſo great a Prince once interpos'd, whoſe ſurpaſſing Fortitude has not only purchas'd your Majeſty a hereditary Kingdom in a Foreign Land, but alſo could ſo far prevail, that the moſt auguſt Queen, the Daughter of *Guſtavus*, and a Heroeſs ſo matchleſs in all degrees of Praiſe and maſculine Renown, that many Ages backward have not produc'd her equal, ſurrender'd the moſt juſt poſſeſſion of her Empire to your Majeſty, neither expecting nor willing to accept it. Now therefore 'tis our main deſire, your Majeſty ſhould be every way aſſur'd, that your ſo ſingular Affection toward us, and ſo eminent a ſignification of your Mind can be no other than moſt dear and welcome to us; and that no Combat can offer it ſelf to us more glorious, than ſuch a one wherein we may, if poſſible, prove victorious in out-doing your Majeſty's Civility by our kind Offices that never ſhall be wanting.

*Weſtminſter*,
July 4. 1654.

Your Majeſty's moſt Affectionate,

*Oliver*, Protector of the Commonwealth of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, &c.

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### *To the moſt Illuſtrious Lord,* Lewis Mendez *de* Haro.

VVHAT we have underſtood by your Letters, moſt Illuſtrious Lord, that there is an Embaſſador already nominated and appointed by the moſt Serene King of *Spain*, on purpoſe to come and congratulate our having undertaken the Government of the Republick, is not only deſervedly acceptable of it ſelf, but render'd much more welcome and pleaſing to us by your ſingular Affection, and the ſpeed of your Civility, as being deſirous we ſhould underſtand it firſt of all from your ſelf. For, to be ſo belov'd and approv'd by your Lordſhip, who by your Vertue and Prudence have obtain'd ſo great Authority with your Prince, as to preſide, his equal in Mind, over all the moſt important Affairs of that Kingdom, ought to be ſo much the more pleaſing to us, as well underſtanding that the Judgment of a ſurpaſſing Perſon cannot but be much to our Honour and Ornament. Now as to our cordial al Inclinations toward the King of *Spain*, and ready Propenſity to hold Friendſhip with that Kingdom, and encreaſe it to a ſtricter Perfection, we hope we have already ſatisfi'd the preſent Embaſſador, and ſhall more amply ſatisfy the other ſo ſoon as he arrives. As to what remains, *Moſt Illuſtrious Lord*, we heartily wiſh the Dignity and Favour wherein you now flouriſh with your Prince, perpetual to your Lordſhip; and that whatever Affairs you carry on for the Publick Good, may proſperouſly and happily ſucceed.

*Whitehall*, Sept. 1654.

Your Illuſtrious Lordſhip's moſt Affectionate,

*OLIVER*, &c.

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### *To the moſt Serene Prince* Charles Guſtavus Adolphus, *King of the* Sweeds, Goths, *and* Vandals, *&c.*

Being ſo well aſſur'd of your Majeſty's good Will towards me by your laſt Letters, in anſwer to which I wrote back with the ſame Affection, methinks I ſhould do no more than what our mutual Amity requires, if as I communicate my grateful Tidings to reciprocal Joy, ſo when contrary Accidents fall out, that I ſhould lay open the Senſe and Grief of my Mind to your Majeſty, as my deareſt Friend. For my part this is my Opinion of my ſelf, That I am now advanc'd to this degree in the Commonwealth, to the end I ſhould conſult in the firſt place, and as much as in me lies, the common Peace of Proteſtants. Which is the reaſon, that of neceſſity it behoves me more grievouſly to lay to heart what we are ſorry to hear concerning the bloody Conflicts and mutual Slaughters of the *Bremeners* and *Swedes*. But this I chiefly bewail, that being both our Friends, they ſhould ſo deſpitefully combat one againſt another, and with ſo much danger to the Intereſts of the Proteſtants; and that the Peace of *Munſter*, which it was thought would have prov'd an Aſylum and Safeguard to all the Proteſtants, ſhould be the occaſion of ſuch an unfortunate War, that now the Arms of the *Sweeds* are turn'd upon thoſe whom but a little before, among the reſt, they moſt ſtoutly defended for Religion's ſake; and that this ſhould be done more eſpecially at this time when the Papiſts are ſaid to perſecute the Reformed all over *Germany*, and to return to their intermitted for ſome time Oppreſſions, and their priſtin Violencies. Hearing therefore that a Truce for ſome days was made at *Breme*, I could not forbear ſignifying to your Majeſty, upon this opportunity offer'd, how cordially I deſire, and how earneſtly I implore the God of Peace, that this Truce may prove ſucceſsfully happy for the Good of both Parties, and that it may conclude in a moſt firm Peace, by a commodious Accommodation on both ſides. To which purpoſe, if your Majeſty judges that my Aſſiſtance may any ways conduce, I moſt willingly offer and promiſe it, as in a thing, without queſtion, moſt acceptable to the moſt Holy God. In the mean time, from the bottom of my heart, I beſeech the Almighty to direct and govern all your Counſels for the common Welfare of the Chriſtian Intereſt, which I make no doubt but that your Majeſty chiefly deſires.

*Whitehall*,
Octob. 26. 1654.

Your Majeſty's moſt Affectionate,

*OLIVER*, &c.

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### *To the Magnificent and moſt Noble, the Conſuls and Senators of the City of* Breme.

By your Letters deliver'd to us by your Reſident *Henry Oldenburgh*, that there is a difference kindled between your City and a moſt potent Neighbour, and to what ſtraits you are thereby reduc'd, with ſo much the more Trouble and Grief we underſtand, by how much the more we love and embrace the City of *Breme*, ſo eminent, above others, for their Profeſſion of the Orthodox Faith. Neither is there any thing which we account more ſacred in our wiſhes, than that the whole Proteſtant Name would knit and grow together in brotherly Unity and Concord. In the mean time, moſt certain it is, that the common Enemy of the Reformed rejoices at theſe our Diſſenſions, and more haughtily every where exerts his Fury. But in regard the Controverſie which at preſent exerciſes your contending Arms, is not within the power of our deciſion, we implore the Almighty God, that the Truce begun may obtain a happy iſſue. Aſſuredly, as to what you deſir'd, we have written to the King of the *Swedes*, exhorting him to Peace and Agreement, as being moſt chiefly grateful to Heaven, and have offer'd our Aſſiſtance in ſo pious a Work. On the other ſide we likewiſe exhort your ſelves to bear an equal Mind, and by no means to refuſe any honeſt Conditions of Reconciliation. And ſo we recommend your City to Divine Protection and Providence.

*Whitehall*, Your Lordſhip's moſt Affectionate,
Octob. 26. 1654.
*Oliver*, Protector of the Commonwealth of *England*, &c.

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## Oliver, *Protector of the Republick of* England, *To the moſt Illuſtrious Prince of* Tarentum.

YOUR Love of Religion apparently made known in your Letters to us deliver'd, and your excelling Piety and ſingular Affection to the Reformed Churches, more eſpecially conſidering the Nobility and Splendor of your Character, and in a Kingdom too wherein there are ſo many and ſuch abounding hopes propos'd to all of eminent Quality that revolt from the Orthodox Faith, ſo many Miſeries to be undergone by the reſolute and conſtant, gave us an occaſion of great Joy and Conſolation of Mind. Nor was it leſs grateful to us, that we had gain'd your good Opinion, upon the ſame account of Religion, which ought to render your Highneſs moſt chiefly belov'd and dear to our ſelves. We call God to witneſs, That whatever hopes or expectations the Churches, according to your relation, had of us, we may be able one day to give them ſatisfaction, if need require, or at leaſt to demonſtrate to all Men how much it is our deſire never to fail 'em. Nor ſhould we think any fruit of our Labours, or of this Dignity or Supream Employment which we hold in our Republick, greater than that we might be in a condition to be ſerviceable to the Enlargement, or the Welfare, or which is more ſacred, to the Peace of the Reformed Church. In the mean time, we exhort and beſeech your Lordſhip to remain ſtedfaſt to the laſt minute in the Orthodox Religion, with the ſame Reſolution and Conſtancy as you profeſs it receiv'd from your Anceſtors with Piety and Zeal. Nor indeed can there be any thing more worthy your ſelf, or your religious Parents, nor in conſideration of what you have deſerv'd of us, though we wiſh all things for your own ſake that we can wiſh more noble or advantagious to your Lordſhip, than that you would take ſuch Methods, and apply your ſelf to ſuch Studies, that the Churches, eſpecially of your Native Country, under the Diſcipline of which your Birth and Genius have render'd you Illuſtriouſly happy, may be ſenſible of ſo much the more aſſur'd Security in your Protection, by how much you excel others in Luſtre and Ability.

*Whitehall*,
April —, 1654.

## Oliver *the Protector*, &c. *To the moſt Serene Prince*, Immanuel *Duke of* Savoy, *Prince of* Piemont, *Greeting*.

*Moſt Serene Prince*,

Letters have been ſent us from *Geneva*, as alſo from the *Dauphinate*, and many other Places bordering upon your Territories, wherein we are given to underſtand, That ſuch of your Royal Highneſs's Subjects as profeſs the Reformed Religion, are commanded by your Edict, and by your Authority, within three days after the Promulgation of your Edict, to depart their native Seats and Habitations, upon pain of capital Puniſhment, and Forfeiture of all their Fortunes and Eſtates, unleſs they will give Security to relinquiſh their Religion within twenty days, and embrace the Roman Catholick Faith. And that when they apply'd themſelves to your Royal Highneſs in a moſt ſuppliant manner, imploring a Revocation of the ſaid Edict, and that being receiv'd into priſtin favour, they might be reſtor'd to the Liberty granted 'em by your Predeceſſors, a part of your Army fell upon 'em, moſt cruelly ſlew ſeveral, put others in Chains, and compell'd the reſt to fly into deſert Places, and to the Mountains cover'd with Snow, where ſome hundreds of Families are reduc'd to ſuch Diſtreſs, that 'tis greatly to be fear'd they will in a ſhort time all miſerably periſh through Cold and Hunger. Theſe things, when they were related to us, we could not chuſe but be touch'd with extream Grief and Compaſſion for the Sufferings and Calamities of this afflicted People. Now in regard we muſt acknowledg our ſelves link'd together not only by the ſame tye of Humanity, but by joynt Communion of the ſame Religion, we thought it impoſſible for us to ſatisfy our Duty to God, to brotherly Charity, or our Profeſſion of the ſame Religion, if we ſhould only be affected with a bare Sorrow for the Miſery and Calamity of our Brethren, and not contribute all our Endeavours to relieve and ſuccour 'em in their unexpected Adverſity, as much as in us lies. Therefore in a greater meaſure we moſt earneſtly beſeech and conjure your Royal Highneſs, that you would call back to your Thoughts the Moderation of your moſt ſerene Predeceſſors, and the Liberty by them granted and confirm'd from time to time to their Subjects the *Vaudois*. In granting and confirming which, as they did that which without all queſtion was moſt grateful to God, who has been pleas'd to reſerve the Juriſdiction and Power over the Conſcience to himſelf alone, ſo there is no doubt but that they had a due conſideration of their Subjects alſo, whom they found ſtout and moſt faithful in War, and always obedient in Peace. And as your Royal *Serenity* in other things moſt laudably follows the Footſteps of your immortal Anceſtors, ſo we again and again beſeech your Royal Highneſs not to ſwerve from the Path wherein they trod in this particular; but that you would vouchſafe to abrogate both this Edict, and whatſoever elſe may be decreed to the Diſturbance of your Subjects upon the account of the Reform'd Religion; that you would ratify to 'em their conceded Privileges and priſtin Liberty, and command their Loſſes to be repair'd, and that an end be put to their Oppreſſions. Which if your Royal Highneſs ſhall be pleas'd to ſee perform'd, you will do a thing moſt acceptable to God, revive and comfort the miſerable in dire Calamity, and moſt highly oblige all your Neighbours that profeſs the Reformed Religion, but more eſpecially our ſelves, who ſhall be bound to look upon your Clemency and Benignity toward your Subjects, as the fruit of our earneſt Solicitation. Which will both engage us to a reciprocal return of all good Offices, and lay the ſolid Foundations not only of eſtabliſhing, but encreaſing Alliance and Friendſhip between this Republick and your Dominions. Nor do we leſs promiſe this to our ſelves from your Juſtice and Moderation; to which we beſeech Almighty God to encline your Mind and Thoughts. And ſo we cordially implore juſt Heaven to beſtow upon your Highneſs and your People the Bleſſings of Peace and Truth, and proſperous Succeſs in all your Affairs.

*Whitehall*,
May —, 1655.

## Oliver, *Protector of the Republick of* England, *to the moſt Serene Prin* *of* Tranſilvania, *Greeting.*

*Moſt Serene Prince,*

BY your Letters of the *16th* of *November*, 1654. you have made us ſenſible of your ſingular good Will and Affection toward us; and your *Envoy*, who deliver'd thoſe Letters to us, more amply declar'd your deſire of contracting Alliance and Friendſhip with us. Certainly for our parts, we do not a little rejoyce at this Opportunity offer'd us to declare and make manifeſt our Affection to your Highneſs, and how great a value we juſtly ſet upon your Perſon. But after fame had reported to us your egregious Merits and Labours undertaken in behalf of the Chriſtian Republick, when you were pleas'd that all theſe things, and what you have farther in your Thoughts to do in the defence and for promoting the *Chriſtian Intereſt*, ſhould be in friendly manner imparted to us by Letters from your ſelf, this afforded us a more plentiful occaſion of Joy and Satisfaction, to hear that God, in thoſe remoter Regions, had rais'd up to himſelf ſo potent and renowned a Miniſter of his Glory and Providence: And that this great Miniſter of Heaven, ſo fam'd for his Courage and Succeſs, ſhould be deſirous to aſſociate with us in the common Defence of the Proteſtant Religion, at this time wickedly aſſail'd by Words and Deeds. Nor is it to be queſtion'd but that God, who has infus'd into us both, though ſeparated by ſuch a ſpacious Interval of many Climates, the ſame Deſires and Thoughts of defending the Orthodox Religion, will be our Inſtructor and Author of the ways and means whereby we may be aſſiſtant and uſeful to our ſelves and the reſt of the Reformed Cities, provided we watch all Opportunities that God ſhall put into our hands, and be not wanting to lay hold of 'em. In the mean time we cannot without an extream and penetrating Sorrow forbear putting your Highneſs in mind how unmercifully the Duke of *Savoy* has perſecuted his own Subjects, profeſſing the Orthodox Faith, in certain Valleys, at the feet of the *Alps*. Whom he has not only conſtrain'd by a moſt ſevere Edict, as many as refuſe to embrace the Catholick Religion, to forſake their native Habitations, Goods and Eſtates, but has fall'n upon 'em with his Army, put ſeveral moſt cruelly to the Sword, others more barbarouſly tormented to Death, and driven the greateſt number to the Mountains, there to be conſum'd with Cold and Hunger, expoſing their Houſes to the Fury, and their Goods to the Plunder of his Executioners. Theſe things, as they have already been related to your Highneſs, ſo we readily aſſure our ſelves, that ſo much Cruelty cannot but be grievouſly diſpleaſing to your ears, and that you will not be wanting to afford your Aid and Succour to thoſe miſerable Wretches, if there be any that ſurvive ſo many Slaughters and Calamities. For our parts, we have written to the Duke of *Savoy*, beſeeching him to remove his incens'd Anger from his Subjects; as alſo to the King of *France*, that he would vouchſafe to do the ſame; and laſtly, to the Princes of the Reformed Religion, to the end they might underſtand our Sentiments concerning ſo fierce and ſavage a piece of Cruelty. Which though firſt begun upon thoſe poor and helpleſs People, however threatens all that profeſs the ſame Religion, and therefore impoſes upon all a greater neceſſity of providing for themſelves in general, and conſulting the common Safety; which is the Courſe that we ſhall always follow, as God ſhall be pleas'd to direct us. Of which your Highneſs may be aſſur'd, as alſo of our Sincerity and Affection to your Serenity, whereby we are engag'd to wiſh all proſperous Succeſs to your Affairs, and a happy iſſue of all your Enterprizes and Endeavours, in aſſerting the Liberty of the Goſpel, and the Worſhippers of it.

*Whitehall,*
May —, 1655.

Oliver

## Oliver *Protector, to the moſt Serene Prince,* Charles Guſtavus ~~Adolphus~~, *King of the* Swedes, *Greeting.*

VVE make no queſtion but that the ſame of that moſt rigid Edict has reach'd your Dominions; whereby the Duke of *Savoy* has totally ruin'd his Proteſtant Subjects inhabiting the *Alpine* Valleys, and commanded 'em to be exterminated from their native Seats and Habitations, unleſs they will give ſecurity to renounce their Religion receiv'd from their Forefathers, in exchange for the *Roman* Catholick Superſtition, and that within twenty days at fartheſt; ſo that many being kill'd, the reſt ſtript to their Skins, and expos'd to moſt certain Deſtruction, are now forc'd to wander over deſert Mountains, and through perpetual Winter, together with their Wives and Children, half dead with Cold and Hunger: and that your Majeſty has laid it to heart, with a pious Sorrow and compaſſionate Conſideration we as little doubt. For that the Proteſtant Name and Cauſe, although they differ among themſelves in ſome things of little Conſequence, is neverthelesſ the ſame in general, and united in one common Intereſt, the hatred of our Adverſaries, alike incens'd againſt Proteſtants, very eaſily demonſtrates. Now there is no body can be ignorant, that the Kings of the *Swedes* have always joyn'd with the Reformed, carrying their Victorious Arms into *Germany* in defence of the Proteſtants without diſtinction. Therefore we make it our chief Requeſt, and that in a more eſpecial manner to your Majeſty, that you would ſolicit the Duke of *Savoy* by Letters, and by interpoſing your intermediating Authority, endeavour to avert the horrid Cruelty of this Edict, if poſſible, from People no leſs Innocent than Religious. For we think it ſuperfluous to admoniſh your Majeſty whither theſe rigorous Beginnings tend, and what they threaten to all the Proteſtants in general. But if he rather chuſe to liſten to his Anger, than to our joint Intreaties and Interceſſions; if there be any Tye, any Charity or Communion of Religion to be believ'd and regarded, upon Conſultations duly firſt communicated to your Majeſty, and the chief of the Proteſtant Princes, ſome other courſe is to be ſpeedily taken, that ſuch a numerous multitude of our innocent Brethren may not miſerably periſh for want of Succour and Aſſiſtance. Which in regard we make no queſtion but that it is your Majeſty's Opinion and Determination, there can be nothing in our Opinion more prudently reſolv'd, than to joyn our Reputation, Authority, Counſels, Forces, and whatever elſe is needful, with all the ſpeed that may be, in purſuance of ſo pious a Deſign. In the mean time we beſeech Almighty God to bleſs your Majeſty.

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## Oliver *Protector,* &c. *to the High and Mighty Lords, the States of the* United Provinces.

VVE make no queſtion but that you have already bin inform'd of the Duke of *Savoy*'s Edict, ſet forth againſt his Subjects inhabiting the Valleys at the feet of the *Alps*, ancient Profeſſors of the Orthodox Faith; by which Edict they are commanded to abandon their Native Habitations, ſtript of all their Fortunes, unleſs within twenty days they embrace the *Roman Faith*; and with what Cruelty the Authority of this Edict has rag'd againſt a needy and harmleſs People, many being ſlain by the Soldiers, the reſt plunder'd and driven from their Houſes, together with their Wives and Children, to combat Cold and Hunger among deſert Mountains, and perpetual Snow. Theſe things with what commotion of Mind you heard related, what a fellow-feeling of the Calamities of Brethren pierc'd your Breaſts, we readily conjecture from the depth of our own Sorrow, which certainly is moſt heavy and afflictive. For being engag'd together by the ſame Tye of Religion, no wonder we ſhould be ſo deeply mov'd with the ſame Affections upon the dreadful and undeſerved Sufferings of our Brethren. Beſides, that your conſpicuous Piety and Charity toward the Orthodox, wherever overborn and op-

oppreſs'd, has bin frequently experienc'd in the moſt urging Straits and Calamities of the Churches. For my own part, unleſs my thoughts deceive me, there is nothing wherein I ſhould deſire more willingly to be overcome, than in Good-will and Charity toward Brethren of the ſame Religion, afflicted and wrong'd in their quiet Enjoyments; as being one that would be accounted always ready to prefer the Peace and Safety of the Churches before my particular Intereſts. So far therefore as hitherto lay in our Power, we have written to the Duke of *Savoy*, even almoſt to Supplication, beſeeching him that he would admit into his Breaſt more placid Thoughts and kinder Effects of his Favour toward his moſt Innocent Subjects and Suppliants; that he would reſtore the Miſerable to their Habitations and Eſtates, and grant 'em their priſtine Freedom in the Exerciſe of their Religion. Moreover, we wrote to the chiefeſt Princes and Magiſtrates of the *Proteſtants*, whom we thought moſt nearly concern'd in theſe Matters, that they would lend us their Aſſiſtance to intreat and pacify the Duke of *Savoy* in their behalf. And we make no doubt but you have done the ſame, and perhaps much more. For this ſo dangerous a Precedent, and lately renew'd Severity of utmoſt Cruelty toward the Reformed, if the Authors of it meet with proſperous Succeſs, to what apparent Dangers it reduces our Religion, we need not admoniſh your Prudence. On the other ſide, If the Duke ſhall once but permit himſelf to be aton'd, and won by our united Applications, not only our afflicted Brethren, but we our ſelves ſhall reap the noble and abounding Harveſt and reward of this laborious Undertaking. But if he ſtill perſiſt in the ſame obſtinate Reſolutions of reducing to utmoſt Extremity thoſe People, among whom our Religion was either diſſeminated by the firſt Doctors of the Goſpel, and preſerv'd from the Defilement of Superſtition, or elſe reſtor'd to its priſtine Sincerity long before other Nations obtain'd that Felicity, and determines their utter Extirpation and Deſtruction; we are ready to take ſuch other Courſe and Counſels with your-ſelves, in common with the reſt of our Reformed Friends and Confederates, as may be moſt neceſſary for the preſervation of Juſt and Good Men, upon the brink of inevitable Ruin; and to make the Duke himſelf ſenſible, that we can no longer neglect the heavy Oppreſſions and Calamities of our Orthodox Brethren. Farewel.

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## *To the Evangelick Cities of* Switzerland.

VVE make no queſtion but the late Calamity of the *Piemontois*, profeſſing our Religion, reached your Ears before the unwelcome News of it arriv'd with us: Who being a People under the protection and juriſdiction of the Duke of *Savoy*, and by a ſevere Edict of their Prince commanded to depart their Native Habitations, unleſs within three days they gave Security to embrace the *Roman* Religion, ſoon after were aſſail'd by armed Violence, that turn'd their Dwellings into Slaughter-houſes, while others, without Number, were terrifi'd into Baniſhment, where now naked and afflicted, without Houſe or Home, or any Covering from the Weather, and ready to periſh through hunger and cold, they miſerably wander thorough deſert Mountains, and depths of Snow, together with their Wives and Children. And far leſs reaſon have we to doubt, but that ſo ſoon as they came to your knowledg, you laid theſe things to heart, with a Compaſſion no leſs ſenſible of their multipli'd Miſeries, than our ſelves; the more deeply imprinted perhaps in your minds, as being next Neighbours to the Sufferers. Beſides, that we have abundant proof of your ſingular Love and Affection for the Orthodox Faith, of your Conſtancy in retaining it, and your Fortitude in defending it. Seeing then, by the more ſtrict Communion of Religion, that you, together with our ſelves, are all Brethren alike, or rather one Body with thoſe unfortunate People, of which no Member can be afflicted without the feeling, without pain, without the detriment and hazard of the reſt; we thought it convenient to write to your Lordſhips concerning this Matter, and let you underſtand how much we believe it to be the general Intereſt of us all, as much as in us lies, with our common Aid and Succour, to relieve our exterminated and indigent Brethren; and not only to take care for removing their Miſeries and Afflictions, but alſo to provide that the Miſchief ſpread no farther, nor incroach upon our ſelves in general, encourag'd by Example and Succeſs. We have written Letters to the Duke of *Savoy*, wherein we have moſt earneſtly beſought him, out of his wonted Clemency, to deal more gently and mildly with his moſt faithful Subjects, and to reſtore 'em, almoſt ruin'd as they are, to their Goods and Habitations. And we are in hopes, that by theſe our Intreaties, or rather by the united Interceſſions of us all, the moſt Serene Prince at length will be aton'd, and grant what we have requeſted with ſo much importunity. But if his Mind be obſtinately bent to other Determinations, we are ready to communicate our Conſultations with yours, by what moſt prevalent means to relieve and re-eſtabliſh moſt innocent Men, and our moſt dearly beloved Brethren in Chriſt, tormented and overlaid with ſo many Wrongs and Oppreſſions; and preſerve 'em from inevitable and undeſerved Ruin. Of whoſe Welfare and Safety, as I am aſſur'd, that you, according to your wonted Piety, are moſt cordially tender; ſo, for our own parts, we cannot but in our Opinion prefer their Preſervation before our moſt important Intereſts, even the ſafeguard of our own Life. Farewel.

*Weſtminſter*, *May* 19.
1655.

O. P.

*Superſcrib'd*, To the moſt Illuſtrious and Potent Lords, the Conſuls and Senators of the Proteſtant Cantons and Confederate Cities of *Switzerland*, Greeting.

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## *To the moſt Serene and Potent Prince,* Lewis *King of* France.

*Moſt Serene and Potent King*;

BY your Majeſty's Letters which you wrote in anſwer to ours of the 25*th* of *May*, we readily underſtand, that we fail'd not in our Judgment, that the inhuman Slaughter, and barbarous Maſſacres of thoſe Men who profeſs the Reformed Religion in *Savoy*, perpetrated by ſome of your Regiments, were the Effects neither of your Orders nor Commands. And it afforded us a ſingular occaſion of Joy, to hear that your Majeſty had ſo timely ſignifi'd to your Colonels and Officers, whoſe violent Precipitancy ingag'd 'em in thoſe inhuman Butcheries without the encouragement of lawful Allowance, how diſpleaſing they were to your Majeſty; that you had admoniſh'd the Duke himſelf to forbear ſuch Acts of Cruelty; and that you had interpos'd with ſo much Fidelity and Humanity, all the high Veneration paid you in that Court, your near Alliance and Authority, for reſtoring to their ancient Abodes thoſe unfortunate Exiles. And it was our hopes, That that Prince would in ſome meaſure have condeſcended to the good Pleaſure and Interceſſions of your Majeſty. But finding not any thing obtain'd, either by your own, nor the Intreaties and Importunities of other Princes in the Cauſe of the Diſtreſſed, we deem'd it not foreign from our Duty to ſend this Noble Perſon, under the Character of our Extraordinary Envoy, to the Duke of *Savoy*, more amply and fully to lay before him, how deeply ſenſible we are of ſuch exaſperated Cruelties inflicted upon the Profeſſors of the ſame Religion with our ſelves, and all this too out of a hatred of the ſame Worſhip. And we have reaſon to hope a Succeſs of this Negotiation ſo much the more proſperous, if your Majeſty would vouchſafe to employ your Authority and Aſſiſtance once again with ſo much the more urgent Importunity; and as you have undertaken for thoſe Indigent People, that they will be Faithful and Obedient to their Prince, ſo you would be graciouſly pleas'd to take care of their Welfare and Safety, that no farther Oppreſſions of this nature, no more ſuch diſmal Calamities may be the Portion of the Innocent and Peaceful.

This being truly royal and juſt in it ſelf, and highly agreeable to your Benignity and Clemency, which every where protects in ſoft ſecurity ſo many of your Subjects profeſſing the ſame Religion, we cannot but expect, as it behoves us, from your Majeſty. Which Act of yours, as it will more cloſely bind to your Subjection all the *Proteſtants* throughout your ſpacious Dominions, *whoſe Affection and Fidelity to your Predeceſſors and your ſelf in moſt important Diſtreſſes have bin often conſpicuouſly made known*; ſo will it fully convince all Foreign Princes, that the Advice or Intention of your Majeſty were no way contributory to this prodigious Violence, whatever inflam'd your Miniſters and Officers to promote it. More eſpecially, if your Majeſty ſhall inflict deſerved Puniſhment upon thoſe Captains and Miniſters, who of their own Authority, and to gratifie their own Wills, adventur'd the perpetrating ſuch dreadful Acts of Inhumanity. In the mean while, ſince your Majeſty has aſſur'd us of your juſtly merited Averſion to theſe moſt inhuman and cruel Proceedings, we doubt not but you will afford a ſecure Sanctuary and Shelter within your Kingdom to all thoſe miſerable Exiles that ſhall flye to your Majeſty for Protection; and that you will not give permiſſion to any of your Subjects to aſſiſt the Duke of *Savoy* to their prejudice. It remains that we make known to your Majeſty, how highly we eſteem and value your Friendſhip: In teſtimony of which, we farther affirm there ſhall never be wanting upon all occaſions the real aſſurances and effects of our Proteſtation.

*White-Hall*, July 29. 1655.

Your Majeſty's moſt affectionate, *Oliver*
Protector of the Commonwealth of
*England*, &c.

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## *To the moſt Eminent Lord, Cardinal* Mazarine.

*Moſt Eminent Lord Cardinal*,

HAving deem'd it neceſſary to ſend this Noble Perſon to the King with Letters, a Copy of which is here encloſ'd, we gave him alſo farther in charge to ſalute your Excellency in our Name, as having entruſted to his Fidelity certain other matters to be communicated to your Eminency. In reference to which Affairs, I intreat your Eminency to give him entire Credit, as being a Perſon in whom I have repoſ'd a more than ordinary Confidence.

*White-Hall*, July 29. 1655.

Your Eminency's moſt affectionate,
*Oliver* Protector of the Commonwealth of *England*.

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## Oliver *Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, *to the moſt Serene Prince*, Frederick III. *King of* Denmark, Norway, *&c.*

WIth what a ſevere and unmerciful Edict *Immanuel* Duke of *Savoy* has expell'd from their Native Seats his Subjects inhabiting the Valleys of *Piemont*, Men otherwiſe harmleſs, only for many years remarkably famous for embracing the Purity of Religion; and after a dreadful ſlaughter of ſome numbers, how he has expoſ'd the reſt to the Hardſhips of thoſe deſert Mountains, ſtript to their Skins, and barr'd from all Relief, we believe your Majeſty has long ſince heard, and doubt not but your Majeſty is touch'd with a real Commiſeration of their Sufferings, as becomes ſo puiſſant a Defender and Prince of the Reformed Faith: For indeed the Inſtitutions of Chriſtian Religion require, that whatever Miſchiefs and Miſeries any part of us undergo, it ſhould behove us all to be deeply ſenſible of the ſame: Nor does any Man better than your Majeſty foreſee, if we may be thought able to give a right conjecture of your Piety and Prudence, what dangers the ſucceſs and example of this Fact portend to our ſelves in particular, and to the whole Proteſtant Name in general. We have written the more willingly to your ſelf, to the end we might aſſure your Majeſty, that the ſame Sorrow which we hope you have conceiv'd for the Calamity of our moſt innocent Brethren, the ſame Opinion, the ſame Judgment you have of the whole matter, is plainly and ſincerely our own. We have therefore ſent our Letters to the Duke of *Savoy*, wherein we have moſt importunately beſought him to ſpare thoſe miſerable People that implore his Mercy, and that he would no longer ſuffer that dreadful Edict to be in force: Which if your Majeſty and the reſt of the Reformed Princes would vouchſafe to do, as we are apt to believe they have already done, there is ſome hope that the Anger of the moſt Serene Duke may be aſſwag'd, and that his Indignation will relent upon the Interceſſion and Importunities of his Neighbour Princes. Or if he perſiſt in his Determinations, we proteſt our ſelves ready, together with your Majeſty, and the reſt of our Confederates of the Reformed Religion, to take ſuch ſpeedy methods as may enable us, as far as in us lies, to relieve the Diſtreſſes of ſo many miſerable Creatures, and provide for their Liberty and Safety. In the mean time we beſeech Almighty God to bleſs your Majeſty with all Proſperity.

*White-hall*, May——1655.

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## Oliver *Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, *&c. to the moſt Noble the Conſuls and Senators of the City of* Geneva.

WE had before made known to your Lordſhips our exceſſive Sorrow for the heavy and unheard of Calamities of the Proteſtants inhabiting the Valleys of *Piemont*, whom the Duke of *Savoy* perſecutes with ſo much Cruelty, but that we made it our buſineſs that you ſhould at the ſame time underſtand that we are not only affected with the multitude of their Sufferings, but are uſing the utmoſt of our Endeavours to relieve and comfort 'em in their Diſtreſſes. To that purpoſe we have taken care for a gathering of Alms to be made throughout this whole Republick; which upon good grounds we expect will be ſuch, as will demonſtrate the Affection of this Nation toward their Brethren labouring under the burden of ſuch horrid Inhumanities; and that as the Communion of Religion is the ſame between both People, ſo the ſenſe of their Calamities is no leſs the ſame. In the mean time while the Collections of the Money go forward, which in regard they will require ſome time to accompliſh, and for that the Wants and Neceſſities of thoſe deplorable People will admit of no delay, we thought it requiſite to remit beforehand two thouſand Pounds of the Value of *England*, with all poſſible ſpeed to be diſtributed among ſuch as ſhall be judg'd to be moſt in preſent need of Comfort and Succour. Now in regard we are not ignorant how deeply the Miſeries and Wrongs of thoſe moſt innocent People have affected your ſelves, and that you will not think amiſs of any Labour or Pains where you can be aſſiſting to their Relief, we made no ſcruple to commit the paying and diſtributing this Sum of Money to your Care; and to give ye this farther trouble, that according to your wonted Piety and Prudence, you would take care that the ſaid Money may be diſtributed equally to the moſt neceſſitous, to the end that though the Sum be ſmall, yet there may be ſomething to refreſh and revive the moſt poor and needy, till we can afford 'em a more plentiful Supply. And thus, not making any doubt but you will take in good part the trouble impos'd upon ye, we beſeech Almighty God to ſtir up the Hearts of all his People profeſſing the Orthodox Religion, to reſolve upon the common Defence of themſelves, and the mutual Aſſiſtance of each other againſt their imbitter'd and moſt implacable Enemies: In the proſecution of which we ſhould rejoyce that our helping hand might be any way ſerviceable to the Church. Farewel.

*Fifteen hundred Pounds of the foreſaid two thouſand will be remitted by* Gerard Hench *from* Paris, *and the other five hundred Pounds will be taken care of by Letters from the Lord* Stoup.

June 8. 1655.

## Oliver *Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, *&c. to the moſt Serene Prince, the Duke of* Venice.

*Moſt Serene Prince,*

AS it has bin always a great occaſion of rejoycing to us when ever any proſperous Succeſs attended your Arms, but more eſpecially againſt the common Enemy of the Chriſtian Name; ſo neither are we ſorry for the late Advantage gain'd by your Fleet, though as we underſtand, it happen'd not a little to the Detriment of our People: For certain of our Merchants, *William* and *Daniel Williams*, and *Edward Beale*, have ſet forth in a Petition preſented to us, that a Ship of theirs, call'd the *Great Prince*, was lately ſent by them with Goods and Merchandize to *Conſtantinople*, where the ſaid Ship was detain'd by the Miniſters of the *Port*, to carry Souldiers and Proviſions to *Crete*; and that the ſaid Ship being conſtrain'd to ſail along with the ſame Fleet of the *Turks*, which was ſet upon and vanquiſh'd by the Gallies of the *Venetians*, was taken, carri'd away to *Venice*, and there adjudg'd lawful Prize by the Judges of the Admiralty. Now therefore in regard the ſaid Ship was preſs'd by the *Turks*, and forc'd into their Service without the Knowledg or Conſent of the Owners directly or indirectly obtain'd, and that it was impoſſible for her, being ſhip'd with Souldiers, to withdraw from the Engagement, we moſt earneſtly requeſt your Serenity, that you will remit that Sentence of your Admiralty, as a Preſent to our Friendſhip, and take ſuch care that the Ship may be reſtor'd to the Owners, no way deſerving the Diſpleaſure of your Republick by any Act of theirs. In the obtaining of which requeſt, more eſpecially upon our Interceſſion, while we find the Merchants themſelves ſo well aſſur'd of your Clemency, it behoves us not to queſtion it. And ſo we beſeech the Almighty God to continue his proſperous Bleſſings upon your noble Deſigns, and the *Venetian* Republick.

*Weſtminſter*, Decemb.—1655.

Your Serenity's, and the *Venetian* Republick's
moſt affectionate, *Oliver* Protector of the
Commonwealth of *England*, &c.

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## Oliver *Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, *&c. to the moſt Serene Prince*, Lewis *King of* France.

*Moſt Serene King,*

CErtain of our Merchants, by name *Samuel Mico*, *William Cockain*, *George Poyner*, and ſeveral others, in a Petition to us have ſet forth, That in the year 1650. they laded a Ship of theirs, call'd the *Unicorn*, with Goods of a very conſiderable Value; and that the ſaid Ship being thus laden with Silk, Oil, and other Merchandize, amounting to above thirty four thouſand of our Pounds, was taken by the Admiral and Vice-Admiral of your Majeſty's Fleet in the *Mediterranean* Sea. Now it appears to us, that our People who were then in the Ship, by reaſon there was at that time a Peace between the *French* and us, that never had bin violated in the leaſt, were not willing to make any Defence againſt your Majeſty's Royal Ships, and therefore overrul'd beſides by the fair Promiſes of the Captains *Paul* and *Terrery*, who faithfully engag'd to diſmiſs our People, they paid their Obedience to the Maritime Laws, and produc'd their Bills of Lading. Moreover, we find that the Merchants aforeſaid ſent their Agent into *France* to demand Reſtitution of the ſaid Ship and Goods: And then it was, that after above three Years ſlipt away, when the Suit was brought ſo far that Sentence of Reſtitution or Condemnation was to have bin given, that his Eminency Cardinal *Mazarine* acknowledg'd to their Factor *Hugh Morel*, the Wrong that has bin done the Merchants, and undertook that Satiſfaction ſhould be given, ſo ſoon as the League between the two Nations, which was then under Negotiation, ſhould be ratifi'd and confirm'd. Nay, ſince that, his Excellency M. *de Bourdeaux*, your Majeſty's Embaſſador, aſſur'd us in expreſs words, by the Command of your Majeſty and your Council; That care ſhould be taken of that Ship and Goods in a particular Exception, apart from thoſe Controverſies, for the deciſion of which a general Proviſion was made by the League; of which promiſe, the Embaſſador, now opportunely arriv'd here to ſolicit ſome buſineſs of his own, is a Teſtimony no way to be queſtion'd. Which being true, and the right of the Merchants in redemanding their Ship and Goods ſo undeniably apparent, we moſt earneſtly requeſt your Majeſty, that they may meet with no delay in obtaining what is juſtly their due, but that your Majeſty will admit the grant of this Favour, as the firſt fruits of our reviv'd Amity, and the lately renew'd League between us. The refuſal of which, as we have no reaſon to doubt, ſo we beſeech Almighty God to bleſs with all Proſperity both your Majeſty and your Kingdom.

*Weſtminſter,*
*Dec.* — 1655.

Your Majeſty's moſt Affectionate,
*Oliver* Protector of the Commonwealth of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, &c.

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## *To the Evangelic Cities of* Switzerland.

IN what Condition your Affairs are, which is not the beſt, we are abundantly inform'd, as well by your publick Acts tranſmitted to us by our Agent at *Geneva*, as alſo by your Letters from *Zurick*, bearing date the 27*th* of *December*. Whereby, although we are ſorry to find your Peace, and ſuch a laſting League of Confederacy broken; nevertheleſs ſince it appears to have happen'd through no fault of yours, we are in hopes that the iniquity and perverſeneſs of your Adverſaries are contriving new occaſions for ye to make known your long-ago experienc'd Fortitude and Reſolution in defence of the *Evangelick* Faith. For as for thoſe of the Canton of *Schwits*, who account it a capital Crime for any Perſon to embrace our Religion, what they are might and main deſigning, and whoſe inſtigations have incens'd 'em to reſolutions of Hoſtility againſt the Orthodox Religion, no body can be ignorant, who has not yet forgot that moſt deteſtable Slaughter of our Brethren in *Piemont*. Wherefore, moſt beloved Friends, what you were always wont to be, with God's Aſſiſtance ſtill continue, Magnanimous and Reſolute; ſuffer not your Privileges, your Confederacies, the Liberty of your Conſciences, your Religion it ſelf to be trampled under foot by the worſhippers of Idols; and ſo prepare your ſelves, that you may not ſeem to be the Defenders only of your own Freedom and Safety, but be ready likewiſe to aid and ſuccour, as far as in you lies, your neighbouring Brethren, more eſpecially thoſe moſt deplorable *Piedmontois*; as being certainly convinc'd of this, that a Paſſage was lately intended to have bin open'd over their ſlaughter'd Bodies to your ſides. As for our part be aſſur'd, that we are no leſs anxious and ſolicitous for your Welfare and Proſperity, than if this conflagration had broken forth in our Republick; or as if the Axes of the *Schwits Canton* had bin ſharpen'd for our Necks, or that their Swords had bin drawn againſt our Breaſts, as indeed they were againſt the boſoms of all the Reformed. Therefore ſo ſoon as we were inform'd of the Condition of your Affairs, and the obſtinate Animoſities of your Enemies, adviſing with ſome ſincere and honeſt Perſons, together with ſome Miniſters of the Church moſt eminent for their Piety, about ſending to your Aſſiſtance ſuch Succour as the preſent poſture of our Affairs would permit, we came to thoſe Reſults which our Envoy *Pell* will impart to your Conſideration. In the mean time we ceaſe not to implore the Bleſſing of the Almighty upon all your Counſels, and the Protection of your moſt juſt Cauſe, as well in War as in Peace.

*Weſtminſter,*
*Jan.*— 1655.

Your Lordſhips and Worſhips moſt Affectionate, *Oliver*
Protector of the Commonwealth of *England*, &c.

## Oliver *Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, *&c. To the moſt Serene Prince* Charles Guſtavus, *by the Grace of God King of the* Swedes, Goths *and* Vandals, *Great Prince of* Finland, *&c.*

*Moſt Serene King,*

SEeing it is a thing well known to all men, that there ought to be a Communication of Concerns among Friends, whether in Proſperity or Adverſity; it cannot but be moſt grateful to us, that your Majeſty ſhould vouchſafe to impart unto us by your Letters the moſt pleaſing and delightful part of your Friendſhip, which is your joy. In regard it is a mark of ſingular Civility, and truly Royal, as not to live only to a man's ſelf, ſo neither to rejoyce alone, unleſs he be ſenſible that his Friends and Confederates partake of his gladneſs. Certainly then, we have reaſon to rejoyce for the Birth of a young Prince born to ſuch an excellent King, and ſent into the World to be the Heir of his Father's Glory and Vertue; and this at ſuch a lucky ſeaſon, that we have no leſs cauſe to congratulate the Royal Parent with the memorable Omen that befel the famous *Philip* of *Macedon*, who at the ſame time receiv'd the Tydings of *Alexander*'s Birth, and the Conqueſt of the *Illyrians*. For we make no queſtion, but the wreſting of the Kingdom of *Poland* from Papal Subjection, as it were a Horn diſmembred from the Head of the Beaſt, and the Peace ſo much deſir'd by all Good men, concluded with the Duke of *Brandenburg*, will be moſt highly conducing to the Tranquillity and Advantage of the Church. Heaven grant a Concluſion correſpondent to ſuch ſignal beginnings; and may the Son be like the Father in Vertue, Piety, and Renown, obtain'd by great Atchievments. Which is that we wiſh may luckily come to paſs, and which we beg of the Almighty, ſo propitious hitherto to your Affairs.

*Weſtminſter*,
*Feb.* --- 1655.

Your Majeſty's moſt Affectionate, *Oliver* Protector of the *Commonwealth of* England, *&c.*

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## *To the King of* Denmark.

*Moſt Serene and Potent Prince,*

JOhn *Freeman* and *Philip Traveſs*, Citizens of this Republick, by a Petition preſented to us, in their own and the Name of ſeveral other Merchants of *London*, have made a Complaint, That whereas about the Month of *March* in the year 1653. they freighted a certain Ship of *Sunderburgh*, call'd the *Saviour*, *Nicolas Weinskinks* Maſter, with Woollen Cloth, and other Commodities to the Value of above three thouſand Pound, with Orders to the Maſter that he ſhould ſail directly up the *Baltick* for *Dantzick*, paying the uſual Tribute at *Elſenore*, to which purpoſe in particular they gave him Money; nevertheleſs that the ſaid Maſter, perfidiouſly and contrary to the Orders of the ſaid Merchants, ſlipping by *Elſenore* without paying the uſual Duty, thought to have proceeded in his Voyage, but that the Ship for this reaſon was immediately ſeiz'd and detain'd with all her Lading. After due conſideration of which Complaints, we wrote in favour of the Merchants to your Majeſty's Embaſſador reſiding at *London*, who promiſ'd, as they ſay, that as ſoon as he return'd to your Majeſty, he would take care that the Merchants ſhould be taken into Conſideration. But he being ſent to negotiate your Majeſty's Affairs in other Countries, the Merchants attended upon him in vain, both before and after his departure; ſo that they were forc'd to ſend their Agent to proſecute their Right and Claim at *Copenhagen*, and demand Reſtitution of the Ship and Goods; but all the benefit they reap'd by it, was only to add more expences to their former damages, and a great deal of labour and pains thrown away; the Goods being condemn'd to Confiſcation, and ſtill detain'd: Whereas by the Law of *Denmark*, as they ſet forth in their Petition, the Maſter is to be puniſh'd for his Offence, and the Ship is to be condemn'd, but not the Goods. And they look upon this misfortune to lie the more heavy upon 'em, in regard the Duty which is to be paid at *Elſenore*, as they tell us, is but very ſmall. Wherefore ſeeing our Merchants ſeem to have given no cauſe of Proſcription, and for that the Maſter confeſs'd before his Death, that this damage befel them only through his neglect; and the Father of the Maſter deceas'd, by his Petition to your Majeſty, as we are given to underſtand, by laying all the blame upon his Son, has acquitted the Merchants, we could not but believe the detaining of the ſaid Ship and Goods to be moſt unjuſt; and therefore we are confident, that ſo ſoon as your Majeſty ſhall be rightly inform'd of the whole matter, you will not only diſapprove of theſe Oppreſſions of your Miniſters, but give command that they be call'd to an account, that the Goods be reſtor'd to the Owners or their Factors, and Reparation made 'em for the Loſſes they have ſuſtain'd. All which we moſt earneſtly requeſt of your Majeſty, as being no more than what is ſo juſt and conſentaneous to reaſon, that a more equitable demand, or more legal Satisfaction cannot well be made, conſidering the Juſtice of our Merchants Cauſe, and which your own Subjects would think but fair and honeſt upon the like occaſions.

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## *To the moſt Serene Prince,* John *the Fourth, King of* Portugal, *&c.*

*Moſt Serene King,*

THE Peace and Friendſhip which your Majeſty deſir'd, by your noble and ſplendid Embaſſy ſent to us ſome time ſince, after certain Negotiations begun by the Parlament, in whom the Supream Power was veſted at that time, as it was always moſt affectionately wiſh'd for by us, with the aſſiſtance of God, and that we might not be wanting in the Adminiſtration of the Government which we have now taken upon us, at length we brought to a happy Concluſion, and as we hope, as a ſacred Act, have ratifi'd it to perpetuity. And therefore we ſend back to your Majeſty your extraordinary Embaſſador, the Lord *John Roderigo de Sita Meneſes*, Count of *Pennagiliada*, a Perſon both approv'd by your Majeſty's judgment, and by us experienc'd to excel in Civility, Ingenuity, Prudence and Fidelity, beſides the merited applauſe which he has juſtly gain'd by accompliſhing the ends of his Embaſſy, which is the Peace which he carries along with him to his Country. But as to what we perceive by your Letters dated from *Lisbon* the ſecond of *April*, that is to ſay, how highly your Majeſty eſteems our Amity, how cordially you favour our Advancement, and rejoice at our having taken the Government of the Republick upon us, which you are pleas'd to manifeſt by ſingular Teſtimonies of Kindneſs and Affection, we ſhall make it our buſineſs, that all the World may underſtand, by our readineſs at all times to ſerve your Majeſty, that there could be nothing more acceptable or grateful to us. Nor are we leſs earneſt in our Prayers to God for your Majeſty's ſafety, the welfare of your Kingdom, and the proſperous ſucceſs of your Affairs.

Your Majeſty's moſt Affectionate, *Oliver*, &c.

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## Oliver *Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, *&c. To the High and Mighty States of the* United Provinces.

*Moſt High and Mighty Lords, our deareſt Friends;*

CErtain Merchants, our Country-men, *Thomas Baſſel*, *Richard Beare*, and others their Co-Partners, have made their Complaints before us, That a certain Ship of theirs, the *Edmund* and *John*, in her Voyage from the Coaſt of *Braſile* to *Lisbon*, was ſet upon by a Privateer of *Fluſhing*, call'd the *Red-Lyon*, commanded by *Lambert Bartelſon*, but upon this condition, which the writing ſign'd by *Lambert* himſelf teſtifies, That the Ship and whatſoever Goods belong'd to the *Engliſh* ſhould be reſtor'd at *Fluſhing*: where when the Veſſel arriv'd, the Ship indeed with what peculiarly belong'd to the Seamen was reſtor'd, but the *Engliſh* Merchants Goods were detain'd and put forthwith to ſale: For the Merchants who had receiv'd the Damage, when they had ſu'd for their Goods in the Court of *Fluſhing*, after great Expences for five years together, loſt their Suit by the pronouncing of a moſt unjuſt Sentence againſt 'em by thoſe Judges, of which ſome being intereſted in the Privateer, were both Judges and Adverſaries, and no leſs criminal altogether. So that now they have no other hopes but only in your Equity and uncorrupted Faith, to which at laſt they fly for Succour; and which they believ'd they ſhould find the more inclinable to do 'em Juſtice, if aſſiſted by our Recommendation. And men are ſurely to be pardon'd, if, afraid of all things in ſo great a ſtruggle for their Eſtates, they rather call to mind what they have reaſon to fear from your Authority and high Power, than what they have to hope well of their Cauſe, eſpecially before ſincere and upright Judges: Though for our parts we make no queſtion, but that induc'd by your Religion, your Juſtice, your Integrity, rather than by our Intreaties, you will give that Judgment which is juſt and equal, and truly becoming your ſelves. God preſerve both you and your Republick to his own Glory, and the defence and ſuccour of his Church.

*Weſtminſter,*
*April* 1. 1656.

*Oliver* Protector of the Commonwealth of
*England*, &c.

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Oliver *Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland, *&c. To the moſt Serene Prince,* Charles Guſtavus, *King of the* Swedes, Goths *and* Vandals, *Great Prince of* Finland, *Duke of* Eſthonia, Carelia, Breme, Verden, Stettin, Pomerania, Caſſubia *and* Vandalia, *Prince of* Rugia, *Lord of* Ingria *and* Wiſmaria, *Count* Palatine *of the* Rhine, *Duke of* Bavaria, Juliers, Cleves *and* Monts.

*Moſt Serene Prince,*

*Peter Julius Coiet* having accompliſh'd the Affairs of his Embaſſy with us, and ſo acquitted himſelf, that he is not by us to be diſmiſs'd without the Ornament of his deſerved Praiſes, is now returning to your Majeſty. For he was moſt acceptable to us, as well and chiefly for your own ſake, which ought with us to be of high Conſideration, as for his own deſerts in the diligent acquittal of his Truſt. The Recommendation therefore which we receiv'd from you in his behalf, we freely teſtify to have bin made good by him, and deſervedly given by your ſelf; as he on the other ſide is able with the ſame Fidelity and Integrity to relate and moſt truly to declare our ſingular Affection and Obſervance toward your Majeſty. It remains for us to beſeech the moſt merciful and all-powerful God to bleſs your Majeſty with all Felicity, and a perpetual courſe of Victory over all the Enemies of his Church.

*Weſtminſter,*
April 17. 1656.

Your Majeſty's moſt Affectionate,

*Oliver* Protector of the Commonwealth of
*England*, &c.

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Oliver,

## Oliver, *Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, *&c. To the moſt Serene and Potent Prince,* Lewis *King of* France.

*Moſt Serene Prince,*

JOHN *Dethic*, Mayor of the City of *London* for this Year, and *William Wakefield* Merchant, have made their Addreſſes to us by way of Petition, complaining, That about the middle of *October*, 1649, they freighted a certain Ship call'd the *Jonas* of *London*, *Jonas Lightfoot* Maſter, with Goods that were to be ſent to *Oſtend*; which Veſſel was taken in the Mouth of the River *Thames*, by one *White* of *Barking*, a Pyrate, robbing upon the Seas by virtue of a Commiſſion from the Son of King *Charles* deceas'd, and carry'd to *Dunkirk*, then under the Juriſdiction of the French. Now in regard that by your Majeſty's Edict in the Year 1647, renew'd in 1649, and by ſome other Decrees in favour of the Parlament of *England*, as they find it recorded, it was enacted, That no Veſſel or Goods taken from the *Engliſh*, in the time of that War, ſhould be carry'd into any of your Majeſty's Ports to be there put to ſale, they preſently ſent their Factor *Hugh Morel* to *Dunkirk*, to demand Reſtitution of the ſaid Ship and Goods from *M. Leſtrade* then Governor of the Town; more eſpecially finding them in the place for the moſt part untouch'd, and neither exchang'd or ſold. To which the Governor made anſwer, That the King had beſtow'd that Government upon him of his free Gift for Service done the King in his Wars, and therefore he would take care to make the beſt of the Reward of his Labour. So that having little to hope from an Anſwer ſo unkind and unjuſt, after a great Expence of Time and Money, the Factor return'd home. So that all the remaining hopes which the Petitioners have, ſeem wholly to depend upon your Majeſty's Juſtice and Clemency, to which they thought they might have the more eaſy acceſs by means of our Letters; and therefore that neither your Clemency nor your Juſtice may be wanting to People deſpoil'd againſt all Law and Reaſon, and contrary to your repeated Prohibitions, we make it our Requeſt. Wherein, if your Majeſty vouchſafe to gratify us, ſince there is nothing requir'd but what is moſt juſt and equitable, we ſhall deem it as obtain'd rather from your innate Integrity, than any Intreaty of ours.

Your Majeſty's moſt Affectionate,

*Weſtminſter,*
May —, 1656. *Oliver*, Protector of the Commonwealth of *England*, &c.

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## Oliver, *Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, *&c. To the High and Mighty Lords, the States of the* United Provinces.

*Moſt High and Mighty Lords, our deareſt Friends;*

JOHN *Brown*, *Nicholas Williams*, and others, Citizens of *London*, have ſet forth in their Petition to us, that when they had every one brought in their Proportions, and freighted a certain Ship call'd the *Good-hope* of *London*, bound for the *Eaſt-Indies*, they gave Orders to their Factor to take up at *Amſterdam* two thouſand four hundred Dutch Pounds, to inſure the ſaid Ship; that afterwards this Ship in her Voyage to the Coaſt of *India* was taken by a Ship belonging to the *Eaſt-India Company*; upon which they who had engag'd to inſure the ſaid Veſſel refus'd to pay the Money, and have for this ſix Years by various delays eluded our Merchants, who with extraordinary Diligence, and at vaſt Expences, endeavour'd the recovery of their juſt Right. Which in regard it is an unjuſt Grievance that lies ſo heavy upon the Petitioners, for that ſome of thoſe who oblig'd themſelves are dead or become inſolvent, therefore that no farther Loſſes may accrue to their former Damages, we make it our earneſt Requeſt to your Lordſhips, that you will vouchſafe your Integrity to be the Harbour and Refuge for People toſs'd ſo many Years, and almoſt ſhipwrack'd in your Courts of Juſtice, and that ſpeedy Judgment may be given according to the Rules of Equity and Honeſty in their Cauſe, which they believe to be moſt juſt. In the mean time we wiſh you all Proſperity to the Glory of God, and the Welfare of his Church.

*Weſtminſter*, Your High and Mighty Lordſhips moſt Affectionate,
May —, 1656.
*Oliver*, Protector of the Commonwealth of *England*, &c.

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## Oliver, *Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, *&c. To the High and Mighty Lords, the States of the* United Provinces.

*Moſt High and Mighty Lords, our deareſt Friends*;

THE ſame Perſons in whoſe behalf we wrote to your Lordſhips in *September* the laſt year, *Thomas* and *William Lower*, the lawful Heirs of *Nicholas Lower* deceas'd, make grievous Complaints before us, that they are oppreſs'd either by the Favour or Wealth of their Adverſaries, notwithſtanding the Juſtice of their Cauſe; and when that would not ſuffice, although our Letters were often pleaded in their behalf, they have not been able hitherto to obtain Poſſeſſion of the Inheritance left 'em by their Father's Will. From the Court of *Holland*, where the Suit was firſt commenc'd, they were ſent to your Court, and from thence hurry'd away into *Zealand*, (to which three Places they carry'd our Letters) and now they are remanded, not unwillingly, back again to your ſupream Judicature; for where the ſupream Power is, there they expect ſupream Juſtice. If that hope fail 'em, eluded and fruſtrated, after being ſo long toſs'd from poſt to pillar for the recovery of their Right, where at length to find a reſting place they know not. For as for our Letters, if they find no benefit of theſe the fourth time written, they can never promiſe themſelves any advantage for the future from ſlighted Papers. However it would be moſt acceptable to us, if yet at length, after ſo many contempts, the injur'd Heirs might meet with ſome Relief by a ſpeedy and juſt Judgment, if not out of reſpect to any Reputation we have among ye, yet out of a regard to your own Equity and Juſtice. Of the laſt of which we make no queſtion, and confidently preſume you will allow the other to our Friendſhip.

*Weſtminſter*, Your High and Mighty Lordſhips moſt Affectionate,
May —, 1656.
*Oliver*, Protector of the Commonwealth of *England*, &c.

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## Oliver, *Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, *&c. To the moſt Serene Prince,* John *King of* Portugal.

*Moſt Serene King*,

WHereas there is a conſiderable Sum of Money owing from certain *Portugal* Merchants of the *Braſile* Company to ſeveral *Engliſh* Merchants, upon the account of Freightage and Demorage, in the Years 1649 and 1650, which Money is detain'd by the ſaid Company by your Majeſties Command, the Merchants before-mention'd expected that the ſaid Money ſhould have been paid long ſince according to the Articles of the laſt League, but now they are afraid of being debarr'd all hopes and means of recovering their Debts; underſtanding your Majeſty has order'd, That what Money is owing to 'em by the *Braſile* Company, ſhall be carry'd into your Treaſury, and that no more than one half of the Duty of Freightage ſhall be expended toward the Payment of their Debts; by which means the Merchants will receive no more than the bare Intereſt of their Money, while at the ſame time they utterly loſe their Principal. Which we conſidering to be very ſevere and heavy upon 'em, and being overcome by their moſt reaſonable Supplications, have granted 'em theſe our Letters to your Majeſty; chiefly requeſting this at your hands, to take care that the aforeſaid *Braſile* Company may give ſpeedy Satisfaction to the Merchants of this Republick, and pay 'em not only the Principal Money which is owing to 'em, but the five Years Intereſt; as being both juſt in it ſelf, and conformable to the League ſo lately concluded between us; which on their behalf in moſt friendly manner we requeſt from your Majeſty.

*From our Palace at* Weſtminſter, July —, 1656.

Your Majeſty's moſt Affectionate,

*Oliver*, Protector of the Commonwealth, *&c.*

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## Oliver, *Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, *&c. To the moſt Serene Prince* Charles Guſtavus, *King of the* Swedes, Goths, *and* Vandals, *&c.*

*Moſt Serene King,*

AS it is but juſt that we ſhould highly value the Friendſhip of your Majeſty, a Prince ſo potent and ſo renown'd for great Atchievments; ſo is it but equally reaſonable that your Extraordinary Embaſſador, the moſt Illuſtrious Lord *Chriſtiern Bond*, by whoſe Sedulity and Care a ſtrict Alliance is moſt ſacredly and ſolemnly ratifi'd between us, ſhould be moſt acceptable to us, and no leſs deeply fix'd in our eſteem. Him therefore, having now moſt worthily accompliſh'd his Embaſſy, we thought it became us to ſend back to your Majeſty, though not without the high Applauſe which the reſt of his ſingular Vertues merit; to the end, that he who was before conſpicuous in your eſteem and reſpect, may now be ſenſible of his having reap'd ſtill more abundant fruits of his Sedulity and Prudence from our Recommendation. As for thoſe things which yet remain to be tranſacted, we have determin'd in a ſhort time to ſend an Embaſſy to your Majeſty for the ſettling of thoſe Affairs. In the mean time Almighty God preſerve in Safety ſo great a Pillar of his Church, and of *Swedeland*'s Welfare.

*From our Palace at* Weſtminſter, July —, 1656.

Your Majeſty's moſt Affectionate,

*Olivet*, Protector of the Commonwealth of *England*, &c.

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## Oliver, *Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, *&c. To the moſt Serene Prince* Lewis *King of* France.

*Moſt Serene King, our moſt dear Friend and Confederate;*

CErtain Merchants of *London*, *Richard Baker* and others, have made their Complaint in a Petition to us, That a certain hir'd Ship of theirs, call'd the *Endeavour*, *William Jop* Maſter, laden at *Teneriff* with three hundred Pipes of rich Canary, and bound from thence for *London*, in her Voyage between *Palma* and that Iſland, upon the 21*ſt* of *November*, in the Year 1655. was taken by four French Veſſels, ſeeming Ships of Burden, but fitted and mann'd like Privateers, under the Command of *Giles de la Roche* their Admiral, and carri'd with all her Freight, and the greateſt part of the Seamen to the *Eaſt-Indies*, whither he pretended to be bound, (fourteen excepted, who were put aſhore upon the Coaſt of *Guiney*) which the ſaid *Giles* affirm'd he did with that intent, that none of 'em might eſcape from ſo remote and barbarous a Country, to do him any harm by their Teſtimony. For he confeſs'd he had neither any Commiſſion to take the Engliſh Veſſels, neither had he taken any, as he might have done before, well knowing there was a firm Peace at that time between the French and our Republick: But in regard he had deſign'd to revittle in *Portugal*, from whence he was driven by contrary Winds, he was conſtrain'd to ſupply his neceſſities with what he found in that Veſſel; and believ'd the Owners of his Ships would ſatisfy the Merchants for their Loſs. Now the Loſs of our Merchants amounts to ſixteen thouſand Engliſh Pounds, as will eaſily be made appear by Witneſſes upon Oath. But if it ſhall

be

they believe to be moſt juſt. In the mean time we wiſh you all Proſperity to the Glory of God, and the Welfare of his Church.

*Weſtminſter*, Your High and Mighty Lordſhips moſt Affectionate,
May —, 1656.
*Oliver*, Protector of the Commonwealth of *England*, &c.

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## Oliver, *Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, *&c. To the High and Mighty Lords, the States of the* United Provinces.

*Moſt High and Mighty Lords, our deareſt Friends* ;

THE ſame Perſons in whoſe behalf we wrote to your Lordſhips in *September* the laſt year, *Thomas* and *William Lower*, the lawful Heirs of *Nicholas Lower* deceas'd, make grievous Complaints before us, that they are oppreſs'd either by the Favour or Wealth of their Adverſaries, notwithſtanding the Juſtice of their Cauſe; and when that would not ſuffice, although our Letters were often pleaded in their behalf, they have not been able hitherto to obtain Poſſeſſion of the Inheritance left 'em by their Father's Will. From the Court of *Holland*, where the Suit was firſt commenc'd, they were ſent to your Court, and from thence hurry'd away into *Zealand*, (to which three Places they carry'd our Letters) and now they are remanded, not unwillingly, back again to your ſupream Judicature; for where the ſupream Power is, there they expect ſupream Juſtice. If that hope fail 'em, eluded and fruſtrated, after being ſo long toſs'd from poſt to pillar for the recovery of their Right, where at length to find a reſting place they know not. For as for our Letters, if they find no benefit of theſe the fourth time written, they can never promiſe themſelves any advantage for the future from ſlighted Papers. However it would be moſt acceptable to us, if yet at length, after ſo many contempts, the injur'd Heirs might meet with ſome Relief by a ſpeedy and juſt Judgment, if not out of reſpect to any Reputation we have among ye, yet out of a regard to your own Equity and Juſtice. Of the laſt of which we make no queſtion, and confidently preſume you will allow the other to our Friendſhip.

*Weſtminſter*, Your High and Mighty Lordſhips moſt Affectionate,
May —, 1656.
*Oliver*, Protector of the Commonwealth of *England*, &c.

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## Oliver, *Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, *&c. To the moſt Serene Prince,* John *King of* Portugal.

*Moſt Serene King*,

WHereas there is a conſiderable Sum of Money owing from certain *Portugal* Merchants of the *Braſile* Company to ſeveral *Engliſh* Merchants, upon the account of Freightage and Demorage, in the Years 1649 and 1650, which Money is detain'd by the ſaid Company by your Majeſties Command, the Merchants before-mention'd expected that the ſaid Money ſhould have been paid long ſince according to the Articles of the laſt League, but now they are afraid of being debarr'd all hopes and means of recovering their Debts; underſtanding your Majeſty has order'd, That what Money is owing to 'em by the *Braſile* Company, ſhall be carry'd into your Treaſury, and that no more than one half of the Duty of Freightage ſhall be expended toward the Payment of their Debts; by which means the Merchants will receive no more than the bare Intereſt of their Money, while at the ſame time they utterly loſe their Principal. Which we conſidering to be very ſevere and heavy upon 'em, and being overcome by their moſt reaſonable Supplications, have granted 'em theſe our Letters to your Majeſty; chiefly requeſting this at your hands, to take care that the aforeſaid *Braſile* Company may give ſpeedy Satisfaction to the Merchants of this Republick, and pay 'em not only the Principal Money

ney which is owing to 'em, but the five Years Intereſt; as being both juſt in it ſelf, and conformable to the League ſo lately concluded between us; which on their behalf in moſt friendly manner we requeſt from your Majeſty.

*From our Palace at Weſtminſter, July —, 1656.*

Your Majeſty's moſt Affectionate,

*Oliver*, Protector of the Commonwealth, *&c.*

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## Oliver, *Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, *&c. To the moſt Serene Prince* Charles Guſtavus, *King of the* Swedes, Goths, *and* Vandals, *&c.*

*Moſt Serene King,*

AS it is but juſt that we ſhould highly value the Friendſhip of your Majeſty, a Prince ſo potent and ſo renown'd for great Atchievments; ſo is it but equally reaſonable that your Extraordinary Embaſſador, the moſt illuſtrious Lord *Chriſtiern Bond*, by whoſe Sedulity and Care a ſtrict Alliance is moſt ſacredly and ſolemnly ratifi'd between us, ſhould be moſt acceptable to us, and no leſs deeply fix'd in our eſteem. Him therefore, having now moſt worthily accompliſh'd his Embaſſy, we thought it became us to ſend back to your Majeſty, though not without the high Applauſe which the reſt of his ſingular Vertues merit; to the end, that he who was before conſpicuous in your eſteem and reſpect, may now be ſenſible of his having reap'd ſtill more abundant fruits of his Sedulity and Prudence from our Recommendation. As for thoſe things which yet remain to be tranſacted, we have determin'd in a ſhort time to ſend an Embaſſy to your Majeſty for the ſettling of thoſe Affairs. In the mean time Almighty God preſerve in Safety ſo great a Pillar of his Church, and of *Swedeland*'s Welfare.

*From our Palace at Weſtminſter,* July —, 1656.

Your Majeſty's moſt Affectionate,

*Oliver*, Protector of the Commonwealth of *England*, &c.

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## Oliver, *Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, *&c. To the moſt Serene Prince* Lewis *King of* France.

*Moſt Serene King, our moſt dear Friend and Confederate;*

CErtain Merchants of *London*, *Richard Baker* and others, have made their Complaint in a Petition to us, That a certain hir'd Ship of theirs, call'd the *Endeavour*, *William Jop* Maſter, laden at *Teneriff* with three hundred Pipes of rich Canary, and bound from thence for *London*, in her Voyage between *Palma* and that Iſland, upon the 21*ſt* of *November*, in the Year 1655. was taken by four French Veſſels, ſeeming Ships of Burden, but fitted and mann'd like Privateers, under the Command of *Giles de la Roche* their Admiral, and carri'd with all her Freight, and the greateſt part of the Seamen to the *Eaſt-Indies*, whither he pretended to be bound, (fourteen excepted, who were put aſhore upon the Coaſt of *Guiney*) which the ſaid *Giles* affirm'd he did with that intent, that none of 'em might eſcape from ſo remote and barbarous a Country, to do him any harm by their Teſtimony. For he confeſs'd he had neither any Commiſſion to take the Engliſh Veſſels, neither had he taken any, as he might have done before, well knowing there was a firm Peace at that time between the French and our Republick: But in regard he had deſign'd to revittle in *Portugal*, from whence he was driven by contrary Winds, he was conſtrain'd to ſupply his neceſſities with what he found in that Veſſel; and believ'd the Owners of his Ships would ſatisfy the Merchants for their Loſs. Now the Loſs of our Merchants amounts to ſixteen thouſand Engliſh Pounds, as will eaſily be made appear by Witneſſes upon Oath. But if it ſhall be lawful, upon ſuch trivial Excuſes as theſe, for Pyrates to violate the moſt religious Acts of Princes, and make a ſport of Merchants for their particular Benefits, certainly the Sanctity of Leagues muſt fall to the ground, all Faith and Authority of Princes will grow out of date, and be trampl'd under foot. Wherefore we not only requeſt your Majeſty, but believe it mainly to concern your Honour, that they who have adventur'd upon ſo ſlight a pretence to violate the League and moſt ſacred Oath of their Sovereign, ſhould ſuffer the Puniſhment due to ſo much Perfidiouſneſs and daring Inſolence; and that in the mean time the Owners of thoſe Ships, though to their Loſs, ſhould be bound to ſatisfy our Merchants for the vaſt Detriment which they have ſo wrongfully ſuſtain'd. So may the Almighty long preſerve your Majeſty, and ſupport the Intereſt of *France* againſt the common Enemy of us both.

*From our Palace at* Weſtminſter, Aug. —, 1656.

Your Majeſty's moſt Affectionate,

*Oliver*, Protector, *&c.*

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## Oliver, *Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, *To his Eminency Cardinal* Mazarine.

*Moſt Eminent Lord*,

HAving an occaſion to ſend Letters to the King, we thought it likewiſe an offer'd opportunity to write to your Eminency. For we could not think it proper to conceal the ſubject of our writing from the ſole and only Perſon, whoſe ſingular Prudence governs the moſt important Intereſts of the French Nation, and the moſt weighty Affairs of the Kingdom with equal Fidelity, Counſel and Vigilance. Not without reaſon we complain, in ſhort, to find that League by your ſelf, as it were a crime to doubt, moſt ſacredly concluded, almoſt the very ſame day contemn'd and violated by one *Giles* a French-man, a petty Admiral of four Ships, and his Aſſociates equally concern'd, as your Eminency will readily find by our Letters to the King, and the Demands themſelves of our Merchants. Nor is it unknown to your Excellency, how much it concerns not only inferiour Magiſtrates, but even Royal Majeſty it ſelf, that thoſe firſt Violators of ſolemn Alliances ſhould be ſeverely puniſh'd. But they, perhaps, by this time being arriv'd in the *Eaſt-Indies*, whither they pretended to be bound, enjoy in undiſturb'd poſſeſſion the Goods of our People as lawful Prize won from an Enemy, which they robb'd and pillag'd from the Owners, contrary to all Law, and the pledg'd Faith of our late ſacred League. However, this is that which we requeſt from your Eminency, That whatever Goods were taken from our Merchants by the Admiral of thoſe Ships, as neceſſary for his Voyage, may be reſtor'd by the Owners of the ſame Veſſels, which was no more than what the Rovers themſelves thought juſt and equal; which, as we underſtand, it lies within your Power to do, conſidering the Authority and Sway you bear in the Kingdom.

Your Eminencies moſt Affectionate,

*From our Palace at* Weſtminſter, Aug. —, 1656.

*Oliver*, Protector of the Commonwealth, *&c.*

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Oliver,

# Oliver *Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, *&c. To the moſt High and Mighty Lords, the States of the* United Provinces.

*Moſt High and Mighty Lords, our dear Friends and Confederates;*

WE make no doubt but that all Men will bear us this Teſtimony, That no Conſiderations, in contracting Foreign Alliances, ever ſway'd us beyond thoſe of defending the Truth of Religion, or that we accounted any thing more ſacred, than to unite the Minds of all the Friends and Protectors of the *Proteſtants*, and of all others who at leaſt were not their Enemies. Whence it comes to paſs, that we are touch'd with ſo much the more grief of Mind, to hear that the Proteſtant Princes and Cities, whom it ſo much behoves to live in Friendſhip and Concord together, ſhould begin to be ſo jealous of each other, and ſo ill diſpos'd to mutual Affection; more eſpecially, that your Lordſhips and the King of *Sweden*, than whom the Orthodox Faith has not more magnanimous and couragious Defenders, nor our Republick Confederates more ſtrictly conjoin'd in Intereſts, ſhould ſeem to remit of your Confidence in each other; or rather, that there ſhould appear ſome too apparent Signs of tottering Friendſhip and growing Diſcord between ye. What the Cauſes are, and what Progreſs this Alienation of your Affection has made, we proteſt our ſelves to be altogether ignorant. However, we cannot but conceive an extraordinary trouble of mind for theſe beginnings of the leaſt Diſſenſion ariſen among Brethren, which infallibly muſt greatly endanger the Proteſtant Intereſts. Which if they ſhould gather ſtrength, how prejudicial it would prove to the Proteſtant Churches, what an occaſion of Triumph it would afford our Enemies, and more eſpecially the *Spaniards*, cannot be unknown to your Prudence, and moſt induſtrious Experience of Affairs. As for the *Spaniards*, it has already ſo enliven'd their Confidence, and rais'd their Courage, that they made no ſcruple by their Embaſſador reſiding in your Territories, boldly to obtrude their Counſels upon your Lordſhips, and that in reference to the higheſt Concerns of your Republick; preſuming partly with Threats of renewing the War, to terrify; and partly with a falſe proſpect of Advantage to ſollicit your Lordſhips to forſake your ancient and moſt faithful Friends, the *Engliſh*, *French* and *Danes*, and enter into a ſtrict Confederacy with your old Enemy, and once your domineering Tyrant, now ſeemingly aton'd; but what is moſt to be fear'd, only at preſent treacherouſly fawning to advance his own Deſigns. Certainly he, who of an inveterate Enemy, lays hold of ſo ſlight an occaſion of a ſudden to become your Counſellor, what is it that he would not take upon him? Where would his Inſolency ſtop, if once he could but ſee with his eyes, what now he only ruminates and labours in his thoughts; that is to ſay, Diviſion, and a Civil War among the Proteſtants? We are not ignorant that your Lordſhips, out of your deep Wiſdom, frequently revolve in your Minds what the Poſture of all *Europe* is, and what more eſpecially the Condition of the Proteſtants: That the Cantons of *Switzerland* adhering to the Orthodox Faith, are in daily expectation of new Troubles to be rais'd by their Country-men embracing the Popiſh Ceremonies; ſcarcely recover'd from that War, which for the ſake of Religion was kindled and blown up by the *Spaniards*, who ſuppli'd their Enemies both with Commanders and Money: That the Councils of the *Spaniards* are ſtill contriving to continue the Slaughter and Deſtruction of the *Piemontois*, which was cruelly put in execution the laſt Year: That the Proteſtants under the Juriſdiction of the Emperor, are moſt grievouſly haraſs'd, having much ado to keep poſſeſſion of their native Homes: That the King of *Sweden*, whom God, as we hope, has rais'd up to be a moſt ſtout Defender of the Orthodox Faith, is at preſent waging with all the Force of his Kingdom, a doubtful and bloody War with the moſt Potent Enemies of the Reformed Religion: That your own Provinces are threatned with hoſtile Confederacies of the Princes your Neighbours, headed by the *Spaniards*; and laſtly, that we our ſelves are buſied in a War proclaim'd againſt the King of *Spain*. In this poſture of Affairs, if any Conteſt ſhould happen between your Lordſhips and the King of *Sweden*, how miſerable would be the condition of all the

Reformed Churches over all *Europe*, expos'd to the Cruelty and Fury of unſanctifi'd Enemies? Theſe Cares not ſlightly ſeize us; and we hope your Sentiments to be the ſame; and that out of your continu'd Zeal for the common Cauſe of the Proteſtants, and to the end the preſent Peace between Brethren profeſſing the ſame Faith, the ſame hope of Eternity, may be preſerv'd inviolable, your Lordſhips will accommodate your Counſels to theſe Conſiderations, which are to be preferr'd before all others; and that you will leave nothing neglected that may conduce to the eſtabliſhing Tranquillity and Union between your Lordſhips and the King of *Sweden*. Wherein if we can any way be uſeful, as far as our Authority, and the Favour you bear us will ſway with your Lordſhips, we freely offer our utmoſt Aſſiſtance, prepared in like manner to be no leſs ſerviceable to the King of *Sweden*, to whom we deſign a ſpeedy Embaſſy, to the end we may declare our Sentiments at large, concerning theſe Matters. We hope moreover, that God will bend your Minds on both ſides to moderate Counſels, and ſo reſtrain your Animoſities, that no Provocation may be given, either by the one or the other, to feſter your Differences to extremity: But that on the other ſide both Parties will remove whatever may give offence or occaſion of jealouſy to the other. Which if you ſhall vouchſafe to do, you will diſappoint your Enemies, prove the Conſolation of your Friends, and in the beſt manner provide for the Welfare of your Republick. And this we beſeech you to be fully convinc'd of, that we ſhall uſe our utmoſt care to make appear, upon all occaſions, our extraordinary Affection and Good-will to the States of the *United Provinces*. And ſo we moſt earneſtly implore the Almighty God to perpetuate his Bleſſings of Peace, Wealth and Liberty, upon your Republick; but above all things to preſerve it always flouriſhing in the Love of the Chriſtian Faith, and the true Worſhip of his Name. *From our Palace at* Weſtminſter, *Aug.*—1656.

Your High and Mightineſſes moſt Affectionate, *Oliver* Protector of
the Commonwealth of *England*, &c.

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## Oliver *Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, *to the moſt Serene Prince,* John *King of* Portugal.

*Moſt Serene Prince*;

UPON the 11*th* of *July* laſt, *Old-ſtile*, we receiv'd by *Thomas Maynard* the Ratification of the Peace negotiated at *London* by your extraordinary Embaſſador; as alſo of the private and preliminary Articles, all now confirm'd by your Majeſty: And by our Letters from *Philip Meadows*, our Agent at *Lisbon*, dated the ſame time, we underſtand that our Ratification alſo of the ſame Peace and Articles, was by him, according to our Orders ſent him, deliver'd to your Majeſty: And thus the Inſtruments of the forementioned Ratification being mutually interchang'd on both ſides in the beginning of *June* laſt, there is now a firm and ſettl'd Peace between both Nations. And this Pacification has given us no ſmall occaſion of Joy and Satiſfaction, as believing it will prove to the common Benefit of both Nations, and to the no ſlight detriment of our common Enemies, who as they found out a Means to diſturb the former League, ſo they left nothing neglected to have hinder'd the renewing of this. Nor do we queſtion in the leaſt, that they will omit any occaſion of creating new Matter for Scandals and Jealouſies between us. Which we however have conſtantly determin'd, as much as in us lies, to remove at a remote diſtance from our thoughts; rather we ſo earneſtly deſire, that this our Alliance may beget a mutual Confidence, greater every day than other, that we ſhall take them for our Enemies, who ſhall by any Artifices endeavour to moleſt the Friendſhip by this Peace eſtabliſh'd between our ſelves and both our People. And we readily perſwade our ſelves, that your Majeſty's Thoughts and Intentions are the ſame. And whereas it has pleas'd your Majeſty, by your Letters dated the 24*th* of *June*, and ſome days after the delivery by our Agent of the interchang'd Inſtrument of confirm'd Peace, to mention certain Clauſes of the League, of which you deſir'd ſome little Alteration, being of ſmall moment to this Republick, as your Majeſty believes, but of great importance to the Kingdom of *Portugal*; we ſhall be ready to enter into a particular Treaty in order to thoſe Propoſals made by your Majeſty, or whatever elſe may conduce, in the judgment of both Parties, to the farther eſtabliſhment and more ſtrongly faſtning of the League: wherein we ſhall have thoſe due Conſiderations of your Majeſty and your Subjects, as alſo of our own People, that all may be ſatisfi'd; and it ſhall be in your choice, whether theſe things ſhall be negotiated at *Lisbon*, or at *London*. However, the League being now confirm'd, and duly ſeal'd with the Seals of both Nations, to alter any part of it, would be the ſame thing as to annul the whole; which we are certainly aſſur'd your Majeſty by no means deſires to do. We heartily wiſh all things lucky, all things proſperous to your Majeſty. *From our Palace at* Weſtminſter, *Auguſt*—— 1656.

Your Majeſty's moſt Affectionate, *Oliver* Protector of the Commonwealth of *England*, &c.

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## Oliver *Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, *&c. To the moſt Serene Prince,* John *King of* Portugal.

*Moſt Serene King*;

WE have receiv'd the unwelcome News of a wicked and inhuman Attempt to have murder'd our Agent *Philip Meadows*, reſiding with your Majeſty, and by us ſent upon the bleſſed Errand of Peace; the hainouſneſs of which was ſuch, that his Preſervation is only to be attributed to the protection of Heaven. And we are given to underſtand, by your Letters dated the *26th* of *May* laſt, and deliver'd to us by *Thomas Maynard*, that your Majeſty, juſtly incens'd at the horridneſs of the Fact, has commanded enquiry to be made after the Criminals, to the end they may be brought to condign Puniſhment: But we do not hear that any of the Ruffians are yet apprehended, or that your Commands have wrought any effect in this Particular. Wherefore we thought it our Duty openly to declare, how deeply we reſent this barbarous Outrage in part attempted, and in part committed: And therefore we make it our Requeſt to your Majeſty, That due Puniſhment may be inflicted upon the Authors, Aſſociates, and Encouragers of this abominable Fact. And to the end that this may be the more ſpeedily accompliſh'd, we farther demand, That Perſons of Honeſty and Sincerity, well-wiſhers to the Peace of both Nations, may be entruſted with the Examination of this Buſineſs, that ſo a due Scrutiny may be made into the bottom of this malicious Contrivance, to the end both Authors and Aſſiſtants may be the more ſeverely puniſh'd. Unleſs this be done, neither your Majeſty's Juſtice, nor the Honour of this Republick can be vindicated; neither can there be any ſtable aſſurance of the Peace between both Nations. We wiſh your Majeſty all things fortunate and proſperous. *From our Palace at* Whitehall, Auguſt—— 1656.

Your Majeſty's moſt Affectionate, *Oliver* Protector of the Commonwealth of *England*, &c.

Oliver

## Oliver *Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, *&c. To the moſt Illuſtrious Lord, the* Conde d' Odemira.

*Moſt Illuſtrious Lord,*

YOur ſingular Good-will towards us and this Republick, has laid no mean Obligation upon us, nor ſlightly ti'd us to acknowledgment. We readily perceiv'd it by your Letters of the 25*th* of *June* laſt, as alſo by thoſe which we receiv'd from our Agent *Philip Meadows*, ſent into *Portugal* to conclude the Peace in Agitation, wherein he inform'd us of your extraordinary Zeal and Diligence to promote the Pacification, of which we moſt joyfully receiv'd the laſt Ratification; and we perſwade our ſelves, that your Lordſhip will have no cauſe to repent either of your Pains and Diligence in procuring this Peace, or of your Good-will to the *Engliſh*, or your Fidelity towards the King, your Sovereign; more eſpecially conſidering the great hopes we have that this Peace will be of high Advantage to both Nations, and not a little inconvenient to our Enemies. The only Accident that fell out unfortunate and mournful in this Negotiation, was that unhallow'd Villany nefariouſly attempted upon the Perſon of our Agent, *Philip Meadows:* The conceal'd Authors of which intended piece of Inhumanity, ought no leſs diligently to be ſought after, and made Examples to Poſterity, than the vileſt of moſt openly detected Aſſaſſinates. Nor can we doubt in the leaſt of your King's Severity and Juſtice in the puniſhment of a Crime ſo horrid, nor of your Care and Sedulity to ſee that there be no remiſsneſs of Proſecution, as being a Perſon bearing due Veneration to the Laws of God, and Sanctity among Men, and no leſs zealous to maintain the Peace between both Nations; which never can ſubſiſt if ſuch inhuman Barbarities as theſe eſcape unpuniſh'd and unreveng'd. But your abhorrence and deteſtation of the Fact is ſo well known, that there is no need of inſiſting any more at preſent upon this unpleaſing Subject. Therefore, having thus declar'd our Good-will and Affection to your Lordſhip, of which we ſhall be always ready to give apparent Demonſtrations, there nothing remains, but to implore the Bleſſings of Divine Favour and Protection upon you, and all yours.

*From our Palace at*
Weſtminſter,
*Aug.*— 1656.

Your Lordſhip's moſt affectionate, *Oliver*
Protector of the Commonwealth of
*England*, &c.

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## Oliver *Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, *&c. to the moſt Serene Prince* Charles Guſtavus, *King of the* Swedes, Goths *and* Vandals, *&c.*

*Moſt Serene King, our deareſt Friend and Confederate;*

BEing aſſur'd of your Majeſty's Concurrence both in Thoughts and Counſels, for the defence of the Proteſtant Faith againſt the Enemies of it, if ever, now at this time moſt dangerouſly vexatious; though we cannot but rejoyce at your proſperous Succeſſes, and the daily tidings of your Victories, yet on the other ſide we cannot but be as deeply afflicted to meet with one thing that diſturbs and interrupts our Joy; we mean the bad News intermix'd with ſo many welcome Tidings, that the antient Friendſhip between your Majeſty and the *States of the United Provinces*, looks with a dubious Aſpect, and that the Miſchief is exaſperated to that height, eſpecially in the *Baltick* Sea, as ſeems to bode an unhappy Rupture. We confeſs our ſelves ignorant of the Cauſes; but we too eaſily foreſee that the Events, which God avert, will be fatal to the Intereſts of the Proteſtants. And therefore, as well in reſpect to that moſt ſtrict Alliance between us and your Majeſty, as out of that Affection and Love to the Reformed Religion, by which we all of us ought chiefly to be ſway'd, we thought it our duty, as we have moſt earneſtly exhorted the States of the *United Provinces* to Peace and Moderation, ſo now to perſwade your Majeſty to the ſame. The Proteſtants have Enemies every where enow and to ſpare, inflam'd with inexorable Revenge; they never were known to have conſpir'd more perniciouſly to our Deſtruction, witneſs the Valleys of *Piemont*, ſtill reaking with the Blood and Slaughter of the miſerable; witneſs *Auſtria*, lately turmoil'd with the Emperor's Edicts and Proſcriptions; witneſs *Switzerland*. But to what purpoſe is it in many words to call back the bitter lamentations and remembrance of ſo many Calamities? Who ſo ignorant, as not to know that the Counſels of the *Spaniards*, and the *Roman Pontiff*, for theſe two Years have fill'd all theſe Places with Conflagrations, Slaughter, and Vexation of the *Orthodox?* If to theſe Miſchiefs there ſhould happen an acceſs of Diſſenſion among Proteſtant Brethren, more eſpecially between two Potent States, upon whoſe Courage, Wealth and Fortitude, ſo far as human Strength may be reli'd upon, the Support and Hopes of all the Reformed Churches depend, of neceſſity the Proteſtant Religion muſt be in great jeopardy, if not upon the brink of Deſtruction. On the other ſide, if the whole Proteſtant Name would but obſerve perpetual Peace among themſelves with that ſame brotherly Union as becomes their Profeſſion, there would be no occaſion to fear what all the Artifices or Puiſſance of our Enemies could do to hurt us, which our fraternal Concord and Harmony alone would eaſily repel and fruſtrate. And therefore we moſt earneſtly requeſt and beſeech your Majeſty to harbour in your Mind propitious thoughts of Peace, and Inclinations ready bent to repair the Breaches of your priſtin Friendſhip with the *United Provinces*, if in any part it may have accidentally ſuffer'd the decays of Miſtakes or Miſconſtruction. If there be any thing wherein our Labour, our Fidelity and Diligence may be uſeful toward this Compoſure, we offer and devote all to your ſervice. And may the God of Heaven favour and proſper your noble and pious Reſolutions, which together with all Felicity, and a perpetual courſe of Victory we cordially wiſh to your Majeſty.

*From our Palace at*
Weſtminſter,
*Aug.* — 1656.

Your Majeſty's moſt affectionate, *Oliver*
Protector of the Commonwealth of
*England*, &c.

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## Oliver *Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, *&c. To the States of* Holland.

*Moſt High and Mighty Lords, our deareſt Friends*;

IT has bin repreſented to us, by *William Cooper* a Miniſter of *London*, and our Country-man, that *John le Maire* of *Amſterdam*, his Father-in-law, about three and thirty Years ago deviſ'd a Project, by which the Revenues of your Republick might be very much advanc'd without any burden to the People, and made an Agreement with *John Vandenbrook* to ſhare between 'em the Reward which they ſhould obtain for their Invention, which was the ſetling of a *little Seal* to be made uſe of in all the Provinces of your Territories, and for which your *High and Mightineſſes* promiſ'd to pay the ſaid *Vandenbrook* and his Heirs the yearly Sum of 3000 *Gilders*, or 300 *Engliſh* Pounds. Now although the uſe and method of this *little Seal* has bin found very eaſy and expeditious, and that ever ſince great Incomes have thereby accru'd to your *High* and *Mightineſſes*, and ſome of your *Provinces*, nevertheleſs nothing of the ſaid Reward, tho with much importunity demanded, has bin paid to this day; ſo that the ſaid *Vandenbrook* and *le Maire* being tir'd out with long delays, the Right of the ſaid Grant is devolv'd to the foreſaid *William Cooper*, our Country-man; who deſirous to reap the fruit of his Father-in-law's Induſtry, has petition'd us, that we would recommend his juſt Demands to your *High* and *Mightineſſes*, which we thought not reaſonable to deny him. Wherefore, in moſt friendly wiſe, we requeſt your *High* and *Mightineſſes* favourably to hear the Petition of the ſaid *William Cooper*, and to take ſuch care that the Reward and Stipend, ſo well deſerv'd, and by contract agreed and granted, may be paid him annually from this time forward, together with the Arrears of the Years already paſs'd. Which not doubting but your *High* and *Mightineſſes* will vouchſafe to perform, as what is no more than juſt and becoming your Magnificence, we ſhall be ready to ſhew the ſame favour to the Petitions of your Country-men upon any occaſions of the ſame nature, whenever preſented to us.

*From our Palace at*
White-Hall, *September* — 1656.

Your High and Mightineſſes moſt affectionate, *Oliver* Protector of the Commonwealth, *&c.*

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## Oliver *Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, *&c. To the moſt Serene Prince,* Lewis *King of* France.

*Moſt Serene King, our deareſt Friend and Confederate*;

AGainſt our will it is that we ſo often trouble your Majeſty with the Wrongs done by your Subjects, after a Peace ſo lately renew'd. But as we are fully perſwaded that your Majeſty diſapproves their being committed, ſo neither can we be wanting to the Complaints of our People. That the Ship *Anthony* of *Dieppe* was legally taken before the League, manifeſtly appears by the Sentence of the Judges of our Admiralty-Court. Part of the Lading, that is to ſay, four thouſand Hides, *Robert Brown*, a Merchant of *London*, fairly bought of thoſe who were entruſted with the Sale, as they themſelves teſtify. The ſame Merchant, after the Peace was confirm'd, carri'd to *Dieppe* about two hundred of the ſame Hides, and there having ſold 'em to a Currier, thought to have receiv'd his Money, but found it ſtopt and attach'd in the hands of his Factor; and a Suit being commenc'd againſt him, he could obtain no favour in that Court: Wherefore, we thought it proper to requeſt your Majeſty, that the whole matter may be referr'd to your Council, that ſo the ſaid Money may be diſcharg'd from an unjuſt and vexatious Action. For if Acts done and adjudg'd before the Peace, ſhall after Peace renew'd be call'd into queſtion and controverſy, we muſt look upon aſſurance of Treaties to be a thing of little moment. Nor will there be any end of theſe Complaints, if ſome of theſe Violators of Leagues be not made ſevere and timely Examples to others. Which we hope your Majeſty will ſpeedily take into your Care. To whom God Almighty in the mean time vouchſafe his moſt holy Protection.

*From our Palace at*
White-Hall, *September* — 1656.

Your Majeſty's moſt affectionate, *Oliver* Protector of the Commonwealth of *England*, &c.

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## Oliver *Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, *&c. To the moſt Serene Prince,* John *King of* Portugal.

*Moſt Serene King*,

THE Peace being happily concluded between this Republick and the Kingdom of *Portugal*, and what refers to Trade being duly provided for and ratifi'd, we deem'd it neceſſary to ſend to your Majeſty *Thomas Maynard*, from whom you will receive theſe Letters, to reſide in your Dominions, under the Character and Employment of a *Conſul*, and to take care of the Eſtates and Intereſts of our Merchants. Now in regard it may frequently ſo fall out, that he may be enforc'd to deſire the Privilege of free Admiſſion to your Majeſty, as well in matters of Trade, as upon other occaſions for the Intereſt of our Republick, we make it our requeſt to your Majeſty, that you will vouchſafe him favourable Acceſs and Audience, which we ſhall acknowledg as a ſingular demonſtration and teſtimony of your Majeſties good Will towards us. In the mean time we beſeech Almighty God to bleſs your Majeſty with all Proſperity. *From our Court at* Weſtminſter, *Octob.* — 1656.

Your Majeſty's moſt Affectionate, *Oliver* Protector of the
Commonwealth of *England*, &c.

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## *To the King of the* Swedes.

*Moſt Serene and Potent King*,

ALthough your Majeſty's wonted and ſpontaneous Favour and Good-will toward all deſerving men be ſuch, that all recommendations in their behalf may ſeem ſuperfluous, yet we were unwilling to diſmiſs without our Letters to your Majeſty, this noble Perſon, *William Vavaſſour* Knight, ſerving under your Banners, and now returning to your Majeſty: Which we have done ſo much the more willingly, being inform'd, that formerly following your Majeſty's fortunate Conduct, he had loſt his Blood in ſeveral Combats to aſſert the noble Cauſe for which you fight. Inſomuch, that the ſucceeding Kings of *Sweedland* in remuneration of his Military Skill, and bold Atchievements in War, rewarded him with Lands and Annual Penſions, as the Guerdons of his Prowes. Nor do we queſtion but that he may be of great uſe to your Majeſty in your preſent Wars, who has bin ſo long conſpicuous for his Fidelity and Experience in Military Affairs. 'Tis our deſire therefore that he may be recommended to your Majeſty according to his Merits; and we alſo farther requeſt, That he may be paid the Arrears due to him. This, as it will be moſt acceptable to us, ſo we ſhall be ready upon the like occaſion, whenever offer'd, to gratify your Majeſty, to whom we wiſh all Happineſs and Proſperity.

Your Majeſty's moſt Affectionate, *Oliver* Protector of
the Commonwealth of *England*, &c.

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## Oliver *Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, *&c. To the moſt Serene Prince*, John *King of* Portugal.

*Moſt Serene King, our deareſt Friend and Confederate*;

THomas *Evans*, a Maſter of a Ship, and our Country-man, has preſented a Petition to us, wherein he ſets forth, that in the years 1649, and 1650, he ſerv'd the *Braſile* Company with his Ship the *Scipio*, being a Veſſel of four hundred Tuns, and of which he was Maſter: that the ſaid Ship was taken from him, with all the Lading and Furniture by your Majeſties Command; by which he has receiv'd great Damage, beſides the loſs of ſix years gain ariſing out of ſuch a Stock. The Commiſſioners by the League appointed on both ſides for the deciding Controverſies, valu'd the whole at ſeven thouſand of our Pounds, or twice as many *Milreys* of *Portugal* Money, as they made their report to us. Which Loſs falling ſo heavy upon the foreſaid *Thomas*, and being conſtrain'd to make a Voyage to *Lisbon* for the recovery of his Eſtate, he humbly beſought us that we would grant him our Letters to your Majeſty in favour of his demands. We therefore, although we wrote the laſt year in behalf of our Merchants in general to whom the *Braſile* Company was indebted, nevertheleſs that we may not be wanting to any that implore our Aid, requeſt your Majeſty, in regard to that Friendſhip which is between us, that conſideration may be had of this man in particular, and that your Majeſty would give ſuch Orders to all your Miniſters and Officers, that no obſtacle may hinder him from demanding and recovering without delay, what is owing to him from the *Braſile* Company, or any other Perſons. God Almighty bleſs your Majeſty with perpetual Felicity, and grant that our Friendſhip may long endure. *From our Palace at* Weſtminſter, *Octob.* — 1656.

Your Majeſty's moſt Affectionate, *Oliver* Protector of
the Commonwealth of *England*, &c.

## Oliver *Protector of the* Commonwealth *of* England, *&c. To the Illuſtrious and Magnificent Senate of* Hamborough.

*Moſt Noble, Magnificent, and Right Worſhipful;*

JAmes and *Patrick Hays*, Subjects of this Commonwealth, have made grievous Complaint before us, That they being lawful Heirs of their Brother *Alexander*, who dy'd Inteſtate, were ſo declar'd by a Sentence of your Court pronounc'd in their behalf againſt their Brother's Widow; and the Eſtates of their deceas'd Brother, together with the Profits, only the Widows Dowry excepted, being adjudg'd to them by virtue of that Sentence; nevertheleſs, to this very day they could never reap any benefit of their Pains and Expences in obtaining the ſaid Judgment, notwithſtanding their own declar'd Right, and Letters formerly written by King *Charles* in their behalf; for that the great Power and Wealth of *Albertvan Eyzen*, one of your Chief Magiſtrates, and with whom the greateſt part of the Goods was depoſited, was an Oppoſition too potent for them to ſurmount, whilſt he ſtrove all that in him lay that the Goods might not be reſtor'd to the Heirs. Thus diſappointed and tir'd out with delays, and at length reduc'd to utmoſt Poverty, they are become ſuppliants to us that we would not forſake 'em, wrong'd and oppreſs'd as they are in a Confederated City. We therefore believing it to be a chief part of our duty, not to ſuffer any Country-man of ours in vain to deſire our Patronage and Succour in diſtreſs, make this requeſt to your Lordſhips, which we are apt to think we may eaſily obtain from your City, That the Sentence pronounc'd in behalf of the two Brothers may be ratifi'd and duly executed according to the Intents and Purpoſes for which it was given; and that you will not ſuffer any longer delay of Juſtice, by any Appeal to the Chamber of *Spire*, upon any pretence whatever: For we have requir'd the Opinions of our Lawyers, which we have ſent to your Lordſhips fairly written and ſign'd. But if intreaty and fair means will nothing avail, of neceſſity (and which is no more than according to the cuſtomary Law of Nations, though we are unwilling to come to that extremity) the ſeverity of Retaliation muſt take its courſe; which we hope your Prudence will take care to prevent. *From our Palace at* Weſtminſter, *Octob. 16. 1656.*

Your Lordſhips moſt Affectionate, *Oliver* Protector of the Commonwealth of *England*, &c.

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## Oliver *Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, *&c. To the moſt Serene and Potent* Lewis, *King of* France.

*Moſt Serene and Potent King, our deareſt Friend and Confederate;*

WE are apt to believe that your Majeſty receiv'd our Letters dated the 14*th* of *May*, of the laſt year, wherein we wrote that *John Dethic*, Mayor of *London* that year, and *William Waterford*, Merchant, had by their Petition ſet forth, That a certain Veſſel call'd the *Jonas*, freighted with Goods upon their Accompt, and bound for *Dunkirk*, then under the Juriſdiction of the *French*, was taken at the very Mouth of the *Thames*, by a Sea-Rover, pretending a Commiſſion from the Son of the late King *Charles*: Which being directly contrary to your Edicts, and the Decrees of your Council, That no *Engliſh* Ship taken by the Enemies of the *Parlament*, ſhould be admitted into any of your Ports, and there put to ſale, they demanded Reſtitution of the ſaid Ship and Goods from M. *Leſtrade*, then Governour of the Town, who return'd 'em an anſwer no way becoming a Perſon of his Quality, or who pretended Obedience to his Soveraign; That the Government was conferr'd upon him for his good Service in the Wars, and therefore he would make his beſt advantage of it, that is to ſay, by right or wrong; for that he ſeem'd to drive at: As if he had receiv'd that Government of your Majeſties free Gift, to authorize him in the robbing your Confederates, and contemning your Edicts ſet forth in their favour. For what the King of *France* forbids his Subjects any way to have a hand in, that the King's Governor has not only ſuffer'd to be committed in your Ports, but he himſelf becomes the Pirate, ſeizes the Prey, and openly avouches the Fact. With this Anſwer therefore the Merchants departed, altogether baffl'd and diſappointed; and this we ſignifi'd by our Letters to your Majeſty the laſt year with little better ſucceſs; for as yet we have receiv'd no reply to thoſe Letters. Of which we are apt to believe the reaſon was, becauſe the Governor was with the Army in *Flanders*; but now he reſides at *Paris*, or rather flutters unpuniſh'd about the City, and at Court, enrich'd with the Spoils of our Merchants. Once more therefore, we make it our requeſt to your Majeſty, which it is your Majeſty's Intereſt in the firſt place to take care of, That no perſon whatever may dare to juſtify the wrongs done to your Majeſty's Confederates by the contempt of your Royal Edicts. Nor can this cauſe be properly referr'd to the Commiſſioners appointed for deciding common Controverſies on both ſides; ſince in this Caſe, not only the rights of Confederates, but your Authority it ſelf, and the Veneration due to the Royal Name, are chiefly in diſpute. And it would be a wonder, that Merchants ſhould be more troubled for their Loſſes, than your Majeſty provok'd at Incroachments upon your Honour.' Which while you diſdain to brook, with the ſame labour you will demonſtrate that you neither repent of your friendly Edicts in favour of our Republick, nor conniv'd at the Injuries done by your Subjects, nor neglected to give due reſpect to our demands. *From our Court at* Weſtminſter, *Novemb.* —— 1656.

Your Majeſty's moſt bounden by Good-will, by Friendſhip and Solemn League, *Oliver* Protector of the Commonwealth, *&c.*

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Oliver *Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, *&c. To the moſt Serene and Potent Prince,* Frederick III. *King of* Denmark, Norway, *the* Vandals *and* Goths; *Duke of* Sleſwic, Holſatia, Stormatia *and* Ditmarſh; *Count in* Oldenburgh *and* Delmenhorſt, *&c.*

*Moſt Serene and Potent King, our deareſt Friend and Confederate;*

WE receiv'd your Majeſty's Letters, dated the *16th* of *February*, from *Copenhagen*, by the moſt worthy *Simon de Pitkum*, your Majeſty's Agent here reſiding. Which when we had peruſ'd, the demonſtrations of your Majeſty's Good-will towards us, and the importance of the Matter concerning which you write, affected us to that degree, that we deſign'd forthwith to ſend to your Majeſty ſome Perſon, who being furniſh'd with ample Inſtructions from us, might more at large declare to your Majeſty our Counſels in that Affair. And tho we have ſtill the ſame Reſolutions, yet hitherto we have not been at leiſure to think of a Perſon proper to be entruſted with thoſe Commands which the weight of the matter requires; tho in a ſhort time we hope to be more at liberty. In the mean while we thought it not convenient any longer to delay the letting your Majeſty underſtand, that the preſent Condition of Affairs in *Europe* has employ'd the greateſt part of our Care and Thoughts; while for ſome Years, to our great grief, we have beheld the Proteſtant Princes, and Supream Magiſtrates of the Reformed Republicks, (whom it rather behoves, as being engag'd by the common Tye of Religion and Safety, to combine and ſtudy all the ways imaginable conducing to mutual Defence) more and more at weakning Variance among themſelves, and jealous of each other's Actions and Deſigns; putting their Friends in fear, their Enemies in hope, that the poſture of Affairs bodes rather Enmity and Diſcord, than a firm Agreement of mind to defend and aſſiſt each other. And this ſollicitude has fix'd it ſelf ſo much the deeper in our thoughts, in regard there ſeems to appear ſome ſparks of Jealouſy between your Majeſty and the King of *Sweden*; at leaſt, that there is not that conjunction of Af-

fections,

fections, which our Love and good Will in general toward the Orthodox Religion ſo importunately requires: Your Majeſty, perhaps, ſuſpecting that the Trade of your Dominions will be prejudic'd by the King of *Sweden*; and on the other ſide, the King of *Sweden* being jealous, that by your means the War, which he now wages, is made more difficult, and that you oppoſe him in his contracting thoſe Alliances which he ſeeks. 'Tis not unknown to your Majeſty, ſo eminent for your profound Wiſdom, how great the Danger is that threatens the Proteſtant Religion, ſhould ſuch Suſpicions long continue between two ſuch potent Monarchs; more eſpecially, which God avert, if any Symptom of Hoſtility ſhould break forth. However it be, for our parts, as we have earneſtly exhorted the King of *Sweden*, and the States of the *United Provinces* to Peace, and moderate Counſels, (and are beyond expreſſion glad to behold Peace and Concord renew'd between them, for that the Heads of that League are tranſmitted to us by their Lordſhips the States General) ſo we thought it our Duty, and chiefly becoming our Friendſhip not to conceal from your Majeſty what our Sentiments are concerning theſe Matters, (more eſpecially being affectionately invited ſo to do by your Majeſty's moſt friendly Letters, which we look upon, and embrace, as a moſt ſingular Teſtimony of your good Will toward us) but to lay before your eyes how great a neceſſity Divine Providence has impos'd upon us all that profeſs the Proteſtant Religion, to ſtudy Peace among our ſelves, and that chiefly at this time, when our moſt embittered Enemies ſeem to have on every ſide conſpir'd our Deſtruction. There's no neceſſity of calling to remembrance the Valleys of *Piemont* ſtill beſmear'd with the Blood and Slaughter of the miſerable Inhabitants; nor *Auſtria*, tormented at the ſame time with the Emperor's Decrees and Proſcriptions; nor the impetuous Onſets of the Popiſh upon the Proteſtant *Switzers*. Who can be ignorant that the Artifices and Machinations of the *Spaniards*, for ſome Years laſt paſt, have fill'd all theſe places with the confus'd and blended havock of Fire and Sword? To which unfortunate Pile of Miſeries, if once the Reformed Brethren ſhould come to add their own Diſſenſions among themſelves, and more eſpecially two ſuch potent Monarchs, the chiefeſt part of our Strength, and among whom ſo large a proviſion of the Proteſtants Security and Puiſſance lies ſtor'd and hoarded up againſt Times of Danger, moſt certainly the Intereſts of the Proteſtants muſt go to ruin, and ſuffer a total and irrecoverable Eclipſe. On the other ſide, If Peace continue firmly fix'd between two ſuch powerful Neighbours, and the reſt of the Orthodox Princes; if we would but make it our main Study to abide in brotherly Concord, there would be no cauſe, by God's aſſiſtance, to fear neither the Force nor Subtilty of our Enemies; all whoſe Endeavours and laborious Toils our Union alone would be able to diſſipate and fruſtrate. Nor do we queſtion but that your Majeſty, as you are freely willing, ſo your Willingneſs will be conſtant in contributing your utmoſt Aſſiſtance to procure this bleſſed Peace. To which purpoſe we ſhall be moſt ready to communicate and join our Counſels with your Majeſty; profeſſing a real and cordial Friendſhip, and not only determin'd inviolably to obſerve the Amity ſo auſpiciouſly contracted between us, but, as God ſhall enable us, to bind our preſent Alliance with a more ſtrict and fraternal Bond. In the mean time, the ſame eternal God grant all things proſperous and ſucceſsful to your Majeſty.

*From our Court at* White-hall, Decemb. ——, 1656.

Your Majeſties moſt cloſely united by Friendſhip,
Alliance and good Will,

*Oliver*, Protector of the Commonwealth of *England*, &c.

### Oliver, *Protector of the Commonweath of* England, *&c. To the moſt Serene and Illuſtrious Prince and Lord, the Lord* William, *Lantgrave of* Heſs, *Prince of* Herefeldt, *Count in* Cutzenellebogen, *Decia* Ligenhain, Widda *and* Schaunburg, *&c.*

*Moſt Serene Prince*,

WE had return'd an Anſwer to your Letters ſent us now near a Twelvemonth ſince, for which we beg your Highneſs's Pardon, had not many, and thoſe the moſt important Affairs of the Republick under our care, conſtrain'd us to this unwilling Silence. For what Letters could be more grateful to us, then thoſe which are written from a moſt religious Prince, deſcended from religious Anceſtors, in order to ſettle the Peace of Religion, and the Harmony of the Church? Which Letters attribute to us the ſame Inclinations, the ſame Zeal to promote the Peace of Chriſtendom, not only in your own, but in the Opinion and Judgment of almoſt all the Chriſtian World, and which we are moſt highly glad to find ſo univerſally aſcrib'd to our ſelves. And how far our Endeavours have been ſignal formerly throughout theſe three Kingdoms, and what we have effected by our Exhortations, by our Sufferings, by our Conduct, but chiefly by Divine Aſſiſtance, the greateſt part of our People both well know, and are ſenſible of, in a deep Tranquillity of their Conſciences. The ſame Peace we have wiſh'd to the Churches of *Germany*, whoſe Diſſentions have been too ſharp, and of too long endurance; and by our Agent *Dury*, for many Years in vain endeavouring the ſame Reconciliation, we have cordially offer'd whatever might conduce on our part to the ſame purpoſe. We ſtill perſevere in the ſame Determinations, and wiſh the ſame fraternal Charity one among another, to thoſe Churches. But how difficult a task it is to ſettle Peace among thoſe Sons of Peace, as they give out themſelves to be, to our extream Grief, we more then abundantly underſtand. For that the Reformed, and thoſe of the *Auguſtan* Confeſſion, ſhould cement together in a Communion of one Church, is hardly ever to be expected: 'Tis impoſſible by Force to prohibit either from defending their Opinions, whether in private Diſputes, or by publick Writings. For Force can never conſiſt with Eccleſiaſtical Tranquillity. This only were to be wiſh'd, that they who differ, would ſuffer themſelves to be entreated, that they would diſagree more civilly, and with more Moderation; and notwithſtanding their Diſputes, love one another; not imbitter'd againſt each other as Enemies, but as Brethren, diſſenting only in Trifles, though in the Fundamentals of Faith moſt cordially agreeing. With inculcating and perſwading theſe things, we ſhall never be wearied; beyond that, there is nothing allow'd to human Force or Counſels: God will accompliſh his own work in his own time. In the mean while, you, moſt Serene Prince, have left behind ye a noble Teſtimony of your Affection to the Churches, an eternal Monument becoming the Vertue of your Anceſtors, and an Exemplar worthy to be follow'd by all Princes. It only then remains for us to implore the merciful and great God to crown your Highneſs with all the Proſperity in other things which you can wiſh for; but not to change your Mind, then which you cannot have a better, ſince a better cannot be, nor more piouſly devoted to his Glory.

*Weſtminſter*, March —, 1656.

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### Oliver, *Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, *&c. To the moſt Serene Prince, the Duke of* Curland.

*Moſt Serene Prince*,

WE have been abundantly ſatisfy'd of your Affection to us, as well at other times, as when you kindly entertain'd our Embaſſador in his Journey to the Duke of *Muſcovy*, for ſome days together making a ſtop in your Territories: Now we are no leſs confident that your Highneſs will give us no leſs obliging Teſtimonies of your Juſtice and Equity, as well out of your own good Nature, as at our Requeſt. For we are given to underſtand, That one *John Johnſon*, a Scotchman, and Maſter of a certain Ship of yours, having faithfully diſcharg'd his Duty for ſeven years together in the Service of your Highneſs, as to your Highneſs is well known, at length deliver'd the ſaid Ship, call'd the *Whale*, in the Mouth of the River, according as the Cuſtom is, to one of your Pilots, by him to be carried ſafe into Harbour. But it ſo fell out, that the Pilot being ignorant of his Duty, though frequently warned and admoniſh'd by the ſaid *Johnſon*, as he has prov'd by ſeveral Witneſſes, the ſaid Ship ran aground and ſplit to pieces, not through any fault of the Maſter, but through the want of Skill, or Obſtinacy of the Pilot. Which being ſo, we make it our earneſt Requeſt to your Highneſs, That neither the ſaid Shipwrack may be imputed to the forementioned *Johnſon* the Maſter, nor that he may upon that account be depriv'd of the Wages due to him; by the only enjoyment of which, he having lately ſuffer'd another Misfortune at Sea, he hopes however to ſupport and comfort himſelf in the extremity of his Wants.

*From our Court at* Weſt-
minſter, March —, 1657.

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## Oliver, *Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, *&c. To the moſt Noble the Conſuls and Senators of the Republick of* Dantzick.

*Moſt Noble and Magnificent, our deareſt Friends;*

WE have always eſteem'd your City flouriſhing in Induſtry, Wealth, and ſtudious care to promote all uſeful Arts and Sciences, fit to be compar'd with any the moſt noble Cities of *Europe*. Now in regard that in this War that has long been hovering about your Confines, you have rather choſen to ſide with the *Polanders*, then with the *Swedes*; we are moſt heartily deſirous, that for the ſake of that Religion which you embrace, and of your ancient Commerce with the *Engliſh*, you would chiefly adhere to thoſe Counſels which may prove moſt agreeable to the Glory of God, and the Dignity and Splendor of your City. Wherefore we intreat ye, for the ſake of that Friendſhip which has been long eſtabliſh'd between your ſelves and the *Engliſh* Nation, and if our Reputation have obtain'd any Favour or Eſteem among ye, to ſet at liberty Count *Coniſmark*, conſpicuous among the Principal of the *Swediſh* Captains, and a Perſon ſingularly fam'd for his Conduct in War, but by the Treachery of his own People ſurpriz'd at Sea; wherein you will do no more then what the Laws of War, not yet exaſperated to the heighth, allow; or if you think this is not ſo agreeable to your Intereſts, that you will however deem him worthy a more eaſy and leſs ſevere Confinement. Which of theſe two Favours ſoever you ſhall determin to grant us, you will certainly perform an Act becoming the Reputation of your City, and highly oblige beſides the moſt famous Warriers and moſt eminent Captains of all Parties: and laſtly, lay upon our ſelves an Obligation not the meaneſt; and perhaps it may be worth your Intereſt to gratify us.

*From our Court at* Weſtmin-
ſter, April —, 1657.

Your Lordſhip's moſt Affectionate,

*OLIVER*, &c.

Oliver, *Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland, *&c. To the moſt Serene and Potent Prince and Lord, Emperor and great Duke of all* Ruſſia, *ſole Lord of* Volodomaria, Moſcow *and* Novograge, *King of* Cazan, Aſtracan *and* Syberia, *Lord of* Vobſcow, *great Duke of* Smolensko, Tuerſcoy, *and other Places. Lord and great Duke of* Novogrod, *and the Lower Provinces of* Chernigoy, Rezanſco, *and others. Lord of all the* Northern Climes; *alſo Lord of* Everſco, Cartalinſca, *and many other Places.*

ALL Men know how ancient the Friendſhip, and how vaſt the Trade has been for a long train of Years between the Engliſh Nation and the People of your Empire: But that ſingular Vertue, moſt *Auguſt Emperor*, which in your Majeſty far outſhines the Glory of your Anceſtors; and the high Opinion which all the Neighbouring Princes have of it, more eſpecially moves us to pay a more then ordinary Veneration and Affection to your Majeſty, and to deſire the imparting of ſome things to your Conſideration, which may conduce to the Good of *Chriſtendom* and your own Intereſts. Wherefore, we have ſent the moſt accompliſh'd *Richard Bradſhaw*, a Perſon of whoſe Fidelity, Integrity, Prudence, and Experience in Affairs, we are well aſſur'd, as having been imploy'd by us in ſeveral other Negotiations of this nature, under the Character of our Agent to your Majeſty; to the end he may more at large make known to your Majeſty our ſingular good Will and high Reſpect toward ſo puiſſant a Monarch, and tranſact with your Majeſty concerning the Matters above-mention'd. Him therefore we requeſt your Majeſty favourably to receive in our Name, and as often as ſhall be requiſite to grant him free Acceſs to your Perſon, and no leſs gracious Audience; and laſtly, to give the ſame Credit to him in all things which he ſhall propoſe or negotiate, as to our ſelves, if we were perſonally preſent. And ſo we beſeech Almighty God to bleſs your Majeſty and the Ruſſian Empire with all Proſperity.

*From our Court at* Weſtminſter, April —, 1657.

Your Majeſty's moſt Affectionate,

*Oliver*, Protector of the Commonwealth of *England*, &c.

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Oliver, *Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, *&c. To the moſt Serene and Potent Prince* Charles Guſtavus, *King of the* Swedes, Goths, *and* Vandals, *&c.*

*Moſt Serene and Potent King, our deareſt Friend and Confederate;*

THE moſt honourable *William Jepſon*, Colonel of Horſe, and a Senator in our Parlament, who will have the Honour to deliver theſe Letters to your Majeſty, will make known to your Majeſty, with what Diſturbance and Grief of Mind we receiv'd the News of the fatal War broke out between your Majeſty and the King of *Denmark*, and how much it is our cordial and real Endeavour, not to neglect any Labour or Duty of ours, as far as God enables us, that ſome ſpeedy Remedy may be apply'd to this growing Miſchief, and thoſe Calamities averted, which of neceſſity this War will bring upon the common Cauſe of Religion; more eſpecially at this time, now that our Adverſaries unite their Forces and pernicious Counſels againſt the Profeſſion and Profeſſors of the Orthodox Faith. Theſe and ſome other Conſiderations of great importance to the Benefit and Publick Intereſts of both Nations, have induc'd us to ſend this Gentleman to your Majeſty under the Character of our Extraordinary Envoy. Whom we therefore deſire your Majeſty kindly to receive, and to give Credit to him in all things which he ſhall have to impart to your Majeſty in our Name; as being a Perſon in whoſe Fidelity and Prudence we very much confide. We alſo farther requeſt, That your Majeſty will be pleas'd fully to aſſure your ſelf of our Good-will and moſt undoubted Zeal, as well toward your Majeſty, as for the Proſperity of your Affairs. Of which we ſhall be readily prepar'd with all imaginable willingneſs of mind to give unqueſtionable Teſtimonies upon all occaſions. *From our Court at* Weſtminſter, *Auguſt*—— 1657.

Your Majeſty's Friend, and moſt ſtrictly co-united Confederate,
*Oliver* Protector of the Commonwealth of *England*, &c.

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Oliver *Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, *&c. To the moſt Serene Prince, the Lord* Frederick William, *Marqueſs of* Brandenburgh, *High Chamberlain of the Imperial Empire, and Prince Elector, Duke of* Magdeburgh, Pruſſia, Juliers, Cleves, Monts, Stettin, Pomerania, *of the* Caſſiubiands *and* Vandals, *as alſo of* Sileſia, Croſna *and* Carnovia, Burgrave *of* Norrinburgh, *Prince of* Halberſtadt *and* Minda, *Count of* Mark *and* Ravensbergh, *Lord in* Ravenſtein.

*Moſt Serene Prince, our deareſt Friend and Confederate*;

SUCH is the Fame of your Highneſs's Vertue and Prudence, both in Peace and War, and ſo loudly ſpread through all the World, that all the Princes round about are ambitious of your Friendſhip; nor does any one deſire a more faithful or conſtant Friend and Aſſociate: Therefore to the end your Highneſs may know that we are alſo in the number of thoſe that have the higheſt and moſt honourable thoughts of your Perſon and Merits, ſo well deſerving of the Commonwealth of *Chriſtendom*; we have ſent the moſt Worthy Col. *Will. Jepſon*, a Senator in our Parlament, in our Name to kiſs your Higneſs's hands; and withal to wiſh the continuance of all Proſperity to your Affairs, and in words at large to expreſs our Good-will and Affection to your Serenity; and therefore make it our Requeſt, That you will vouchſafe to give him Credit in thoſe Matters concerning which he has Inſtructions to treat with your Highneſs, as if all things were atteſted and confirm'd by our perſonal Preſence. *From our Court at* Whitehall, *Auguſt*—— 1657.

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Oliver *Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, *&c. To the moſt Noble the Conſuls and Senators of the City of* Hamborough.

*Moſt Noble, moſt Magnificent and Worthy*;

THE moſt accompliſh'd, Colonel *William Jepſon*, a Senator in our Parlament, being ſent by us to the moſt ſerene King of *Sweden*, is to travel through your City; and therefore we have given him in command, not to paſs by your Lordſhips unſaluted in our Name; and withal to make it our Requeſt, That you will be ready to aſſiſt him upon whatſoever occaſion he ſhall think it requiſite to crave the Aid of your Authority and Counſel. Which the more willingly you ſhall do, the more you ſhall find you have acquir'd our Favour.

*From our Court at* Weſtm.
*Aug.*—— 1657.

To

### *To the moſt Noble the Conſuls and Senators of the City of* Breme.

HOW great our Affection is toward your City, how particular our Good-will, as well upon the account of your Religion, as for the celebrated Splendor of your City, as formerly you have found; ſo when occaſion offers, you ſhall be further ſenſible. At preſent, in regard the moſt accompliſh'd Colonel *William Jepſon*, a Senator in our Parlament, is to travel through *Bremen* with the Character of our *Envoy Extraordinary* to the King of *Sweden*, 'tis our pleaſure that he ſalute your Lordſhips lovingly and friendly in our Name; and that if any Accident fall out, wherein your Aſſiſtance and Friendſhip may be ſerviceable to him, that he may have free admiſſion to deſire it, upon the ſcore of our Alliance. Wherein we are confident you will the leſs be wanting, by how much the more reaſon you will have to be aſſur'd of our ſingular Love and Kindneſs for your Lordſhips. *From our Court at* Whitehall, *Auguſt* — 1657.

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### Oliver *Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, *&c. To the moſt Noble the Senators and Conſuls of the City of* Lubeck.

*Moſt Noble, Magnificent, and Right Worſhipful, our deareſt Friends*;

COlonel *William Jepſon*, a Perſon of great Honour, and a Senator in our Parlament, is to paſs with the Character of a Publick Miniſter from your City to the King of *Sweden*, encamping not far from it. Wherefore we deſire your Lordſhips, that if occaſion require, upon the account of the Friendſhip and Commerce between us, you will be aſſiſtant to him in his Journey through your City, and the Territories under your Juriſdiction. As to what remains, it is our farther pleaſure, that you be ſaluted in our Name, and that you be aſſur'd of our Good-will and ready Inclinations to ſerve your Lordſhips. *From our Court at* Weſtminſter, *Auguſt* — 1657.

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### Oliver *Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, *&c.* *To the City of* Hamborough.

*Moſt Noble, Magnificent, and Right Worſhipful*;

P*Hilip Meadows*, who brings theſe Letters to your Lordſhips, is to travel through your City with the Character of our Agent to the King of *Denmark*. Therefore we moſt earneſtly recommend him to your Lordſhips, that if any occaſion ſhould happen for him to deſire it, you would be ready to aid him with your Authority and Aſſiſtance: And we deſire that this our Recommendation may have the ſame weight at preſent with your Lordſhips as formerly it wont to have; nor ſhall we be wanting to your Lordſhips upon the ſame Opportunities. *From our Court at* Whitehall, *Auguſt* — 1657.

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### Oliver *Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, *&c. To the moſt Serene Prince* Frederick *Heir of* Norway, *Duke of* Sleſwic, Holſatia, *and* Ditmarſh, *Count in* Oldenburgh *and* Delmenhorſt.

*Moſt Serene Prince, our deareſt Friend*;

COlonel *William Jepſon*, a Perſon truly noble in his Country, and a Senator in our Parlament, is ſent by us, as our Envoy Extraordinary to the moſt Serene King of *Sweden*; and may it prove happy and proſperous for the common Peace and Intereſts of *Chriſtendom*. We have given him Inſtructions,

ſtructions, among other things, That in his Journey, after he has kiſs'd your *Serenities* hands in our Name, and declar'd our former Good-will and conſtant Zeal for your Welfare, to requeſt of your *Serenity* alſo, That being guarded with your Authority, he may travel with ſafety and convenience through your Territories. By which kind act of Civility, your Highneſs will in a greater meaſure oblige us to returns of anſwerable kindneſs. *From our Court at* Weſtminſter, *Aug.*—1657.

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### Oliver *Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, *&c. To the moſt Serene Prince,* Ferdinand *Great Duke of* Tuſcany.

*Moſt Serene Great Duke, our deareſt Friend*;

THE Company of our Merchants, trading to the *Eaſtern* Coaſts of the *Mediterranean* Sea, by their Petition to us, have ſet forth, That *William Ellis*, Maſter of a Ship call'd the *Little Lewis*, being at *Alexandria* in *Egypt*, was hir'd by the *Baſha* of *Memphis*, to carry Rice, Sugar, and Coffee, either to *Conſtantinople* or *Smyrna*, for the uſe of the *Grand Seignior*; but that contrary to his Faith and Promiſe given, he bore away privately from the *Ottoman* Fleet, and brought his Ship and Lading to *Legborn*, where now he lives in poſſeſſion of his Prey. Which villanous Act being of dangerous Example, as expoſing the Chriſtian Name to ſcandal, and the Fortunes of our Merchants living under the *Turks* to violence and ranſack; we therefore make it our Requeſt to your Highneſs, That you will give Command that the ſaid Maſter be apprehended and impriſon'd, and that the Veſſel and Goods may remain under Seizure, till we ſhall have given notice of our Care for the reſtitution of thoſe Goods to the *Sultan*: Aſſuring your Highneſs of our readineſs to make ſutable Returns of Gratitude whenever opportunity preſents it ſelf. *From our Court at* Weſtm. *Septemb.*—1657.

Your Highneſs's moſt Affectionate, *Oliver* Protector of the Commonwealth of *England*, &c.

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### Oliver *Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, *&c. To the moſt Serene Prince, the Lord* Frederic William, *Marqueſs of* Brandenburgh, *&c.*

*Moſt Serene Prince, our moſt dear Friend and Confederate*;

BY our laſt Letters to your Highneſs, either already or ſhortly to be deliver'd by our Embaſſador *William Jepſon*, we have imparted the Subſtance of our Embaſſy to your Highneſs; which we could not do without ſome mention of your great Vertues, and demonſtration of our own Good-will and Affection. Nevertheleſs, that we may not ſeem too ſuperficially to have glided over your tranſcending Deſervings of the Proteſtant Intereſts; we thought it proper to reſume the ſame Subject, and pay our Reſpect and Veneration, not more willingly, or with a greater fervency of Mind, but ſomewhat more at large to your Highneſs: And truly moſt deſervedly, when daily Information reaches our Ears, That your Faith and Conſcience, by all manner of Artifices tempted and aſſail'd, by all manner of Arts and Devices ſolicited, yet cannot be ſhaken, or by any Violence be rent from your Friendſhip and Alliance with a moſt magnanimous Prince and your Confederate: And this, when the Affairs of the *Swedes* are now reduc'd to that condition, that in adhering to their Alliance, 'tis manifeſt that your Highneſs rather conſults the common Cauſe of the Reformed Religion, than your own Advantage. And when your Highneſs is almoſt ſurrounded and beſieg'd by Enemies, either privately lurking, or almoſt at your Gates; yet ſuch is your Conſtancy and Reſolution of Mind, ſuch your Conduct and Proweſs becoming a great General, that the burden and maſſy Bulk of the whole Affair, and the Event of this important War, ſeems to reſt and depend upon your ſole Determination. Wherefore your Highneſs has no reaſon to queſtion but that you may rely upon our Friendſhip and unfeigned Affection; who ſhould think our ſelves worthy to be forſaken of all Mens good Word, ſhould we ſeem careleſs in the leaſt of your unblemiſh'd Fidelity, your Conſtancy, and the reſt of your applauded Vertues; or ſhould we pay leſs reſpect to your Highneſs upon the common ſcore of Religion. As to thoſe Matters propounded by the moſt accompliſh'd *John Frederic Schlever*, your Counſellor and Agent here reſiding, if hitherto we could not return an Anſwer, ſuch as we deſir'd to do, though with all aſſiduity and diligence labour'd by your Agent; we intreat your Highneſs to impute it to the preſent condition of our Affairs, and to be aſſur'd, that there is nothing which we account more ſacred, or more earneſtly deſire, than to be ſerviceable and aſſiſting to your Intereſts, ſo bound up with the Cauſe of Religion. In the mean time we beſeech the God of Mercy and Power, that ſo ſignal a Proweſs and Fortitude may never languiſh or be oppreſs'd, nor be depriv'd the Fruit and due Applauſe of all your pious Undertakings. *From our Court at* Weſtminſter, *Sept.* —— 1657.

Your Highneſs's moſt Affectionate, *Oliver* Protector of the
Commonwealth of *England*, &c.

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## *To the moſt Excellent Lord*, M. de Bourdeaux, *Extraordinary Embaſſador from the moſt Serene King of* France.

*Moſt Excellent Lord*;

L*Ucas Lucie* Merchant of *London*, has made his Complaint to the moſt Serene Lord Protector, concerning a certain Ship of his, call'd the *Mary*; which in her Voyage from *Ireland* to *Bayonne*, being driven by Tempeſt into the Port of *St. John de Luz*, was there detain'd by virtue of an Arreſt, at the Suit of one *Martin de Luzan*; nor could ſhe be diſcharg'd till the Merchants had given Security to ſtand a Trial for the Property of the ſaid Ship and Lading. For *Martin* pretended to have a great Sum of Money owing to him by the Parlament for ſeveral Goods of his, which in the Year 1642, were ſeiz'd by Authority of Parlament, in a certain Ship call'd the *Santa Clara*. But is is manifeſt, That *Martin* was not the Owner of the ſaid Goods, only that he proſecuted the Claim of the true Owners *Richard* and *Iriat*, together with his Partner, whoſe Name was *Antonio Fernendez*; and that upon the ſaid *Martin* and *Antonio*'s falling out among themſelves, the Parlament decreed that the ſaid Goods ſhould be ſtopp'd till the Law ſhould decide to which of the two they were to be reſtor'd. Upon this, *Antony* was deſirous that the Action ſhould proceed; on the other ſide, neither *Martin*, nor any body for him, has hitherto appear'd in Court: All which is evidently apparent by *Lucas*'s Petition hereto annex'd. So that it ſeems moſt unreaſonable, That he who refus'd to try his pretended Title with *Antonio*, to other Mens Goods, in our own Courts, ſhould compel our People, and the true Owners, to go to Law for their own in a Foreign Dominion. And that the ſame is apparent to your Excellency's Equity and Prudence, the moſt Serene Lord Protector makes no queſtion; by whom I am therefore commanded in a particular manner to recommend this fair and honeſt Cauſe of *Lucas Lucie* to your Excellency's Conſideration; to the end that *Martin*, who neglects to try his pretended Right here, may not under that Pretence have an opportunity in the *French* Dominions to deprive others of their rightful Claims. *Weſtm.* Octob. —— 1657.

Your Excellency's moſt Affectionate.

## Oliver *Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, *&c. To the moſt Serene Duke, and Senate of the Republick of* Venice.

*Moſt Serene Duke and Senate, our deareſt Friends*;

SO numerous are the Tydings brought us of your fortunate Succeſſes againſt the *Turks*, that there is nothing wherein we have more frequent occaſion to employ our Pens, than in congratulating your *Serenities* for ſome ſignal Victory. For this ſo recently obtain'd, we give ye Joy, as being not only moſt auſpicious and ſeaſonable to your Republick; but which is more glorious, ſo greatly tending to the deliverance of all the Chriſtians groaning under *Turkiſh* Servitude. More particularly we recommend to your *Serenity* and the Senate *Thomas Galily*, formerly Maſter of the Ship call'd the *Relief*, who for theſe five Years together has been a Slave; tho this be not the firſt time we have interceded in his behalf, yet now we do it the more freely, as in a time of more than ordinary Exultation. He having receiv'd your Commands, to ſerve your Republick with his Ship, and engaging alone with ſeveral of the Enemies Gallies, ſunk ſome, and made a great havock among the reſt: but at length his Ship being burnt, the brave Commander, and ſo well deſerving of the *Venetian* Republick, was taken, and ever ſince for five Years together, has endur'd a miſerable Bondage under the Barbarians. To redeem himſelf he had not wherewithal; for whatſoever he had, that he makes out was owing to him by your Highneſs and the Senate, upon the account either of his Ship, his Goods, or for his Wages. Now in regard he may not want Relief, and for that the Enemy refuſes to diſcharge him upon any other condition, than by exchange of ſome other Perſon of equal Value and Reputation to himſelf; we moſt earneſtly entreat your Highneſs, and the moſt Serene Senate; and the afflicted old Man, Father of the ſaid *Thomas*, full of Grief and Tears, which not a little mov'd us, by our Interceſſion begs, That in regard ſo many proſperous Combats have made ye Maſters of ſo many *Turkiſh* Priſoners, you will exchange ſome one of their Number, whom the Enemy will accept for ſo ſtout a Seaman taken in your Service, our Countryman, and the only Son of a moſt ſorrowful Father. Laſtly, That whatſoever is due to him from the Republick, upon the ſcore of Wages, or upon any other account, you will take care to ſee it paid to his Father, or to whom he ſhall appoint to receive it. The Effect of our firſt Requeſt, or rather of your Equity, was this, That the whole Matter was examin'd, and upon an exact ſtating of the Accounts the Debt was agreed; but perhaps by reaſon of more important Buſineſs intervening, no Paiment enſu'd upon it. Now the Condition of the miſerable Creature admits of no longer delay; and therefore ſome endeavour muſt be us'd, if it be worth your while to deſire his Welfare, that he may ſpeedily be deliver'd from the noyſom ſtench of Impriſonment. Which, as you flouriſh no leſs in Juſtice, Moderation and Prudence, than in Military Fame and Victorious Succeſs, we are confident you will ſee done, of your own innate Humanity and Free-will, without any Heſitation, without any Incitement of ours. Now that ye may long flouriſh, after a moſt potent Enemy ſubdu'd, our daily Prayers implore of the Almighty. *From our Court at* Weſtminſter, *Octob.* —— 1657.

Your Highneſs's moſt Affectionate, *Oliver* Protector
of the Commonwealth of *England*, &c.

## Oliver *Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, *&c. To the High and Mighty Lords, the States of the* United Provinces.

*Moſt High and Mighty Lords, our deareſt Friends and Confederates*;

THE moſt Illuſtrious *William Nuport*, your extraordinary Embaſſador for ſome Years reſiding with us, is now returning to your Lordſhips; but with this condition, that after this reſpit obtain'd from your Lordſhips, he ſhall return again in a ſhort time. For he has remain'd among us, in the diſcharge of his Truſt, with that Fidelity, Vigilance, Prudence and Equity, that neither you nor we could deſire greater Vertue and Probity in an Embaſſador, and a Perſon of unblemiſhed Reputation; with thoſe inclinations and endeavours to preſerve Peace and Friendſhip between us, without any fraud or diſſimulation, that while he officiates the Duty of your Embaſſador, we do not find what occaſion of ſcruple or offence can ariſe in either Nation. And we ſhould brook his departure with ſo much the more anxiety of Mind, conſidering the preſent juncture of Times and Affairs, were we not aſſur'd, that no Man can better or more faithfully declare and repreſent to your Lordſhips, either the preſent condition of Affairs, or our Good-will and Affection to your Government. Being therefore every way ſo excellent a Perſon, and ſo well deſerving both of yours and our Republick, we requeſt your Lordſhips to receive him returning, ſuch as we unwillingly diſmiſs him, laden with the real Teſtimonials of our Applauſes. Almighty God grant all Proſperity to your Affairs, and perpetuate our Friendſhip, to his Glory, and the ſupport of his Orthodox Church.

Your High and Mightineſſes moſt devoted.

*From our Court at* Weſtminſter,
*November* —— 1657.

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## Oliver *Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, *&c. To the High and Mighty Lords, the States of the* United Provinces.

*Moſt High and Mighty Lords, our deareſt Friends and Confederates*;

G*Eorge Downing* is a Perſon of eminent Quality, and after a long trial of his Fidelity, Probity and Diligence, in ſeveral and various Negotiations, well approv'd and valu'd by us. Him we have thought fitting to ſend to your Lordſhips, dignify'd with the Character of our Agent, and amply furniſh'd with our Inſtructions. We therefore deſire your Lordſhips to receive him kindly, and that ſo often as he ſhall ſignify that he has any thing to impart in our Name to your Lordſhips, you will admit him free Audience, and give the ſame Credit to him, and entruſt him with whatſoever you have to communicate to us; which you may ſafely do, as if our ſelves were perſonally preſent. And ſo we beſeech Almighty God to bleſs your Lordſhips, and your Republick with all Proſperity, to the Glory of God, and the Support of his Church.

Your High and Mightineſſes moſt
affectionate, *Oliver*, &c.

*From our Court at* White-Hall,
*Decemb.* —— 1657.

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## *To the States of* Holland.

THere being an Alliance between our Republick and yours, and thoſe Affairs to be tranſacted on both ſides, that without an Agent and Interpreter, ſent either by your ſelves, or from us, matters of ſuch great moment can hardly be adjuſted to the advantage of both Nations, we thought it conducing to the common good of both Republicks to ſend *George Downing*, a

Perſon of eminent Quality, and long in our Knowledg and Eſteem for his undoubted Fidelity, Probity and Diligence, in many and various Negotiations, dignifi'd with the Character of our Agent, to reſide with your Lordſhips, and chiefly to take care of thoſe things, by which the Peace between us may be preſerv'd entire and diuturnal. Concerning which we have not only written to the *States*, but alſo thought it requiſite to give notice alſo of the ſame to your Lordſhips, ſupreme in the Government of your Province, and who make ſo conſiderable a part of the *United Provinces*; to the end you may give that reception to our Reſident which becomes him, and that whatever he tranſacts with your *High and Mighty States*, you may aſſure your ſelves ſhall be as firm and irrevocable, as if our ſelves had bin preſent in the Negotiation. Now the moſt merciful God direct all your Counſels and Actions to his Glory, and the Peace of his Church.

*Weſtminſter*, Decemb. —1657.

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### Oliver *Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, *&c. To the moſt Serene Prince*, Ferdinand *Great Duke of* Tuſcany.

*Moſt Serene Great Duke, our much Honour'd Friend*;

YOur Highneſs's Letters, bearing date from *Florence* the 10th of *November*, gave us no ſmall occaſion of Content and Satisfaction; finding therein your Good-will towards us, ſo much the more conſpicuous, by how much Deeds than Words, Performances than Promiſes, are the more certain marks of a cordial Affection. For what we requeſted of your Highneſs, that you would command the Maſter of the *Little Lewis*, *William Ellis*, who moſt ignominiouſly broke his Faith with the *Turks*, and the Ship and Goods to be ſeiz'd and detain'd, till Reſtitution ſhould be made to the *Turks*, leſt the *Chriſtian* Name ſhould receive any Blemiſh by Thieveries of the like nature; all thoſe things, and that too with an extraordinary Zeal, as we moſt gladly underſtood before, your Highneſs writes that you have ſeen diligently perform'd. We therefore return our Thanks for the Kindneſs receiv'd, and make it our farther requeſt, that when the Merchants have given Security to ſatisfie the *Turks*, the Maſter may be diſcharged, and the Ship, together with her Lading, be forthwith diſmiſs'd, to the end we may not ſeem to have had more care perhaps of the *Turks* Intereſt, than our own Country-men. In the mean time we take ſo kindly this ſurpaſſing Favour done us by your Highneſs, and moſt acceptable to us, that we ſhould not refuſe to be branded with Ingratitude, if we ſhould not ardently deſire a ſpeedy opportunity, with the ſame promptitude of Mind, to gratifie your Highneſs, whereby we might be enabl'd to demonſtrate our readineſs to return the ſame good Offices to ſo noble a Benefactor upon all occaſions.

*From our Court at* Weſtminſter,
*Decemb.*—1657.

Your Highneſſes moſt affectionate, *Oliver*, &c.

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### Oliver *Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, *&c. To the moſt Serene and Potent Prince*, Charles Guſtavus, *King of the* Swedes, Goths, *and* Vandals, *&c.*

*Moſt Serene and Potent Prince, our moſt Invincible Friend and Confederate*;

BY your Majeſty's Letters, dated the 21ſt of *February* from your Camp in *Seland*, we found many reaſons to be affected with no ſmall Joy, as well for our own particular, as in regard of the whole Chriſtian Republick in general. In the firſt place, becauſe the King of *Denmark*, being become an Enemy, not induc'd thereto, as we are apt to believe, by his own Inclinations or Intereſts, but deluded by the Artifices of our common Adverſaries, is reduc'd to that condition by your ſudden irruption into the very Heart of his Kingdom, with very little Blood ſhed on either ſide, that what was really true, he will at length be perſwaded that Peace would have bin more beneficial to him, than the War which he has enter'd into againſt your Majeſty. Then again, when he ſhall conſider with himſelf, that he cannot obtain it by any more ſpeedy means, than by making uſe of our Aſſiſtance, long ſince offer'd him to procure a Reconciliation, in regard your Majeſty ſo readily intreated by the Letters only deliver'd by our Agent, by ſuch an eaſy conceſſion of Peace, moſt clearly made it apparent how highly you eſteem'd the Interceſſion of our Friendſhip, he will certainly apply himſelf to us; and then our Interpoſition in ſo pious a work, will chiefly require, that we ſhould be the ſole Reconciler and almoſt Author of that Peace, ſo beneficial to the Intereſts of the Proteſtants; which, as we hope, will ſuddenly be accompliſh'd. For when the Enemies of Religion ſhall deſpair of breaking your united Forces by any other means than ſetting both your Majeſties at variance, then their own fears will overtake 'em, leſt this unexpected Conjunction, which we ardently deſire, of your Arms and Minds, ſhould turn to the deſtruction of them that were the Kindlers of the War. In the mean time, moſt Magnanimous King, may your Prowess go on and proſper; and the ſame felicity which the Enemies of the Church have admir'd in the progreſs of your Atchievements, and the ſteady Career of your Victories againſt a Prince, now your Confederate, the ſame by God's Aſſiſtance, may you enforce 'em to behold once more in their Subverſion.

*From our Palace at* Weſtminſter,
*March* 30. 1658.

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Oliver *Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, *&c. To the moſt Serene Prince*, Ferdinand *Great Duke of* Tuſcany.

*Moſt Serene Prince*;

THE Anſwer which we have given to your Agent here reſiding, we believe, will fully ſatisfy your Highneſs as to our Admiral, who but lately put into your Ports. In the mean time, *John Hoſier*, Maſter of a Ship, call'd the *Owner*, has ſet forth in a Petition to us, that in *April* 1656. he hir'd out his Ship by a Charter-party Agreement, to one *Joſeph Arman*, an *Italian*, who manifeſtly broke all the Covenants therein contain'd; ſo that he was enforc'd, leſt he ſhould loſe his Ship and Lading, together with his whole principal Stock, openly to ſet forth the fraud of his Freighter, after the manner of Merchants; and when he had caus'd it to be regiſter'd by a Publick Notary, to ſue him at *Legborn*. *Joſeph*, on the other ſide, that he might make good one Fraud by another, combining with two other litigious Traders, upon a feign'd Pretence, by Perjury, ſeiz'd upon ſix thouſand *Pieces of Eight*, the Money of one *Thomas Clutterbuck*. But as for his part, the ſaid *Hoſier*, after great Expences and loſs of time, could never obtain his Right and Due at *Legborn*: Nor durſt he there appear in Court, being threaten'd as he was, and waylay'd by his Adverſaries. We therefore requeſt your Highneſs, that you would vouchſafe your Aſſiſtance to this poor oppreſt Man, and according to your wonted Juſtice, reſtrain the Inſolence of his Adverſary. For in vain are Laws ordain'd for the Government of Cities by the Authority of Princes, if Wrong and Violence, when they cannot abrogate, ſhall be able by Threats and Terror to fruſtrate the Refuge and Sanctuary of the Laws. However, we make no doubt, but that your Highneſs will ſpeedily take care to puniſh a daring Boldneſs of this nature; beſeeching Almighty God to bleſs your Highneſs with Peace and Proſperity.

*From our Court at* Weſtminſter,
*April* 7. 1658.

To

## *To the moſt Serene and Potent Prince,* Lewis *King of* France.

*Moſt Serene and Potent King, and moſt Auguſt Friend and Confederate;*

YOur Majeſty may call to mind, that at the ſame time, when the renewing the League between us was in agitation, and no leſs auſpiciouſly concluded, as the many Advantages from thence accruing to both Nations, and the many Annoyances thence attending the common Enemy, ſufficiently teſtify thoſe dreadful Butcheries that befel the *Piemontois*, and that we recommended with great fervency of Mind and Compaſſion, their Cauſe on all ſides forſaken and afflicted, to your Commiſeration and Protection. Nor do we believe that your Majeſty, of your ſelf, was wanting in a Duty ſo pious, that we may not ſay, beſeeming common Humanity, as far as your Authority, and the Veneration due to your Perſon, could prevail with the Duke of *Savoy*. Certain we are, that neither our ſelves, nor many other Princes and Cities were wanting in our Performances, by the Interpoſition of Embaſſies, Letters, and Intreaties. After a moſt bloody Butchery of both Sexes, and all Ages, at length Peace was granted, or rather a certain clandeſtine Hoſtility cover'd over with the name of Peace. The Conditions of Peace were agreed in your Town of *Pignerol*; ſevere and hard, but ſuch as thoſe miſerable and indigent Creatures, after they had ſuffer'd all that could be endur'd that was oppreſſive and barbarous, would have been glad of, had they been but obſerv'd, as hard and unjuſt as they were. But by falſe Conſtructions, and various Evaſions, the Aſſurances of all theſe Articles are eluded and violated: Many are thruſt out from their ancient Abodes; many are forbid the Exerciſe of their Religion, new Tributes are exacted, a new Citadel is impos'd upon them; from whence the Souldiers frequently making Excurſions, either plunder or murder all they meet. Add to all this, that new Levies are privately preparing againſt 'em, and all that embrace the *Proteſtant Religion* are commanded to depart by a prefix'd day; ſo that all things ſeem to threaten the utter extermination of thoſe deplorable Wretches, whom the former Maſſacre ſpar'd. Which I moſt earneſtly beſeech and conjure ye, *Moſt Chriſtian King*, by *that* RIGHT HAND *which ſign'd the League* and Friendſhip between us, by *that ſame goodly Ornament of your Title* of *MOST CHRISTIAN*, by no means to ſuffer, nor to permit ſuch liberty of Rage and Fury uncontroul'd, we will not ſay, in any Prince, (for certainly ſuch barbarous Severity could never enter the Breaſt of any Prince, much leſs ſo tender in Years, nor into the female thoughts of his Mother) but in thoſe ſanctifi'd Cut-throats, who profeſſing themſelves to be the Servants and Diſciples of our Saviour Chriſt, who came into this World to ſave Sinners, abuſe his meek and peaceful Name and Precepts to the moſt cruel ſlaughter of the Innocent. Reſcue, you that are able in your towring Station, worthy to be able, reſcue ſo many Suppliants proſtrate at your feet, from the hands of Ruffians, who lately drunk with Blood, again thirſt after it, and think it their ſafeſt way to throw the Odium of their Cruelty upon Princes. But as for you, great Prince, ſuffer not, while you reign, your Titles, nor the Confines of your Kingdom, to be contaminated with this ſame Heaven-offending Scandal, nor the peaceful Goſpel of Chriſt to be defil'd with ſuch abominable Cruelty. Remember that they ſubmitted themſelves to your Grandfather *Henry*, moſt friendly to the Proteſtants, when the victorious *Leſdiguieres* purſu'd the retreating *Savoyard* o're the *Alpes*. There is alſo an Inſtrument of that Submiſſion regiſter'd among the publick Acts of your Kingdom, wherein it is excepted and provided among other things, That from that time forward the *Piemontois* ſhould not be deliver'd over into the Power of any Ruler, but upon the ſame Conditions upon which your invincible Grandfather receiv'd them into his Protection. This Protection of your Grandfather, theſe Suppliants now implore from you as Grandchild. 'Tis your Majeſty's part, to whom thoſe People now belong, to give 'em that Protection which they have choſen, by ſome exchange of Habitation, if they deſire it, and it may be done: Or if that be a Labour too difficult, at leaſt to ſuccour 'em with your Patronage, your Commiſeration, and your admittance into Sanctuary.

ctuary. And there are ſome Reaſons of State to encourage your Majeſty not to refuſe the *Piemontois* a ſafe *Aſylum* in your Kingdom: But I am unwilling that you, ſo great a King, ſhould be induc'd to the defence and ſuccour of the miſerable by any other Arguments than thoſe of your Anceſtor's pledg'd Faith, your own Piety, Royal Benignity and Magnanimity. Thus the immaculate and intire Glory of a moſt egregious Act will be your own, and you will find the Father of Mercy, and his Son, *King Chriſt*, whoſe Name and Doctrine you have vindicated from nefarious Inhumanity, ſo much the more favourable and propitious to your Majeſty, all your days. The God of Mercy and Power infuſe into your Majeſty's Heart a Reſolution to defend and ſave ſo many innocent Chriſtians, and maintain your own Honour.

*Weſtminſter*, May—1658.

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## *To the Evangelick Cities of the* Switzers.

*Illuſtrious and moſt Noble Lords, our deareſt Friends*;

HOW heavy and intolerable the Sufferings of the *Piemontois*, your moſt afflicted Neighbours, have bin, and how unmercifully they have been dealt with by their own Prince, for the ſake of their Religion, by reaſon of the fierceneſs of the Cruelties, we almoſt tremble to remember, and thought it ſuperfluous to put you in mind of thoſe things, which are much better known to your Lordſhips. We have alſo ſeen Copies of the Letters which your Embaſſadors, Promoters and Witneſſes of the Peace concluded at *Pignerol*, wrote to the Duke of *Savoy*, and the Preſident of his Council at *Turin*; wherein they ſet forth, and make it out, that all the Conditions of the ſaid Peace are broken, and were rather a Snare than a Security to thoſe miſerable People. Which Violation continu'd from the Concluſion of the Peace to this very moment, and ſtill grows more heavy every day than other; unleſs they patiently endure, unleſs they lay themſelves down to be trampl'd under foot, plaſh'd like Mortar, or abjure their Religion, the ſame Calamities, the ſame Slaughters hang over their Heads, which three years ſince made ſuch a dreadful havock of them, their Wives and Children; and which, if it muſt be undergone once more, will certainly prove the utter extirpation of their whole Race. What ſhall ſuch miſerable Creatures do? in whoſe behalf no Interceſſion will avail, to whom no breathing time is allow'd, nor any certain place of Refuge. They have to do with wild Beaſts, or Furies rather, upon whom the remembrance of their former Murders has wrought no Compaſſion upon their Countrymen, no ſenſe of Humanity, nor ſatiated their ravenous thirſt after Blood. Moſt certainly theſe things are not to be endur'd, if we deſire the ſafety of our Brethren the *Piemontois*, moſt antient Profeſſors of the Orthodox Faith, or the welfare of our Religion it ſelf. As for our ſelves, ſo far remote, we have not been wanting to aſſiſt 'em as far as in us lay, nor ſhall we ceaſe our future Aid. But you, who not only lie ſo near adjoining, as to behold the Butcheries, and hear the outcries and ſhrieks of the Diſtreſſed, but are alſo next expos'd to the fury of the ſame Enemies; conſider for the ſake of the Immortal God, and that in time, what it behoves ye now to do: conſult your Prudence, your Piety, and your Fortitude; what ſuccour, what relief and ſafeguard you are able, and are bound to afford your Neighbours and Brethren, who muſt elſe undoubtedly and ſpeedily periſh. Certainly the ſame Religion is the cauſe, why the ſame Enemies ſeek alſo your Perdition; why, at the ſame time the laſt year, they meditated your ruin, by inteſtine Broils among your ſelves. It ſeems to be only in your Power, next under God, to prevent the extirpation of this moſt antient *Scien* of the purer Religion, in theſe remainders of the Primitive Believers; whoſe preſervation, now reduc'd to the very brink of utter ruin, if you neglect, beware that the next Turn be not your own. Theſe Admonitions, while we give ye freely, and out of brotherly Love, we are not quite as yet caſt down: For what lies only in our Power ſo far diſtant, as we have hitherto, ſo ſhall we ſtill employ our utmoſt

Endeavours, not only to procure the ſafety of our Brethren upon the precipice of danger, but alſo to relieve their Wants. May the Almighty God vouchſafe to both of us that Peace and Tranquillity at home, that ſettlement of Times and Affairs, that we may be able to employ all our Wealth and Force, all our Studies and Counſels in the defence of his Church againſt the Rage and Fury of her Enemies. *From our Court at* White-Hall, *May* — 1658.

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## *To his Eminency Cardinal* Mazarin.

*Moſt Eminent Lord,*

THE late moſt grievous Cruelties, and moſt bloody Slaughters perpetrated upon the Inhabitants of the Valleys of *Piemont*, within the Duke of *Savoy*'s Dominions, occaſion'd the writing of the incloſ'd Letters to his Majeſty, and theſe other to your *Eminency*. And as we make no doubt but that ſuch Tyranny, Inhumanities, ſo rigorouſly inflicted upon harmleſs and indigent People, are highly diſpleaſing and offenſive to the moſt Serene King; ſo we readily perſwade our ſelves, that what we requeſt from his Majeſty in behalf of thoſe unfortunate Creatures, your Eminency will employ your endeavour, and your favour to obtain, as an accumulation to our Interceſſions. Seeing there is nothing which has acquir'd more good-will and affection to the *French* Nation, among all the neighbouring Profeſſors of the Reformed Religion, than that Liberty and thoſe Privileges, which by publick Acts and Edicts are granted in that Kingdom to the Proteſtants. And this among others was one main Reaſon, why this Republick ſo ardently deſir'd the Friendſhip and Alliance of the *French* People. For the ſetling of which we are now treating with the King's Embaſſador, and have made thoſe progreſſes, that the Treaty is almoſt brought to a Concluſion. Beſides that, your Eminency's ſingular Benignity and Moderation, which in the management of the moſt important Affairs of the Kingdom, you have always teſtifi'd to the Proteſtants of *France*, encourages us to expect what we promiſe to our ſelves from your Prudence and Generoſity; whereby you will not only lay the foundations of a ſtricter Alliance between this Republick and the Kingdom of *France*, but oblige us in particular to returns of all good Offices of Civility and Kindneſs: And of this we deſire your Eminency to reſt aſſur'd.

Your Eminency's moſt Affectionate.

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## Oliver *Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, *&c. To the moſt Serene and Potent Prince,* Lewis *King of* France.

*Moſt Serene and Potent King, our moſt Auguſt Friend and Confederate;*

IT being the intention of *Thomas* Viſcount *Falconbridge*, our Son-in-Law, to travel into *France*, and no leſs his deſire, out of his profound Reſpect and Veneration to your Majeſty, to be admitted to kiſs your Royal Hands; though by reaſon of his pleaſing Converſation we are unwilling to part with him, nevertheleſs not doubting but he will in a ſhort time return from the Court of ſo great a Prince, celebrated for the reſort of ſo many prudent and couragious Perſons, more nobly prepar'd for great Performances, and fully accompliſh'd in whatſoever may be thought moſt laudable and vertuous, we did not think it fit to put a ſtop to his generous Reſolutions. And though he be a Perſon, who, unleſs we deceive our ſelves, carries his own Recommendations about him, whereſoe're he goes; yet if he ſhall find himſelf ſomewhat the more favour'd by your Majeſty for our ſake, we ſhall think our ſelves honour'd and oblig'd by the ſame Kindneſs. God Almighty long preſerve your Majeſty in ſafety, and continue a laſting Peace between us, to the common Good of the Chriſtian World. *From our Court at* White-hall, *May* —— 1658.

Oliver

### Oliver *Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, *&c. To the moſt Eminent Lord Cardinal* Mazarin.

*Moſt Eminent Lord,*

HAving recommended to the moſt Serene King, *Thomas* Viſcount *Falconbridge* our Son-in-Law, deſirous to ſee *France*; we could not but acquaint your Eminency with it, and recommend him in like manner to your ſelf, not ignorant of what moment and importance it will be to our Recommendation firſt given him. For certainly, what benefit or advantage he ſhall reap by reſiding in your Country, which he hopes will not be ſmall, he cannot but be beholden for the greateſt part of it to your Favour and Good-will; whoſe ſingle Prudence and Vigilancy ſupports and manages the grand Affairs of that Kingdom. Whatever therefore grateful Obligation your Eminency ſhall lay upon him, you may be aſſur'd you lay upon our ſelves, and that we ſhall number it among your many Kindneſſes and Civilities already ſhew'd us.

*Weſtminſter*, May —— 1658.

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### Oliver *Protector*, &c. *To the moſt Eminent Lord Cardinal* Mazarin.

*Moſt Eminent Lord,*

HAving ſent the moſt illuſtrious *Thomas Bellaſis*, Viſcount *Falconbridge*, our Son-in-Law, to congratulate the King upon his arrival in the Camp at *Dunkirk*, I gave him Order to attend and wiſh your Eminency long Life and Health in our Name, and to return Thanks to your Eminency, by whoſe Fidelity, Prudence and Vigilancy, it chiefly comes to paſs, that the Affairs of *France* are carri'd on with ſuch Succeſs in ſeveral parts, but more eſpecially in near adjoining *Flanders*, againſt our common Enemy the *Spaniard*; from whom we hope that open and armed Courage now will ſoon exact a rigorous account of all his Frauds and Treacheries. Which that it may be ſpeedily done, we ſhall not be wanting, either with our Forces, as far as in us lies, or with our Prayers to Heaven.

*From our Court at* White-Hall, *May* —— 1658.

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### Oliver *Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, *&c. To the moſt Serene and Potent Prince,* Lewis *King of* France.

*Moſt Serene and Potent Prince, our moſt Auguſt Friend and Confederate*;

SO ſoon as the News was brought us, That your Majeſty was arriv'd in your Camp, and was ſate down with ſo conſiderable an Army before *Dunkirk*, that infamous neſt of Pyrates, and place of Refuge for Sea-robbers, we were greatly overjoy'd, in certain aſſurance that in a ſhort time now, with God's Aſſiſtance, the Seas will be more open and leſs infeſted by thoſe plundering Rovers; and that your Majeſty, by your Military Proweſs, will now take ſpeedy Vengeance of the *Spaniſh* Frauds; by whom one Captain was by Gold corrupted to the betraying of *Heſden*, another treacherouſly ſurpriz'd at *Oſtend*. We therefore ſend the moſt Noble, *Thomas* Viſcount *Falconbridge*, our Son-in-Law, to congratulate your Majeſty's arrival in your Camp ſo near us, and that your Majeſty may underſtand from his own Lips, with what Affection we labour the Proſperity of your Atchievements, not only with our united Forces, but with our cordial Prayers, that God would long preſerve your Majeſty, and perpetuate our eſtabliſh'd Friendſhip, to the common Good of the Chriſtian World.

*From our Court at* Weſtminſter, *May* —— 1658.

## *To the moſt Serene Prince,* Ferdinand *Grand Duke of* Tuſcany.

*Moſt Serene Great Duke,*

IN regard your Highneſs in all your Letters has ever ſignifi'd your extraordinary Affection toward us, we are not a little griev'd, that either it ſhould be ſo obſcurely imparted to your Governors and Miniſters, or by them ſo ill interpreted, that we can reap no benefit or ſign of it in your Port of *Legborn*, where your Friendſhip toward us ought to be moſt clearly and truly underſtood: Rather, that we ſhould find the Minds of your Subjects daily more averſe and hoſtile in their demeanour toward us. For how unkindly our Fleet was lately treated at *Legborn*, how little accommodated with neceſſary Supplies, in what a Hoſtile manner twice conſtrain'd to depart the Harbour, we are ſufficiently given to underſtand as well from undoubted Witneſſes upon the Place, as from our Admiral himſelf, to whoſe Relation we cannot but give Credit, when we have thought him worthy to command our Fleet. Upon his firſt arrival in *January*, after he had caus'd our Letters to be deliver'd to your Highneſs, and all Offices of Civility had paſs'd between our People and yours; when he deſir'd the Accommodation of *Porto Ferraro*; anſwer was made, it could not be granted, leſt the King of *Spain*, that is to ſay our Enemy, ſhould be offended. And yet what is there which a Prince in Friendſhip more frequently allows to his Confederate, than free entrance into his Ports and Harbours? Or what is there that we can expect from a Friendſhip of this nature, more ready to do us unkindneſs than befriend us, or aid us with the ſmalleſt Aſſiſtance, for fear of provoking the diſpleaſure of our Enemies? At firſt indeed, *Prattick* was allow'd, though only to two or three of our Seamen out of every Ship, who had the Favour to go aſhoar. But ſoon after, it being nois'd in the Town, that our Ships had taken a *Dutch* Veſſel laden with Corn for *Spain*, that little *Prattick* we had was prohibited; *Longland*, the *Engliſh* Conſul, was not permitted to go aboard the Fleet; the liberty of taking in freſh Water, which is ever free to all that are not open Enemies, was not ſuffer'd, but under armed Guards, at a ſevere rate; and our Merchants which reſide in the Town, to the vaſt emolument of your People, were forbid to viſit their Countrymen, or aſſiſt 'em in the leaſt. Upon his laſt arrival, toward the latter end of *March*, no body was ſuffer'd to come aſhoar. The fifth day after, when our Admiral had taken a ſmall *Neapolitan* Veſſel which fell into our hands by chance, above two hundred great ſhot were made at our Fleet from the Town, though without any damage to us. Which was an Argument; that what provok'd your Governors without a cauſe, as if the Rights of your Harbour had bin violated, was done out at Sea, at a great diſtance from your Town, or the Juriſdiction of the Caſtle. Preſently our Long-boats ſent to take in freſh Water, were aſſail'd in the Port, and one taken and detain'd? which being redemanded, anſwer was made, That neither the Skiff nor the Seamen ſhould be reſtor'd, unleſs the *Neapolitan* Veſſel were diſmiſs'd; though certain it is, that ſhe was taken in the open Sea, where it was lawful to ſeize her. So that ours, after many Inconveniencies ſuffer'd, were forc'd at length to ſet ſail, and leave behind 'em the Proviſion, for which they had paid ready Money. Theſe things, if they were not done by your Highneſs's Conſent and Command, as we hope they were not, we deſire you would make it appear by the puniſhment of the Governour, who ſo eaſily preſum'd to violate his Maſter's Alliances; but if they were done with your Highneſs's Approbation and Order, we would have your Highneſs underſtand, that as we always had a ſingular value for your Friendſhip, ſo we have learnt to diſtinguiſh between Injuries and acts of Kindneſs.

*From our Court at* White-hall,
*May* —— 1658.

Your good Friend, ſo far as we may, *Oliver* Protector
of the Commonwealth of *England*, &c.

Oliver

## Oliver *Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, *&c. To the moſt Serene and Potent Prince,* Lewis *King of* France.

*Moſt Serene and Potent Prince, our moſt Auguſt Confederate and Friend*;

BY ſo ſpeedily repaying our profound Reſpect to your Majeſty, with an accumulation of Honour, by ſuch an illuſtrious Embaſſy to our Court; you have not only made known to us, but to all the People of *England*, your ſingular Benignity and Generoſity of Mind, but alſo how much you favour our Reputation and Dignity: for which we return our moſt cordial Thanks to your Majeſty, as juſtly you have merited from us. As for the Victory which God has given, moſt fortunate, to our united Forces againſt our Enemies, we rejoice with your Majeſty for it; and that our People in that Battel were not wanting to your Aſſiſtance, nor the Military Glory of their Anceſtors, nor their own priſtine Fortitude, is moſt grateful to us. As for *Dunkirk*, which as your Majeſty wrote, you were in hope was near Surrender: 'tis a great addition to our Joy to hear from your Majeſty ſuch ſpeedy Tidings, that it is abſolutely now in your victorious hands; and we hope moreover, that the loſs of one City will not ſuffice to repay the twofold Treachery of the *Spaniard*, but that your Majeſty will in a ſhort time write us the welcome News of the Surrender alſo of the other Town. As to your Promiſe, That you will take care of our Intereſts, we miſtruſt it not in the leaſt, upon the Word of a moſt Excellent King, and our moſt aſſured Friend, confirm'd withal by your Embaſſador, the moſt accompliſh'd Duke of *Crequi*. Laſtly, We beſeech Almighty God to proſper your Majeſty and the Affairs of *France*, both in Peace and War. *Weſtminſter*, June —— 1658.

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## Oliver *Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, *&c. To the moſt Eminent Lord, Cardinal* Mazarine.

*Moſt Eminent Lord*;

VVHile we are returning Thanks to the moſt Serene King, who to honour and congratulate us, as alſo to intermix his Joy with ours for the late glorious Victory, has ſent a ſplendid Embaſſy to our Court; we ſhould be ungrateful, ſhould we not alſo by our Letters pay our due Acknowledgments to your *Eminency*; who to teſtify your Good-will towards us, and how much you make it your ſtudy to do us all the Honour which lies within your Power, have ſent your Nephew to us, a moſt excellent and moſt accompliſh'd young Gentleman; and if you had any nearer Relation, or any Perſon whom you valu'd more, would have ſent him more eſpecially to us, as you declare in your Letters; adding withal the Reaſon, which coming from ſo great a Perſonage, we deem no ſmall advantage to our Praiſe and Ornament; that is to ſay, to the end that they who are moſt nearly related to your Eminency in Blood, might learn to imitate your Eminency, in ſhewing Reſpect and Honour to our Perſon. And we would have it not to be their meaneſt ſtrife to follow your Example of Civility, Candour, and Friendſhip to us; ſince there are not more conſpicuous Examples of extraordinary Prudence and Vertue to be imitated than in your Eminency; from whence they may learn with equal Renown to govern Kingdoms, and manage the moſt important Affairs of the World. Which that your Eminency may long and happily adminiſter, to the proſperity of the whole Realm of *France*, to the common Good of the whole Chriſtian Republick, and your own Glory, we ſhall never be wanting in our Prayers to implore. *From our Court at* Whitehal, *June* —— 1658.

Your Excellency's moſt Affectionate.

## Oliver *Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, *&c. To the moſt Serene and Potent Prince,* Charles Guſtavus, *King of the* Swedes, Goths *and* Vandals, *&c.*

*Moſt Serene and Potent Prince, our deareſt Confederate and Friend*;

AS often as we behold the buſy Counſels, and various Artifices of the common Enemies of Religion, ſo often do we revolve in our Minds how neceſſary it would be, and how much for the Safety of the Chriſtian World, that the Proteſtant Princes, and moſt eſpecially your Majeſty, ſhould be united with our Republick in a moſt ſtrict and ſolemn Confederacy. Which how ardently and zealouſly it has been ſought by our ſelves, how acceptable it would have been to us, if ours, and the Affairs of *Swedeland*, had been in that poſture and condition, if the ſaid League could have been ſacredly concluded to the good liking of both, and that the one could have been a ſeaſonable Succour to the other, we declar'd to your Embaſſadors, when firſt they enter'd into Treaty with us upon this Subject. Nor were they wanting in their Duty; but the ſame prudence which they were wont to ſhew in other things, the ſame Wiſdom and Sedulity they made known in this Affair. But ſuch was the perfidiouſneſs of our wicked and reſtleſs Countrymen at home, who being often receiv'd into our Protection, ceas'd not however to machinate new Diſturbances, and to reſume their formerly often fruſtrated and diſſipated Conſpiracies with our Enemies the *Spaniards*, that being altogether taken up with the preſervation of our ſelves from ſurrounding Dangers, we could not bend our whole Care, and our entire Forces, as we wiſh'd we could have done, to defend the common Cauſe of Religion. Nevertheleſs what lay in our Power, we have already zealouſly perform'd; and whatever for the future may conduce to your Majeſty's Intereſts, we ſhall not only ſhew our ſelves willing, but induſtrious to carry on, in Union with your Majeſty, upon all occaſions. In the mean time we moſt gladly congratulate your Majeſty's Victories, moſt prudently and couragiouſly atchiev'd, and in our daily Prayers implore Almighty God long to continue to your Majeſty a ſteady courſe of Conqueſt and Felicity, to the Glory of his Name. *From our Court at* Whitehall, *June* —— 1658.

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## Oliver *Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, *&c. To the moſt Serene Prince, the King of* Portugal.

*Moſt Serene King, our Friend and Confederate*;

JOhn *Buffield* of *London* Merchant, has ſet forth in a Petition to us, That in the Year 1649, he deliver'd certain Goods to *Anthony*, *John* and *Manuel Ferdinando Caſtaneo*, Merchants in *Tamira*, to the end that after they had ſold 'em, they might give him a juſt Account, according to the Cuſtom of Merchants: After which, in his Voyage for *England*, he fell into the hands of Pirats; and being plunder'd by 'em, receiv'd no ſmall Damage. Upon this News, *Antony* and *Manuel*, believing he had been kill'd, preſently look'd upon the Goods as their own, and ſtill detain 'em in their hands, refuſing to come to any Account; covering this Fraud of theirs with a Sequeſtration of *Engliſh* Goods that ſoon after enſu'd. So that he was forc'd the laſt Year, in the middle of Winter, to return to *Portugal* and demand his Goods, but all in vain. For that the ſaid *John* and *Anthony* could by no fair means be perſwaded, either to deliver the ſaid Goods, or to come to any Account; and which is more to be admir'd, juſtifi'd their private detention of the Goods, by the Publick Attainder. Finding therefore that being a Stranger, he ſhould get nothing by contending with the Inhabitants of *Tamira* in their own Countrey, he betook himſelf for Juſtice to your Majeſty; humbly demanded the Judgment of the *Conſervator*, appointed to determine the Cauſes of the *Engliſh*; but was ſent back to the Cognizance of that Court, from which he had appeal'd. Which though in it ſelf not unjuſt, yet ſeeing it is evident that the Merchants of *Tamira* make an ill uſe of your Publick Edict to juſtify their own private Cozenage, we make it our earneſt Requeſt to your Majeſty, that according to your wonted Clemency you would rather refer to the *Conſervator*, being the proper Judg in theſe Caſes, the Cauſe of this poor Man, afflicted by many Caſualties, and reduc'd to utmoſt Poverty, to the end he may recover the Remainder of his Fortunes from the faithleſs Partnerſhip of thoſe People. Which when you rightly underſtand the Buſineſs, we make no queſtion, but will be no leſs pleaſing to your Majeſty to ſee done than to our ſelves. *From our Court at* Weſtminſter, *Aug.* 1658.

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## *To the moſt Serene Prince* Leopold, *Arch-Duke of* Auſtria, *Governour of the Low-Countries under* Philip *King of* Spain.

*Moſt Serene Lord* ;

CHarles Harbord Knight, has ſet forth in his Petition to us, that having ſent certain Goods and Houſhold-ſtuff out of *Holland* to *Bruges* under your Juriſdiction, he is in great danger of having them arreſted out of his hands by Force and Violence. For that thoſe Goods were ſent him out of *England* in the Year 1643, by the Earl of *Suffolk*, for whom he ſtood bound in a great Sum of Money, to the end he might have wherewithal to ſatisfy himſelf, ſhould he be compell'd to pay the Debt. Which Goods are now in the poſſeſſion of *Richard Greenville* Knight, who broke open the doors of the place where they were in cuſtody, and made a violent ſeizure of the ſame, under pretence of we know not what due to him from *Theophilus* Earl of *Suffolk*, by virtue of a certain Decree of our Court of *Chancery*, to which thoſe Goods, as being the Earl's, were juſtly liable ; whereas by our Laws, neither the Earl now living, whoſe Goods they are, is bound by that Decree, neither ought the Goods to be ſeiz'd or detain'd ; which the Sentence of that Court, now ſent to your Serenity, together with theſe Letters, poſitively declares and proves. Which Letters the ſaid *Charles Harbord* has deſir'd of us, to the end we would make it our Requeſt to your Highneſs, that the ſaid Goods may be forthwith diſcharg'd from the violent Seizure, and no leſs unjuſt Action of the ſaid *Richard Greenville*, in regard it is apparently againſt the Cuſtom and Law of Nations, that any Perſon ſhould be allow'd the liberties to ſue in a Foreign Juriſdiction upon a Plaint wherein he can have no relief in the Country where the Cauſe of Action firſt aroſe. Therefore the Reaſon of Juſtice it ſelf, and your far celebrated Equanimity encourag'd us to recommend this Cauſe to your Highneſs ; aſſuring your Highneſs, that whenever any Diſpute ſhall happen in our Courts concerning the Rights and Properties of your People, you ſhall ever find us ready and quick in our Returns of Favour. *Weſtminſter*——

Your Highneſs's moſt Affectionate, *Oliver* Protector of the Commonwealth of *England*.

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# LETTERS

## Written in the Name of

## *RICHARD*, PROTECTOR.

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### Richard, *Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, *&c. To the moſt Serene and Potent Prince,* Lewis *King of* France.

*Moſt Serene and Potent King, our Friend and Confederate*;

SO ſoon as our moſt Serene Father, Oliver, *Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, by the Will of God ſo ordaining, departed this Life upon the Third of *September*, we being lawfully declar'd his Succeſſor in the Supream Magiſtracy, tho in the Extremity of Tears and Sadneſs, could do no leſs, than with the firſt Opportunity by theſe our Letters make known a Matter of this Concernment to your Majeſty; by whom, as you have been a moſt cordial Friend to our Father and this Republick, we are confident the mournful and unexpected Tidings will be as ſorrowfully received. Our buſineſs now is, to requeſt your Majeſty, that you would have ſuch an Opinion of us, as of one who has determin'd nothing more religiouſly and conſtantly than to obſerve the Friendſhp and Confederacy contracted between your Majeſty and our Renowned Father; and with the ſame Zeal and good Will to confirm and eſtabliſh the Leagues by him concluded, and to carry on the ſame Counſels and Intereſts with your Majeſty. To which intent it is our pleaſure that our Embaſſador reſiding at your Court, be empower'd by the ſame Commiſſion as formerly; and that you will give the ſame Credit to what he tranſacts in our Name, as if it had been done by our ſelves. In the mean time we wiſh your Majeſty all Proſperity.

*From our Court at* White-
hall, Sept. 5. 1658.

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### *To the moſt Eminent Lord Cardinal* Mazarine.

THO nothing could fall out more bitter and grievous to us, than to write the mournful News of our moſt Serene and moſt Renowned Father's Death; nevertheleſs, in regard we cannot be ignorant of the high Eſteem which he had for your Eminency, and the great Value which you had for him; nor have any reaſon to doubt, but that your Eminency, upon whoſe Care the Proſperity of *France* depends, will no leſs bewail the Loſs of your conſtant Friend, and moſt united Confederate, we thought it of great moment, by theſe our Letters, to make known this Accident ſo deeply to be lamented, as well to your Eminency as to the King; and to aſſure your Eminency, which is but Reaſon, that we ſhall moſt religiouſly obſerve all thoſe things which our Father of moſt Serene Memory was bound by the League to ſee confirm'd and ratify'd: and ſhall make it our buſineſs, that in the midſt of your mourning for a Friend ſo faithful and flouriſhing in all vertuous Applauſe, there may be nothing wanting to preſerve the Faith of our Confederacy. For the conſervation of which on your part alſo, to the good of both Nations, may God Almighty long preſerve your Eminency.

*Weſtminſter*, Sept. 1658.

Richard, *Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, *&c. To the moſt Serene and Potent Prince* Charles Guſtavus, *King of the* Swedes, Goths *and* Vandals, *&c.*

*Moſt Serene and Potent King, our Friend and Confederate ;*

WHen we conſider with our ſelves that it will be a difficult matter for us to be Imitators of our Father's Vertues, unleſs we ſhould obſerve and endeavour to hold the ſame Confederacies which he by his Proweſs acquir'd, and out of his ſingular Judgment thought moſt worthy to be embrac'd and obſerv'd ; your Majeſty has no reaſon to doubt, but that it behoves us to pay the ſame Tribute of Affection and good Will, which our Father of moſt Serene Memory always paid to your Majeſty. Therefore altho in this beginning of our Government and Dignity I may not find our Affairs in that Condition, as at preſent to anſwer to ſome Particulars which your Embaſſadors have propos'd, yet it is our Reſolution to continue the League concluded by our Father with your Majeſty, and to enter our ſelves into a ſtricter Engagement ; and ſo ſoon as we ſhall rightly underſtand the State of Affairs on both ſides, we ſhall always be ready on our part, to treat of thoſe things which ſhall be moſt chiefly for the united Benefit of both Republicks. In the mean time God long preſerve your Majeſty to his Glory, and the Defence and Safeguard of his Orthodox Church.

*From our Court at* Weſt-minſter, Octob. 1658.

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Richard, *Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, *&c. To the moſt Serene and Potent Prince* Charles Guſtavus, *King of the* Swedes, Goths *and* Vandals, *&c.*

*Moſt Serene and Potent King, our Friend and Confederate ;*

WE have receiv'd two Letters from your Majeſty, the one by your *Envoy*, the other tranſmitted to us from our Reſident *Philip Meadows*, whereby we not only underſtood your Majeſty's unfeigned Grief for the Death of our moſt Serene Father, in Expreſſions ſetting forth the real Thoughts of your Mind, and how highly your Majeſty eſteem'd his Proweſs and Friendſhip, but alſo what great hopes your Majeſty conceiv'd of our ſelves advanc'd in his room. And certainly, as an Accumulation of paternal Honour in deeming us worthy to ſucceed him, nothing more noble, more illuſtrious, could befal us than the Judgment of ſuch a Prince ; nothing more fortunately auſpicious could happen to us, at our firſt entrance upon the Government, than ſuch a Congratulator ; nothing laſtly that could more vehemently incite us to take poſſeſſion of our Father's Vertues, as our lawful Inheritance, than the Encouragement of ſo great a King. As to what concerns your Majeſty's Intereſts, already under Conſideration between us, in reference to the common Cauſe of the Proteſtants, we would have your Majeſty have thoſe Thoughts of us, that ſince we came to the Helm of this Republick, tho the Condition of our Affairs be ſuch at preſent, that they chiefly require our utmoſt Diligence, Care, and Vigilancy at home, yet that we hold nothing more Sacred, and that there is not any thing more determin'd by Us, than as much as in us lies, never to be wanting to the League concluded by our Father with your Majeſty. To that end, we have taken care to ſend a Fleet into the *Baltic* Sea, with thoſe Inſtructions which our Agent, to that purpoſe empower'd by us, will communicate to your Majeſty, whom God preſerve in long Safety, and proſper with Succeſs in the Defence of his Orthodox Religion.

*From our Court at* Weſt-minſter, Octob. 13. 1658.

Richard,

## Richard, *Protector, To the moſt Serene and Potent Prince,* Charles Guſtavus, *King of the* Swedes, Goths *and* Vandals, *&c.*

*Moſt Serene and moſt Potent King, our Friend and Confederate;*

WE ſend to your Majeſty, nor could we ſend a Preſent more worthy or more excellent, the truly brave and truly noble Sir *George Aſcue* Knight, not only fam'd in War, and more eſpecially for his Experience in Sea Affairs, approv'd and try'd in many deſperate Engagements, but alſo endu'd with ſingular Probity, Modeſty, Ingenuity, Learning, and for the Sweetneſs of his Diſpoſition careſs'd by all Men; and which is the ſum of all, now deſirous to ſerve under the Banners of your Majeſty, ſo renown'd o're all the World for your Military Proweſs. And we would have your Majeſty be fully aſſur'd, that whatſoever high Employment you confer upon him, wherein Fidelity, Fortitude, Experience, may ſhine forth in their true Luſtre, you cannot entruſt a Perſon more faithful, more couragious, nor eaſily more skilful. Moreover, as to thoſe things we have given him in charge to communicate to your Majeſty, we requeſt that he may have quick Acceſs, and favourable Audience, and that you will vouchſafe the ſame Credit to him as to our ſelves, if perſonally preſent: Laſtly, that you will give him that Honour as you ſhall judg becoming a Perſon dignify'd with his own Merits and our Recommendation. Now God Almighty proſper all your Affairs with happy Succeſs, to his own Glory, and the Safeguard of his Orthodox Church.

*From our Court at* White-
hall, October, 1658.

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## Richard, *Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, *&c. To the moſt Serene and Potent Prince* Charles Guſtavus, *King of the* Swedes, Goths *and* Vandals, *&c.*

*Moſt Serene and Potent King, our deareſt Friend and Confederate;*

SAmuel Piggot of *London* Merchant, in a Petition deliver'd to Us, ſets forth, that he lately ſent from *London* into *France*, upon the account of Trade, two Veſſels, the one call'd the *Poſt*, *Tiddie Jacob* Maſter, the other the *Water-Dog*, *Garbrand Peters* Maſter. That from *France*, being laden with Salt, they ſail'd for *Amſterdam*; at *Amſterdam* the one took in Ballaſt only; the other laden with Herrings, in Copartnerſhip with one *Peter Heinbergh*, ſail'd away for *Stettin* in *Pomerania*, which is under your Juriſdiction, there to unlade her Freight; but now he hears that both thoſe Veſſels are detain'd ſomewhere in the *Baltic* Sea by your Forces; notwithſtanding that he took care to ſend a Writing with both thoſe Ships, ſeal'd with the Seal of the Admiralty Court, by which it appear'd that he alone was the lawful Owner of both the Veſſels and Goods, that part excepted which belong'd to *Heinbergh*. Of all which, in regard he has made full proof before us, we make it our Requeſt to your Majeſty (to prevent the Ruin and utter Shipwrack of the poor Man's Eſtate by the loſs of two Ships at one time) that you would command your Officers to take care for the ſpeedy diſcharge of the ſaid Veſſels. God long preſerve your Majeſty to his own Glory, and the Safeguard of his Orthodox Church.

Richard, *Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, *&c. To the High and Mighty Lords, the States of* Weſtfriezland.

*Moſt High and Mighty Lords, our deareſt Friends and Confederates;*

M*ary Grinder* Widow, in a Petition preſented to us, has made a moſt grievous Complaint, that whereas *Thomas Killegrew*, a Commander in your Service, has ow'd her for theſe eighteen Years a conſiderable Sum of Money, ſhe can by her Agents neither bring him to pay the ſaid Money, nor to try his Title at Law to the ſame, if he has any. Which that he may not be compell'd to do by the Widow's Attorney, he has petition'd your Highneſſes, that no body may be ſuffer'd to ſue him for any Money that he owes in *England*. But ſhould we ſignify no more than only this to your Highneſſes, that ſhe is a Widow, that ſhe is in great want, the Mother of many ſmall Children, which her Creditor endeavours to deprive of almoſt all that little Support they have in this World, we cannot believe we need make uſe of any greater Arguments to your Lordſhips, ſo well acquainted with thoſe Divine Precepts forbidding the Oppreſſion of the Widow and the Fatherleſs, to perſwade ye not to grant any ſuch Privilege upon a bare Petition, to the fraudulent Subverter of the Widow's Right: and which for the ſame reaſon we aſſure our ſelves you will never admit.

*From our Court at* Weſtminſter, Jan. 27. 1658.

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Richard, *Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, *&c. To the moſt Serene and Potent Prince,* Lewis *King of* France.

*Moſt Serene and Potent Prince, our moſt Auguſt Confederate and Friend;*

VVE have been given to underſtand, and that to our no ſmall Grief, That ſeveral Proteſtant Churches in *Provence* were ſo maliciouſly affronted and diſturb'd by a certain turbulent Humouriſt, that the Magiſtrates at *Grenoble*, who are the proper Judges of ſuch Cauſes, thought him worthy of exemplary Puniſhment: But that the Convention of the Clergy which was held not far from thoſe places obtain'd of your Majeſty, that the whole matter ſhould be remov'd up to *Paris*, there to be heard before your Royal Council. But they not having as yet made any Determination in the Buſineſs, thoſe Churches, and more eſpecially that of *Tvoire*, are forbid to meet for the Worſhip of God. Moſt earneſtly therefore we requeſt your Majeſty, That in the firſt place you would not prohibit thoſe from preaching in publick, whoſe Prayers to God for your Safety and the Proſperity of your Kingdom, you are ſo free to ſuffer; then that the Sentence given againſt that impertinent Diſturber of Divine Service, by the proper Judges of thoſe Cauſes at *Grenoble*, may be duly put in execution. God long preſerve your Majeſty in Safety and Proſperity; to the end that if you have any good Opinion of our Prayers, or think 'em prevalent with God, you may be ſpeedily induc'd to ſuffer the ſame to be publickly put up to Heaven by thoſe Churches, now forbid their wonted Meetings.

*Weſtminſter*, Feb. 18. 1658.

## *To the moſt eminent Lord Cardinal* Mazarine.

*Moſt Eminent Lord Cardinal*;

THE moſt illuſtrious Lady, late Wife of the deceaſed Duke of *Richmond*, is now going into *France*, together with the young Duke her Son, with an intention to reſide there for ſome time. We therefore moſt earneſtly requeſt your Eminency, That if any thing fall out, wherein your Authority, Favour and Patronage may be aſſiſting to 'em, as Strangers, you would vouchſafe to protect their Dignity, and to indulge the Recommendation of it not the meaneſt, in ſuch a manner, that if any addition can be made to your Civility toward all People, eſpecially of illuſtrious Deſcent, we may be ſenſible our Letters have obtain'd it. Withal, your Excellency may aſſure your ſelf, your Recommendation, whenever you require the like from us, ſhall be of equal Force and Value in our Eſteem and Care.

*Weſtminſter*, Feb. 29. 1658.

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## Richard, *Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, *&c. To the moſt Serene and Potent Prince*, John *King of* Portugal.

*Moſt Serene and Potent Prince, our Friend and Confederate*;

ALthough there are many things which we are bound to impart by writing to a King our Friend, and in ſtrict Confederacy with our Republick, yet there is nothing which we ever did more willingly, than what we do at this preſent, by theſe our Letters to congratulate this laſt Victory, ſo glorious to the Kingdom of *Portugal*, obtain'd againſt our common Enemy the *Spaniard*. By which, how great an Advantage will accrue not only to your own, but to the Peace and Repoſe of all *Europe*, and that perhaps for many Years, there is no body but underſtands. But there is one thing more, wherein we muſt acknowledg your Majeſty's Juſtice, the moſt certain pledg of Victory; That Satisfaction has been given by the Commiſſioners appointed at *London*, according to the 24th Article of the League, to our Merchants, whoſe Veſſels were hir'd by the *Braſile* Company. Only there is one among 'em ſtill remaining, *Alexander Bence* of *London* Merchant, whoſe Ship call'd the *Three Brothers*, *John Wilks* Maſter, being hir'd and laden, and having perform'd two Voyages for the ſaid Company, yet ſtill they refuſe to pay him his Wages according to their Covenants; when the reſt that only perform'd ſingle Voyages are already paid. Which why it ſhould be done, we cannot underſtand, unleſs thoſe People think, in their Judgment, that Perſon more worthy of his Hire, who did 'em only ſingle Service, than he who earn'd his Wages twice. We therefore earneſtly requeſt your Majeſty, that Satisfaction may be given for his Service truly perform'd, to this ſame ſingle *Alexander*, to whom a double Stipend is due; and that by virtue of your Royal Authority you would prefix the *Braſile* Company as ſhort a day as may be, for the payment of his juſt due, and repairing his Loſſes; ſeeing that their Delays have been the occaſion that the Loſs ſuſtain'd by the Merchant has very near exceeded the Money it ſelf which is owing for his Wages. So God continue your Majeſty's proſperous Succeſſes againſt the common Enemy.

*From our Court at* Weſtminſter, Feb. 23. 1658.

Richard,

## Richard, *Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, *&c. To the moſt Eminent Lord Cardinal* Mazarin.

*Moſt Eminent Lord*;

BY Letters to your Eminency, about eight Months ſince, dated *June* 13. we recommended to your *Eminency* the Cauſe of *Peter Pet*, a Perſon of ſingular Probity, and in all Naval Sciences moſt uſeful both to us and our Republick. His Ship call'd the *Edward*, in the Year 1646. as we formerly wrote, was taken in the mouth of the *Thames* by one *Baſcon*, and ſold in the Port of *Boulogne*; and though the King in his Royal Council, the 4*th* of *November*, 1647. decreed, That what Money the Council ſhould think fitting to be given in recompence of the Loſs, ſhould be forthwith paid in Satisfaction to the Owner; nevertheleſs, as he ſets forth, he could never reap the Benefit of that Order. Now in regard we make no queſtion but that your Eminency, at our Deſire, gave ſtrict Command for the ſpeedy execution of that Decree; we make it therefore our renew'd Requeſt, that you would vouchſafe to examine where the Impediment lies, or through whoſe Neglect or Contumacy it came to paſs, that in ten Years time the King's Decree was not obey'd; and employ your Authority ſo effectually, that the Money then decreed, which we thought long ſince ſatisfy'd, may be ſpeedily demanded and paid to our Petitioner. Thus your Eminency will perform an Act moſt grateful to Juſtice, and lay moreover a ſingular Obligation upon our ſelves.

*From our Court at* Weſtminſter, Feb. 25. 1658.

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The two following Letters, after the Depoſal of *Richard*, were written in the Name of the Parlament Reſtor'd.

## *The Parlament of the Commonwealth of* England, *&c. To the moſt Serene and Potent Prince* Charles Guſtavus, *King of the* Swedes, Goths *and* Vandals, *&c.*

*Moſt Serene and Potent King, our deareſt Friend*;

SInce it has pleas'd the moſt merciful and omnipotent God, at whoſe Diſpoſal only the Revolutions of all Kingdoms and Republicks are, to reſtore us to our priſtin Authority, and the ſupream Adminiſtration of the Engliſh Affairs, we thought it convenient in the firſt place to make it known to your Majeſty, and to ſignify moreover as well our extraordinary Affection to your Majeſty, ſo potent a Proteſtant Prince, as alſo our moſt fervent Zeal to promote the Peace between your Majeſty and the King of *Denmark*, another moſt powerful Proteſtant King, not to be reconcil'd without our Aſſiſtance and the good Offices of our Affection. Our Pleaſure therefore is, that our Extraordinary Envoy *Philip Meadows* be continued in the ſame Employment with your Majeſty, with which he has been hitherto entruſted from this Republick. To which end we impower him by theſe our Letters to make Propoſals, act and negotiate with your Majeſty, in the ſame manner as was granted him by his laſt Recommendations: and whatſoever he ſhall tranſact and conclude in our Name, we faithfully promiſe and engage, by God's Aſſiſtance, to confirm and ratify. The ſame God long ſupport your Majeſty, the Pillar and Support of the Proteſtant Intereſts.

*Weſtminſter*,
May 15. 1659.

*William Lenthal*, Speaker of the Parlament of the Commonwealth of *England*.

*The Parlament of the Commonwealth of* England, *&c. To the moſt Serene Prince* Frederick, *King of* Denmark.

*Moſt Serene King, and moſt dear Friend*;

SEeing it now is come to paſs, that by the Will and Pleaſure of the moſt merciful and powerful God, the ſupream Moderator of all things, we are reſtor'd to our priſtin Place and Dignity, in the Adminiſtration of the Publick Affairs, we thought it convenient in the firſt place, that a Revolution of this Government ſhould not be conceal'd from your Majeſty's notice, a Prince both our Neighbour and Confederate; and withal, to ſignify how much we lay to heart your ill Succeſs: which you will eaſily perceive by our Zeal and Diligence, that never ſhall be wanting in us to promote and accompliſh a Reconciliation between your Majeſty and the King of *Sweden*. And therefore we have commanded our Extraordinary Envoy with the moſt Serene King of *Sweden*, *Philip Meadowes*, to attend your Majeſty, in our Name, in order to theſe Matters, and to impart, propound, act and negotiate ſuch things as we have given him in charge to communicate to your Majeſty: and what credit you ſhall give to him in this his Employment, we requeſt your Majeſty to believe it given to our ſelves. God Almighty grant your Majeſty a happy and joyful Deliverance out of all your Difficulties and afflicting Troubles, under which you ſtand ſo undauntedly ſupported by your Fortitude and Magnanimity.

*Weſtminſter*,
May 15. 1659.

*William Lenthal*, Speaker of the Parlament of the Commonwealth of *England*.

# A
# TREATISE
# OF
# Civil Power in Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes:

SHEWING,

## That it is not lawful for any Power on Earth to compel in Matters of Religion.

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### *To the Parlament of the Commonwealth of* England, *with the Dominions therof.*

I Have prepar'd, ſupream Council, againſt the much expected time of your ſitting, this Treatiſe; which, though to all Chriſtian Magiſtrates equally belonging, and therefore to have bin written in the common Language of Chriſtendom, natural Duty and Affection hath confin'd, and dedicated firſt to my own Nation: and in a ſeaſon wherein the timely reading thereof, to the eaſier accompliſhment of your great work, may ſave you much labour and interruption: of two parts uſually propos'd, Civil and Eccleſiaſtical, recommending Civil only to your proper care, Eccleſiaſtical to them only from whom it takes both that Name and Nature. Yet not for this cauſe only do I require or truſt to find acceptance, but in a twofold reſpect beſides: firſt as bringing clear Evidence of Scripture and Proteſtant Maxims to the Parlament of *England*, who in all their late Acts, upon occaſion, have profeſs'd to aſſert only the true Proteſtant Chriſtian Religion, as it is contain'd in the holy Scriptures: next, in regard that your Power being but for a time, and having in your ſelves a Chriſtian Liberty of your own, which at one time or other may be oppreſs'd, therof truly ſenſible, it will concern you while you are in power, ſo to regard other Mens Conſciences, as you would your own ſhould be regarded in the power of others; and to conſider that any Law againſt Conſcience is alike in force againſt any Conſcience, and ſo may one way or other, juſtly redound upon your ſelves. One advantage I make no doubt of, that I ſhall write to many eminent Perſons of your number, already perfect and reſolv'd in this important Article of Chriſtianity. Some of whom I remember to have heard often for ſeveral Years, at a Council next in Authority to your own, ſo well joining Religion with civil Prudence, and yet ſo well diſtinguiſhing the different Power of either, and this not only voting, but frequently reaſoning why it ſhould be ſo, that if any there preſent had bin before of an opinion contrary, he might doubtleſs have departed thence a Convert in that point, and have confeſs'd, that then both Commonwealth and Religion will at length, if ever, flouriſh in Chriſtendom, when either they who govern diſcern between Civil and Religious, or they only who ſo diſcern ſhall be admitted to govern. Till then nothing but Troubles, Perſecutions, Commotions can be expected; the inward decay of true Religion among our ſelves, and the utter overthrow at laſt by a common Enemy. Of Civil Liberty I have written hertofore by the appointment, and not without the approbation of Civil Power: of Chriſtian Liberty I write now, which others long ſince having don with all freedom under Heathen Emperors, I ſhall do wrong to ſuſpect, that I now ſhall with leſs, under Chriſtian Governors, and ſuch eſpecially as profeſs openly their defence of Chriſtian Liberty; although I write this, not otherwiſe appointed or induc'd, than by an inward perſwaſion of the Chriſtian Duty, which I may uſefully diſcharge herin to the common Lord and Maſter of us all, and the certain hope of his approbation, firſt and chiefeſt to be ſought: In the hand of whoſe Providence I remain, praying all ſucceſs and good event on your publick Councels, to the defence of true Religion and our Civil Rights.

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# *A Treatiſe of Civil Power in Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes.*

TWO things there be which have bin ever found working much Miſchief to the Church of God, and the Advancement of Truth; Force on one ſide reſtraining, and Hire on the other ſide corrupting the Teachers thereof. Few Ages have bin ſince the Aſcenſion of our Saviour, wherin the one of theſe two, or both together have not prevail'd. It can be at no time therfore unſeaſonable to ſpeak of theſe things; ſince by them the Church is either in continual Detriment and Oppreſſion, or in continual danger. The former ſhall be at this time my Argument; the latter as I ſhall find God diſpoſing me, and opportunity inviting. What I argue, ſhall be drawn from the Scripture only; and therin from true fundamental Principles of the Goſpel, to all knowing Chriſtians undeniable. And if the Governors of this Commonwealth ſince the rooting out of Prelats have made leaſt uſe of Force in Religion, and moſt have favour'd Chriſtian Liberty of any in this Iland before them ſince the firſt preaching of the Goſpel, for which we are not to forget our Thanks to God, and their due Praiſe; they may, I doubt not, in this Treatiſe find that which not only will confirm them to defend ſtill the Chriſtian Liberty which we enjoy, but will incite them alſo to enlarge it, if in aught they yet ſtraiten it. To them who perhaps herafter, leſs experienc'd in Religion, may come to govern or give us Laws, this or other ſuch, if they pleaſe, may be a timely inſtruction: however to the Truth it will be at all times no unneedful Teſtimony; at leaſt ſome diſcharge of that general Duty which no Chriſtian but according to what he hath receiv'd, knows is requir'd of him if he have aught more conducing to the advancement of Religion then what is uſually endeavour'd, freely to impart it.

It will require no great labor of Expoſition to unfold what is here meant by matters of Religion; being as ſoon apprehended as defin'd, ſuch things as belong chiefly to the Knowledg and Service of God: and are either above the reach and light of Nature without Revelation from above, and therfore liable to be variouſly underſtood by human Reaſon, or ſuch things as are enjoin'd or forbidden by divine Precept, which els by the Light of Reaſon would ſeem indifferent to be don or not don; and ſo likewiſe muſt needs appeer to every Man as the Precept is underſtood. Whence I here mean by Conſcience or Religion, that full perſwaſion wherby we are aſſur'd that our Belief and Practice, as far as we are able to apprehend and probably make appear, is according to the Will of God and his holy Spirit within us, which we ought to follow much rather than any Law of Man, as not only his Word every where bids us, but the very Dictate of Reaſon tells us. *Acts* 4. 19. *Whether it be right in the ſight of God, to hearken to you more than to God, judg ye.* That for Belief or Practice in Religion according to this conſcientious Perſwaſion, no Man ought to be puniſh'd or moleſted by any outward Force on Earth whatſoever, I diſtruſt not, through God's implor'd Aſſiſtance, to make plain by theſe following Arguments.

Firſt, it cannot be deni'd, being the main Foundation of our Proteſtant Religion, that we of theſe Ages, having no other divine Rule or Autority from without us warrantable to one another as a common ground but the holy Scripture, and no other within us but the Illumination of the holy Spirit ſo interpreting that Scripture as warrantable only to our ſelves, and to ſuch whoſe Conſciences we can ſo perſwade, can have no other ground in matters of Religion but only from the Scriptures. And theſe being not poſſible to be underſtood without this Divine Illumination, which no Man can know at all times to be in himſelf, much leſs to be at any time for certain in any other, it follows cleerly, that no Man or body of Men in theſe times can be the infallible Judges or Determiners in matters of Religion to any other Mens Conſciences but their own. And therfore thoſe Bereans are commended, *Acts* 17. 11. who after the preaching even of S. *Paul*, *ſearch'd the Scriptures daily, whether thoſe things were ſo.* Nor did they more than what God himſelf in many places commands us by the ſame Apoſtle, to ſearch, to try, to judg of theſe things our ſelves: And gives us reaſon alſo, *Gal.* 6. 4, 5. *Let every Man prove his own Work, and then ſhall he have rejoycing in himſelf alone, and not in another: for every Man ſhall bear his own burden.* If then we count it ſo ignorant and irreligious in the Papiſt to think himſelf diſcharg'd in God's account, believing only as the Church believes, how much greater Condemnation will it be to the Proteſtant his Condemner, to think himſelf juſtified, believing only as the State believes? With good cauſe therfore it is the general conſent of all ſound Proteſtant Writers, that neither Traditions, Councils nor Canons of any viſible Church, much leſs Edicts of any Magiſtrate or Civil Seſſion, but the Scripture only can be the final Judg or Rule in matters of Religion, and that only in the Conſcience of every Chriſtian to himſelf. Which Proteſtation made by the firſt publick Reformers of our Religion againſt the Imperial Edicts of *Charles* the fifth, impoſing Church-Traditions without Scripture, gave firſt beginning to the name of *Proteſtant*; and with that name hath ever bin receiv'd this Doctrine, which prefers the Scripture before the Church, and acknowledges none but the Scripture ſole Interpreter of it ſelf to the Conſcience. For if the Church be not ſufficient to be implicitly believ'd, as we hold it is not, what can there els be nam'd of more Autority than the Church but the Conſcience, than which God only is greater, 1 *Joh.* 3. 20? But if any Man ſhall pretend, that the Scripture judges to his Conſcience for other Men, he makes himſelf greater not only than the Church, but alſo than the Scripture, than the Conſciences of other Men; a Preſumption too high for any Mortal, ſince every true Chriſtian, able to give a reaſon of his Faith, hath the Word of God before him, the promis'd Holy Spirit, and the Mind of Chriſt within him, 1 *Cor.* 2. 16. a much better and ſafer guide of Conſcience, which as far as concerns himſelf he may far more certainly know than any outward Rule impos'd upon him by others whom he inwardly neither knows nor can know; at leaſt knows nothing of them more ſure than this one thing, that they cannot be his Judges in Religion. 1 *Cor.* 2. 15. *The ſpiritual Man judgeth all things, but he himſelf is judg'd of no Man.* Chiefly for this cauſe do all true Proteſtants account the Pope Antichriſt, for that he aſſumes to himſelf this Infallibility over both the Conſcience and the Scripture; *ſitting in the Temple of God*, as it were oppoſite to God, *and exalting himſelf above all that is called God, or is worſhipped*, 2 Theſſ. 2. 4. That is to ſay not only above all Judges and Magiſtrates, who though they be call'd Gods, are far beneath infallible, but alſo above God himſelf, by giving Law both to the Scripture, to the Conſcience, and to the Spirit it ſelf of God within us. Whenas we find, *James* 4. 12. *There is one Lawgiver, who is able to ſave and to deſtroy: Who art thou that judgeſt another?* That Chriſt is the only Lawgiver of his Church, and that it is here meant in religious matters, no well-grounded Chriſtian will deny. Thus alſo S. *Paul*, Rom. 14. 4. *Who art thou that judgeſt the Servant of another? to his own Lord he ſtandeth or falleth: but he ſhall ſtand; for God is able to make him ſtand.* As therfore of one beyond expreſſion bold and preſumptuous, both theſe Apoſtles demand, *Who art thou* that preſum'ſt to impoſe other Law or Judgment in Religion than the only Lawgiver and Judg Chriſt, who only can ſave and deſtroy, gives to the Conſcience? And the forecited place to the *Theſſalonians* by compar'd Effects reſolves us, that be he or they who or wherever they be or can be, they are of far leſs Autority than the Church, whom in theſe things as Proteſtants they receive not, and yet no leſs Antichriſt in this main point of Antichriſtianiſm, no leſs a Pope or Popedom than he at *Rome*, if not much more; by ſetting up ſupream Interpreters of Scripture either thoſe Doctors whom they follow, or, which is far worſe, themſelves as a civil Papacy aſſuming unaccountable Supremacy to themſelves not in Civil only but in Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes. Seeing then that in matters of Religion, as hath been prov'd, none can jugd or determin here on Earth, no not Church-Governors themſelves, againſt the Conſciences of other Believers, my Inference is, or rather not mine but our Saviour's own, that in thoſe matters they neither can command nor uſe Conſtraint, leſt they run raſhly on a pernicious Conſequence, forewarn'd in that Parable, *Mat.* 13. from the 26th to the 31ſt Verſe: *Leſt while ye gather up the Tares, ye root up alſo the Wheat with them. Let both grow together until the Harveſt: and in the time of Harveſt I will ſay to the Reapers, Gather ye together firſt the Tares,* &c. Whereby he declares that this work neither his own Miniſters nor any els can diſcerningly anough or judgingly perform without his own immediat direction, in his own fit ſeaſon; and that they ought till then not to attempt it. Which is further confirm'd 2 *Cor.* 1. 24. *Not that we have dominion over your Faith, but are helpers of your Joy.* If Apoſtles had no Dominion or conſtraining Power over Faith or Conſcience, much leſs have ordinary Miniſters, 1 *Pet.* 5. 2, 3. *Feed the Flock of God not by conſtraint,* &c. *neither as being Lords over God's Heritage.* But ſome will object, that this overthrows all Church-diſcipline, all Cenſure of Errors, if no Man can determin. My Anſwer is, that what they hear is plain Scripture, which forbids not Church-ſentence or determining, but as it ends in violence upon the Conſcience unconvinc'd. Let whoſo will interpret or determin, ſo it be according to true Church-diſcipline, which is exercis'd on them only who have willingly join'd themſelves in that Cov'nant of Union, and proceeds only to a ſeparation from the reſt, proceeds never to any corporal inforcement or forfeiture of Money, which in ſpiritual things are the two Arms of Antichriſt, not of the true Church; the one being an Inquiſition, the other no better than a temporal indulgence of Sin for Money, whether by the Church exacted or by the Magiſtrate; both the one and the other a temporal Satisfaction for what Chriſt hath ſatisfied eternally; a popiſh commuting of Penalty, corporal for ſpiritual; a ſatisfaction to Man, eſpecially to the Magiſtrate, for what and to whom we owe none: theſe and more are the Injuſtices of force and fining in Religion, beſides what I moſt inſiſt on, the violation of God's expreſs Commandment in the Goſpel, as hath bin ſhewn. Thus then if Church-Governors cannot uſe Force in Religion, though but for this reaſon, becauſe they cannot infallibly determin to the Conſcience without convincement, much leſs have Civil Magiſtrates autority to uſe Force where they can much leſs judg, unleſs they mean only to be the civil Executioners of them who have no Civil Power to give them ſuch Commiſſion, no nor yet Eccleſiaſtical to any force or violence in Religion. To ſum up all in brief, if we muſt believe as the Magiſtrate appoints, why not rather as the Church? If not as either without Convincement, how can Force be lawful? But ſome are ready to cry out, what ſhall then be done to Blaſphemy? Them I would firſt exhort not thus to terrify and poſe the People with a Greek word; but to teach them better what it is, being a moſt uſual and common word in that Language to ſignifie any ſlander, any malicious or evil ſpeaking, whether againſt God or Man, or any thing to good belonging: Blaſphemy or evil ſpeaking againſt God maliciouſly, is far from Conſcience in Religion, according to that of *Mar.* 9. 39. *There is none who doth a powerful work in my name, and can likely ſpeak evil of me.* If this ſuffice not, I refer them to that prudent and well-deliberated Act, *Auguſt* 9. 1650. wher the Parlament defines Blaſphemy againſt God, as far as it is a Crime belonging to civil Judicature, *plenius ac melius Chryſippo & Crantore*; in plain Engliſh, more warily, more judiciouſly, more orthodoxally than twice their number of Divines have don in many a prolix Volume: although in all likelihood they whoſe whole ſtudy and profeſſion theſe things are, ſhould be moſt intelligent and authentic therin, as they are for the moſt part, yet neither they nor theſe unerring always, or infallible. But we ſhall not carry it thus; another Greek Apparition ſtands in our way, *Hereſie* and *Heretic*; in like manner alſo rail'd at to the People as in a Tongue unknown. They ſhould firſt interpret to them, that Hereſie, by what it ſignifies in that Language, is no word of evil note, meaning only the choiſe or following of any opinion good or bad in Religion or any other Learning: and thus not only in Heathen Authors, but in the New Teſtament it ſelf without cenſure or blame; Acts 15. 5. *Certain of the Hereſy of the Phariſes which believ'd*; and 26. 5. *After the exacteſt Hereſy of our Religion I liv'd a Phariſe.* In which ſenſe Presbyterian or Independent may without reproach be call'd a Hereſy. Where it is mention'd with blame, it ſeems to differ little from Schiſm; 1 *Cor.* 11. 18, 19. *I hear that there be Schiſms among you*, &c. *for there muſt alſo Hereſies be among you*, &c. Though ſome who write of Hereſy after thir own Heads, would make it far worſe than Schiſm; when as on the contrary, Schiſm ſignifies diviſion, and in the worſt ſenſe; Hereſy, choiſe only of one Opinion before another, which may be without Diſcord. In Apoſtolic times therfore, ere the Scripture was written, Hereſy was a Doctrin maintain'd againſt the Doctrin by them deliver'd; which in theſe times can be no otherwiſe defin'd than a Doctrin maintain'd againſt the Light, which we now only have of the Scripture. Seeing therefore that no Man, no Synod, no Seſſion of men, though call'd the Church, can judg definitively the ſenſe of Scripture to another mans Conſcience, which is well known to be a general maxim of the Proteſtant Religion; it follows plainly, that he who holds in Religion that belief, or thoſe opinions which to his Conſcience and utmoſt underſtanding appear with moſt evidence or probability in the Scripture, though to others he ſeem erroneous, can no more be juſtly cenſur'd for a Heretic than his cenſurers; who do but the ſame thing themſelves while they cenſure him for ſo doing. For ask them, or any Proteſtant, which hath moſt Autority, the Church or the Scripture? They will anſwer, doubtleſs, that the Scripture: and what hath moſt Autority, that no doubt but they will confeſs is to be follow'd. He then who to his beſt apprehenſion follows the Scripture, though againſt any point of Doctrine by the whole Church receiv'd, is not the Heretic; but he who follows the Church againſt his Conſcience and Perſwaſion grounded on the Scripture. To make this yet more undeniable, I ſhall only borrow a plain ſimily, the ſame which our own Writers, when they would demonſtrate plaineſt, that we rightly prefer the Scripture before the Church, uſe frequently againſt the Papiſt in this manner. As the Samaritans believ'd Chriſt, firſt for the Woman's Word, but next and much rather for his own, ſo we the Scripture: firſt on the Churches Word, but afterwards and much more for its own, as the Word of God; yea the Church it ſelf we believe then for the Scripture. The inference of it ſelf follows: if by the Proteſtant Doctrine we believe the Scripture, not for the Churches ſaying, but for its own as the Word of God, then ought we to believe what in our Conſcience we apprehend the Scripture to ſay, tho the Viſible Church, with all her Doctors gainſay: and being taught to believe them only for the Scripture, they who ſo do are not Heretics, but the beſt Proteſtants: and by thir opinions, whatever they be, can hurt no Proteſtant, whoſe Rule is not to receive them but from the Scripture; which to interpret convincingly to his own Conſcience, none is able but himſelf guided by the Holy Spirit; and not ſo guided, none than he to himſelf can be a worſe Deceiver. To Proteſtants therfore whoſe common Rule and Touchſtone is the Scripture, nothing can with more Conſcience, more Equity, nothing more Proteſtantly can be permitted, than a free and lawful Debate at all times by Writing, Conference, or diſputation of what Opinion ſoever, diſputable by Scripture: concluding, that no man in Religion is properly a Heretic at this day, but he who maintains Traditions or Opinions not probable by Scripture, who, for ought I know, is the Papiſt only; he the only Heretic, who counts all Heretics but himſelf. Such as theſe, indeed, were capitally puniſh'd by the Law of *Moſes*, as the only true Heretics, Idolaters, plain and open deſerters of God and his known Law: but in the Goſpel ſuch are puniſhd by Excommunion only. Tit. 3. 10. *An Heretic, after the firſt and ſecond Admonition, reject.* But they who think not this heavy enough, and underſtand not that dreadful aw and ſpiritual Efficacy which the Apoſtle hath expreſs'd ſo highly to be in Church-diſciplin, 2 *Cor.* 10. of which anon, and think weakly that the Church of God cannot long ſubſiſt but in a bodily fear, for want of other proof will needs wreſt that place of S. *Paul*, *Rom.* 13. to ſet up civil Inquiſition, and give Power to the Magiſtrate both of civil Judgment, and puniſhment in cauſes Eccleſiaſtical. But let us ſee with what

ſtrength

ſtrength of Argument; *Let every Soul be ſubject to the higher Powers.* Firſt, how prove they that the Apoſtle means other Powers than ſuch as they to whom he writes were then under; who medl'd not at all in Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes, unleſs as Tyrants and Perſecuters? And from them, I hope, they will not derive either the right of Magiſtrates to judg in Spiritual things, or the duty of ſuch our Obedience. How prove they next, that he intitles them here to ſpiritual Cauſes, from whom he withheld, as much as in him lay, the judging of Civil? 1 *Cor.* 6. 1, &c. If he himſelf appeal'd to *Ceſar*, it was to judg his Innocence, not his Religion. *For Rulers are not a Terror to good Works, but to the evil:* then are they not a terror to Conſcience, which is the rule or judg of good Works grounded on the Scripture. But Hereſy, they ſay, is reckn'd among evil Works, *Gal.* 5. 20. as if all evil Works were to be puniſh'd by the Magiſtrate; whereof this place, thir own Citation, reck'ns up beſides Hereſy a ſufficient number to confute them, *Uncleanneſs*, *Wantonneſs*, *Enmity*, *Strife*, *Emulations*, *Animoſities*, *Contentions*, *Envyings*; all which are far more *manifeſt* to be judg'd by him than Hereſy, as they define it; and yet I ſuppoſe they will not ſubject theſe evil Works, nor many more ſuch like to his cognizance and Puniſhment. *Wilt thou then not be afraid of the Power? Do that which is good, and thou ſhalt have praiſe of the ſame.* This ſhews that Religious matters are not here meant; wherin, from the Power here ſpoken of, they could have no praiſe: *For he is the Miniſter of God to thee for good:* True; but in that Office, and to that end, and by thoſe means which in this place muſt be clearly found, if from this place they intend to argue. And how, for thy good by forcing, oppreſſing, and inſnaring thy Conſcience? Many are the Miniſters of God, and thir Offices no leſs different than many; none more different than State and Church-Government. Who ſeeks to govern both, muſt needs be worſe than any Lord Prelat, or Church-pluraliſt; for he in his own Faculty and Profeſſion, the other not in his own, and for the moſt part not throughly underſtood, makes himſelf ſupream Lord or Pope of the Church, as far as his Civil Juriſdiction ſtretches; and all the Miniſters of God therin, his Miniſters, or his Curates rather in the Function only, not in the Government; while he himſelf aſſumes to rule by Civil Power things to be rul'd only by Spiritual: when as this very Chapter *Ver.* 6. appointing him his peculiar Office, which requires utmoſt attendance, forbids him this worſe than Church-plurality from that full and weighty Charge, wherin alone he is *the Miniſter of God, attending continually on this very thing.* To little purpoſe will they here inſtance *Moſes*, who did all by immediate Divine direction; no nor yet *Aſa*, *Jehoſaphat*, or *Joſia*, who both might when they pleas'd, receive anſwer from God, and had a Commonwealth by him deliver'd them, incorporated with a National Church, exercis'd more in bodily, than in ſpiritual Worſhip; ſo as that the Church might be call'd a Commonwealth, and the whole Commonwealth a Church: nothing of which can be ſaid of Chriſtianity, deliver'd without the help of Magiſtrates, yea in the midſt of thir oppoſition; how little then with any reference to them, or mention of them, ſave only of our Obedience to thir Civil Laws, as they countenance Good, and deter Evil? which is the proper work of the Magiſtrate, following in the ſame Verſe, and ſhews diſtinctly wherin he is the Miniſter of God, *a revenger to execute Wrath on him that doth evil.* But we muſt firſt know who it is that doth Evil; the Heretic they ſay among the firſt. Let it be known then certainly who is a Heretic; and that he who holds opinions in Religion profeſſedly from Tradition, or his own Inventions, and not from Scripture, but rather againſt it, is the only Heretic; and yet though ſuch, not always puniſhable by the Magiſtrate, unleſs he do evil againſt a Civil Law, properly ſo call'd, hath been already prov'd without need of Repetition; *But if thou do that which is evil, be afraid.* To do by Scripture and the Goſpel, according to Conſcience, is not to do evil; if we therof ought not to be afraid, he ought not by his judging to give cauſe: cauſes therfore of Religion are not here meant; *For he beareth not the Sword in vain.* Yes altogether in vain, if it ſmite he knows not what; if that for Hereſy which not the Church it ſelf, much leſs he can determin abſolutely to be ſo; if Truth for Error, being himſelf ſo often fallible, he bears the Sword not in vain only, but unjuſtly and to evil. *Be ſubject not only for wrath, but for Conſcience ſake:* How for Conſcience ſake, againſt Conſcience? By all theſe reaſons it appears planely that the Apoſtle in this place gives no Judgment or coercive Power to Magiſtrates, neither to thoſe then, nor theſe now, in matters of Religion; and exhorts us no otherwiſe than he exhorted thoſe *Romans*. It hath now twice befaln me to aſſert, through God's Aſſiſtance, this moſt wreſted and vexd Place of Scripture; heretofore againſt *Salmaſius*, and regal Tyrany over the State; now againſt *Eraſtus*, and State-tyrany over the Church. If from ſuch uncertain, or rather ſuch improbable Grounds as theſe, they endue Magiſtracy with ſpiritual Judgment, they may as well inveſt him in the ſame ſpiritual kind with power of utmoſt Puniſhment, Excommunication; and then turn Spiritual into Corporal, as no worſe Authors did then *Chryſoſtom*, *Jerom*, and *Auſtin*, whom *Eraſmus* and others in thir notes on the New Teſtament have cited to interpret, that *cutting off* which S. *Paul* wiſh'd to them who had brought back the *Galatians* to Circumciſion, no leſs then the amercement of thir whole Virility: and *Grotius* adds, that this conciſing puniſhment of Circumciſers, became a Penal Law therupon among the *Viſigothes*: a dangerous example of beginning in the Spirit to end ſo in the Fleſh; wheras that cutting off much likelier ſeems meant a cutting off from the Church, not unuſually ſo term'd in Scripture, and a zealous imprecation, not a command. But I have mention'd this Paſſage, to ſhew how abſurd they often prove, who have not learn'd to diſtinguiſh rightly between Civil Power and Eccleſiaſtical. How many Perſecutions then, Impriſonments, Baniſhments, Penalties, and Stripes; how much bloodſhed have the forcers of Conſcience to anſwer for, and Proteſtants rather than Papiſts! For the Papiſt, judging by his Principles, puniſhes them who believe not as the Church believes, though againſt the Scripture: but the Proteſtant, teaching every one to believe the Scripture, though againſt the Church, counts Heretical, and perſecutes againſt his own Principles, them who in any particular ſo believe as he in general teaches them; them who moſt honour and believe divine Scripture, but not againſt it any human Interpretation though univerſal; them who interpret Scripture only to themſelves, which by his own poſition, none but they to themſelves can interpret: them who uſe the Scripture no otherwiſe by his own Doctrine to thir Edification, than he himſelf uſes it to thir puniſhing; and ſo whom his Doctrine acknowledges a true Believer, his Diſcipline perſecutes as a Heretic. The Papiſt exacts our belief as to the Church due above Scripture; and by the Church, which is the whole People of God, underſtands the Pope, the general Councils, prelatical only, and the ſurnam'd Fathers: but the forcing Proteſtant, though he deny ſuch belief to any Church whatſoever, yet takes it to himſelf and his Teachers, of far leſs Autority than to be call'd the Church, and above Scripture believ'd; which renders his practice both contrary to his belief, and far worſe than that Belief which he condemns in the Papiſt. By all which well conſider'd, the more he profeſſes to be a true Proteſtant, the more he hath to anſwer for his perſecuting than a Papiſt. No Proteſtant therfore, of what Sect ſoever, following Scripture only, which is the common Sect wherin they all agree, and the granted rule of every mans Conſcience to himſelf, ought, by the common Doctrine of Proteſtants, to be forc'd or moleſted for Religion. But as for Popery and Idolatry, why they alſo may not hence plead to be tolerated, I have much leſs to ſay. Thir Religion the more conſider'd, the leſs can be acknowledg'd a Religion; but a Roman Principality rather, endeavouring to keep up her old univerſal Dominion under a new name, and meer ſhadow of a Catholick Religion; being indeed more rightly nam'd a Catholick Hereſy againſt the Scripture, ſupported mainly by a Civil, and, except in *Rome*, by a forein Power: juſtly therefore to be ſuſpected, not tolerated by the Magiſtrate of another Country. Beſides, of an implicit Faith which they profeſs, the Conſcience alſo becomes implicit, and ſo by voluntary ſervitude to mans Law, forfeits her Chriſtian Liberty. Who then can plead for ſuch a Conſcience, as being implicitly enthrald to man inſtead of God, almoſt becoms no Conſcience, as the Will not free, becoms no Will? Nevertheleſs if they ought not to be tolerated, it is for juſt reaſon of State, more than of Religion; which they who force, though profeſſing to be Proteſtants, deſerve as little to be tolerated themſelves, being no leſs guilty of Popery, in the moſt Popiſh Point. Laſtly, for Idolatry, who knows it not to be evidently againſt all Scripture, both of the Old and New Teſtament, and therfore a true Hereſy, or rather an Impiety, wherein a right Conſcience can have naught to do; and the Works therof ſo manifeſt, that a Magiſtrate can hardly err in prohibiting and quite removing at leaſt the publick and ſcandalous Uſe therof?

From the riddance of theſe Objections, I proceed yet to another Reaſon why it is unlawful for the Civil Magiſtrate to uſe Force in Matters of Religion; which is, becauſe to judg in thoſe things, though we ſhould grant him able, which is prov'd he is not, yet as a Civil Magiſtrate he hath no right. Chriſt hath a Government of his own, ſufficient of it ſelf to all his Ends and Purpoſes in governing his Church, but much different from that of the Civil Magiſtrate; and the difference in this very thing principally conſiſts, that it governs not by outward Force; and that for two Reaſons. Firſt, Becauſe it deals only with the inward Man and his Actions, which are all Spiritual, and to outward Force not liable. 2ly, To ſhew us the Divine Excellence of his Spiritual Kingdom, able, without worldly Force, to ſubdue all the Powers and Kingdoms of this World, which are upheld by outward Force only. That the inward Man is nothing els but the inward part of Man, his Underſtanding and his Will; and that his Actions thence proceeding, yet not ſimply thence, but from the Work of Divine Grace upon them, are the whole Matter of Religion under the Goſpel, will appear plainly by conſidering what that Religion is; whence we ſhall perceive yet more plainly that it cannot be forc'd. What Evangelic Religion is, is told in two words, *Faith* and *Charity*, or *Belief* and *Practice*. That both theſe flow, either the one from the Underſtanding, the other from the Will, or both jointly from both; once indeed naturally free, but now only as they are regenerate and wrought on by Divine Grace, is in part evident to common Senſe and Principles unqueſtioned, the reſt by Scripture: Concerning our Belief, *Mat.* 16. 17. *Fleſh and Blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is in Heaven.* Concerning our practice, as it is religious, and not meerly civil, *Gal.* 5. 22, 23. and other places, declare it to be the Fruit of the Spirit only. Nay, our whole practical Duty in Religion is contain'd in Charity, or the Love of God and our Neighbour, no way to be forc'd, yet the fulfilling of the whole Law; that is to ſay, our whole practice in Religion. If then both our Belief and Practice, which comprehend our whole Religion, flow from Faculties of the inward Man, free and unconſtrainable of themſelves by Nature, and our Practice not only from Faculties endu'd with freedom, but from Love and Charity beſides, incapable of Force, and all theſe things by Tranſgreſſion loſt, but renewed and regenerated in us by the Power and Gift of God alone; how can ſuch Religion as this admit of Force from Man, or Force be any way appli'd to ſuch Religion, eſpecially under the free Offer of Grace in the Goſpel, but it muſt forthwith fruſtrate and make of no effect, both the Religion and the Goſpel? And that to compel outward Profeſſion, which they will ſay perhaps ought to be compell'd, though inward Religion cannot, is to compel Hypocriſy, not to advance Religion, ſhall yet, though of it ſelf clear enough, be ere the concluſion further manifeſt. The other reaſon why Chriſt rejects outward Force in the Government of his Church, is, as I ſaid before, to ſhew us the Divine Excellence of his Spiritual Kingdom, able without worldly Force to ſubdue all the Powers and Kingdoms of this World, which are upheld by outward Force only: By which to uphold Religion otherwiſe than to defend the Religious from outward Violence, is no Service to Chriſt or his Kingdom, but rather a Diſparagement, and degrades it from a Divine and Spiritual Kingdom, to a Kingdom of this World: which he denies it to be, becauſe it needs not Force to confirm it: Joh. 18. 36. *If my Kingdom were of this World, then would my Servants fight, that I ſhould not be deliver'd to the Jews.* This proves the Kingdom of Chriſt not govern'd by outward Force, as being none of this World, whoſe Kingdoms are maintain'd all by Force only: and yet diſproves not that a Chriſtian Commonwealth may defend it ſelf againſt outward Force, in the Cauſe of Religion as well as in any other; though Chriſt himſelf coming purpoſely to die for us, would not be ſo defended. 1 Cor. 1. 27. *God hath choſen the weak things of the World, to confound the things which are mighty.* Then ſurely he hath not choſen the Force of this World to ſubdue Conſcience, and conſcientious Men, who in this World are counted weakeſt; but rather Conſcience, as being weakeſt, to ſubdue and regulate Force, his Adverſary, not his Aid or Inſtrument in governing the Church: 2 Cor. 10. 3, 4, 5, 6. *For though we walk in the Fleſh, we do not war after the Fleſh: For the Weapons of our Warfare are not carnal, but mighty through God to the pulling down of ſtrong holds, caſting down Imaginations, and every high thing that exalts it ſelf againſt the knowledg of God, and bringing into captivity every thought to the obedience of Chriſt: And having in a readineſs to avenge all diſobedience.* It is evident by the firſt and ſecond Verſes of this Chapter, that the Apoſtle here ſpeaks of that Spiritual Power by which Chriſt governs his Church, how allſufficient it is, how powerful to reach the Conſcience, and the inward Man with whom it chiefly deals, and whom no Power els can deal with. In compariſon of which, as it is here thus magnificently deſcrib'd, how uneffectual and weak is outward Force with all her boiſtrous Tools, to the ſhame of thoſe Chriſtians, and eſpecially thoſe Churchmen, who to the exerciſing of Church Diſcipline, never ceaſe calling on the Civil Magiſtrate to interpoſe his fleſhly Force? an Argument that all true miniſterial and ſpiritual Power is dead within them; who think the Goſpel, which both began and ſpread over the whole World for above three hundred Years, under heathen and perſecuting Emperors, cannot ſtand or continue, ſupported by the ſame Divine Preſence and Protection, to the World's end, much eaſier under the defenſive Favour only of a Chriſtian Magiſtrate, unleſs it be enacted and ſettled, as they call it, by the State, a Statute or a State-Religion; and underſtand not that the Church it ſelf cannot, much leſs the State, ſettle or impoſe one tittle of Religion upon our Obedience implicit, but can only recommend or propound it to our free and conſcientious examination: unleſs they mean to ſet the State higher than the Church in Religion, and with a groſs Contradiction give to the State in their ſettling Petition, that command of our implicit Belief, which they deny in their ſettled Confeſſion, both to the State and to the Church. Let them ceaſe then to importune and interrupt the Magiſtrate from attending to his own Charge in Civil and Moral things, the ſettling of things Juſt, things Honeſt, the defence of things Religious, ſettled by the Churches within themſelves; and the repreſſing of their Contraries determinable by the common Light of Nature; which is not to conſtrain or to repreſs Religion, probable by Scripture, but the Violaters and Perſecutors therof: Of all which things he hath anough and more than anough to do, left yet undon; for which the Land groans, and Juſtice goes to wrack the while. Let him alſo forbear Force wher he hath no right to judg, for the Conſcience is not his Province, leſt a worſe *Woe* arrive him, for worſe offending than was denounc'd by our Saviour, *Matth.* 23. 23. againſt the Phariſees: Ye have forc'd the Conſcience, which was not to be forc'd; but Judgment and Mercy ye have not executed; this ye ſhould have done, and the other let alone. And ſince it is the Counſel and ſet Purpoſe of God in the Goſpel, by ſpiritual Means which are counted weak, to overcom all Power which reſiſts him; let them not go about to do that by worldly ſtrength, which he hath decreed to do by thoſe means which the World counts Weakneſs, leſt they be again obnoxious to that Saying which in another place is alſo written of the Phariſees, *Luke* 7. 30. *that they fruſtrated the Counſel of God.* The main Plea is, and urg'd with much vehemence to their imitation, that the Kings of *Juda*, as I touch'd before, and eſpecially *Joſia*, both judg'd and us'd Force in Religion: 2 *Chron.* 34. 33. *He made all that were preſent in Iſrael to ſerve the Lord their God:* an Argument, if it be well weighed, worſe than that us'd by the falſe Prophet *Shemaia* to the High Prieſt, that in imitation of *Jehojada*, he ought to put *Jeremiah* in the Stocks, *Jer.* 29. 24, 26, *&c.* for which he receiv'd his due Denouncement from God. But to this beſides I return a threefold Anſwer: Firſt, That the State of Religion under the Goſpel is far differing from what it was under the Law; then was the State of Rigour, Childhood, Bondage and Works, to all which Force was not unbefitting; now is the State of Grace, Manhood, Freedom and Faith, to all which belongs Willingneſs and Reaſon, not Force: The Law was then written on Tables of Stone, and to be perform'd according to the Letter, willingly or unwillingly; the Goſpel, our New Cov'nant, upon the Heart of every Believer, to be interpreted only by the ſenſe of Charity and inward Perſwaſion: The Law had no diſtinct

Government or Governors of Church and Commonwealth, but the Prieſts and Levites judg'd in all Cauſes, not Eccleſiaſtical only, but Civil, *Deut.* 17. 8, *&c.* which under the Goſpel is forbidden to all Church-Miniſters, as a thing which Chriſt their Maſter in his Miniſtry diſclaim'd, *Luke* 12. 14. as a thing beneath them, 1 *Cor.* 6. 4. and by many of our Statutes, as to them who have a peculiar and far differing Government of thir own. If not, why different the Governours? why not Church-miniſters in State-affairs, as well as State-miniſters in Church-affairs? If Church and State ſhall be made one Fleſh again as under the Law, let it be withal conſider'd, that God who then join'd them, hath now ſever'd them; that which, he ſo ordaining, was then a lawful Conjunction, to ſuch on either ſide as join again what he hath ſever'd, would be nothing now but thir own preſumptuous Fornication. Secondly, The Kings of *Juda*, and thoſe Magiſtrates under the Law might have recours, as I ſaid before, to divine Inſpiration; which our Magiſtrates under the Goſpel have not, more than to the ſame Spirit, which thoſe whom they force have oft-times in greater meaſure than themſelves: and ſo, inſtead of forcing the Chriſtian, they force the Holy Ghoſt; and, againſt that wiſe forewarning of *Gamaliel*, fight againſt God. Thirdly, Thoſe Kings and Magiſtrates us'd Force in ſuch things only as were undoubtedly known and forbidden in the Law of *Moſes*, Idolatry and direct Apoſtacy from that national and ſtrict enjoin'd Worſhip of God; wherof the corporal Puniſhment was by himſelf expreſly ſet down: But Magiſtrates under the Goſpel, our free, elective and rational Worſhip, are moſt commonly buſieſt to force thoſe things which in the Goſpel are either left free, nay ſomtimes aboliſh'd when by them compell'd, or els controverted equally by Writers on both ſides, and ſomtimes with odds on that ſide which is againſt them. By which means they either puniſh that which they ought to favour and protect, or that with corporal Puniſhment, and of thir own inventing, which not they but the Church hath receiv'd command to chaſtiſe with a ſpiritual Rod only. Yet ſome are ſo eager in thir Zeal of Forcing, that they refuſe not to deſcend at length to the utmoſt ſhift of that parabolical Proof, *Luke* 14. 16, &c. *Compel them to come in:* Therfore Magiſtrates may compel in Religion. As if a Parable were to be ſtrain'd through every Word or Phraſe, and not expounded by the general ſcope therof; which is no other here than the earneſt expreſſion of God's Diſpleaſure on thoſe Recuſant Jews, and his purpoſe to prefer the Gentiles on any terms before them; expreſs'd here by the word *Compel.* But how compels he? doubtleſs no otherwiſe than he draws, without which no Man can come to him, *John* 6. 44. and that is by the inward perſwaſive Motions of his Spirit, and by his Miniſters; not by the outward compulſions of a Magiſtrate or his Officers. The true People of Chriſt, as is foretold *Pſal.* 110. 3. *are a willing People in the day of his Power*; then much more now when he rules all things by outward weakneſs, that both his inward Power and thir Sincerity may the more appear. *God loveth a chearful Giver:* then certainly is not pleas'd with an unchearful Worſhipper; as the very words declare of his Evangelical Invitations, *Eſa.* 55. 1. *Ho, every one that thirſteth, come.* John 7. 37. *If any Man thirſt.* Rev. 3. 18. *I counſel thee.* And 22. 17. *Whoſoever will, let him take the Water of Life freely.* And in that grand Commiſſion of Preaching, to invite all Nations, *Mark* 16. 16. as the Reward of them who come, ſo the Penalty of them who come not, is only Spiritual. But they bring now ſome Reaſon with thir Force, which muſt not paſs unanſwer'd, that the Church of *Thyatira* was blam'd, *Rev.* 2. 20. for ſuffering the falſe *Propheteſs to teach and to ſeduce.* I anſwer, That Seducement is to be hinder'd by fit and proper means ordain'd in Church-diſcipline, by inſtant and powerful Demonſtration to the contrary; by oppoſing Truth to Error, no unequal match; Truth the ſtrong, to Error the weak, though ſlie and ſhifting. Force is no honeſt Confutation, but uneffectual, and for the moſt part unſucceſsful, oft-times fatal to them who uſe it: Sound Doctrine, diligently and duly taught, is of her ſelf both ſufficient, and of her ſelf (if ſome ſecret Judgment of God hinder not) always prevalent againſt Seducers. This the *Thyatirians* had neglected, ſuffering, againſt Church-diſcipline, that Woman to teach and ſeduce among them: Civil Force they had not then in thir Power, being the Chriſtian part only of that City, and then eſpecially under one of thoſe ten great Perſecutions, whereof this the ſecond was raiſ'd by *Domitian:* Force therfore in theſe Matters could not be requir'd of them, who were then under Force themſelves.

I have ſhewn that the Civil Power hath neither Right, nor can do right, by forcing religious things: I will now ſhew the wrong it doth, by violating the fundamental Privilege of the Goſpel, the new birth-right of every true Beleever, Chriſtian Liberty: 2 *Cor.* 3. 17. *Where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is Liberty.* Gal. 4. 26. Jeruſalem, *which is above, is free; which is the Mother of us all.* And *v.* 31. *We are not Children of the Bond-woman, but of the free.* It will be ſufficient in this place to ſay no more of Chriſtian Liberty, than that it ſets us free not only from the Bondage of thoſe Ceremonies, but alſo from the forcible impoſition of thoſe Circumſtances, Place and Time, in the Worſhip of God: which though by him commanded in the old Law, yet in reſpect of that Verity and Freedom which is Evangelical, St. *Paul* comprehends both kinds alike, that is to ſay, both Ceremony and Circumſtance, under one and the ſame contemptuous name of *weak and beggarly Rudiments,* Gal. 4. 3, 9, 10. *Col.* 2. 8, with 16. conformable to what our Saviour himſelf taught, *John* 4. 21, 23. *Neither in this Mountain, nor yet at* Jeruſalem. *In Spirit and in Truth; for the Father ſeeketh ſuch to worſhip him:* that is to ſay, not only ſincere of Heart, for ſuch he ſought ever; but alſo, as the words here chiefly import, not compell'd to Place, and by the ſame reaſon, not to any ſet time; as his Apoſtle by the ſame Spirit hath taught us, *Rom.* 14. 6, &c. *One Man eſteemeth one day above another, another,* &c. Gal. 4. 10. *Ye obſerve Days, and Months,* &c. *Col.* 2. 16. Theſe and other ſuch places of Scripture the beſt and learnedeſt reformed Writers have thought evident anough to inſtruct us in our Freedom, not only from Ceremonies, but from thoſe Circumſtances alſo, though impos'd with a confident Perſwaſion of Morality in them, which they hold impoſſible to be in place or time. By what warrant then our Opinions and Practices herin are of late turn'd quite againſt all other Proteſtants, and that which is to them Orthodoxal, to us become ſcandalous and puniſhable by Statute, I wiſh were once again better conſider'd; if we mean not to proclame a Schiſm in this point from the beſt and moſt reformed Churches abroad. They who would ſeem more knowing, confeſs that theſe things are indifferent, but for that very cauſe by the Magiſtrate may be commanded. As if God of his ſpecial Grace in the Goſpel had to this end freed us from his own Commandments in theſe things, that our Freedom ſhould ſubject us to a more greevous Yoke, the Commandments of Men. As well may the Magiſtrate call that common or unclean which God hath cleans'd, forbidden to St. *Peter,* Acts 10. 15. as well may he loos'n that which God hath ſtrait'nd, or ſtrait'n that which God hath loos'nd, as he may injoin thoſe things in Religion which God hath left free, and lay on that Yoke which God hath taken off. For he hath not only given us this Gift as a ſpecial Privilege and Excellence of the free Goſpel above the ſervile Law, but ſtrictly alſo hath commanded us to keep it and enjoy it. Gal. 5. 13. *You are call'd to Liberty.* 1 Cor. 7. 23. *Be not made the Servants of Men.* Gal. 5. 14. *Stand faſt therfore in the Liberty wherwith Chriſt hath made us free; and be not intangl'd again with the Yoke of Bondage.* Neither is this a meer Command, but for the moſt part in theſe forecited places accompanied with the very waightieſt and inmoſt Reaſons of Chriſtian Religion: *Rom.* 14. 9, 10. *For to this end Chriſt both dy'd, and roſe, and reviv'd, that he might be Lord both of the dead and living. But why doſt thou judg thy Brother?* &c. How preſum'ſt thou to be his Lord, to be whoſe only Lord, at leaſt in theſe things, Chriſt both dy'd, and roſe, and liv'd again? *We ſhall all ſtand before the Judgment-ſeat of Chriſt.* Why then doſt thou not only judg, but perſecute in theſe things for which we are to be accountable to the Tribunal of Chriſt only, our Lord and Law-giver? 1 Cor. 7. 23. *Ye are bought with a price; be not made the Servants of Men.* Some trivial price belike, and for ſome frivolous pretences paid in thir opinion, if bought and by him redeem'd who is God from what was once the Service of God, we ſhall be enthral'd again, and forc'd by Men to what now is but the Service of Men. *Gal.* 4. 31. with 5. 1. *We are not Children of the Bond-woman,* &c. *ſtand faſt therefore,* &c. Col. 2. 8. *Beware leſt any Man ſpoil you,* &c. *after the Rudiments of the World, and not after Chriſt.* Solid Reaſons whereof are continu'd through the whole

Chapter. *Ver.* 10. *Ye are complete in him, which is the head of all Principality and Power:* Not completed therfore or made the more religious by thoſe Ordinances of Civil Power, from which Chriſt thir Head hath diſcharged us; *blotting out the hand-writing of Ordinances that was againſt us, which was contrary to us; and took it out of the way, nailing it to his Croſs,* ver. 14. blotting out Ordinances written by God himſelf, much more thoſe ſo boldly written over again by Men: Ordinances which were againſt us, that is, againſt our Frailty, much more thoſe which are againſt our Conſcience. *Let no Man therfore judg you in reſpect of,* &c. *v.* 16. Gal. 4. 3, *&c. Even ſo we, when we were Children, were in bondage under the Rudiments of the World: But when the fulneſs of Time was come, God ſent forth his Son,* &c. *to redeem them that were under the Law, that we might receive the Adoption of Sons,* &c. *Wherfore thou art no more a Servant, but a Son,* &c. *But now,* &c. *how turn ye again to the weak and beggarly Rudiments, wherunto ye deſire again to be in bondage? Ye obſerve days,* &c. Hence it planely appeers, that if we be not free we are not Sons, but ſtill Servants unadopted; and if we turn again to thoſe weak and beggarly Rudiments, we are not free; yea though willingly, and with a miſguided Conſcience, we deſire to be in bondage to them; how much more then if unwillingly and againſt our Conſcience? Ill was our Condition chang'd from Legal to Evangelical, and ſmall Advantage gotten by the Goſpel, if for the Spirit of Adoption to Freedom promis'd us, we receive again the Spirit of Bondage to Fear; if our Fear, which was then ſervile towards God only, muſt be now ſervile in Religion towards Men: Strange alſo and prepoſterous Fear, if when and wherin it hath attain'd by the Redemption of our Saviour to be filial only towards God, it muſt be now ſervile towards the Magiſtrate. Who by ſubjecting us to his Puniſhment in theſe things, brings back into Religion that Law of Terror and Satisfaction belonging now only to civil Crimes; and therby in effect aboliſhes the Goſpel by eſtabliſhing again the Law to a far worſe Yoke of Servitude upon us then before. It will therefore not miſbecome the meaneſt Chriſtian to put in mind Chriſtian Magiſtrates, and ſo much the more freely by how much the more they deſire to be thought Chriſtian, (for they will be therby, as they ought to be in theſe things, the more our Brethren and the leſs our Lords) that they meddle not raſhly with Chriſtian Liberty, the Birthright and outward Teſtimony of our Adoption: leſt while they little think it, nay think they do God Service, they themſelves, like the Sons of that Bond-woman, be found perſecuting them who are free-born of the Spirit; and by a Sacrilege of not the leaſt aggravation, bereaving them of that ſacred Liberty which our Saviour with his own Blood purchas'd for them.

A fourth Reaſon why the Magiſtrate ought not to uſe Force in Religion, I bring from the Conſideration of all thoſe ends which he can likely pretend to the interpoſing of his Force therin: and thoſe hardly can be other than firſt the Glory of God; next either the ſpiritual Good of them whom he forces, or the temporal Puniſhment of thir Scandal to others. As for the promoting of God's Glory, none, I think, will ſay that his Glory ought to be promoted in religious things by unwarrantable means, much leſs by means contrary to what he hath commanded. That outward Force is ſuch, and that God's Glory in the whole Adminiſtration of the Goſpel according to his own Will and Counſel ought to be fulfill'd by Weakneſs, at leaſt ſo refuted, not by Force; or if by Force inward and ſpiritual, not outward and corporeal, is already prov'd at large. That outward Force cannot tend to the Good of him who is forc'd in Religion, is unqueſtionable. For in Religion, whatever we do under the Goſpel, we ought to be therof perſwaded without ſcruple; and are juſtified by the Faith we have, not by the Work we do: *Rom.* 14. 5. *Let every Man be fully perſwaded in his own Mind.* The other Reaſon which follows neceſſarily is obvious, *Gal.* 2. 16. and in many other places of St. *Paul*, as the Ground-work and Foundation of the whole Goſpel, that we are *juſtified by the Faith of Chriſt, and not by the Works of the Law.* If not by the Works of God's Law, how then by the Injunctions of Man's Law? Surely Force cannot work Perſwaſion, which is Faith; cannot therfore juſtify nor pacify the Conſcience; and that which juſtifies not in the Goſpel, condemns; is not only not good, but ſinful to do: *Rom.* 14. 23. *Whatſoever is not of Faith is Sin.* It concerns the Magiſtrate then to take heed how he forces in Religion conſcientious Men: leſt by compelling them to do that wherof they cannot be perſwaded, that wherin they cannot find themſelves juſtified, but by thir own Conſciences condemn'd, inſtead of aiming at their ſpiritual Good, he force them to do Evil; and while he thinks himſelf *Aſa*, *Joſia*, *Nehemiah*, he be found *Jeroboam*, who caus'd *Iſrael* to ſin; and therby draw upon his own head all thoſe Sins and Shipwracks of implicit Faith and Conformity, which he hath forc'd, and all the Wounds given to thoſe *little ones*, whom to offend he will find worſe one day than that violent drowning mentioned *Mat.* 18. 6. Laſtly, as a Preface to force, it is the uſual pretence, That although tender Conſciences ſhall be tolerated, yet Scandals therby given ſhall not be unpuniſh'd, prophane and licentious Men ſhall not be encourag'd to neglect the performance of religious and holy Duties by color of any Law giving Liberty to tender Conſciences. By which contrivance the way lies ready open to them herafter who may be ſo minded, to take away by little and little that Liberty which Chriſt and his Goſpel, not any Magiſtrate, hath right to give: though this kind of his giving be but to give with one hand, and take away with the other, which is a deluding, not a giving. As for Scandals, if any Man be offended at the conſcientious Liberty of another, it is a taken Scandal, not a given. To heal one Conſcience we muſt not wound another: and Men muſt be exhorted to beware of Scandals in Chriſtian Liberty, not forc'd by the Magiſtrate; leſt while he goes about to take away the Scandal, which is uncertain whether given or taken, he take away our Liberty, which is the certain and the ſacred Gift of God, neither to be touch'd by him, nor to be parted with by us. None more cautious of giving Scandal than St. *Paul*. Yet while he made himſelf *Servant to all*, that he *might gain the more*, he made himſelf ſo of his own accord, was not made ſo by outward Force, teſtifying at the ſame time that he *was free from all Men*, 1 Cor. 9. 19. and therafter exhorts us alſo, *Gal.* 5. 13. *Ye were call'd to Liberty*, &c. *but by Love ſerve one another:* then not by Force. As for that Fear, leſt prophane and licentious Men ſhould be encourag'd to omit the performance of religious and holy Duties, how can that care belong to the Civil Magiſtrate, eſpecially to his Force? For if prophane and licentious Perſons muſt not neglect the performance of religious and holy Duties, it implies, that ſuch Duties they can perform, which no Proteſtant will affirm. They who mean the outward performance, may ſo explain it; and it will then appeer yet more planely, that ſuch performance of religious and holy Duties, eſpecially by prophane and licentious Perſons, is a diſhonoring rather than a worſhipping of God; and not only by him not requir'd, but deteſted: *Prov.* 21. 27. *The Sacrifice of the wicked is an Abomination; how much more when he bringeth it with a wicked Mind?* To compel therfore the prophane to things holy in his Prophaneneſs, is all one under the Goſpel, as to have compell'd the unclean to ſacrifice in his Uncleanneſs under the Law. And I add withal, that to compel the licentious in his Licentiouſneſs, and the conſcientious againſt his Conſcience, comes all to one; tends not to the Honor of God, but to the multiplying and the aggravating of Sin to them both. We read not that Chriſt ever exercis'd Force but once; and that was to drive prophane ones out of his Temple, not to force them in: and if thir being there was an Offence, we find by many other Scriptures that thir praying there was an Abomination: and yet to the Jewiſh Law that Nation, as a Servant, was oblig'd; but to the Goſpel each Perſon is left voluntary, call'd only, as a Son, by the preaching of the Word; not to be driven in by Edicts and force of Arms. For if by the Apoſtle, *Rom.* 12. 1. we are *beſeech'd* as *Brethren by the Mercies of God* to *preſent* our *Bodies a living Sacrifice*, *holy*, *acceptable to God*, *which is* our *reaſonable Service* or Worſhip, then is no Man to be forc'd by the compulſive Laws of Men to preſent his Body a dead Sacrifice, and ſo under the Goſpel moſt unholy and unacceptable, becauſe it is his unreaſonable Service, that is to ſay, not only unwilling but unconſcionable. But if prophane and licentious Perſons may not omit the performance of holy Duties, why may they not partake of holy things? why are they prohibited the Lord's Supper, ſince both the one and the other Action may be outward; and outward performance of Duty may attain at leaſt an outward participation of Benefit? The Church denying them that Communion of Grace and Thankſgiving, as it juſtly doth, why doth the Magiſtrate compel them to the Union of performing that which they neither truly can, being themſelves unholy, and to do ſeemingly is both hateful to God, and perhaps no leſs dangerous to perform holy Duties irreligiouſly, than to receive holy Signs or Sacraments unworthily? All prophane and licentious Men, ſo known, can be conſider'd but either ſo without the Church as never yet within it, or departed thence of their own Accord, or excommunicate: If never yet within the Church, whom the Apoſtle, and ſo conſequently the Church, have naught to do to judg, as he profeſſes, 1 *Cor.* 5. 12. then by what Autority doth the Magiſtrate judg; or, which is worſe, compel in relation to the Church? If departed of his own Accord, like that loſt Sheep, *Luke* 15. 4, *&c.* the true Church either with her own or any borrow'd Force worries him not in again, but rather in all charitable manner ſends after him; and if ſhe find him, lays him gently on her Shoulders; bears him, yea bears his Burdens, his Errors, his Infirmities any way tolerable; *ſo fulfilling the Law of Chriſt*, Gal. 6. 2. If excommunicate, whom the Church hath bid go out, in whoſe name doth the Magiſtrate compel to go in? The Church indeed hinders none from hearing in her publick Congregation, for the doors are open to all: nor excommunicates to Deſtruction; but, as much as in her lies, to a final ſaving. Her meaning therfore muſt needs be, that as her driving out brings on no outward Penalty, ſo no outward Force or Penalty of an improper and only a deſtructive Power ſhould drive in again her infectious Sheep; therfore ſent out becauſe infectious, and not driven in but with the danger not only of the whole and ſound, but alſo of his own utter periſhing. Since Force neither inſtructs in Religion, nor begets Repentance or Amendment of Life, but on the contrary, Hardneſs of Heart, Formality, Hypocriſie, and, as I ſaid before, every way increaſe of Sin, more and more alienates the Mind from a violent Religion, expelling out and compelling in, and reduces it to a condition like that which the *Britains* complain of in our Story, driven to and fro between the *Picts* and the Sea. If after Excommunion he be found intractable, incurable, and will not hear the Church, he becomes as one never yet within her pale, *a Heathen or a Publican*, Mat. 18. 17. not further to be judg'd, no not by the Magiſtrate, unleſs for civil Cauſes; but left to the final Sentence of that Judg, whoſe coming ſhall be in flames of fire; that *Maran atha*, 1 Cor. 16. 22. than which to him ſo left nothing can be more dreadful, and oft-times to him particularly nothing more ſpeedy, that is to ſay, the Lord cometh: In the mean while deliver'd up to Satan, 1 *Cor.* 5. 5. 1 *Tim.* 1. 20. that is, from the Fold of Chriſt and Kingdom of Grace to the World again, which is the Kingdom of Satan; and as he was receiv'd *from Darkneſs to Light, and from the Power of Satan to God*, Acts 26. 18. ſo now deliver'd up again from Light to Darkneſs, and from God to the Power of Satan; yet ſo as is in both places manifeſted, to the intent of ſaving him, brought ſooner to Contrition by ſpiritual than by any corporeal Severity. But grant it belonging any way to the Magiſtrate, that prophane and licentious Perſons omit not the performance of holy Duties, which in them were odious to God even under the Law, much more now under the Goſpel; yet ought his Care both as a Magiſtrate and a Chriſtian, to be much more that Conſcience be not inwardly violated, than that Licenſe in theſe things be made outwardly conformable: ſince his part is undoubtedly as a Chriſtian, which puts him upon this Office much more than as a Magiſtrate, in all reſpects to have more care of the conſcientious than of the prophane; and not for thir ſakes to take away (while they pretend to give) or to diminiſh the rightful Liberty of religious Conſciences.

On theſe four ſcriptural Reaſons, as on a firm ſquare, this Truth, the Right of Chriſtian and Evangelic Liberty, will ſtand immovable againſt all thoſe pretended Conſequences of Licenſe and Confuſion, which for the moſt part Men moſt licentious and confus'd themſelves, or ſuch as whoſe Severity would be wiſer than Divine Wiſdom, are ever apteſt to object againſt the ways of God: as if God without them, when he gave us this Liberty, knew not of the worſt which theſe Men in their Arrogance pretend will follow: yet knowing all their worſt, he gave us this Liberty as by him judg'd beſt. As to thoſe Magiſtrates who think it thir work to ſettle Religion, and thoſe Miniſters or others, who ſo oft call upon them to do ſo, I truſt, that having well conſider'd what hath been here argu'd, neither they will continue in that intention, nor theſe in that expectation from them: when they ſhall find that the Settlement of Religion belongs only to each particular Church by perſwaſive and ſpiritual means within it ſelf, and that the Defence only of the Church belongs to the Magiſtrate. Had he once learnt not further to concern himſelf with Church-Affairs, half his Labor might be ſpar'd, and the Commonwealth better tended. To which end, that which I premis'd in the beginning, and in due place treated of more at large, I deſire now concluding, that they would conſider ſeriouſly what Religion is: and they will find it to be, in ſum, both our Beleef and our Practice depending upon God only. That there can be no place then left for the Magiſtrate or his Force in the Settlement of Religion, by appointing either what we ſhall beleeve in divine things, or practiſe in religious, (neither of which things are in the power of Man either to perform himſelf, or to enable others) I perſwade me in the Chriſtian Ingenuity of all religious Men, the more they examin ſeriouſly, the more they will find cleerly to be true: and find how falſe and deceivable that common ſaying is, which is ſo much rely'd upon, that the Chriſtian Magiſtrate is *cuſtos utriuſque tabulæ*, Keeper of both Tables, unleſs is meant by Keeper the Defender only: neither can that Maxim be maintain'd by any Proof or Argument which hath not in this Diſcourſe firſt or laſt been refuted. For the two Tables, or ten Commandments, teach our Duty to God and our Neighbour from the Love of both; give Magiſtrates no Autority to force either: they ſeek that from the judicial Law, though on falſe grounds, eſpecially in the firſt Table, as I have ſhewn; and both in firſt and ſecond execute that Autority for the moſt part, not according to God's judicial Laws but thir own. As for civil Crimes, and of the outward Man, which all are not, no not of thoſe againſt the ſecond Table, as that of coveting; in them what Power they have, they had from the beginning, long before *Moſes* or the two Tables were in being. And whether they be not now as little in being to be kept by any Chriſtian as they are two legal Tables, remanes yet as undecided, as it is ſure they never were yet deliver'd to the keeping of any Chriſtian Magiſtrate. But of theſe things perhaps more ſome other time; what may ſerve the preſent hath been above diſcours'd ſufficiently out of the Scriptures: and to thoſe produc'd might be added Teſtimonies, Examples, Experiences of all ſucceeding Ages to theſe times aſſerting this Doctrine: but having herin the Scripture ſo copious and ſo plane, we have all that can be properly call'd true Strength and Nerve; the reſt would be but Pomp and Incumbrance. Pomp and Oſtentation of reading is admir'd among the Vulgar: but doubtleſs in Matters of Religion he is learnedeſt who is planeſt. The brevity I uſe, not exceeding a ſmall Manual, will not therfore, I ſuppoſe, be thought the leſs conſiderable, unleſs with them perhaps who think that great Books only can determin great Matters. I rather choſe the common Rule, not to make much ado where leſs may ſerve. Which in Controverſies, and thoſe eſpecially of Religion, would make them leſs tedious, and by conſequence read ofter by many more, and with more Benefit.

conſider what hath been here ſaid, whether they will continue in that intention [illegible] expect [illegible] from them [illegible] they ſhall find that the ſettlement of Religion belongs only to each particular Church by perſuaſive and ſpiritual means within itſelf, and that the Defence only of the Church belongs to the Magiſtrate. Had he once learnt not further to concern himſelf with Church Affairs, half his Labour might be ſpared, and the Commonwealth better tended. To which end, that which I premis'd in the beginning, and in due place treated of more at large, [illegible] that they would conſider ſeriouſly what Religion is; and they will find it to be, in ſum, both our Belief and our Practice depending upon God only. That there can be no place then left for the Magiſtrate or his Force in the ſettlement of Religion, by appointing either what we ſhall believe in divine things, or practiſe in Religion, neither of which are in the power of Man either to perform himſelf, or to enable others. I perſwade me in the Chriſtian ingenuity of all religious Men, the more they examine ſeriouſly, the more they will find clearly to be true: and find how falſe and deceivable that common ſaying is, which is ſo much relied upon, that the Chriſtian Magiſtrate is *cuſtos utriuſque tabulæ*, Keeper of both Tables, unleſs is meant by Keeper the Defender only: neither can that Maxim be maintain'd by any Proof or Argument which hath not in this Diſcourſe firſt or laſt been refuted. For the two Tables, or ten Commandments, teach our Duty to God and our Neighbour from the Love of both; give Magiſtrates no Authority to force either: they ſeek that from the Judicial Law, though on falſe grounds, eſpecially in the firſt Table, as I have ſhewn; and both in firſt and ſecond execute that Authority for the moſt part, not according to God's Judicial Laws, but their own. As for civil Crimes, and of the outward Man, which all are not, no not of thoſe againſt the ſecond Table, as that of coveting; in them what Power they have, they had from the beginning, long before *Moſes* or the two Tables were in being. And whether they be not now as little in being to be kept by any Chriſtian as they are two legal Tables, remains yet as undecided, as it is ſure they never were yet deliver'd to the keeping of any Chriſtian Magiſtrate. But of theſe things perhaps more ſome other time; what may ſerve the preſent hath been above diſcours'd ſufficiently out of the Scriptures: and to thoſe produced might be added Teſtimonies, Examples, Experiences of all ſucceeding Ages to theſe times, aſſerting this Doctrine: but having herein the Scripture ſo copious and ſo plain, we have all that can be properly call'd true Strength and Nerve; the reſt would be but Pomp and Incumbrance. Pomp and Oſtentation of reading is admir'd among the Vulgar: but doubtleſs in Matters of Religion he is learnedeſt who is plaineſt. The brevity I uſe, not exceeding a ſmall Manual, will not therefore, I ſuppoſe, be thought the leſs conſiderable, unleſs with them perhaps who think that great Books only can determine great Matters. I rather chooſe the common Rule, not to make much ado where leſs may ſerve. Which in Controverſies, and thoſe eſpecially of Religion, would make them leſs tedious, and by conſequence read ofter, by many more, and with more Benefit.

# CONSIDERATIONS
## Touching the likelieſt Means to remove
# HIRELINGS
# Out of the Church.

Wherein is alſo diſcours'd

Of *Tithes,*
*Church-Fees,*
*Church-Revenues*;

And whether any Maintenance of Miniſters can
be ſettl'd by Law.

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### *To the Parlament of the Commonwealth of* England, *with the Dominions therof.*

OWing to your Protection, ſupream Senate, this liberty of writing which I have us'd theſe eighteen Years on all occaſions to aſſert the juſt Rights and Freedoms both of Church and State, and ſo far approv'd, as to have bin truſted with the repreſentment and defence of your Actions to all Chriſtendom againſt an Adverſary of no mean repute; to whom ſhould I addreſs what I ſtill publiſh on the ſame Argument, but to you, whoſe magnanimous Councels firſt open'd and unbound the Age from a double Bondage under Prelatical and Regal Tyranny; above our own hopes heartning us to look up at laſt like Men and Chriſtians from the ſlaviſh Dejection, wherin from Father to Son we were bred up and taught; and therby deſerving of theſe Nations, if they be not barbarouſly ingrateful, to be acknowledg'd, next under God, the Authors and beſt Patrons of Religious and Civil Liberty, that ever theſe Ilands brought forth? The care and tuition of whoſe Peace and Safety, after a ſhort, but ſcandalous night of Interruption, is now again by a new dawning of God's miraculous Providence among us, revolv'd upon your ſhoulders. And to whom more appertain theſe Conſiderations which I propound, than to your ſelves, and the Debate before you, though I truſt of no difficulty, yet at preſent of great expectation, not whether ye will gratifie, were it no more then ſo, but whether ye will hearken to the juſt Petition of many thouſands beſt affected both to Religion and to this your Return, or whether ye will ſatisfie, which you never can, the covetous Pretences and Demands of inſatiable Hirelings, whoſe Diſaffection ye well know both to your ſelves and your Reſolutions? That I, though among many others in this common concernment, interpoſe to your Deliberations what my Thoughts alſo are, your own Judgment and the ſucceſs therof hath given me the confidence: which requeſts but this, that if I have proſperouſly, God ſo favouring me, defended the publick Cauſe of this

Commonwealth to Foreiners, ye would not think the reaſon and ability, wheron ye truſted once, and repent not, your whole Reputation to the world, either grown leſs by more maturity and longer ſtudy, or leſs available in *Engliſh* then in another tongue: but that if it ſuffic'd ſom years paſt to convince and ſatisfie the uningag'd of other Nations in the juſtice of your doings, though then held paradoxal, it may as well ſuffice now againſt weaker oppoſition in matters, except here in *England* with a ſpiritualitie of Men devoted to thir temporal Gain, of no Controverſie els among Proteſtants. Neither do I doubt, ſeeing daily the acceptance which they find who in thir Petitions venture to bring advice alſo and new models of a Commonwealth, but that you will interpret it much more the duty of a Chriſtian to offer what his Conſcience perſwades him may be of moment to the freedom and better conſtituting of the Church: ſince it is a deed of higheſt charity to help undeceive the People, and a work worthieſt your Autority, in all things els Authors, Aſſertors and now Recoverers of our Liberty, to deliver us, the only People of all Proteſtants left ſtill undeliver'd, from the Oppreſſions of a ſimonious decimating Clergy, who ſhame not, againſt the judgment and practice of all other Churches reform'd, to maintain, though very weakly, thir Popiſh and oft refuted Poſitions, not in a point of Conſcience, wherin they might be blameleſs, but in a point of Covetouſneſs and unjuſt Claim to other mens Goods; a Contention foul and odious in any Man, but moſt of all in Miniſters of the Goſpel, in whom Contention, though for thir own right, ſcarce is allowable. Till which Grievances be remov'd, and Religion ſet free from the monopoly of Hirelings, I dare affirm, that no Model whatſoever of a Commonwealth will prove ſucceſsful or undiſturb'd; and ſo perſwaded, implore Divine Aſſiſtance on your pious Councels and Proceedings to unanimity in this and all other Truth.

CON-

# CONSIDERATIONS
## TOUCHING
## *The likelieſt means to remove Hirelings out of the* CHURCH.

THE former Treatiſe, which leads in this, began with two things ever found working much miſchief to the Church of God, and the advancement of Truth; Force on the one ſide reſtraining, and Hire on the other ſide corrupting the Teachers therof. The latter of theſe is by much the more dangerous: for under Force, though no thank to the Forcers, true Religion oft-times beſt thrives and flouriſhes; but the Corruption of Teachers, moſt commonly the Effect of Hire, is the very bane of Truth in them who are ſo corrupted. Of Force not to be us'd in matters of Religion, I have already ſpoken; and ſo ſtated matters of Conſcience and Religion in Faith and Divine Worſhip, and ſo ſever'd them from Blaſphemy and Hereſy, the one being ſuch properly as is deſpiteful, the other ſuch as ſtands not to the Rule of Scripture, and ſo both of them not matters of Religion, but rather againſt it, that to them who will yet uſe Force, this only choiſe can be left, whether they will force them to believe, to whom it is not given from above, being not forc'd therto by any Principle of the Goſpel, which is now the only Diſpenſation of God to all Men; or whether being Proteſtants, they will puniſh in thoſe things wherin the Proteſtant Religion denies them to be Judges, either in themſelves infallible, or to the Conſciences of other Men; or whether, laſtly, they think fit to puniſh Error, ſuppoſing they can be infallible that it is ſo, being not wilful, but conſcientious, and, according to the beſt light of him who errs, grounded on Scripture: which kind of Error all Men religious, or but only reaſonable, have thought worthier of pardon, and the growth thereof to be prevented by ſpiritual Means and Church-diſcipline, not by civil Laws and outward Force, ſince it is God only who gives as well to believe aright, as to believe at all; and by thoſe means which he ordain'd ſufficiently in his Church to the full execution of his divine Purpoſe in the Goſpel. It remains now to ſpeak of Hire, the other evil ſo miſchievous in Religion: wherof I promis'd then to ſpeak further, when I ſhould find God diſpoſing me, and opportunity inviting. Opportunity I find now inviting; and apprehend therin the concurrence of God diſpoſing; ſince the Maintenance of Church-Miniſters, a thing not properly belonging to the Magiſtrate, and yet with ſuch importunity call'd for, and expected from him, is at preſent under publick debate. Wherin leſt any thing may happen to be determin'd and eſtabliſh'd prejudicial to the right and freedom of Church, or advantagious to ſuch as may be found Hirelings therin, it will be now moſt ſeaſonable, and in theſe matters wherin every Chriſtian hath his free Suffrage, no way miſbecoming Chriſtian Meeknes to offer freely, without diſparagement to the wiſeſt, ſuch Advice as God ſhall incline him and inable him to propound. Since hertofore in Commonwealths of moſt fame for Government, Civil Laws were not eſtabliſh'd till they had been firſt for certain days publiſh'd to the view of all Men, that whoſo pleas'd might ſpeak freely his Opinion therof, and give in his Exceptions, ere the Law could paſs to a full eſtabliſhment. And where ought this Equity to have more place, than in the liberty which is unſeparable from Chriſtian Religion? This, I am not ignorant, will be a work unpleaſing to ſome: but what Truth is not hateful to ſome or other, as this, in likelihood, will be to none but Hirelings. And if there be among them who hold it thir duty to ſpeak impartial Truth, as the work of thir Miniſtry, though not perform'd without Money, let them not envy others who think the ſame no leſs thir duty by the general office of Chriſtianity, to ſpeak truth, as in all reaſon may be thought, more impartially and unſuſpectedly without Money.

Hire of it ſelf is neither a thing unlawful, nor a word of any evil note, ſignifying no more than a due Recompence or Reward; as when our Saviour ſaith, *the Labourer is worthy of his Hire.* That which makes it ſo dangerous in the Church, and properly makes the *Hireling* a word always of evil Signification, is either the exceſs therof, or the undue manner of giving and taking it. What harm the exceſs therof brought to the Church, perhaps was not found by experience till the days of *Conſtantine*; who out of his zeal thinking he could be never too liberally a nurſing Father of the Church, might be not unfitly ſaid to have either overlaid it or choak'd it in the Nurſing. Which was foretold, as is recorded in Eccleſiaſtical Traditions, by a Voice heard from Heaven on the very day that thoſe great Donations and Church-revenues were given, crying aloud, *This day is Poiſon pour'd into the Church.* Which the event ſoon after veriſi'd, as appears by another no leſs antient Obſervation, *That Religion brought forth Wealth, and the Daughter devour'd the Mother.* But long ere Wealth came into the Church, ſo ſoon as any Gain appear'd in Religion, Hirelings were apparent; drawn in long before by the very ſcent therof. *Judas* therfore, the firſt Hireling, for want of preſent Hire anſwerable to his coveting, from the ſmall number of the meanneſs of ſuch as then were the Religious, ſold the Religion it ſelf with the Founder therof, his Maſter. *Simon Magus* the next, in hope only that preaching and the Gifts of the Holy Ghoſt would prove gainful, offer'd beforehand a Sum of Money to obtain them. Not long after, as the Apoſtle foretold, Hirelings like Wolves came in by Herds; *Acts* 20. 29. *For I know this, that after my departing ſhall grievous Wolves enter in among you, not ſparing the Flock.* Tit. 1. 11. *Teaching things which they ought not, for filthy lucres ſake.* 2 Pet. 2. 3. *And through Covetouſneſs ſhall they with feigned words make Merchandiſe of you.* Yet they taught not fals Doctrin only, but ſeeming Piety; 1 *Tim.* 6. 5. *Suppoſing that Gain is Godlineſs.* Neither came they in of themſelves only, but invited oft-times by a corrupt Audience: 2 Tim. 4. 3. *For the time will come when they will not endure ſound Doctrin, but after thir own Luſts they will heap to themſelves Teachers, having itching Ears:* and they on the other ſide, as faſt heaping to themſelves Diſciples, *Acts* 20. 30. doubtles had as itching Palms: 2 Pet. 2. 15. *Following the way of* Balaam, *the Son of* Boſor, *who lov'd the wages of Unrighteouſneſs.* Jude 11. *They ran greedily after the error of* Balaam *for reward.* Thus we ſee that not only the exceſs of Hire in wealthieſt times, but alſo the undue and vitious taking or giving it, though but ſmall or mean, as in the Primitive times, gave to Hirelings occaſion, though not intended, yet ſufficient to creep at firſt into the Church. Which argues alſo the difficulty, or rather the impoſſibility, to remove them quite, unleſs every Miniſter were, as St. *Paul*, contented to teach *gratis*; but few ſuch are to be found. As therfore we cannot juſtly take away all Hire in the Church, becauſe we cannot otherwiſe quite remove all Hirelings, ſo are we not for the impoſſibility of removing them all, to uſe therfore no endeavor that feweſt may come in; but rather, in regard the Evil, do what we can, will always be incumbent and unavoidable, to uſe our utmoſt diligence how it may be leaſt dangerous: which will be likelieſt effected, if we conſider, firſt, what recompence God hath ordain'd ſhould be given to Miniſters of the Church; (for that a Recompence ought to be given them, and may by them juſtly be received, our Saviour himſelf from the very light of Reaſon and of Equity hath declar'd, *Luke* 10. 7. *The Labourer is worthy of his Hire*); next by whom; and laſtly, in what manner.

What Recompence ought be given to Church-miniſters, God hath anſwerably ordain'd according to that difference which he hath manifeſtly put between thoſe his two great Diſpenſations, the Law and the Goſpel. Under the Law he gave them Tithes; under the Goſpel, having left all things in his Church to Charity and Chriſtian Freedom, he hath given them only what is juſtly given them. That, as well under the Goſpel, as under the Law, ſay our Engliſh Divines, and they only of all Proteſtants, is Tithes; and they ſay true, if any man be ſo minded to give them of his own the tenth or twentieth; but that the Law therfore of Tithes is in force under the Goſpel, all other Proteſtant Divines, though equally concern'd, yet conſtantly deny. For although Hire to the Labourer be of moral and perpetual Right, yet that ſpecial kind of Hire, the tenth, can be of no Right or Neceſſity, but to that ſpecial Labor for which God ordain'd it. That ſpecial Labor was the Levitical and Ceremonial ſervice of the Tabernacle, *Numb.* 18. 21, 31. which is now aboliſh'd: the right therfore of that ſpecial Hire muſt needs be withal aboliſh'd, as being alſo Ceremonial. That Tithes were Ceremonial, is plain, not being given to the Levites till they had been firſt offer'd a heav Offering to the Lord, *Ver.* 24, 28. He then who by that Law brings Tithes into the Goſpel, of neceſſity brings in withal a Sacrifice, and an Altar; without which Tithes by that Law were unſanctifi'd and polluted, *Ver.* 32. and therfore never thought on in the firſt Chriſtian times, till Ceremonies, Altars, and Oblations, by an antienter Corruption were brought back long before. And yet the *Jews* ever ſince thir Temple was deſtroyd, though they have Rabbies and Teachers of thir Law, yet pay no Tithes, as having no Levites to whom, no Temple where to pay them, no Altar wheron to hallow them: which argues that the *Jews* themſelves never thought Tithes Moral, but Ceremonial only. That Chriſtians therfore ſhould take them up, when *Jews* have laid them down, muſt needs be very abſurd and prepoſterous. Next, it is as clear in the ſame Chapter, that the Prieſts and Levites had not Tithes for thir labor only in the Tabernacle, but in regard they were to have no other Part nor Inheritance in the Land, *Ver.* 20, 24. and by that means for a Tenth, loſt a Twelfth. But our Levites undergoing no ſuch Law of Deprivement, can have no right to any ſuch compenſation: nay, if by this Law they will have Tithes, can have no inheritance of Land, but forfeit what they have. Beſides this, Tithes were of two ſorts, thoſe of every Year, and thoſe of every third Year; of the former, every one that brought his Tithes, was to eat his ſhare; *Deut.* 14. 23. *Thou ſhalt eat before the Lord thy God, in the place which he ſhall chuſe to place his name there, the Tithe of thy Corn, of thy Wine, and of thine Oil,* &c. Nay, though he could not bring his Tithe in kind, by reaſon of his diſtant dwelling from the Tabernacle or Temple, but was therby forc'd to turn it into Money, he was to beſtow that Money on whatſoever pleas'd him, Oxen, Sheep, Wine, or ſtrong Drink; and to eat and drink therof there before the Lord, both he and his Houſhold, *Ver.* 24, 25, 26. As for the Tithes of every third year, they were not given only to the Levite, but to the Stranger, the Fatherles, and the Widow, *Ver.* 28, 29. and *Chap.* 26. 12, 13. So that ours, if they will have Tithes, muſt admit of theſe ſharers with them. Nay, theſe Tithes were not paid in at all to the Levite, but the Levite himſelf was to come with thoſe his fellow Gueſts, and eat his ſhare of them only at his Houſe who provided them; and this not in regard of his miniſterial Office, but becauſe he had no Part nor Inheritance in the Land. Laſtly, the Prieſts and Levites, a Tribe, were of a far different Conſtitution from this of our Miniſters under the Goſpel: in them were Orders and Degrees both by Family, Dignity, and Office, mainly diſtinguiſh'd; the High Prieſt, his Brethren, and his Sons, to whom the Levites themſelves paid Tithes, and of the beſt, were eminently ſuperior, *Numb.* 18. 28, 29. No Proteſtant, I ſuppoſe, will liken one of our Miniſters to a High Prieſt, but rather to a common Levite. Unleſs then, to keep their Tithes, they mean to bring back again Biſhops, Archbiſhops, and the whole gang of Prelatry, to whom will they themſelves pay Tithes, as by that Law it was a ſin to them if they did not, *Ver.* 32. Certainly this muſt needs put them to a deep demurr, while the deſire of holding faſt thir Tithes without ſin, may tempt them to bring back again Biſhops, as the likeneſs of that Hierarchy that ſhould receive Tithes from them; and the deſire to pay none, may adviſe them to keep out of the Church all Orders above them. But if we have to do at preſent, as I ſuppoſe we have, with true reformed Proteſtants, not with Papiſts or Prelates, it will not be deni'd that in the Goſpel there be but two miniſterial Degrees, Presbyters and Deacons: which if they contend to have any ſucceſſion, reference, or conformity with thoſe two degrees under the Law, Prieſts and Levites, it muſt needs be ſuch wherby our Presbyters or Miniſters may be anſwerable to Prieſts, and our Deacons to Levites; by which rule of Proportion it will follow, that we muſt pay our Tithes to the Deacons only, and they only to the Miniſters. But if it be truer yet that the Prieſthood of *Aaron* typifi'd a better reality, 1 *Pet.* 2. 5. ſignifying the Chriſtian true and *holy Prieſthood, to offer up ſpiritual Sacrifice*; it follows hence, that we are now juſtly exempt from paying Tithes to any who claim from *Aaron*, ſince that Prieſthood is in us now real, which in him was but a ſhadow. Seeing then by all this which hath bin ſhewn, that the Law of Tithes is partly Ceremonial, as the work was for which they were given, partly judicial, not of common, but of particular right to the Tribe of *Levi*, nor to them alone, but to the owner alſo and his Houſhold, at the time of thir Offering, and every three year to the Stranger, the Fatherles, and the Widow, thir appointed Sharers, and that they were a Tribe of Prieſts and Deacons improperly compar'd to the conſtitution of our Miniſtry; and the Tithes given by that People to thoſe Deacons only; it follows that our Miniſters at this day, being neither Prieſts nor Levites, nor fitly anſwering to either of them, can have no juſt title or pretence to Tithes, by any conſequence drawn from the Law of *Moſes*. But they think they have yet a better Plea in the example of *Melchiſedec*, who took Tithes of *Abram* ere the Law was given; whence they would infer Tithes to be of Moral right. But they ought to know, or to remember, that not Examples, but expreſs Commands oblige our obedience to God or man: next, that whatſoever was don in Religion before the Law written, is not preſently to be counted Moral, when as ſo many things were then don both Ceremonial and Judaically judicial, that we need not doubt to conclude all times before Chriſt, more or leſs under the Ceremonial Law. To what end ſerv'd els thoſe Altars and Sacrifices, that diſtinction of clean and unclean entring into the Ark, Circumciſion, and the raiſing up of Seed to the elder Brother? *Gen.* 38. 8. If theſe things be not Moral, though before the Law, how are Tithes, though in the example of *Abram* and *Melchiſedec*? But this inſtance is ſo far from being the juſt ground of a Law, that after all Circumſtances duly weigh'd both from *Gen.* 14. and *Heb.* 7. it will not be allow'd them ſo much as an example. *Melchiſedec*, beſides his Prieſtly Benediction, brought with him Bread and Wine ſufficient to refreſh *Abram* and his whole Army; incited to do ſo, firſt, by the ſecret Providence of God, intending him for a Type of Chriſt and his Prieſthood; next by his due thankfulnes and honor to *Abram*, who had freed his borders of *Salem* from a potent Enemy: *Abram* on the other ſide honors him with the tenth of all, that is to ſay (for he took not ſure his whole Eſtate with him to that War) of the Spoils, *Heb.* 7. 4. Incited he alſo by the ſame ſecret Providence, to ſignify as Grandfather of *Levi*, that the Levitical Prieſthood was excell'd by the Prieſthood of Chriſt. For the giving of a Tenth declar'd it ſeems in thoſe Countreys and Times, him the greater who receiv'd it. That which next incited him, was partly his gratitude to requite the Preſent, partly his Reverence to the Perſon and his Benediction: to his Perſon, as a King and Prieſt; greater therfore than *Abram*; who was a Prieſt alſo, but not a King. And who unhir'd will be ſo hardy as to ſay, that *Abram* at any other time ever paid him Tithes, either before or after; or had then, but for this accidental meeting and obligement; or that els *Melchiſedec* had demanded or exacted them, or took them otherwiſe than as the voluntary gift of *Abram*? But our Miniſters, though neither Prieſts nor Kings more than any other Chriſtian, greater in thir own eſteem than *Abraham* and all his Seed, for the verbal labor of a ſeventh days Preachment, not bringing, like *Melchiſedec*, Bread or Wine at thir own coſt, would not take only at the willing hand of Liberality or Gratitude, but require and exact as due the tenth, not of Spoils, but of our whole Eſtates and Labors; nor once, but yearly. We then it ſeems by the example of *Abram*, muſt pay Tithes to theſe *Melchiſedecs*: but what if the Perſon of *Abram* can neither no way repreſent us, or will oblige the Miniſters to pay Tithes no leſs then other men? *Abram* had not only a Prieſt in his Loins, but was himſelf a Prieſt, and gave Tithes to *Melchiſedec* either as Grandfather of *Levi*, or as Father of the faithful. If as Grandfather (though he underſtood it not) of *Levi*, he oblig'd not us but *Levi* only, the inferior Prieſt, by that Homage (as the Apoſtle to the *Hebrews* clearly enough explanes) to acknowledg the greater. And they who by *Melchiſedec* claim from *Abram* as *Levi*'s Grandfather, have none to ſeek thir Tithes of but the Levites, where they can find them. If *Abram* as Father of the Faithful paid Tithes to *Melchiſedec*, then certainly the Miniſters alſo, if they be of that number, paid in him equally with the reſt. Which may induce us to believe, that as both *Abram* and *Melchiſedec*, ſo Tithes alſo in that action

Typical and Ceremonial, ſignifi'd nothing els but that ſubjection which all the Faithful, both Miniſters and People, owe to Chriſt, our High Prieſt and King.

In any literal Senſe, from this Example, they never will be able to extort that the People in thoſe days paid Tithes to Prieſts; but this only, that one Prieſt once in his Life, of Spoils only, and in requital partly of a liberal Preſent, partly of a Benediction, gave voluntary Tithes, not to a greater Prieſt than himſelf, as far as *Abram* could then underſtand, but rather to a Prieſt and King join'd in one Perſon. They will reply, perhaps, that if one Prieſt paid Tithes to another, it muſt needs be underſtood that the People did no leſs to the Prieſt. But I ſhall eaſily remove that Neceſſity, by remembring them that in thoſe days was no Prieſt, but the Father, or the firſt-born of each Family; and by conſequence no People to pay him Tithes, but his own Children and Servants, who had not wherwithal to pay him, but of his own. Yet grant that the People then paid Tithes, there will not yet be the like reaſon to enjoin us; they being then under Ceremonies, a meer Laity, we now under Chriſt a Royal Prieſthood, 1 *Pet.* 2. 9. as we are Coheirs, Kings and Prieſts with him, a Prieſt for ever after the order or manner of *Melchiſedec*. As therfore *Abram* paid Tithes to *Melchiſedec* becauſe *Levi* was in him, ſo we ought to pay none becauſe the true *Melchiſedec* is in us, and we in him who can pay to none greater, and hath freed us, by our Union with himſelf, from all compulſive Tributes and Taxes in his Church. Neither doth the collateral place, *Heb.* 7. make other uſe of this Story, than to prove Chriſt, perſonated by *Melchiſedec*, a greater Prieſt than *Aaron: Verſ.* 4. *Now conſider how great this Man was*, &c. and proves not in the leaſt manner that Tithes be of any right to Miniſters, but the contrary: firſt, the Levites had *a Commandment to take Tithes of the People according to the Law, that is, of thir Brethren, though they come out of the Loins of* Abraham, *Verſ.* 5. The Commandment then was, it ſeems, to take Tithes of the *Jews* only, and according to the Law. That Law changing of neceſſity with the Prieſthood, no other ſort of Miniſters, as they muſt needs be another ſort under another Prieſthood, can receive that Tribute of Tithes which fell with that Law, unleſs renu'd by another expreſs Command, and according to another Law; no ſuch Law is extant. Next, *Melchiſedec* not as a Miniſter, but as Chriſt himſelf in Perſon, bleſs'd *Abraham* who *had the Promiſes*, Verſ. 6. and in him bleſs'd all both Miniſters, and People, both of the Law and Goſpel: That Bleſſing declar'd him greater and better than whom he bleſs'd, *Ver.* 7. receiving Tithes from them all, not as a Maintenance, which *Melchiſedec* needed not, but as a ſign of Homage and Subjection to thir King and Prieſt: wheras Miniſters bear not the Perſon of Chriſt in his Prieſthood or Kingſhip, bleſs not as he bleſſes, are not by thir Bleſſing greater than *Abraham*; and all the Faithful with themſelves included in him, cannot both give and take Tithes in *Abram*, cannot claim to themſelves that ſign of our Allegiance due only to our Eternal King and Prieſt, cannot therfore derive Tithes from *Melchiſedec*. Laſtly, The eighth Verſe hath thus; *Here Men that die receive Tithes: There he received them, of whom it is witneſſed that he liveth.* Which words intimate, that as he offer'd himſelf once for us, ſo he received once of us in *Abraham*, and in that place the typical acknowledgment of our Redemption: which had it been a perpetual annuity to Chriſt, by him claim'd as his due, *Levi* muſt have paid it yearly, as well as then, *Verſ.* 9. and our Miniſters ought ſtill, to ſome *Melchiſedec* or other, as well now as they did in *Abraham*. But that Chriſt never claim'd any ſuch Tenth as his annual Due, much leſs reſign'd it to the Miniſters, his ſo officious Receivers, without expreſs Commiſſion or Aſſignment, will be yet clearer as we proceed. Thus much may at length aſſure us, that this Example of *Abraham* and *Melchiſedec*, though I ſee of late they build moſt upon it, can ſo little be the ground of any Law to us, that it will not ſo much avail them as to the Autority of an Example. Of like impertinence is that Example of *Jacob*, Gen. 28. 22. who of his free choice, not enjoin'd by any Law, vow'd the Tenth of all that God ſhould give him: which, for ought appears to the contrary, he vow'd as a thing no leſs indifferent before his Vow, than the foregoing part therof: That the Stone which he had ſet there for a Pillar, ſhould be God's Houſe. And to whom vow'd he this Tenth, but to God? not to any Prieſt, for we read of none to him greater than himſelf: and to God, no doubt, but he paid what he vow'd, both in the building of that *Bethel*, with other Altars elſewhere, and the expence of his continual Sacrifices, which none but he had right to offer. However therfore he paid his Tenth, it could in no likelihood, unleſs by ſuch an occaſion as befel his Grandfather, be to any Prieſt. But, ſay they, *All the Tithe of the Land, whether of the Seed of the Land, or of the Fruit of the Tree, is the Lord's, holy unto the Lord*, Lev. 27. 30. And this before it was given to the Levites; therfore ſince they ceas'd. No queſtion; *For the whole Earth is the Lord's, and the fulnes thereof*, Pſal. 24. 1. and the Light of Nature ſhews us no leſs: But that the Tenth is his more than the reſt, how know I, but as he ſo declares it? He declares it ſo here of the Land of *Canaan* only, as by all Circumſtances appears, and paſſes, by Deed of Gift, this Tenth to the Levite; yet ſo as offer'd to him firſt a Heav-offering, and conſecrated on his Altar, *Numb.* 18. all which I had as little known, but by that Evidence. The Levites are ceas'd, the Gift returns to the giver. How then can we know that he hath given it to any other? or how can theſe Men preſume to take it unoffer'd firſt to God, unconſecrated, without another clear and expreſs Donation, wherof they ſhew no Evidence or Writing? Beſides, he hath now alienated that holy Land; who can warrantably affirm, that he hath ſince hallow'd the tenth of this Land, which none but God hath Power to do or can warrant? Thir laſt proof they cite out of the Goſpel, which makes as little for them, *Mat.* 23. 23. where our Saviour denouncing Wo to the Scribes and Phariſees, who paid Tithe ſo exactly, and omitted weightier Matters, tels them, that theſe they ought to have done, that is, to have paid Tithes. For our Saviour ſpake then to thoſe who obſerv'd the Law of *Moſes*, which was yet not fully abrogated, till the deſtruction of the Temple. And by the way here we may obſerve, out of thir own proof, that the Scribes and Phariſees, though then chief Teachers of the People, ſuch at leaſt as were not Levites, did not take Tithes, but paid them: So much leſs covetous were the Scribes and Phariſees in thoſe worſt times then ours at this day. This is ſo apparent to the Reformed Divines of other Countries, that when any one of ours hath attempted in Latin to maintain this Argument of Tithes, though a Man would think they might ſuffer him, without oppoſition, in a Point equally tending to the advantage of all Miniſters, yet they forbear not to oppoſe him, as in a Doctrin not fit to paſs unoppos'd under the Goſpel. Which ſhews the Modeſty, the Contentedneſs of thoſe Forein Paſtors, with the Maintenance given them, thir ſincerity alſo in the Truth, though leſs gainful, and the Avarice of ours; who through the love of their old Papiſtical Tithes, conſider not the weak Arguments, or rather Conjectures and Surmiſes which they bring to defend them. On the other ſide, although it be ſufficient to have prov'd in general the aboliſhing of Tithes, as part of the Judaical or Ceremonial Law, which is aboliſh'd all, as well that before as that after *Moſes*; yet I ſhall further prove them abrogated by an expreſs Ordinance of the Goſpel, founded not on any Type, or that Municipal Law of *Moſes*, but on moral and general Equity, given us inſtead: 1 Cor. 9. 13, 14. *Know ye not, that they who miniſter about holy things, live of the things of the Temple; and they which wait at the Altar, are partakers with the Altar? So alſo the Lord hath ordain'd, that they who preach the Goſpel, ſhould live of the Goſpel.* He ſaith not, ſhould live on things which were of the Temple, or of the Altar, of which were Tithes, for that had given them a clear Title: but abrogating that former Law of *Moſes*, which determin'd what and how much, by a later Ordinance of Chriſt, which leaves the what and how much indefinit and free, ſo it be ſufficient to live on: he ſaith, *The Lord hath ſo ordain'd, that they who preach the Goſpel, ſhould live of the Goſpel*; which hath neither Temple, Altar, nor Sacrifice: Heb. 7. 13. *For he of whom theſe things are ſpoken, pertaineth to another Tribe, of which no Man gave attendance at the Altar:* His Miniſters therfore cannot thence have Tithes. And where the Lord hath ſo ordain'd, we may find eaſily in more than one Evangeliſt: *Luke* 10. 7, 8. *In the ſame houſe remain, eating and drinking ſuch things as they give: For the labourer is worthy of his hire*, &c. *And into whatſoever City you enter, and they receive you, eat ſuch things as are ſet before you.* To which Ordinance of Chriſt it may ſeem likelieſt, that the Apoſtle refers us both here, and 1 *Tim.* 5. 18. where he cites this as the Saying of our Saviour, *That the labourer is worthy* of his hire. And both by this place of *Luke*, and that of *Mat.* 10.9,10,11. it evidently appears that our Saviour ordain'd no certain Maintenance for his Apoſtles or Miniſters, publicly or privately, in Houſe or City receiv'd, but that, whatever it were, which might ſuffice to live on: and this not commanded or proportion'd by *Abram* or by *Moſes*, whom he might eaſily have here cited, as his manner was, but declar'd only by a Rule of common Equity, which proportions the Hire as well to the Ability of him who gives, as to the labour of him who receives, and recommends him only as worthy, not inveſts him with a legal Right. And mark wheron he grounds this his Ordinance; not on a perpetual right of Tithes from *Melchiſedec*, as Hirelings pretend, which he never claim'd, either for himſelf, or for his Miniſters, but on the plane and common equity of rewarding the Laborer; worthy ſomtimes of ſingle, ſomtimes of double Honor, not proportionable by Tithes. And the Apoſtle in this forecited Chapter to the *Corinthians*, Verſ. 11. affirms it to be no great Recompence, if carnal things be reap'd for ſpiritual ſown; but to mention Tithes, neglects here the fitteſt occaſion that could be offer'd him, and leaves the reſt free and undetermin'd. Certainly if Chriſt or his Apoſtles had approv'd of Tithes, they would have, either by Writing or Tradition, recommended them to the Church; and that ſoon would have appeard in the practice of thoſe Primitive and the next Ages. But for the firſt three hundred Years and more, in all the Eccleſiaſtical Story, I find no ſuch Doctrin or Example: though Error by that time had brought back again Prieſts, Altars and Oblations; and in many other Points of Religion had miſerably judaiz'd the Church. So that the defenders of Tithes, after a long pomp, and tedious preparation out of Heathen Authors, telling us that Tithes were paid to *Hercules* and *Apollo*, which perhaps was imitated from the *Jews*, and as it were beſpeaking our Expectation, that they will abound much more with Autorities out of Chriſtian Story, have nothing of general Approbation to begin with from the firſt three or four Ages, but that which abundantly ſerves to the Confutation of thir Tithes; while they confeſs that Churchmen in thoſe Ages liv'd meerly upon free-will Offerings. Neither can they ſay, that Tithes were not then paid for want of a civil Magiſtrate to ordain them, for Chriſtians had then alſo Lands, and might give out of them what they pleas'd; and yet of Tithes then given we find no mention. And the firſt Chriſtian Emperors, who did all things as Biſhops advis'd them, ſupply'd what was wanting to the Clergy not out of Tithes, which were never motion'd, but out of thir own imperial Revenues; as is manifeſt in *Euſebius*, *Theodoret*, and *Sozomen*, from *Conſtantine* to *Arcadius*. Hence thoſe ancienteſt reformed Churches of the *Waldenſes*, if they rather continu'd not pure ſince the Apoſtles, deny'd that Tithes were to be given, or that they were ever given in the primitive Church, as appeers by an ancient Tractate inſerted in the *Bohemian* Hiſtory. Thus far hath the Church bin always, whether in her prime or in her ancienteſt Reformation, from the approving of Tithes: nor without Reaſon; for they might eaſily perceive that Tithes were fitted to the *Jews* only, a national Church of many incomplete Synagogues, uniting the Accompliſhment of divine Worſhip in one Temple; and the Levites there had thir Tithes paid where they did thir bodily Work; to which a particular Tribe was ſet apart by divine Appointment, not by the Peoples Election: but the Chriſtian Church is univerſal; not ty'd to Nation, Dioceſs, or Pariſh, but conſiſting of many particular Churches complete in themſelves, gather'd not by compulſion, or the accident of dwelling nigh together, but by free Conſent, chuſing both thir particular Church and thir Church-Officers. Wheras if Tithes be ſet up, all theſe Chriſtian Privileges will be diſturb'd and ſoon loſt, and with them Chriſtian Liberty.

The firſt Autority which our Adverſaries bring, after thoſe fabulous Apoſtolic Canons, which they dare not inſiſt upon, is a provincial Councel held at *Cullen*, where they voted Tithes to be *God's Rent*, in the year three hundred fifty ſix; at the ſame time perhaps when the three Kings reign'd there, and of like Autority. For to what purpoſe do they bring theſe trivial Teſtimonies, by which they might as well prove Altars, Candles at noon, and the greateſt part of thoſe Superſtitions fetch'd from Paganiſm or Jewiſm, which the Papiſt, inveigl'd by this fond Argument of Antiquity, retains to this day?

To what purpoſe thoſe Decrees of I know not what Biſhops, to a Parlament and People who have thrown out both Biſhops and Altars, and promiſ'd all Reformation by the Word of God? And that Altars brought Tithes hither, as one Corruption begot another, is evident by one of thoſe Queſtions which the Monk *Auſtin* propounded to the Pope, *concerning thoſe things, which by Oferings of the faithful came to the Altar*; as *Beda* writes, *l.* 1. *c.* 27. If then by theſe Teſtimonies we muſt have Tithes continu'd, we muſt again have Altars. Of Fathers, by cuſtom ſo call'd, they quote *Ambroſe*, *Auguſtin*, and ſome other ceremonial Doctors of the ſame Leven: whoſe Aſſertion, without pertinent Scripture, no reformed Church can admit; and what they vouch is founded on the Law of *Moſes*, with which, every where pitifully miſtaken, they again incorporate the Goſpel; as did the reſt alſo of thoſe titular Fathers, perhaps an Age or two before them, by many Rights and Ceremonies, both Jewiſh and Heatheniſh, introduc'd; wherby thinking to gain all, they loſt all: and inſtead of winning Jews and Pagans to be Chriſtians, by too much condeſcending they turn'd Chriſtians into Jews and Pagans. To heap ſuch unconvincing Citations as theſe in Religion, wherof the Scripture only is our Rule, argues not much Learning nor Judgment, but the loſt Labor of much unprofitable reading. And yet a late hot Queriſt for Tithes, whom ye may know by his Wits lying ever beſide him in the Margin, to be ever beſide his Wits in the Text, a fierce Reformer once, now ranckl'd with a contrary heat, would ſend us back, very reformedly indeed, to learn Reformation from *Tyndarus* and *Rebuffus*, two canonical Promooters. They produce next the ancient Conſtitutions of this Land, *Saxon* Laws, Edicts of Kings, and their Councils, from *Athelſtan*, in the year nine hundred twenty eight, that Tithes by Statute were paid: and might produce from *Ina*, above two hundred years before, that *Romeſcot*, or *Peter's* Penny, was by as good Statute Law paid to the Pope; from ſeven hundred twenty five, and almoſt as long continu'd. And who knows not that this Law of Tithes was enacted by thoſe Kings and Barons upon the opinion they had of thir divine Right? as the very Words import of *Edward* the Confeſſor, in the cloſe of that Law: *For ſo bleſſed* Auſtin *preach'd and taught*; meaning the Monk, who firſt brought the Romiſh Religion into *England* from *Gregory* the Pope. And by the way I add, that by theſe Laws, imitating the Law of *Moſes*, the third part of Tithes only was the Prieſts due; the other two were appointed for the Poor, and to adorn or repare Churches; as the Canons of *Ecbert* and *Elfric* witneſs: *Concil. Brit.* If then theſe Laws were founded upon the Opinion of divine Autority, and that Autority be found miſtaken and erroneous, as hath bin fully manifeſted, it follows, that theſe Laws fall of themſelves with thir falſe Foundation. But with what Face or Conſcience can they allege *Moſes*, or theſe Laws for Tithes, as they now enjoy or exact them? wherof *Moſes* ordains the Owner, as we heard before, the Stranger, the Fatherleſs, and the Widow, Partakers with the Levite; and theſe Fathers which they cite, and theſe though Romiſh rather than Engliſh Laws, allotted both to Prieſt and Biſhop the third part only. But theſe our Proteſtant, theſe our new reformed Engliſh Presbyterian Divines, againſt thir own cited Authors, and to the ſhame of thir pretended Reformation, would engroſs to themſelves all Tithes by Statute; and ſupported more by thir wilful Obſtinacy and Deſire of filthy Lucre, than by theſe both inſufficient and impertinent Autorities, would perſwade a Chriſtian Magiſtracy and Parlament, whom we truſt God hath reſtor'd for a happier Reformation, to impoſe upon us a Judaical Ceremonial Law, and yet from that Law to be more irregular and unwarrantable, more complying with a covetous Clergy, than any of thoſe Popiſh Kings and Parlaments alleg'd. Another ſhift they have to plead, that Tithes may be moral as well as the Sabbath, a tenth of Fruits as well as a ſeventh of Days. I anſwer, that the Prelats who urge this Argument have leaſt reaſon to uſe it, denying Morality in the Sabbath, and therin better agreeing with Reformed Churches abroad than the reſt of our Divines. As therfore the ſeventh day is not moral, but a convenient Recourſe of Worſhip in fit ſeaſon, whether ſeventh or other number, ſo neither is the tenth of our Goods, but only a convenient Subſiſtence morally due to Miniſters. The laſt and loweſt ſort of thir Arguments, that Men purchas'd not thir Tithe with thir Land, and ſuch

*Prynn.*

like Pettifoggery, I omit; as refuted ſufficiently by others: I omit alſo thir violent and irreligious Exactions, related no leſs credibly; thir ſeiſing of Pots and Pans from the Poor, who have as good right to Tithes as they; from ſome, the very Beds; thir ſuing and impriſoning; worſe than when the Canon Law was in force; worſe than when thoſe wicked Sons of *Eli* were Prieſts, whoſe manner was thus to ſeiſe thir pretended prieſtly Due by force; 1 *Sam.* 2. 12, &c. *Whereby Men abhorr'd the Offering of the Lord.* And it may be fear'd that many will as much abhor the Goſpel, if ſuch Violence as this be ſuffer'd in her Miniſters, and in that which they alſo pretend to be the Offering of the Lord. For thoſe Sons of *Belial* within ſome Limits made ſeiſure of what they knew was thir own by an undoubted Law; but theſe, from whom there is no Sanctuary, ſeiſe out of Mens Grounds, out of Mens Houſes, thir other Goods of double, ſometimes of treble value, for that which, did not Covetouſneſs and Rapine blind them, they know to be not thir own by the Goſpel which they preach. Of ſome more tolerable than theſe, thus ſeverely God hath ſpoken; *Iſa.* 46. 10, &c. *They are greedy dogs; they all look to thir own way, every one for his gain, from his quarter.* With what Anger then will he judg them who ſtand not looking, but under colour of a divine Right, fetch by Force that which is not thir own, taking his Name not in vain, but in violence? Nor content, as *Gebazi* was, to make a cunning, but a conſtrain'd Advantage of what thir Maſter bids them give freely, how can they but return ſmitten, worſe than that ſharking Miniſter, with a ſpiritual Leproſy? And yet they cry out Sacrilege, that Men will not be gull'd and baffl'd the tenth of thir eſtates by giving credit to frivolous Pretences of divine Right. Where did God ever cleerly declare to all Nations, or in all Lands, (and none but Fools part with thir Eſtates without cleereſt Evidence, on bare Suppoſals and Preſumptions of them who are the Gainers therby) that he requir'd the tenth as due to him or his Son perpetually and in all places? Where did he demand it, that we might certainly know, as in all claims of temporal Right is juſt and reaſonable? or if demanded, where did he aſſign it, or by what evident conveyance to Miniſters? Unleſs they can demonſtrate this by more than Conjectures, thir Title can be no better to Tithes than the Title of *Gebazi* was to thoſe things which by abuſing his Maſter's name he rook'd from *Naaman.* Much leſs where did he command that Tithes ſhould be fetch'd by force, where left not under the Goſpel whatever his Right was, to the Freewill-offerings of Men? Which is the greater Sacrilege, to bely divine Autority, to make the name of Chriſt acceſſory to Violence, and robbing him of the very Honor which he aim'd at in beſtowing freely the Goſpel, to commit Simony and Rapin, both ſecular and eccleſiaſtical; or on the other ſide, not to give up the tenth of Civil Right and Propriety to the Tricks and Impoſtures of Clergy-men, contriv'd with all the Art and Argument that thir Bellies can invent or ſuggeſt; yet ſo ridiculous and preſuming on the Peoples Dulneſs or Superſtition, as to think they prove the divine Right of thir Maintenance by *Abram* paying Tithes to *Melchiſedec,* when as *Melchiſedec* in that paſſage rather gave Maintenance to *Abram*; in whom all, both Prieſts and Miniſters, as well as Lay-men, paid Tithes, not receiv'd them. And becauſe I affirm'd above, beginning this firſt part of my Diſcourſe, that God hath given to Miniſters of the Goſpel that Maintenance only which is juſtly given them, let us ſee a little what hath bin thought of that other Maintenance beſides Tithes, which of all Proteſtants our Engliſh Divines either only or moſt apparently both require and take. Thoſe are Fees for Chriſtnings, Marriages, and Burials: which, though whoſo will may give freely, yet being not of Right, but of free Gift, if they be exacted or eſtabliſh'd, they becom unjuſt to them who are otherwiſe maintain'd; and of ſuch evil note, that even the Council of *Trent, l.* 2. *p.* 246. makes them liable to the Laws againſt Simony, who take or demand Fees for the adminiſtring of any Sacrament: *Che la ſinodo volendo levare gli abuſi introdotti,* &c. And in the next Page, with like Severity, condemns the giving or taking for a Benefice, and the celebrating of Marriages, Chriſtnings, and Burials, for Fees exacted or demanded: nor counts it leſs Simony to ſell the Ground or Place of Burial. And in a State-Aſſembly at *Orleans,* 1561. it was decreed, *Che non ſi poteſſe eſſiger coſa alcuna,* &c. *p.* 429. *That nothing ſhould* *be exacted for the adminiſtring of Sacraments, Burials, or any other ſpiritual Function.* Thus much that Councel, of all others the moſt Popiſh, and this Aſſembly of Papiſts, though, by thir own Principles, in bondage to the Clergy, were induc'd, either by thir own reaſon and ſhame, or by the light of Reformation then ſhining in upon them, or rather by the known Canons of many Councels and Synods long before, to condemn of Simony ſpiritual Fees demanded. For if the Miniſter be maintain'd for his whole Miniſtry, why ſhould he be twice paid for any part therof? Why ſhould he, like a Servant, ſeek Vails over and above his Wages? As for Chriſtnings, either they themſelves call Men to Baptiſm, or Men of themſelves com: if Miniſters invite, how ill had it becom'd *John* the Baptiſt to demand Fees for his baptizing, or Chriſt for his chriſtnings? Far leſs becoms it theſe now, with a greedines lower than that of Tradeſmen calling Paſſengers to thir Shop, and yet paid beforehand, to ask again for doing that which thoſe thir Founders did freely. If Men of themſelves com to be baptiz'd, they are either brought by ſuch as already pay the Miniſter, or com to be one of his Diſciples and Maintainers: of whom to ask a Fee as it were for entrance, is a piece of paltry craft or caution, befitting none but beggarly Artiſts. Burials and Marriages are ſo little to be any part of thir Gain, that they who conſider well, may find them to be no part of thir Function. At Burials thir attendance they alledg on the Corps; all the Gueſts do as much unhir'd. But thir Prayers at the Grave, ſuperſtitiouſly requir'd: yet if requir'd, thir laſt performance to the deceas'd of thir own Flock. But the Funeral Sermon, at thir choiſe, or if not, an occaſion offer'd them to preach out of ſeaſon, which is one part of thir Office. But ſomthing muſt be ſpoken in praiſe; if due, thir duty; if undue, thir corruption: a peculiar Simonie of our Divines in *England* only. But the ground is broken, and eſpecially thir unrighteous Poſſeſſion, the Chancel. To ſell that will not only raiſe up in judgment the Council of *Trent* againſt them, but will loſe them the beſt Champion of Tithes, thir zealous Antiquary, Sir *Hen. Spelman*, who in a Book written to that purpoſe, by many cited Canons, and ſom even of times corrupteſt in the Church, proves that Fees exacted or demanded for Sacraments, Marriages, Burials, and eſpecially for interring, are wicked, accurſed, ſimoniacal and abominable: Yet thus is the Church, for all this noiſe of Reformation, left ſtill unreform'd, by the cenſure of thir own Synods, thir own Favourers, a den of Thieves and Robbers. As for Marriages, that Miniſters ſhould meddle with them, as not ſanctifi'd or legitimat without thir Celebration, I find no ground in Scripture either of Precept or Example. Likelieſt it is (which our *Selden* hath well obſerv'd, *l.* 2. *c.* 28. *ux. Eb.*) that in imitation of Heathen Prieſts who were wont at Nuptials to uſe many Rites and Ceremonies, and eſpecially, judging it would be profitable, and the increaſe of their Autority, not to be Spectators only in buſineſs of ſuch concernment to the Life of Man, they inſinuated that Marriage was not holy without thir Benediction, and for the better colour, made it a Sacrament; being of it ſelf a Civil Ordinance, a houſhold Contract, a thing indifferent and free to the whole race of Mankind, not as religious, but as Men: beſt, indeed, undertaken to religious ends, and as the Apoſtle ſaith, 1 *Cor.* 7. *In the Lord*. Yet not therefore invalid or unholy without a Miniſter and his pretended neceſſary hallowing, more than any other Act, Enterpriſe or Contract of civil Life, which ought all to be don alſo in the Lord and to his Glory: All which, no leſs than Marriage, were by the cunning of Prieſts hertofore, as material to thir Profit, tranſacted at the Altar. Our Divines deny it to be a Sacrament; yet retain'd the Celebration, till prudently a late Parlament recover'd the Civil Liberty of Marriage from thir incroachment, and transferr'd the ratifying and regiſtring therof from the Canonical Shop to the proper cognisance of Civil Magiſtrates. Seeing then, that God hath given to Miniſters under the Goſpel, that only which is juſtly given them, that is to ſay, a due and moderat Livelihood, the hire of thir labor, and that the heav-offering of Tithes is aboliſh'd with the Altar, yea though not aboliſh'd, yet lawles, as they enjoy them; thir Melchiſedecian Right alſo trivial and groundles, and both Tithes and groundles, and both Tithes and Fees, if exacted or eſtabliſh'd, unjuſt and ſcandalous; we may hope, with them remov'd, to remove Hirelings in ſom good meaſure, whom theſe tempting Baits, by Law eſpecially to be recover'd, allure into the Church.

The next thing to be conſider'd in the maintenance of Miniſters, is by whom it ſhould be given. Wherin though the Light of Reaſon might ſufficiently inform us, it will be beſt to conſult the Scripture: *Gal.* 6. 6. *Let him that is taught in the word, communicate to him that teacheth, in all good things:* that is to ſay in all manner of Gratitude, to his ability. 1 Cor. 9. 11. *If we have ſown unto you ſpiritual things, is it a great matter if we reap your carnal things?* To whom therfore hath not bin ſown, from him wherfore ſhould be reap'd? 1 *Tim.* 5. 17. *Let the Elders that rule well, be counted worthy of double honour; eſpecially they who labour in word and doctrin.* By theſe places we ſee, that Recompence was given either by every one in particular who had bin inſtructed, or by them all in common, brought into the Church-Treaſury, and diſtributed to the Miniſters according to thir ſeveral labors: and that was judg'd either by ſom extraordinary Perſon, as *Timothy*, who by the Apoſtle was then left Evangeliſt at *Epheſus*, 2 *Tim.*4.5. or by ſom to whom the Church deputed that care. This is ſo agreeable to reaſon and ſo clear, that any one may perceive what Iniquity and Violence hath prevail'd ſince in the Church, wherby it hath bin ſo order'd, that they alſo ſhall be compell'd to recompence the Parochial Miniſter, who neither choſe him for thir Teacher, nor have receiv'd Inſtruction from him, as being either inſufficient, or not reſident, or inferior to whom they follow; wherin to bar them thir Choiſe, is to violate Chriſtian Liberty. Our Law-books teſtifie, that before the Councel of *Lateran*, in the year 1179, and the fifth of our *Henry* 2. or rather before a decretal Epiſtle of Pope *Innocent* the Third, about 1200, and the firſt of King *John*, *any Man might have given his Tithes to what ſpiritual Perſon he would:* and, as the L. *Coke* notes on that place, *Inſtit. part* 2. that *this decretal bound not the Subjects of this Realm, but as it ſeem'd juſt and reaſonable.* The Pope took his reaſon rightly from the above cited place, 1 *Cor.* 9. 11. but falſly ſuppos'd every one to be inſtructed by his Pariſh-Prieſt. Whether this were then firſt ſo decreed, or rather long before, as may ſeem by the Laws of *Edgar* and *Canute*, that Tithes were to be paid, not to whom he would that paid them, but to the Cathedral Church or the Pariſh Prieſt, it imports not; ſince the reaſon which they themſelves bring, built on fals ſuppoſition, becomes alike infirm and abſurd, that he ſhould reap from me, who ſows not to me, be the cauſe either his defect, or my free choiſe. But here it will be readily objected, What if they who are to be inſtructed be not able to maintain a Miniſter, as in many Villages? I anſwer, that the Scripture ſhews in many places what ought to be don herin. Firſt I offer it to the reaſon of any Man, whether he think the knowledg of Chriſtian Religion harder than any other Art or Science to attain. I ſuppoſe he will grant that it is far eaſier, both of it ſelf, and in regard of God's aſſiſting Spirit, not particularly promis'd us to the attainment of any other Knowledg, but of this only: ſince it was preach'd as well to the Shepherds of *Bethleem* by Angels, as to the Eaſtern Wiſemen by that Star: and our Saviour declares himſelf anointed to preach the Goſpel to the poor, *Luke* 4. 18. then ſurely to thir Capacity. They who after him firſt taught it, were otherwiſe unlearned Men: they who before *Hus* and *Luther* firſt reform'd it, were for the meannes of thir condition call'd, *the poor Men of Lions:* and in *Flanders* at this day, *les gueus*, which is to ſay, Beggars. Therfore are the Scriptures tranſlated into every vulgar Tongue, as being held in main matters of Belief and Salvation, plain and eaſie to the pooreſt: and ſuch no leſs than thir Teachers have the Spirit to guide them in all Truth, *Joh.* 14. 26. and 16. 13. Hence we may conclude, if Men be not all thir life-time under a Teacher to learn Logic, natural Philoſophy, Ethics or Mathematics, which are more difficult, that certainly it is not neceſſary to the attainment of Chriſtian Knowledg that Men ſhould ſit all thir life long at the feet of a pulpited Divine; while he, a lollard indeed over his elbow-cuſhion, in almoſt the ſeventh part of forty or fifty years teaches them ſcarce half the Principles of Religion; and his Sheep ofttimes ſit the while to as little purpoſe of benefiting as the Sheep in thir Pues at *Smithfield*; and for the moſt part by ſom Simony or other, bought and ſold like them: or, if this Compariſon be too low, like thoſe Women, 1 *Tim.*

3.7. *Ever learning and never attaining*; yet not ſo much through thir own fault, as through the unskilful and immethodical teaching of thir Paſtor, teaching here and there at random out of this or that Text, as his eaſe or fanſie, and oft-times as his ſtealth guides him. Seeing then that Chriſtian Religion may be ſo eaſily attain'd, and by meaneſt Capacities, it cannot be much difficult to find ways, both how the poor, yea all Men may be ſoon taught what is to be known of Chriſtianity, and they who teach them, recompenc'd. Firſt, if Miniſters of thir own accord, who pretend that they are call'd and ſent to preach the Goſpel, thoſe eſpecially who have no particular Flock, would imitate our Saviour and his Diſciples who went preaching through the Villages, not only through the Cities, *Matth.* 9. 35. *Mark* 6. 6. *Luke* 13. 22. *Acts* 8. 25. and there preach'd to the poor as well as to the rich, looking for no recompence but in Heaven: *John* 4. 35, 36. *Look on the fields, for they are white already to Harveſt: and he that reapeth, receiveth wages, and gathereth fruit unto Life eternal.* This was thir Wages. But they will ſoon reply, we our ſelves have not wherwithal; who ſhall bear the Charges of our Journey? To whom it may as ſoon be anſwer'd, that in likelihood they are not poorer than they who did thus; and if they have not the ſame Faith which thoſe Diſciples had to truſt in God and the Promiſe of Chriſt for thir Maintenance as they did, and yet intrude into the Miniſtery without any livelihood of thir own, they caſt themſelves into a miſerable hazard or temptation, and oft-times into a more miſerable neceſſity, either to ſtarve, or to pleaſe thir Paimaſters rather than God; and give Men juſt cauſe to ſuſpect, that they came neither call'd nor ſent from above to preach the Word, but from below, by the inſtinct of thir own hunger, to feed upon the Church. Yet grant it needful to allow them both the Charges of thir Journey and the Hire of thir Labor, it will belong next to the Charity of richer Congregations, where moſt commonly they abound with Teachers, to ſend ſome of thir number to the Villages round, as the Apoſtles from *Jeruſalem* ſent *Peter* and *John* to the City and Villages of *Samaria*, *Acts* 8. 14, 25. or as the Church at *Jeruſalem* ſent *Barnabas* to *Antioch*, *chap.* 11. 22. and other Churches joining ſent *Luke* to travail with *Paul*, 2 *Cor.* 8. 19. though whether they had thir Charges born by the Church or no, it be not recorded. If it be objected that this itinerary preaching will not ſerve to plant the Goſpel in thoſe places, unleſs they who are ſent, abide there ſom competent time; I anſwer, that if they ſtay there a year or two, which was the longeſt time uſually ſtaid by the Apoſtles in one place, it may ſuffice to teach them, who will attend and learn, all the Points of Religion neceſſary to Salvation; then ſorting them into ſeveral Congregations of a moderat number, out of the ableſt and zealouſeſt among them to create Elders, who, exerciſing and requiring from themſelves what they have learn'd (for no Learning is retain'd without conſtant exerciſe and methodical repetition) may teach and govern the reſt: and ſo exhorted to continue faithful and ſtedfaſt, they may ſecurely be committed to the Providence of God and the guidance of his holy Spirit, till God may offer ſom opportunity to viſit them again, and to confirm them: which when they have don, they have don as much as the Apoſtles were wont to do in propagating the Goſpel, *Acts* 14. 23. *And when they had ordain'd them Elders in every Church, and had pray'd with faſting, they commended them to the Lord, on whom they believ'd.* And in the ſame Chapter, *Verſ.* 21, 22. *When they had preach'd the Goſpel to that City, and had taught many, they returned again to* Lyſtra *and to* Iconium *and* Antioch, *confirming the Souls of the Diſciples,* and *exhorting them to continue in the Faith.* And *Chap.* 15. 36. *Let us go again and viſit our Brethren.* And *Verſ.* 41. *He went thorow* Syria *and* Cilicia, *confirming the Churches.* To theſe I might add other helps, which we enjoy now, to make more eaſie the attainment of Chriſtian Religion by the meaneſt: the entire Scripture tranſlated into Engliſh with plenty of Notes; and ſom where or other, I truſt, may be found ſom wholſom body of Divinity, as they call it, without School Terms and Metaphyſical Notions, which have obſcur'd rather than explan'd our Religion, and made it ſeem difficult without cauſe. Thus taught once for all, and thus now and then viſited and confirm'd, in the moſt deſtitute and pooreſt places of the Land, under the Government of thir own Elders performing all Miniſterial Offices among them, they may be truſted to meet and edifie one another whether in Church or Chappel, or, to ſave them the trudging of many miles thither, neerer home, though in a Houſe or Barn. For notwithſtanding the gaudy Superſtition of ſom devoted ſtill ignorantly to Temples, we may be well aſſur'd that he who diſdain'd not to be laid in a Manger, diſdains not to be preach'd in a Barn; and that by ſuch meetings as theſe, being indeed moſt Apoſtolical and Primitive, they will in a ſhort time advance more in Chriſtian Knowledg and Reformation of Life, than by the many years preaching of ſuch an Incumbent, I may ſay, ſuch an Incubus oft-times, as will be meanly hir'd to abide long in thoſe places. They have this left perhaps to object further, that to ſend thus, and to maintain, though but for a year or two, Miniſters and Teachers in ſeveral places, would prove chargeable to the Churches, though in Towns and Cities round about. To whom again I anſwer, that it was not thought ſo by them who firſt thus propagated the Goſpel, though but few in number to us, and much leſs able to ſuſtain the Expence. Yet this Expence would be much leſs than to hire Incumbents, or rather Incumbrances, for life-time; and a great means (which is the ſubject of this Diſcourſe) to diminiſh Hirelings. But be the Expence leſs or more, if it be found burdenſom to the Churches, they have in this Land an eaſie remedy in thir recourſe to the Civil Magiſtrate; who hath in his hands the diſpoſal of no ſmall Revenues, left, perhaps, anciently to ſuperſtitious, but meant undoubtedly to good and beſt uſes; and therfore, once made publick, appliable by the preſent Magiſtrate to ſuch uſes as the Church, or ſolid Reaſon from whomſoever, ſhall convince him to think beſt. And thoſe uſes may be, no doubt, much rather than as Glebes and Augmentations are now beſtow'd, to grant ſuch requeſts as theſe of the Churches; or to erect in greater number all over the Land Schools, and competent Libraries to thoſe Schools, where Languages and Arts may be taught free together, without the needleſs, unprofitable and inconvenient removing to another place. So all the Land would be ſoon better civiliz'd, and they who are taught freely at the publick Coſt, might have thir Education given them on this condition, that therwith content, they ſhould not gad for Preferment out of thir own Country, but continue there thankful for what they receiv'd freely, beſtowing it as freely on thir Country, without ſoaring above the meannes wherin they were born. But how they ſhall live when they are thus bred and diſmis'd, will be ſtill the ſluggiſh Objection. To which is anſwer'd, that thoſe publick Foundations may be ſo inſtituted, as the Youth therin may be at once brought up to a competence of Learning and to an honeſt Trade; and the hours of teaching ſo order'd, as thir ſtudy may be no hinderance to thir labor or other calling. This was the breeding of S. *Paul*, though born of no mean Parents, a free Citizen of the Roman Empire: ſo little did his Trade debaſe him, that it rather enabl'd him to uſe that magnanimity of preaching the Goſpel through *Aſia* and *Europe* at his own charges: thus thoſe Preachers among the poor *Waldenſes*, the ancient ſtock of our Reformation, without theſe helps which I ſpeak of, bred up themſelves in Trades, and eſpecially in Phyſic and Surgery, as well as in the ſtudy of Scripture (which is the only true Theology) that they might be no burden to the Church; and by the Example of Chriſt, might cure both Soul and Body, through induſtry joining that to thir Miniſtery, which he join'd to his by gift of the Spirit. Thus relates *Peter Gilles* in his Hiſtory of the *Waldenſes* in *Piemont*. But our Miniſters think ſcorn to uſe a Trade, and count it the reproach of this Age, that Tradeſmen preach the Goſpel. It were to be wiſh'd they were all Tradeſmen; they would not then ſo many of them, for want of another Trade, make a Trade of thir preaching: and yet they clamor that Tradeſmen preach; and yet they preach, while they themſelves are the worſt Tradeſmen of all. As for Church-Endowments and Poſſeſſions, I meet with none conſiderable before *Conſtantine*, but the Houſes and Gardens where they met, and thir places of burial: and I perſwade me, that from them the ancient *Waldenſes*, whom deſervedly I cite ſo often, held, *That to endow Churches is an evil thing*; and, that the Church then fell off and turn'd Whore ſitting on that Beaſt in the *Revelation*, when under Pope *Sylveſter* ſhe receiv'd thoſe Temporal Donations. So the forecited Tractat of thir Doctrin teſtifies. This alſo thir own Traditions of that heavenly Voice witneſs'd, and ſom of the ancient Fathers then living foreſaw and deplor'd. And indeed, how could theſe Endowments thrive better with the Church, being unjuſtly taken by thoſe Emperors, without ſuffrage of the People, out of the Tributes and publick Lands of each City, wherby the People became liable to be oppreſs'd with other Taxes. Being therfore given for the moſt part by Kings and other publick Perſons, and ſo likelieſt out of the Publick, and if without the Peoples conſent, unjuſtly, however to publick ends of much concernment, to the good or evil of a Commonwealth, and in that regard made publick though given by private Perſons, or which is worſe, given, as the Clergy then perſwaded men, for thir Souls Health, a pious Gift; but as the truth was, oft-times a bribe to God, or to Chriſt for Abſolution, as they were then taught, for Murders, Adulteries, and other hainous Crimes; what ſhall be found hertofore given by Kings or Princes out of the publick, may juſtly by the Magiſtrate be recall'd and reappropriated to the Civil Revenue: what by privat or publick Perſons out of thir own, the price of Blood or Luſt, or to ſom ſuch purgatorious and ſuperſtitious Uſes, not only may but ought to be taken off from Chriſt, as a foul diſhonour laid upon him, or not impiouſly given, nor in particular to any one, but in general to the Churches good, may be converted to that uſe which ſhall be judg'd tending more directly to that general end. Thus did the Princes and Cities of *Germany* in the firſt Reformation; and defended thir ſo doing by many reaſons, which are ſet down at large in *Sleidan*, *Lib.* 6. *Anno* 1526, and *Lib.* 11. *Anno* 1537, and *Lib.* 13. *Anno* 1540. But that the Magiſtrate either out of that Church Revenue which remains yet in his hand, or eſtabliſhing any other Maintenance inſtead of Tithe, ſhould take into his own Power the ſtipendiary maintenance of Church-miniſters, or compel it by Law, can ſtand neither with the Peoples right, nor with Chriſtian liberty, but would ſuſpend the Church wholly upon the State, and turn her Miniſters into State-Penſioners. And for the Magiſtrate in Perſon of a nurſing Father to make the Church his meer Ward, as always in Minority, the Church, to whom he ought as a Magiſtrate, *Eſa.* 49. 23. *To bow down with his face toward the Earth, and lick up the duſt of her Feet*; her to ſubject to his political Drifts or conceiv'd opinions, by maſtering her Revenue; and ſo by his examinant committies to circumſcribe her free election of Miniſters, is neither juſt nor Pious; no honor don to the Church, but a plain diſhonor: and upon her whoſe only head is in Heaven, yea upon him, who is her only Head, ſets another in effect, and which is moſt monſtrous, a human on a Heavenly, a carnal on a Spiritual, a political Head on an Eccleſiaſtical Body; which at length by ſuch heterogeneal, ſuch inceſtuous conjunction, transforms her oft-times into a Beaſt of many Heads and many Horns. For if the Church be of all Societies the holieſt on Earth, and ſo to be reverenc'd by the Magiſtrate, not to truſt her with her own Belief and Integrity; and therfore not with the keeping, at leaſt with the diſpoſing of what Revenue ſhall be found juſtly and lawfully her own, is to count the Church not a Holy Congregation, but a pack of giddy or diſhoneſt Perſons, to be rul'd by Civil Power in Sacred Affairs. But to proceed further in the Truth yet more freely, ſeeing the Chriſtian Church is not National, but conſiſting of many particular Congregations, ſubject to many changes, as well through Civil Accidents, as through Schiſm and various Opinions, not to be decided by any outward judg, being matters of Conſcience, wherby theſe pretended Church Revenues, as they have bin ever; ſo are like to continue endles matter of Diſſention both between the Church and Magiſtrate, and the Churches among themſelves, there will be found no better remedy to theſe evils, otherwiſe incurable, then by the incorrupteſt Council of thoſe *Waldenſes*, or firſt Reformers, to remove them as a Peſt, an apple of diſcord in the Church, (for what els can be the effect of Riches, and the ſnare of Money in Religion?) and to convert them to thoſe more profitable Uſes above expreſs'd, or other ſuch as ſhall be judg'd moſt neceſſary; conſidering that the Church of Chriſt was founded in Poverty rather than in Revenues, ſtood pureſt and proſper'd beſt without them, receiv'd them unlawfully from them who both erroneouſly and unjuſtly, ſomtimes impiouſly, gave them, and ſo juſtly was enſnar'd and corrupted by them. And leſt it be thought that theſe Revenues withdrawn and better imploy'd, the Magiſtrate ought inſtead to ſettle by Statute ſom maintenance of Miniſters, let this be conſider'd firſt, that it concerns every mans Conſcience to what Religion he contributes; and that the Civil Magiſtrate is intruſted with Civil Rights only, not with Conſcience, which can have no Deputy or repreſenter of it ſelf, but one of the ſame Mind: next, that what each man gives to the Miniſter, he gives either as to God, or as to his Teacher; if as to God, no Civil Power can juſtly conſecrate to religious Uſes any part either of Civil Revenue, which is the Peoples, and muſt ſave them from other Taxes, or of any mans propriety, but God by ſpecial command, as he did by *Moſes*, or the owner himſelf by voluntary intention and the perſwaſion of his giving it to God. Forc'd Conſecrations out of another mans Eſtate are no better then forc'd Vows, hateful to God, *who loves a chearful giver*; but much more hateful, wrung out of mens Purſes to maintain a diſapprov'd Miniſtry againſt thir Conſcience; however unholy, infamous, and diſhonorable to his Miniſters, and the free Goſpel maintain'd in ſuch unworthy manner as by Violence and Extortion. If he give it as to his Teacher, what Juſtice or Equity compels him to pay for learning that Religion which leaves freely to his choice, whether he will learn it or no, whether of this Teacher or another, and eſpecially to pay for what he never learn'd, or approves not; wherby, beſides the wound of his Conſcience, he becoms the leſs able to recompence his true Teacher? Thus far hath bin enquir'd by whom Church-miniſters ought to be maintain'd, and hath bin prov'd moſt natural, moſt equal and agreeable with Scripture, to be by them who receive thir Teaching; and by whom, if they be unable? Which ways well obſerv'd, can diſcourage none but Hirelings, and will much leſſen thir number in the Church.

It remains laſtly to conſider, in what manner God hath ordain'd that Recompence be given to Miniſters of the Goſpel; and by all Scripture it will appear that he hath given it them not by Civil Law and Freehold, as they claim, but by the Benevolence and free Gratitude of ſuch as receive them: Luke 10. 7, 8. *Eating and drinking ſuch things as they give you. If they receive you, eat ſuch things as are ſet before you.* Matth. 10. 7, 8. *As ye go, preach, ſaying, The Kingdom of God is at hand*, &c. *Freely ye have receiv'd, freely give.* If God have ordain'd Miniſters to preach freely, whether they receive recompence or no, then certainly he hath forbid both them to compel it, and others to compel it for them. But freely given, he accounts it as given to himſelf: Philip. 4. 16, 17, 18. *Ye ſent once and again to my neceſſity: Not becauſe I deſire a Gift; but I deſire Fruit that may abound to your account. Having receiv'd of* Epaphroditus *the things which were ſent from you, an odor of ſweet ſmell, a ſacrifice acceptable, well pleaſing to God:* Which cannot be from force or unwillingnes. The ſame is ſaid of Alms, *Heb.* 13. 16. *To do good and to communicate, forget not; for with ſuch Sacrifices God is well pleas'd.* Whence the Primitive Church thought it no ſhame to receive all thir maintenance as the Alms of thir Auditors. Which they who defend Tithes, as if it made for thir cauſe, when as it utterly confutes them, omit not to ſet down at large; proving to our hands out of *Origen*, *Tertullian*, *Cyprian*, and others, that the Clergy liv'd at firſt upon the meer benevolence of thir Hearers; who gave what they gave, not to the Clergy, but to the Church; out of which the Clergy had thir Portions given them in Baskets, and were thence call'd *ſportularii*, *basket-clerks:* that thir Portion was a very mean allowance, only for a bare livelihood; according to thoſe Precepts of our Saviour, *Matth.* 10. 7, *&c.* the reſt was diſtributed to the Poor. They cite alſo out of *Proſper*, the diſciple of St. *Auſtin*, that ſuch of the Clergy as had means of thir own, might not without ſin partake of Church-maintenance; not receiving thereby food which they abound with, but feeding on the ſins of other men: that the Holy Ghoſt ſaith of ſuch Clergy men, they eat the ſins of my People; and that a Council at *Antioch*, in the year 340, ſuffer'd not either Prieſt or Biſhop to live on Church-maintenance without Neceſſity. Thus far Tithers themſelves have contributed to thir own confutation, by confeſſing that the Church liv'd primitively on Alms. And I add, that about the year 359, *Conſtantius* the Emperor having ſummon'd a general Council of Biſhops to *Ariminum* in *Italy*, and provided for thir ſubſiſtence there, the *Britiſh* and *French* Biſhops judging it not decent to live on the Publick, choſe rather to be at thir own charges.

Three only out of *Britain* conſtrain'd through want, yet refuſing offer'd aſſiſtance from the reſt, accepting the Emperor's Proviſion; judging it more convenient to ſubſiſt by publick than by private ſuſtenance. Whence we may conclude, that *Biſhops* then in this Iland had thir livelihood only from benevolence; in which regard this relater *Sulpitius Severus*, a good Author of the ſame time, highly praiſes them. And the *Waldenſes*, our firſt Reformers, both from the Scripture and theſe Primitive examples, maintain'd thoſe among them who bore the Office of Miniſters, by Alms only. Take thir very words from the Hiſtory written of them in *French*, Part 3. Lib. 2. Chap. 2. *La nourriture & ce de quoy nous ſommes couverts*, &c. *Our Food and Clothing is ſufficiently adminiſter'd and given to us by way of gratuity and Alms, by the good People whom we teach.* If then by Alms and Benevolence, not by legal force, not by tenure of Freehold or Copyhold: for Alms, though juſt, cannot be compell'd; and Benevolence forc'd, is Malevolence rather, violent and inconſiſtent with the Goſpel; and declares him no true Miniſter therof, but a rapacious Hireling rather, who by force receiving it, eats the bread of Violence and Exaction, no holy or juſt livelihood, no not civilly counted honeſt; much leſs beſeeming ſuch a ſpiritual Miniſtry. But, ſay they, our Maintenance is our due, Tithes the right of Chriſt, unſeparable from the Prieſt, no where repeal'd; if then, not otherwiſe to be had, by Law to be recover'd; for though *Paul* were pleas'd to forgo his due, and not to uſe his Power, 1 *Cor.* 9. 12. yet he had a Power, *Ver.* 4. and bound not others. I anſwer firſt, becauſe I ſee them ſtill ſo loth to unlearn their decimal Arithmetic, and ſtill graſp thir Tithes as inſeparable from a Prieſt, that Miniſters of the Goſpel are not Prieſts; and therfore ſeparated from Tithes by thir own excluſion, being neither call'd Prieſts in the New Teſtament, nor of any Order known in Scripture: not of *Melchiſedec*, proper to Chriſt only; not of *Aaron*, as they themſelves will confeſs; and the third Prieſthood only remaining, is common to all the Faithful. But they are Miniſters of our High Prieſt. True, but not of his Prieſthood, as the Levites were to *Aaron*; for he performs that whole Office himſelf incommunicably. Yet Tithes remain, ſay they, ſtill unreleas'd, the due of Chriſt; and to whom payable, but to his Miniſters? I ſay again, that no man can ſo underſtand them, unleſs Chriſt in ſom place or other ſo claim them. That example of *Abram* argues nothing but his voluntary act; honor once only don, but on what conſideration, whether to a Prieſt or to a King, whether due the honor, arbitrary that kind of honor or not, will after all contending be left ſtill in meer conjecture: which muſt not be permitted in the claim of ſuch a needy and ſuttle ſpiritual Corporation, pretending by divine right to the Tenth of all other mens Eſtates; nor can it be allow'd by wiſe men, or the verdit of common Law. And the tenth part, though once declar'd Holy, is declar'd now to be no holier than the other nine, by that command to *Peter*, *Acts* 10. 15, 28. whereby all diſtinction of Holy and Unholy is remov'd from all things. Tithes therfore though claim'd, and Holy under the Law, yet are now releas'd and quitted both by that command to *Peter*, and by this to all Miniſters abovecited, *Luke* 10. *eating and drinking ſuch things as they give you:* made Holy now by thir free Gift only. And therfore S. *Paul*, 1 *Cor.* 9. 4. aſſerts his Power indeed; but of what? not of Tithes, but, *to eat and drink ſuch things as are given* in reference to this command; which he calls not Holy things, or things of the Goſpel, as if the Goſpel had any conſecrated things in anſwer to things of the Temple, *Ver.* 13. but he calls them *your Carnal things*, *Ver.* 11. without changing thir property. And what Power had he? Not the Power of Force, but of Conſcience only, wherby he might lawfully and without ſcruple live on the Goſpel; receiving what was given him, as the recompence of his Labor. For if Chriſt the Maſter hath profeſs'd his Kingdom to be not of this World, it ſuits not with that profeſſion, either in him or his Miniſters, to claim temporal Right from ſpiritual Reſpects. He who refus'd to be the divider of an Inheritance between two Brethren, cannot approve his Miniſters, by pretended right from him, to be dividers of Tenths and Freeholds out of other mens Poſſeſſions, making therby the Goſpel but a cloak of carnal Intereſt, and, to the contradiction of thir Maſter, turning his heavenly Kingdom into a Kingdom of this World, a Kingdom of Force and Rapin:

pin: To whom it will be one day thunder'd more terribly than to *Gehazi*, for thus diſhonouring a far greater Maſter and his Goſpel; *is this a time to receive Money, and to receive Garments, and Olive-yards, and Vineyards, and Sheep, and Oxen?* The Leproſy of *Naaman* link'd with that Apoſtolic curſe of *periſhing* imprecated on *Simon Magus*, may be fear'd will *cleave to* ſuch *and to thir ſeed for ever*. So that when all is don, and Belly hath us'd in vain all her cunning ſhifts, I doubt not but all true Miniſters, conſidering the demonſtration of what hath bin here prov'd, will be wiſe, and think it much more tolerable to hear that no maintenance of Miniſters, whether Tithes or any other, can be ſettl'd by Statute, but muſt be given by them who receive Inſtruction; and freely given, as God hath ordain'd. And indeed what can be a more honorable Maintenance to them than ſuch, whether Alms or willing Oblations, as theſe; which being accounted both alike as given to God, the only acceptable Sacrifices now remaining, muſt needs repreſent him who receives them much in the care of God, and nearly related to him, when not by worldly force and conſtraint, but with religious aw and reverence; what is given to God, is given to him; and what to him, accounted as given to God. This would be well anough, ſay they; but how many will ſo give? I anſwer, as many, doubtles, as ſhall be well taught, as many as God ſhall ſo move. Why are ye ſo diſtruſtful, both of your own Doctrin and of God's Promiſes, fulfill'd in the experience of thoſe Diſciples firſt ſent: Luke 22. 35. *When I ſent you without Purſe, and Scrip, and Shooes, lacked ye any thing? And they ſaid, Nothing.* How then came ours, or who ſent them thus deſtitute, thus poor and empty both of Purſe and Faith? Who ſtile themſelves Embaſſadors of Jeſus Chriſt, and ſeem to be his Tithe-gatherers, though an Office of thir own ſetting up to his Diſhonor, his Exacters, his Publicans rather, not truſting that he will maintain them in thir embaſſy, unleſs they bind him to his Promiſe by a Statute-law, that we ſhall maintain them. Lay down for ſhame that magnific Title, while ye ſeek Maintenance from the People: It is not the manner of Embaſſadors to ask Maintenance of them to whom they are ſent. But he who is Lord of all things, hath ſo ordain'd: truſt him then; he doubtles will command the People to make good his Promiſes of Maintenance more honorably unask'd, unrak'd for. This they know, this they preach, yet believe not: but think it as impoſſible, without a Statute-law, to live of the Goſpel, as if by thoſe words they were bid go eat thir Bibles, as *Ezekiel* and *John* did thir Books; and ſuch Doctrins as theſe are as bitter to thir Bellies; but will ſerve ſo much the better to diſcover Hirelings, who can have nothing, though but in appearance, juſt and ſolid to anſwer for themſelves againſt what hath bin here ſpoken, unleſs perhaps this one remaining Pretence, which we ſhall quickly ſee to be either fals or uningenuous.

They pretend that thir Education, either at School or Univerſity, hath bin very chargeable, and therfore ought to be repair'd in future by a plentiful Maintenance: Whenas it is well known that the better half of them, and oft-times poor and pitiful Boys, of no merit or promiſing hopes that might intitle them to the publick Proviſion, but thir Poverty and the unjuſt favour of Friends, have had the moſt of thir breeding, both at School and Univerſity, by Scholarſhips; Exhibitions and Fellowſhips at the Publick Coſt, which might engage them the rather to give freely, as they have freely receiv'd. Or if they have miſs'd of theſe helps at the latter place, they have after two or three Years left the cours of thir ſtudies there, if they ever well began them, and undertaken, though furniſh'd with little els but Ignorance, Boldneſs and Ambition, if with no worſe Vices, a Chaplainſhip in ſom Gentleman's houſe, to the frequent imbaſing of his Sons with illiterate and narrow Principles. Or if they have liv'd there upon thir own, who knows not that ſeven years Charge of living there, to them who fly not from the Government of thir Parents to the licenſe of a Univerſity, but com ſeriouſly to ſtudy, is no more than may be well defraid and reimburs'd by one year's Revenue of an ordinary good Benefice? If they had then means of Breeding from thir Parents, 'tis likely they have more now; and if they have, it needs muſt be mechanick and uningenuous in them, to bring a Bill of Charges for the learning of thoſe liberal Arts and Sciences, which they have learn'd (if they have indeed learn'd them, as they ſeldom have) to thir own benefit and accompliſhcompliſhment. But they will ſay, we had betaken us to ſom other Trade or Profeſſion, had we not expected to find a better Livelihood by the Miniſtry. This is that which I look'd for, to diſcover them openly neither true lovers of Learning, and ſo very ſeldom guilty of it, nor true Miniſters of the Goſpel. So long ago out of date is that old *true ſaying*, 1 Tim. 3. 1. *If a Man deſire a Biſhoprick, he deſires a good work:* for now commonly he who deſires to be a Miniſter, looks not at the Work, but at the Wages; and by that Lure or Loubel, may be toald from Pariſh to Pariſh all the Town over. But what can be plainer Simony, than thus to be at Charges beforehand, to no other end than to make thir Miniſtry doubly or trebly beneficial? To whom it might be ſaid, as juſtly as to that *Simon*, *Thy Mony periſh with thee*, *becauſe thou haſt thought that the Gift of God may be purchas'd with Money*; *thou haſt neither part nor lot in this matter.* Next, it is a fond Error, though too much believ'd among us, to think that the Univerſity makes a Miniſter of the Goſpel; what it may conduce to other Arts and Sciences, I diſpute not now: but that which makes fit a Miniſter, the Scripture can beſt inform us to be only from above, whence alſo we are bid to ſeek them; Mat. 9. 38. *Pray ye therfore to the Lord of the Harveſt, that he will ſend forth Laborers into his Harveſt.* Acts 20. 28. *The Flock, over which the Holy Ghoſt hath made you Overſeers.* Rom. 10. 15. *How ſhall they preach, unleſs they be ſent?* By whom ſent? by the Univerſity, or the Magiſtrate, or thir Belly? No ſurely, but ſent from God only, and that God who is not thir Belly. And whether he be ſent from God, or from *Simon Magus*, the inward ſenſe of his Calling and ſpiritual Ability will ſufficiently tell him; and that ſtrong Obligation felt within him, which was felt by the Apoſtle, will often expreſs from him the ſame words: 1 Cor. 9. 16. *Neceſſity is laid upon me, yea, Wo is me if I preach not the Goſpel.* Not a beggarly neceſſity, and the Wo fear'd otherwiſe of perpetual want, but ſuch a neceſſity as made him willing to preach the Goſpel *gratis*, and to embrace Poverty, rather than as a Wo to fear it. 1 Cor. 12. 28. *God hath ſet ſom in the Church, firſt Apoſtles*, &c. Epheſ. 4. 11, *&c. He gave ſom Apoſtles*, &c. *For the perfecting of the Saints, for the work of the Miniſtry, for the edifying of the Body of Chriſt, till we all come to the Unity of the Faith.* Wherby we may know, that as he made them at the firſt, ſo he makes them ſtill, and to the World's end. 2 Cor. 3. 6. *Who hath alſo made us fit or able Miniſters of the New Teſtament.* 1 Tim. 4. 14. *The Gift that is in thee, which was given thee by Propheſy, and the laying on of the Hands of the Preſbytery.* Theſe are all the means which we read of requir'd in Scripture to the making of a Miniſter. All this is granted, you will ſay; but yet that it is alſo requiſite he ſhould be train'd in other Learning; which can be no where better had than at Univerſities. I anſwer, that what Learning, either Human or Divine, can be neceſſary to a Miniſter, may as eaſily and leſs chargeably be had in any private houſe. How deficient els, and to how little purpoſe are all thoſe piles of Sermons, Notes, and Comments on all parts of the Bible, Bodies and Marrows of Divinity, beſides all other Sciences, in our Engliſh Tongue; many of the ſame Books which in Latin they read at the Univerſity? And the ſmall neceſſity of going thither to learn Divinity, I prove firſt from the moſt part of themſelves, who ſeldom continue there till they have well got through Logic, thir firſt Rudiments; though, to ſay truth, Logic alſo may much better be wanting in Diſputes of Divinity, than in the ſubtile Debates of Lawyers and Stateſmen, who yet ſeldom or never deal with Syllogiſms. And thoſe Theological Diſputations there held by Profeſſors and Graduates, are ſuch as tend leaſt of all to the Edification or Capacity of the People, but rather perplex and leven pure Doctrin with ſcholaſtical Traſh, than enable any Miniſter to the better preaching of the Goſpel. Whence we may alſo compute, ſince they com to reckonings, the charges of his needful Library: which, though ſome ſhame not to value at 600 *l.* may be competently furniſh'd for 60 *l.* If any Man for his own curioſity or delight be in Books further expenſive, that is not to be reckon'd as neceſſary to his miniſterial, either Breeding or Function. But Papiſts and other Adverſaries, cannot be confuted without Fathers and Councils, immenſe Volumes, and of vaſt charges. I will ſhew them therfore a ſhorter and a better way of confutation: Tit. 1. 9. *Holding faſt the faithful Word, as he hath bin taught, that he* *may be able by ſound Doctrin, both to exhort and to convince Gainſayers* : who are confuted as ſoon as heard, bringing that which is either not in Scripture, or againſt it. To perſue them further through the obſcure and intangl'd Wood of Antiquity, Fathers and Councils fighting one againſt another, is needleſs, endleſs, not requiſite in a Miniſter, and refus'd by the firſt Reformers of our Religion. And yet we may be confident, if theſe things be thought needful, let the State but erect in publick good ſtore of Libraries, and there will not want men in the Church, who of thir own Inclinations will become able in this kind againſt Papiſts or any other Adverſary. I have thus at large examin'd the uſual Pretences of Hirelings, colour'd over moſt commonly with the cauſe of Learning and Univerſities; as if with Divines Learning ſtood and fell, wherin for the moſt part thir Pittance is ſo ſmall: and, to ſpeak freely, it were much better there were not one Divine in the Univerſity, no School-divinity known, the idle Sophiſtry of Monks, the Canker of Religion; and that they who intended to be Miniſters, were train'd up in the Church only by the Scripture, and in the Original Languages therof at School; without fetching the compaſs of other Arts and Sciences, more than what they can well learn at ſecondary leaſure, and at home. Neither ſpeak I this in contempt of Learning, or the Miniſtry, but hating the common cheats of both; hating that they who have preach'd out Biſhops, Prelats and Canoniſts, ſhould, in what ſerves thir own ends, retain thir fals Opinions, thir Phariſaical Leven, thir Avarice, and cloſely, thir Ambition, thir Pluralities, thir Nonreſidences, thir odious Fees, and uſe thir legal and Popiſh Arguments for Tithes: That Independents ſhould take that Name, as they may juſtly from the true freedom of Chriſtian Doctrin and Church-diſciplin ſubject to no ſuperior Judg but God only, and ſeek to be Dependents on the Magiſtrate for thir Maintenance; which two things, Independence and State-hire in Religion, can never conſiſt long or certainly together. For Magiſtrates at one time or other, not like theſe at preſent our Patrons of Chriſtian Liberty, will pay none but ſuch whom by thir Committies of Examination, they find conformable to thir Intereſt and Opinions: And Hirelings will ſoon frame themſelves to that Intereſt, and thoſe Opinions which they ſee beſt pleaſing to thir Paymaſters; and to ſeem right themſelves, will force others as to the truth. But moſt of all they are to be revil'd and ſham'd, who cry out with the diſtinct Voice of notorious Hirelings; that if ye ſettle not our Maintenance by Law, farewel the Goſpel; then which nothing can be utter'd more fals, more ignominious, and, I may ſay, more blaſphemous againſt our Saviour; who hath promis'd, without this Condition, both his Holy Spirit, and his own preſence with his Church to the World's end: Nothing more fals (unleſs with thir own Mouths they condemn themſelves for the unworthieſt and moſt mercenary of all other Miniſters) by the experience of 300 Years after Chriſt, and the Churches at this day in *France*, *Auſtria*, *Polonia*, and other places, witneſſing the contrary under an advers Magiſtrate, not a favorable; nothing more ignominious, levelling, or rather undervaluing Chriſt beneath *Mahomet*. For if it muſt be thus, how can any Chriſtian object it to a Turk, that his Religion ſtands by Force only; and not juſtly fear from him this Reply, yours both by Force and Money in the judgment of your own Preachers? This is that which makes Atheiſts in the Land, whom they ſo much complain of: not the want of Maintenance, or Preachers, as they allege, but the many Hirelings and Cheaters that have the Goſpel in thir hands; hands that ſtill crave, and are never ſatisfi'd. Likely Miniſters indeed, to proclaim the Faith, or to exhort our truſt in God, when they themſelves will not truſt him to provide for them in the Meſſage wheron, they ſay, he ſent them; but threaten, for want of temporal means, to deſert it; calling that want of means, which is nothing els but the want of thir own Faith; and would force us to pay the hire of building our Faith to thir covetous Incredulity. Doubtleſs, if God only be he who gives Miniſters to his Church till the World's end; and through the whole Goſpel never ſent us for Miniſters to the Schools of Philoſophy, but rather bids us beware of ſuch *vain deceit*, Col. 2. 8. (which the Primitive Church, after two or three Ages not remembring, brought her ſelf quickly to confuſion) if all the Faithful be now *a Holy and a Royal Prieſthood*, 1 Pet. 2. 5, 9. not excluded from the Diſpenſation

penſation of things holieſt, after free election of the Church, and impoſition of hands, there will not want Miniſters elected out of all ſorts and orders of Men, for the Goſpel makes no difference from the Magiſtrate himſelf to the meaneſt Artificer, if God evidently favour him with Spiritual Gifts, as he can eaſily, and oft hath done, while thoſe Batchelor Divines and Doctors of the Tippet have bin paſs'd by. Heretofore in the firſt Evangelic Times, (and it were happy for Chriſtendom if it were ſo again) Miniſters of the Goſpel were by nothing els diſtinguiſh'd from other Chriſtians, but by thir ſpiritual Knowledg and Sanctity of Life, for which the Church elected them to be her Teachers and Overſeers, though not therby to ſeparate them from whatever calling ſhe then found them following beſides, as the Example of St *Paul* declares, and the firſt times of Chriſtianity. When once they affected to be call'd a Clergy, and became, as it were, a peculiar Tribe of Levites, a Party, a diſtinct Order in the Commonwealth, bred up for Divines in babling Schools, and fed at the Publick Coſt, good for nothing els but what was good for nothing, they ſoon grew idle: that Idleneſs, with fulneſs of Bread, begat pride and perpetual contention with thir Feeders the deſpis'd Laity, through all Ages ever ſince; to the perverting of Religion, and the diſturbance of all Chriſtendom. And we may confidently conclude, it never will be otherwiſe while they are thus upheld undepending on the Church, on which alone they anciently depended, and are by the Magiſtrate publickly maintain'd a numerous Faction of indigent Perſons, crept for the moſt part out of extream want and bad nurture, claiming by divine right and freehold the tenth of our Eſtates, to monopolize the Miniſtry as thir peculiar, which is free and open to all able Chriſtians, elected by any Church. Under this pretence exempt from all other Imployment, and inriching themſelves on the publick, they laſt of all prove common Incendiaries, and exalt thir Horns againſt the Magiſtrate himſelf that maintains them, as the Prieſt of *Rome* did ſoon after againſt his Benefactor the Emperor, and the Preſbyters of late in *Scotland*. Of which hireling Crew, together with all the Miſchiefs, Diſſentions, Troubles, Wars meerly of thir kindling, Chriſtendom might ſoon rid her ſelf and be happy, if Chriſtians would but know thir own Dignity, thir Liberty, thir Adoption, and let it not be wonder'd if I ſay, thir ſpiritual Prieſthood, wherby they have all equally acceſs to any miniſterial Function, whenever call'd by thir own Abilities, and the Church, though they never came near Commencement or Univerſity. But while Proteſtants, to avoid the due labor of underſtanding thir own Religion, are content to lodg it in the Breaſt, or rather in the Books of a Clergyman, and to take it thence by ſcraps and mammocks, as he diſpenſes it in his Sundays Dole; they will be always learning, and never knowing; always Infants; always either his Vaſſals, as Lay-papiſts are to thir Prieſts; or at odds with him, as reformed Principles give them ſom light to be not wholly conformable; whence infinit diſturbances in the State, as they do, muſt needs follow. Thus much I had to ſay; and, I ſuppoſe, what may be anough to them who are not avariciouſly bent otherwiſe, touching the likelieſt means to remove Hirelings out of the Church; then which nothing can more conduce to Truth, to Peace and all Happineſs both in Church and State. If I be not heard nor believ'd, the Event will bear me witneſs to have ſpoken Truth; and I, in the mean while, have born my Witneſs, not out of ſeaſon to the Church and to my Countrey.

A

# A LETTER TO A FRIEND,

## Concerning the Ruptures of the Commonwealth. Publiſh'd from the Manuſcript.

*SIR,*

UPON the ſad and ſerious Diſcourſe which we fell into laſt night, concerning theſe dangerous Ruptures of the Commonwealth, ſcarce yet in her Infancy, which cannot be without ſome inward flaw in her Bowels; I began to conſider more intenſly theron than hitherto I have bin wont, reſigning my ſelf to the Wiſdom and Care of thoſe who had the Government; and not finding that either God, or the Publick requir'd more of me, than my Prayers for them that govern. And ſince you have not only ſtir'd up my thoughts, by acquainting me with the ſtate of Affairs, more inwardly than I knew before; but alſo have deſired me to ſet down my Opinion therof, truſting to your Ingenuity, I ſhall give you freely my apprehenſion, both of our preſent Evils, and what Expedients, if God in Mercy regard us, may remove them. I will begin with telling you how I was over-joy'd, when I heard that the Army, under the working of God's holy Spirit, as I thought, and ſtill hope well, had bin ſo far wrought to Chriſtian Humility, and Self-denial, as to confeſs in publick thir backſliding from the good Old Cauſe, and to ſhew the fruits of thir Repentance, in the righteouſneſs of thir reſtoring the old famous Parliament, which they had without juſt Authority diſſolved: I call it the famous Parliament, tho not the harmles, ſince none well-affected, but will confes, they have deſerved much more of theſe Nations, than they have undeſerved. And I perſwade me, that God was pleas'd with thir Reſtitution, ſigning it, as he did, with ſuch a ſignal Victory, when ſo great a part of the Nation were deſperately conſpir'd to call back again thir Egytian Bondage. So much the more it now amazes me, that they, whoſe Lips were yet ſcarce clos'd from giving Thanks for that great Deliverance, ſhould be now relapſing, and ſo ſoon again backſliding into the ſame fault, which they confeſt ſo lately, and ſo ſolemnly to God and the World, and more lately puniſh'd in thoſe *Cheſhire* Rebels; that they ſhould now diſſolve that Parliament, which they themſelves re-eſtabliſh'd, and acknowledg'd for thir Supreme Power in thir other days humble Repreſentation: and all this, for no apparent cauſe of publick Concernment to the Church or Commonwealth, but only for diſcommiſſioning nine great Officers in the Army; which had not bin don, as is reported, but upon notice of thir Intentions againſt the Parliament. I preſume not to give my Cenſure on this Action, not knowing, as yet I do not, the bottom of it. I ſpeak only what it appears to us without doors, till better cauſe be declar'd, and I am ſure to all other Nations moſt illegal and ſcandalous, I fear me barbarous, or rather ſcarce to be exampl'd among any Barbarians, that a paid Army ſhould, for no other cauſe, thus ſubdue the Supream Power that ſet them up. This, I ſay, other Nations will judg to the ſad diſhonour of that Army, lately ſo renown'd for the civileſt and beſt order'd in the World, and by us here at home, for the moſt conſcientious. Certainly, if the great

Officers and Souldiers of the *Holland*, *French* or *Venetian* Forces, ſhould thus ſit in Council, and write from Gariſon to Gariſon againſt their Superiors, they might as eaſily reduce the King of *France*, or Duke of *Venice*, and put the United Provinces in like Diſorder and Confuſion. Why do they not, being moſt of them held ignorant of true Religion? becauſe the Light of Nature, the Laws of Human Society, the Reverence of their Magiſtrates, Covenants, Engagements, Loyalty, Allegiance, keeps them in awe. How grievous will it then be? how infamous to the true Religion which we profeſs? how diſhonorable to the Name of God, that his Fear and the power of his Knowledg in an Army profeſſing to be his, ſhould not work that Obedience, that Fidelity to thir Supream Magiſtrates, that levied them, and paid them, when the Light of Nature, the Laws of Human Society, Covenants, and Contracts, yea common Shame works in other Armies, amongſt the worſt of them? Which will undoubtedly pull down the heavy Judgment of God among us, who cannot but avenge theſe Hypocriſies, Violations of Truth and Holines; if they be indeed ſo as they yet ſeem. For, neither do I ſpeak this in reproach to the Army, but as jealous of thir Honour, inciting them to manifeſt and publiſh, with all ſpeed, ſome better cauſe of theſe thir late Actions, than hath hitherto appear'd, and to find out the *Achan* amongſt them, whoſe cloſe Ambition in all likelihood abuſes thir honeſt Natures againſt thir meaning to theſe Diſorders; thir readieſt way to bring in again the common Enemy, and with him the Deſtruction of true Religion, and civil Liberty. But, becauſe our Evils are now grown more dangerous and extream, than to be remedi'd by Complaints, it concerns us now to find out what Remedies may be likelieſt to ſave us from approaching Ruin. Being now in Anarchy, without a counſelling and governing Power; and the Army, I ſuppoſe, finding themſelves inſufficient to diſcharge at once both Military and Civil Affairs, the firſt thing to be found out with all ſpeed, without which no Commonwealth can ſubſiſt, muſt be a Senate, or General Council of State, in whom muſt be the Power, firſt, to preſerve the publick Peace, next the Commerce with Foreign Nations; and laſtly, to raiſe Monies for the Management of theſe Affairs: this muſt either be the Parliament readmitted to ſit, or a Council of State allow'd of by the Army, ſince they only now have the Power. The Terms to be ſtood on are, Liberty of Conſcience to all profeſſing Scripture to be the Rule of thir Faith and Worſhip; and the Abjuration of a ſingle Perſon. If the Parliament be again thought on, to ſalve Honour on both ſides, the well-affected Party of the City, and the congregated Churches, may be induced to mediate by publick Addreſſes, and brotherly beſeechings, which, if there be that Saintſhip among us which is talk'd of, ought to be of higheſt and undeniable Perſwaſion to Reconcilement. If the Parliament be thought well diſſolv'd, as not complying fully to grant Liberty of Conſcience, and the neceſſary Conſequence therof, the removal of a forc'd Maintenance from Miniſters, then muſt the Army forthwith chooſe a Council of State, wherof as many to be of the Parliament, as are undoubtedly affected to theſe two Conditions propos'd. That which I conceive only able to cement, and unite for ever the Army, either to the Parliament recall'd, or this choſen Council, muſt be a mutual League and Oath, private or publick, not to deſert one another till Death: That is to ſay, that the Army be kept up, and all theſe Officers in thir places during Life, and ſo likewiſe the Parliament, or Counſellors of State; which will be no way unjuſt, conſidering thir known Merits on either ſide, in Councel or in Field, unleſs any be found falſe to any of theſe two Principles, or otherwiſe perſonally criminous in the Judgment of both Parties. If ſuch a Union as this be not accepted on the Army's part, be confident there is a ſingle Perſon underneath. That the Army be upheld, the neceſſity of our Affairs and Factions will conſtrain long enough perhaps, to content the longeſt Liver in the Army. And whether the Civil Government be an annual Democracy, or a perpetual Ariſtocracy, is not to me a Conſideration for the Extremities wherin we are, and the hazard of our Safety from our common Enemy, gaping at preſent to devour us. That it be not an Oligarchy, or the Faction of a few, may be eaſily prevented by the Numbers of thir own chooſing, who may be found infallibly conſtant to thoſe two Conditions forenam'd, full Liberty of Conſcience, and the Abjuration of Monarchy propos'd: and the well-order'd Committies of thir faithfulleſt Adherents in every County may give this Government the reſemblance and effects of a perfect Democracy. As for the Reformation of Laws, and the places of Judicature, whether to be here, as at preſent, or in every County, as hath bin long aim'd at, and many ſuch Propoſals, tending no doubt to publick good, they may be conſider'd in due time when we are paſt theſe pernicious Pangs, in a hopeful way of Health, and firm Conſtitution. But unleſs theſe things, which I have above propos'd, one way or other, be once ſettl'd, in my fear, which God avert, we inſtantly ruin; or at beſt become the Servants of one or other ſingle Perſon, the ſecret Author and Fomenter of theſe Diſturbances. You have the ſum of my preſent Thoughts, as much as I underſtand of theſe Affairs freely imparted, at your requeſt, and the Perſwaſion you wrought in me, that I might chance herby to be ſome way ſerviceable to the Commonwealth, in a time when all ought to be endeavouring what good they can, whether much, or but little. With this you may do what you pleaſe, put out, put in, communicate or ſuppreſs: you offend not me, who only have obey'd your Opinion, that in doing what I have don, I might happen to offer ſomthing which might be of ſom uſe in this great time of need. However, I have not bin wanting to the opportunity which you preſented before me, of ſhewing the readines which I have in the midſt of my Unfitnes, to what ever may be requir'd of me, as a publick Duty.

*October* 20. 1659.

of Conscience, and the Abjuration of Monarchy propos'd; and the well-order'd Committees of their Forces in every County [illegible] this Government the [illegible] for the Reformation of Laws, and the [illegible] whether to be here, as at present, or in every County, as hath bin long since [illegible], and many other Proposals, tending no doubt to publick good, they may be considered in due time when we are [illegible] in a peaceful way of Health, and free Conscience. But unless these things, which I have above propos'd, one way or other, be once settl'd, in my fear, which God avert, we instantly ruine; or at best become the Servants of one or other single Person, the secret Author and Fomenter of these Disturbances.

You have the sum of my present Thoughts, as much as I understand of these Affairs freely imparted; at your request, and the perswasion you wrought in me, that I might chance hereby to be some way serviceable to the Commonwealth, in a time when all ought to be endeavouring what good they can, whether much, or but little. With this you may do what you please, put out, put in, communicate or suppress: you offend not me, who only have obey'd your Opinion, that in doing what I have done, I might happen to offer something which might be of some use in this great time of need. However, I have not bin wanting to the opportunity which you presented before me, of shewing the readiness which I have in the midst of my Unfitness, to what ever may be required of me, as a publick Duty.

October 20. 1659.

# The ready and eaſy way to eſtabliſh a
# Free Commonwealth,
## And the Excellence therof,
## Compar'd with the Inconveniencies and Dangers of readmitting Kingſhip in this Nation.

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———*Et nos*
*Conſilium dedimus* Syllæ, *demus populo nunc.*

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ALthough ſince the writing of this Treatiſe, the face of things hath had ſom change, Writs for new Elections have bin recall'd, and the Members at firſt choſen, readmitted from excluſion; yet not a little rejoicing to hear declar'd the Reſolution of thoſe who are in Power, tending to the eſtabliſhment of a Free Commonwealth, and to remove, if it be poſſible, this noxious humor of returning to Bondage, inſtill'd of late by ſom Deceivers, and nouriſh'd from bad Principles and fals Apprehenſions among too many of the People, I thought beſt not to ſuppreſs what I had written, hoping that it may now be of much more uſe and concernment to be freely publiſh'd, in the midſt of our Elections to a Free Parlament, or thir ſitting to conſider freely of the Government; whom it behoves to have all things repreſented to them that may direct thir Judgment therin; and I never read of any State, ſcarce of any Tyrant grown ſo incurable, as to refuſe Counſel from any in a time of publick Deliberation, much leſs to be offended. If thir abſolute Determination be to enthral us, before ſo long a Lent of Servitude, they may permit us a little Shroving-time firſt, wherin to ſpeak freely, and take our leaves of Liberty. And becauſe in the former Edition, through haſte, many Faults eſcap'd, and many Books were ſuddenly diſpers'd, ere the Note to mend them could be ſent, I took the opportunity from this occaſion to reviſe and ſomwhat to enlarge the whole Diſcourſe, eſpecially that part which argues for a perpetual Senate. The Treatiſe thus reviſ'd and enlarg'd, is as follows.

The Parlament of *England*, aſſiſted by a great number of the People who appear'd and ſtuck to them faithfulleſt in defence of Religion and thir Civil Liberties, judging Kingſhip by long experience a Government unneceſſary, burdenſom and dangerous, juſtly and magnanimouſly aboliſh'd it, turning regal Bondage into a free Commonwealth, to the Admiration and Terrour of our emulous Neighbours. They took themſelves not bound by the Light of Nature or Religion to any former Covnant, from which the King himſelf, by many Forfeitures of a latter date or diſcovery, and our own longer conſideration theron, had more and more unbound us, both to himſelf and his poſterity; as hath been ever the Juſtice and the Prudence of all wiſe Nations that have ejected Tyranny. They covnanted *to preſerve the King's Perſon and Authority, in the preſervation of the true Religion, and our Liberties*; not in his endeavouring to bring in upon our Conſciences, a Popiſh Religion; upon our Liberties, Thraldom; upon our Lives, Deſtruction, by his occaſioning, if not complotting, as was after diſcovered, the *Iriſh* Maſſacre; his fomenting and arming the Rebellion; his covert leaguing with the Rebels againſt us; his refuſing, more than ſeven times, Propoſitions moſt juſt and neceſſary to the true Religion and our Liberties, tender'd him by the Parlament both of *England* and *Scotland*. They made not thir Covnant concerning him with no difference between a King and a God; or promis'd him, as *Job* did to the Almighty, *to truſt in him though he ſlay us*: They underſtood that the ſolemn Ingagement, wherin we all forſwore Kingſhip, was no more a breach of the Covnant, than the Covnant was of the Proteſtation before, but a faithful and prudent going on both in words well weigh'd, and in the true ſenſe of the Covnant, *without reſpect of Perſons*, when we could not ſerve two contrary Maſters, God and the King, or the King and that more ſupreme Law, ſworn in the firſt place to maintain, our Safety and our Liberty. They knew the People of *England* to be a free People, themſelves the Repreſenters of that Freedom; and although many were excluded, and as many fled (ſo they pretended) from Tumults to *Oxford*, yet they were left a ſufficient Number to act in Parlament, therfore not bound by any Statute of preceding Parlaments, but by the Law of Nature only, which is the only Law of Laws truly and properly to all Mankind fundamental; the beginning and the end of all Government; to which no Parlament or People that will throughly reform, but may and muſt have recourſe, as they had, and muſt yet have, in Church-Reformation (if they throughly intend it) to Evangelic Rules; not to Eccleſiaſtical Canons, though never ſo ancient, ſo ratifi'd and eſtabliſh'd in the Land by Statutes, which for the moſt part are meer poſitive Laws, neither natural nor moral; and ſo by any Parlament, for juſt and ſerious Conſiderations, without ſcruple to be at any time repeal'd. If others of thir Number in theſe things were under Force, they were not, but under free Conſcience; if others were excluded by a Power which they could not reſiſt, they were not therfore to leave the Helm of Government in no hands, to diſcontinue thir care of the Public Peace and Safety, to deſert the People in Anarchy and Confuſion, no more than when ſo many of thir Members left them, as made up in outward Formality a more legal Parlament of three Eſtates againſt them. The beſt affected alſo, and beſt principl'd of the People, ſtood not numbring or computing, on which ſide were moſt Voices in Parlament, but on which ſide appear'd to them moſt Reaſon, moſt Safety, when the Houſe divided upon main Matters: What was well motion'd and adviſ'd, they examin'd not whether Fear or Perſwaſion carried it in the Vote, neither did they meaſure Votes and Counſels by the Intentions of them that voted; knowing that Intentions either are but gueſs'd at, or not ſoon anough known; and although good, can neither make the Deed ſuch, nor prevent the Conſequence from being bad: Suppoſe bad Intentions in things otherwiſe well don; what was well don, was by them who ſo thought, not the leſs obey'd or follow'd in the State; ſince in the Church, who had not rather follow *Iſcariot* or *Simon* the Magician, though to covetous Ends, preaching, than *Saul*, though in the uprightneſs of his Heart perſecuting the Goſpel? Safer they therfore judg'd what they thought the better Counſels, though carried on by ſome perhaps to bad Ends, then the wors by others, though endeavor'd with beſt Intentions: and yet they were not to learn that a greater Number might be corrupt within the Walls of a Parlament, as well as of a City; wherof in Matters of neareſt concernment all Men will be judges; nor eaſily permit, that the Odds of Voices in thir greateſt Council, ſhall more endanger them by corrupt or credulous Votes, than the Odds of Enemies by open Aſſaults; judging that moſt Voices ought not always to prevail where main Matters are in queſtion. If others hence will pretend to diſturb all Counſels; what is that to them who pretend not, but are in real danger; not they only ſo judging, but a great, tho not the greateſt Number of thir choſen Patriots, who might be more in Weight than the others in Number; there being in Number little Vertue, but by Weight and Meaſure Wiſdom working all things: and the Dangers on either ſide they ſeriouſly thus weigh'd: From the Treaty, ſhort Fruits of long Labours, and 7 years War; Security for 20 Years, if we can hold it; Reformation in the Church for three Years: then put to ſhift again with our vanquiſh'd Maſter. His Juſtice, his Honour, his Conſcience declar'd quite contrary to ours; which would have furniſh'd him with many ſuch Evaſions, as in a Book entitl'd, *An Inquiſition for Blood*, ſoon after were not conceal'd: Biſhops not totally remov'd, but left, as it were, in Ambuſh, a Reſerve, with Ordination in thir ſole Power; thir Lands already ſold, not to be alienated, but rented, and the ſale of them call'd *Sacrilege*; Delinquents, few of many brought to condign Puniſhment; Acceſſories puniſh'd; the chief Author, above Pardon, though after utmoſt Reſiſtance, vanquiſh'd; not to give, but to receive Laws; yet beſought, treated with, and to be thank'd for his gracious Conceſſions, to be honour'd, worſhip'd, glorifi'd. If this we ſwore to do, with what Righteouſneſs in the ſight of God, with what Aſſurance that we bring not by ſuch an Oath, the whole Sea of Blood-guiltineſs upon our own Heads? If on the other ſide we prefer a Free Government, though for the preſent not obtain'd, yet all thoſe ſuggeſted Fears and Difficulties, as the Event will prove, eaſily overcome, we remain finally ſecure from the exaſperated Regal Power, and out of Snares; ſhall retain the beſt part of our Liberty, which is our Religion, and the civil part will be from theſe who defer us, much more eaſily recover'd, being neither ſo ſuttle nor ſo awful as a King reinthron'd. Nor were thir Actions leſs both at home and abroad, than might become the hopes of a glorious riſing Commonwealth: Nor were the Expreſſions both of Army and People, whether in thir publick Declarations, or ſeveral Writings other than ſuch as teſtifi'd a Spirit in this Nation, no leſs noble and well fitted to the Liberty of a Commonwealth, than in the ancient *Greeks* or *Romans*. Nor was the heroic Cauſe unſucceſfully defended to all Chriſtendom, againſt the Tongue of a famous and thought invincible Adverſary; nor the Conſtancy and Fortitude that ſo nobly vindicated our Liberty, our Victory at once againſt two the moſt prevailing Uſurpers over Mankind, Superſtition and Tyranny unprais'd or uncelebrated in a written Monument, likely to outlive Detraction, as it hath hitherto convinc'd or ſilenc'd not a few of our Detractors, eſpecially in parts abroad. After our Liberty and Religion thus proſperouſly fought for, gain'd, and many Years poſſeſs'd, except in thoſe unhappy Interruptions, which God hath remov'd; now that nothing remains, but in all reaſon the certain hopes of a ſpeedy and immediat Settlement for ever in a firm and free Commonwealth, for this extoll'd and magnifi'd Nation, regardleſs both of Honour won, or Deliverances voutſaf't from Heaven, to fall back, or rather to creep back ſo poorly, as it ſeems the multitude would, to thir once abjur'd and deteſted Thraldom of Kingſhip, to be our ſelves the ſlanderers of our own juſt and religious Deeds, though don by ſom to covetous and ambitious Ends, yet not therfore to be ſtain'd with thir Infamy, or they to aſperſe the Integrity of others; and yet theſe now by revolting from the Conſcience of Deeds well done, both in Church and State, to throw away and forſake, or rather to betray a juſt and noble Cauſe for the mixture of bad Men who have ill manag'd and abus'd it, (which had our Fathers done heretofore, and on the ſame pretence deſerted true Religion, what had long ere this become of our Goſpel, and all Proteſtant Reformation ſo much intermixt with the Avarice and Ambition of ſom Reformers?) and by thus relapſing, to verify all the bitter Predictions of our triumphing Enemies, who will now think they wiſely diſcern'd and juſtly cenſur'd both us and all our Actions as raſh, rebellious, hypocritical and impious, not only argues a ſtrange degenerate Contagion ſuddenly ſpread among us, fitted and prepar'd for new Slavery, but will render us a Scorn and Deriſion to all our Neighbours. And what will they at beſt ſay of us, and of the whole *Engliſh* Name, but ſcoffingly, as of that fooliſh Builder mention'd by our Saviour, who began to build a Tower, and was not able to finiſh it? Where is this goodly Tower of a Commonwealth, which the *Engliſh* boaſted they would build to overſhadow Kings, and be another *Rome* in the Weſt? The Foundation indeed they laid gallantly, but fell into a wors Confuſion, not of Tongues, but of Factions, than thoſe at the Tower of *Babel*; and have left no Memorial of thir Work behind them remaining, but in the common Laughter of *Europe*. Which muſt needs redound the more to our ſhame, if we but look on our Neighbours the *United Provinces*, to us inferior in all outward Advantages; who notwithſtanding, in the midſt of greater Difficulties, couragiouſly, wiſely, conſtantly went through with the ſame Work, and are ſettl'd in all the happy enjoyments of a potent and flouriſhing Republic to this day.

Beſides this, if we return to Kingſhip, and ſoon repent, as undoubtedly we ſhall, when we begin to find the old encroachments coming on by little and little upon our Conſciences, which muſt neceſſarily proceed from King and Biſhop united inſeparably in one Intereſt, we may be forc'd perhaps to fight over again all that we have fought, and ſpend over again all that we have ſpent, but are never like to attain thus far as we are now advanc'd to the recovery of our Freedom, never to have it in poſſeſſion as we now have it, never to be vouchſaft hereafter the like Mercies and ſignal Aſſiſtances from Heaven in our Cauſe; if by our ingrateful backſliding we make theſe fruitleſs, flying now to regal Conceſſions from his divine condeſcenſions, and gracious anſwers to our once importuning Prayers againſt the Tyranny which we then groan'd under; making vain and viler than dirt, the Blood of ſo many thouſand faithful and valiant *Engliſh* men, who left us in this Liberty, bought with thir Lives; loſing by a ſtrange after-game of Folly, all the battels we have won, together with all *Scotland* as to our Conqueſt, hereby loſt, which never any of our Kings could conquer, all the Treaſure we have ſpent, not that corruptible Treaſure only, but that far more precious of all our late miraculous Deliverances; treading back again with loſt labour, all our happy ſteps in the progreſs of Reformation, and moſt pitifully depriving our ſelves the inſtant fruition of that free Government which we have ſo dearly purchas'd, a free Commonwealth, not only held by wiſeſt men in all Ages the nobleſt, the manlieſt, the equalleſt, the juſteſt Government, the moſt agreeable to all due Liberty and proportion'd Equality, both Human, Civil, and Chriſtian, moſt cheriſhing to Vertue and true Religion, but alſo (I may ſay it with greateſt probability) plainly commended, or rather enjoin'd by our Saviour himſelf, to all Chriſtians, not without remarkable diſallowance, and the brand of *Gentiliſm* upon Kingſhip. God in much diſpleaſure gave a King to the *Iſraelites*, and imputed it a ſin to them that they ſought one: but *Chriſt* apparently forbids his Diſciples to admit of any ſuch heatheniſh Government; *The Kings of the Gentiles*, ſaith he, *exerciſe Lordſhip over them*; and they that *exerciſe Authority upon them are call'd Benefactors: but ye ſhall not be ſo; but he that is greateſt among you, let him be as the younger; and he that is chief, as he that ſerveth.* The occaſion of theſe his words was the ambitious deſire of *Zebede*'s two Sons, to be exalted above thir Brethren in his Kingdom, which they thought was to be ere long upon Earth. That he ſpeaks of Civil Government, is manifeſt by the former part of the Compariſon, which infers the other part to be always in the ſame kind. And what Government comes nearer to this precept of Chriſt, than a free Commonwealth; wherin they who are greateſt, are perpetual Servants and drudges to the public at thir own coſt and charges, neglect thir own Affairs, yet are not elevated above thir Brethren; live ſoberly in thir Families, walk the Streets as other men, may be ſpoken to freely, familiarly, friendly, without Adoration? Wheras a King muſt be ador'd like a Demigod, with a diſſolute and haughty Court about him, of vaſt expence and Luxury, Masks and Revels, to the debauching of our prime Gentry both Male and Female; not in thir paſtimes only, but in earneſt, by the loos imployments of Court-ſervice, which will be then thought honorable. There will be a Queen of no leſs charge; in moſt likelihood Outlandiſh and a Papiſt, beſides a Queen-mother ſuch already; together with both thir Courts and numerous Train: then a Royal iſſue, and ere long ſeverally thir ſumptuous Courts; to the multiplying of a ſervil Crew, not of Servants only, but of Nobility and Gentry, bred up then to the hopes not of Publick, but of Court-Offices, to be Stewards, Chamberlains, Uſhers, Grooms, even of the Cloſe-ſtool; and the lower thir Minds debas'd with Court-opinions, contrary to all Vertue and Reformation, the haughtier will be thir Pride and Profuſeneſs. We may well remember this not long ſince at home; or need but look at preſent into the *French* Court, where Enticements and Preferments daily draw away and pervert the Proteſtant Nobility. As to the burden of expence, to our coſt we ſhall ſoon know it; for any good to us deſerving to be term'd no better than the vaſt and laviſh price of our ſubjection, and thir Debauchery, which we are now ſo greedily cheapning, and would ſo fain be paying moſt inconſideratly to a ſingle Perſon; who for any thing wherin the public really needs him, will have little els to do, but to beſtow the eating and drinking of exceſſive Dainties, to ſet a pompous face upon the ſuperficial actings of State, to pageant himſelf up and down in Progreſs among the perpetual bowing and cringings of an abject People, on either ſide deifying and adoring him for nothing done that can deſerve it. For what can he more than another man? who even in the expreſſion of a late Court-poet, ſits only like a great Cypher ſet to no purpoſe before a long row of other ſignificant Figures. Nay, it is well and happy for the People if thir King be but a Cypher, being oft times a Miſchief, a Peſt, a ſcourge of the Nation, and which is wors, not to be remov'd, not to be controul'd, much leſs accus'd or brought to puniſhment, without the danger of a common ruin, without the ſhaking and almoſt ſubverſion of the whole Land: wheras in a free Commonwealth, any Governor or chief Counſelor offending, may be remov'd and puniſh'd without the leaſt Commotion. Certainly then that People muſt needs be mad or ſtrangely infatuated, that build the chief hope of thir common happineſs or ſafety on a ſingle Perſon; who if he happen to be good, can do no more than another man; if to be bad, hath in his hands to do more evil without check, then millions of other men. The happineſs of a Nation muſt needs be firmeſt and certaineſt in a full and free Council of thir own electing, where no ſingle Perſon, but Reaſon only ſways. And what madneſs is it for them who might manage nobly thir own Affairs themſelves, ſluggiſhly and weakly to devolve all on a ſingle Perſon; and more like Boys under Age than Men, to commit all to his patronage and diſpoſal, who neither can perform what he undertakes, and yet for undertaking it, though royally paid, will not be thir Servant, but thir Lord? How unmanly muſt it needs be, to count ſuch a one the breath of our Noſtrils, to hang all our felicity on him, all our ſafety, our well-being, for which if we were aught els but Sluggards or Babies, we need depend on none but God and our own Counſels, our own active Vertue and Induſtry. *Go to the Ant, thou ſluggard*, ſaith *Solomon*; *conſider her ways, and be wiſe; which having no Prince, Ruler, or Lord, provides her Meat in the Summer, and gathers her food in the Harveſt:* which evidently ſhews us, that they who think the Nation undon without a King, though they look grave or haughty, have not ſo much true Spirit and Underſtanding in them as a Piſmire: neither are theſe diligent Creatures hence concluded to live in lawleſs anarchy, or that commended, but are ſet the examples to imprudent and ungovern'd men, of a frugal and ſelf-governing Democraty or Commonwealth; ſafer and more thriving in the joint Providence and Counſel of many induſtrious equals, than under the ſingle domination of one imperious Lord. It may be well wonder'd that any Nation ſtiling themſelves free, can ſuffer any man to pretend Hereditary right over them as thir Lord; when as by acknowledging that Right, they conclude themſelves his Servants and his Vaſſals, and ſo renounce thir own freedom. Which how a People and thir Leaders eſpecially can do, who have fought ſo gloriouſly for Liberty; how they can change thir noble Words and Actions, heretofore ſo becoming the majeſty of a free People, into the baſe neceſſity of Court-flatteries and Proſtrations, is not only ſtrange and admirable, but lamentable to think on. That a Nation ſhould be ſo valorous and courageous to win thir Liberty in the Field, and when they have won it, ſhould be ſo heartleſs and unwiſe in thir Councils, as not to know how to uſe it, value it, what to do with it, or with themſelves; but after ten or twelve years proſperous War and conteſtation with Tyranny, baſely and beſottedly to run thir Necks again into the Yoke which they have broken, and proſtrate all the fruits of thir Victory for naught at the feet of the vanquiſh'd, beſides our loſs of Glory, and ſuch an example as Kings or Tyrants never yet had the like to boaſt of, will be an ignominy if it befal us, that never yet befel any Nation poſſeſs'd of thir Liberty; worthy indeed themſelves, whatſoever they be, to be for ever ſlaves; but that part of the Nation which conſents not with them, as I perſwade me, of a great number, far worthier than by their means to be brought into the ſame Bondage. Conſidering theſe things ſo plain, ſo rational, I cannot but yet furder admire on the other ſide, how any man who hath the true principles of Juſtice and Religion in him, can preſume or take upon him to be a King and Lord over his Brethren, whom he cannot but know whether as Men or Chriſtians, to be for the moſt part every way equal or ſuperior to himſelf: how he can diſplay with ſuch Vanity and Oſtentation his regal ſplendor ſo ſupereminently above other Mortal men; or being a Chriſtian, can aſſume ſuch extraordinary Honour and Worſhip to himſelf, while the Kingdom of Chriſt our common King and Lord, is hid to this World, and ſuch *gentiliſh* imitation forbid in expreſs words by himſelf to all his Diſciples. All Proteſtants hold that Chriſt in his Church hath left no Vicegerent of his Power; but himſelf without Deputy, is the only Head therof, governing it from Heaven: how then can any Chriſtian man derive his Kingſhip from Chriſt, but with wors uſurpation than the Pope his headſhip over the Church, ſince Chriſt not only hath not left the leaſt ſhadow of a command for any ſuch Vicegerence from him in the State, as the Pope pretends for his in the Church, but hath expreſly declar'd, that ſuch regal Dominion is from the Gentiles, not from him, and hath ſtrictly charg'd us not to imitate them therin?

I doubt not but all ingenuous and knowing men will eaſily agree with me, that a free Commonwealth without ſingle Perſon, or Houſe of Lords, is by far the beſt Government if it can be had; but we have all this while, ſay they, bin expecting it, and cannot yet attain it. 'Tis true indeed, when Monarchy was diſſolv'd, the form of a Commonwealth ſhould have forthwith bin fram'd, and the practice therof immediatly begun; that the People might have ſoon bin ſatisfi'd and delighted with the decent Order, Eaſe, and Benefit therof: we had bin then by this time firmly rooted paſt fear of Commotions or Mutations, and now flouriſhing: this care of timely ſetling a new Government inſtead of the old, too much neglected, hath bin our miſchief. Yet the cauſe therof may be aſcrib'd with moſt reaſon to the frequent diſturbances, interruptions, and diſſolutions which the Parlament hath had, partly from the impatient or diſaffected People, partly from ſom ambitious Leaders in the Army; much contrary, I believe, to the mind and approbation of the Army it ſelf and thir other Commanders, once undeceiv'd, or in thir own Power. Now is the opportunity, now the very ſeaſon wherin we may obtain a free Commonwealth, and eſtabliſh it for ever in the Land, without difficulty or much delay. Writs are ſent out for Elections, and which is worth obſerving in the name, not of any King, but of the keepers of our Liberty, to ſummon a free Parlament; which then only will indeed be free, and deſerve the true honour of that ſupream Title, if they preſerve us a free People. Which never Parlament was more free to do; being now call'd, not as heretofore, by the ſummons of a King, but by the voice of Liberty: and if the People, laying aſide prejudice and impatience, will ſeriouſly and calmly now conſider thir own good, both Religious and Civil, thir own Liberty and the only means therof, as ſhall be here laid down before them, and will elect thir Knights and Burgeſſes able men, and according to the juſt and neceſſary Qualifications (which for aught I hear, remain yet in force unrepeal'd, as they were formerly decreed in Parlament) men not addicted to a ſingle Perſon or Houſe of Lords, the work is don; at leaſt the foundation firmly laid of a free Commonwealth, and good part alſo erected of the main Structure. For the ground and baſis of every juſt and free Government (ſince men have ſmarted ſo oft for commiting all to one Perſon) is a general Council of ableſt men, choſen by the People to conſult of publick Affairs from time to time for the common good. In this Grand Council muſt the Sovranty, not transferr'd, but delegated only, and as it were depoſited, reſide; with this Caution they muſt have the forces by Sea and Land committed to them for preſervation of the common Peace and Liberty; muſt raiſe and manage the publick Revenue, at leaſt with ſom Inſpectors deputed for ſatisfaction of the People, how it is imploid; muſt make or propoſe, as more expreſly ſhall be ſaid anon, Civil Laws, treat of Commerce, Peace, or War with forein Nations, and for the carrying on ſom particular Affairs with more ſecrecy and Expedition, muſt elect, as they have already out of thir own number and others, a Council of State.

And although it may ſeem ſtrange at firſt hearing, by reaſon that mens minds are prepoſſeſſed with the notion of ſucceſſive Parlaments, I affirm that the Grand or General Council being well choſen, ſhould be perpetual: for ſo thir buſineſs is or may be, and oft-times urgent; the opportunity of Affairs gain'd or loſt in a moment. The day of Council cannot be ſet as the day of a Feſtival; but muſt be ready always to prevent or anſwer all occaſions. By this continuance they will become every way skilfulleſt, beſt provided of Intelligence from abroad, beſt acquainted with the People at home, and the People with them. The Ship of the Commonwealth is always under ſail; they ſit at the Stern, and if they ſteer well, what need is ther to change them, it being rather dangerous? Add to this, that the Grand Council is both Foundation and main Pillar of the whole State; and to move Pillars and Foundations, not faulty, cannot be ſafe for the Building. I ſee not therfore, how we can be advantag'd by ſucceſſive and tranſitory Parlaments; but that they are much likelier continually to unſettle rather than to ſettle a free Government, to breed Commotions, Changes, Novelties and Uncertainties, to bring neglect upon preſent Affairs and Opportunities, while all Minds are ſuſpenſe with expectation of a new Aſſembly, and the Aſſembly for a good ſpace taken up with the new ſetling of it ſelf. After which, if they find no great work to do, they will make it, by altering or repealing former Acts, or making and multiplying new; that they may ſeem to ſee what thir Predeceſſors ſaw not, and not to have aſſembl'd for nothing: till all Law be loſt in the multitude of claſhing Statutes. But if the Ambition of ſuch as think themſelves injur'd that they alſo partake not of the Government, and are impatient till they be choſen, cannot brook the perpetuity of others choſen before them; or if it be fear'd that long continuance of Power may corrupt ſincereſt Men, the known Expedient is, and by ſom lately propounded, that annually (or if the ſpace be longer, ſo much perhaps the better) the third part of Senators may go out according to the precedence of thir Election, and the like number be choſen in thir places, to prevent the ſetling of too abſolute a Power, if it ſhould be perpetual: and this they call *partial Rotation*. But I could wiſh that this wheel or partial wheel in State, if it be poſſible, might be avoided, as having too much affinity with the wheel of Fortune. For it appears not how this can be don, without danger and miſchance of putting out a great number of the beſt and ableſt: in whoſe ſtead new Elections may bring in as many raw, unexperienc'd and otherwiſe affected, to the weakning and much altering for the wors of publick Tranſactions. Neither do I think a perpetual Senat, eſpecially choſen and entruſted by the People, much in this land to be fear'd, where the well-affected either in a ſtanding Army, or in a ſetled Militia have thir Arms in thir own hands. Safeſt therfore to me it ſeems, and of leaſt hazard or interruption to Affairs, that none of the Grand Council be mov'd, unleſs by Death or juſt conviction of ſom Crime: for what can be expected firm or ſtedfaſt from a floating Foundation? however, I forejudg not any probable Expedient, any Temperament that can be found in things of this nature ſo diſputable on either ſide. Yet leſt this which I affirm, be thought my ſingle Opinion, I ſhall add ſufficient Teſtimony. Kingſhip it ſelf is therfore counted the more ſafe and durable, becauſe the King, and for the moſt part his Council, is not chang'd during Life: but a Commonwealth is held immortal, and therin firmeſt, ſafeſt and moſt above Fortune: for the Death of a King cauſeth oft-times many dangerous Alterations; but the Death now and then of a Senator is not felt, the main body of them ſtill continuing permanent in greateſt and nobleſt Commonwealths, and as it were eternal. Therfore among the *Jews*, the ſupreme Council of Seventy, call'd the *Sanhedrim*, founded by *Moſes*, in *Athens* that of *Areopagus*, in *Sparta* that of the Ancients, in *Rome* the Senat, conſiſted of Members choſen for term of Life; and by that means remain'd as it were ſtill the ſame to Gnerations. In *Venice* they change indeed ofter than every year ſom particular Council of State, as that of ſix, or ſuch other; but the true Senat, which upholds and ſuſtains the Government, is the whole Ariſtocracy immovable. So in the United Provinces, the States General, which are indeed but a Council of State deputed by the whole Union, are not uſually the ſame Perſons for above three or ſix Years; but the States of every City in whom the Soveraignty hath bin plac'd time out of mind, are a ſtanding Senat, without

out Succeſſion, and accounted chiefly in that regard the main prop of thir Liberty. And why they ſhould be ſo in every well-order'd Commonwealth, they who write of Policy, give theſe Reaſons; “ That to make the Senat “ ſucceſſive, not only impairs the dignity and luſtre of the Senat, but weakens the whole Commonwealth, and brings it into manifeſt danger; while “ by this means the Secrets of State are frequently divulg'd, and matters of “ greateſt conſequence committed to inexpert and novice Counſellors, utterly to ſeek in the full and intimate knowledg of Affairs paſt. I know not therfore what ſhould be peculiar in *England* to make ſucceſſive Parlaments thought ſafeſt, or convenient here more than in other Nations, unleſs it be the fickl'neſs which is attributed to us as we are Ilanders: but good Education and acquiſit Wiſdom ought to correct the fluxible fault, if any ſuch be, of our watry ſituation. It will be objected, that in thoſe places where they had perpetual Senats, they had alſo popular Remedies againſt thir growing too imperious: as in *Athens*, beſides *Areopagus*, another Senat of four or five hundred; in *Sparta*, the *Ephori*; in *Rome*, the Tribunes of the People. But the Event tels us, that theſe Remedies either little avail the People, or brought them to ſuch a licentious and unbridl'd Democraty, as in fine ruin'd themſelves with thir own exceſſive power. So that the main reaſon urg'd why popular Aſſemblies are to be truſted with the Peoples Liberty, rather than a Senat of principal Men, becauſe great Men will be ſtill endeavouring to inlarge thir Power, but the common ſort will be contented to maintain thir own Liberty, is by Experience found falſe; none being more immoderat and ambitious to amplify thir Power, than ſuch Popularities, which were ſeen in the People of *Rome*; who at firſt contented to have thir Tribunes, at length contended with the Senat that one Conſul, then both, ſoon after, that the Cenſors and Prætors alſo ſhould be created Plebeian, and the whole Empire put into thir hands; adoring laſtly thoſe, who moſt were advers to the Senat, till *Marius* by fulfilling thir inordinate Deſires, quite loſt them all the Power for which they had ſo long bin ſtriving, and left them under the Tyranny of *Sylla*: the ballance therfore muſt be exactly ſo ſet, as to preſerve and keep up due Autority on either ſide, as well in the Senat as in the People. And this annual Rotation of a Senat to conſiſt of three hundred, as is lately propounded, requires alſo another popular Aſſembly upward of a thouſand, with an anſwerable Rotation. Which beſides that it will be liable to all thoſe Inconveniencies found in the foreſaid Remedies, cannot but be troubleſome and chargeable, both in thir Motion and thir Seſſion, to the whole Land, unweildie with thir own bulk, unable in ſo great a number to mature thir Conſultations as they ought, if any be allotted them, and that they meet not from ſo many parts remote to ſit a whole year Lieger in one place, only now and then to hold up a foreſt of Fingers, or to convey each Man his bean or ballot into the Box, without reaſon ſhewn or common deliberation; incontinent of Secrets, if any be imparted to them, emulous and always jarring with the other Senat. The much better way doubtleſs will be in this wavering condition of our Affairs, to defer the changing or circumſcribing of our Senat, more than may be done with eaſe, till the Commonwealth be throughly ſetl'd in Peace and Safety, and they themſelves give us the occaſion. Military Men hold it dangerous to change the form of Battel in view of an Enemy: neither did the People of *Rome* bandy with thir Senat while any of the *Tarquins* liv'd, the Enemies of thir Liberty, nor ſought by creating Tribunes to defend themſelves againſt the fear of thir Patricians, till ſixteen years after the expulſion of thir Kings, and in full ſecurity of thir State, they had or thought they had juſt cauſe given them by the Senat. Another way will be, to well qualifie and refine Elections: not committing all to the noiſe and ſhouting of a rude Multitude, but permitting only thoſe of them who are rightly qualifi'd, to nominate as many as they will; and out of that number others of a better breeding, to chuſe a leſs number more judiciouſly, till after a third or fourth ſifting and refining of exacteſt choice, they only be left choſen who are the due number, and ſeem by moſt voices the worthieſt. To make the People fitteſt to chuſe, and the choſen fitteſt to govern, will be to mend our corrupt and faulty Education, to teach the People Faith not without Vertue, Temperance, Modeſty, Sobriety, Parſimony, Juſtice; not to admire Wealth or Honour; to hate Turbulence and Ambition; to place every one his privat Welfare and Happineſs in the publick Peace, Liberty and Safety. They ſhall not then need to be much miſtruſtful of thir choſen Patriots in the Grand Council; who will be then rightly call'd the true Keepers of our Liberty, though the moſt of thir buſineſs will be in forein Affairs. But to prevent all Miſtruſt, the People then will have thir ſeveral ordinary Aſſemblies (which will henceforth quite annihilate the odious Power and Name of Committies) in the chief Towns of every County, without the Trouble, Charge, or time loſt of ſummoning and aſſembling from far in ſo great a number, and ſo long reſiding from thir own Houſes, or removing of thir Families, to do as much at home in thir ſeveral ſhires, entire or ſubdivided, toward the ſecuring of thir Liberty, as a numerous Aſſembly of them all form'd and conven'd on purpoſe with the warieſt Rotation. Wherof I ſhall ſpeak more ere the end of this Diſcourſe: for it may be referr'd to time, ſo we be ſtill going on by degrees to perfection. The People well weighing and performing theſe things, I ſuppoſe would have no cauſe to fear, though the *Parlament* aboliſhing that Name as originally ſignifying but the *Parlie* of our Lords and Commons with thir *Norman* King when he pleas'd to call them, ſhould, with certain limitations of thir Power, ſit perpetual, if thir ends be faithful and for a free Commonwealth, under the name of a Grand or General Council. Till this be don, I am in doubt whether our State will be ever certainly and throughly ſetl'd; never likely till then to ſee an end of our Troubles and continual Changes, or at leaſt never the true Settlement and Aſſurance of our Liberty. The Grand Council being thus firmly conſtituted to Perpetuity, and ſtill, upon the Death or Default of any Member, ſupply'd and kept in full number, ther can be no cauſe alleg'd why Peace, Juſtice, plentiful Trade, and all Proſperity, ſhould not therupon enſue throughout the whole Land; with as much aſſurance as can be of human things, that they ſhall ſo continue (if God favour us, and our wilful Sins provoke him not) even to the coming of our true and rightful, and only to be expected King, only worthy as he is our only Saviour, the Meſſiah, the Chriſt, the only Heir of his eternal Father, the only by him anointed and ordained ſince the Work of our Redemption finiſh'd, univerſal Lord of all Mankind. The way propounded is plane, eaſy and open before us; without Intricacies, without the Introducement of new or obſolete Forms or Terms, or exotic Models; Idea's that would effect nothing; but with a number of new Injunctions to manacle the native Liberty of Mankind; turning all Vertue into Preſcription, Servitude, and Neceſſity, to the great impairing and fruſtrating of Chriſtian Liberty. I ſay again, this way lies free and ſmooth before us; is not tangl'd with Inconveniencies; invents no new Incumbrances; requires no perilous, no injurious Alteration or Circumſcription of Mens Lands and Proprieties; ſecure, that in this Commonwealth, temporal and ſpiritual Lords remov'd, no Man or number of Men can attain to ſuch Wealth or vaſt poſſeſſion, as will need the hedg of an Agrarian Law (never ſucceſsful, but the cauſe rather of Sedition, ſave only where it began ſeaſonably with firſt poſſeſſion) to confine them from endangering our public Liberty. To conclude, it can have no conſiderable Objection made againſt it, that it is not practicable; leſt it be ſaid hereafter, that we gave up our Liberty for want of a ready way or diſtinct Form propos'd of a free Commonwealth. And this Facility we ſhall have above our next neighbouring Commonwealth (if we can keep us from the fond Conceit of ſomthing like a Duke of *Venice*, put lately into many Mens heads by ſom one or other ſutly driving on under that notion his own ambitious ends to lurch a Crown) that our Liberty ſhall not be hamper'd or hover'd over by any ingagement to ſuch a potent Family as the Houſe of *Naſſaw*, of whom to ſtand in perpetual Doubt and Suſpicion, but we ſhall live the cleereſt and abſoluteſt free Nation in the World.

On the contrary, if there be a King, which the inconſiderat multitude are now ſo mad upon, mark how far ſhort we are like to com of all thoſe Happineſſes, which in a Free State we ſhall immediatly be poſſeſs'd of. Firſt, the Grand Council, which, as I ſhew'd before, ſhould ſit perpetually (unleſs thir leiſure give them now and then ſom Intermiſſions or Vacations, eaſily manageable by the Council of State left ſitting) ſhall be call'd, by the King's good

Will and utmoſt Endeavor, as ſeldom as may be. For it is only the King's Right, he will ſay, to call a Parlament; and this he will do moſt commonly about his own Affairs rather than the Kingdom's, as will appeer planely ſo ſoon as they are call'd. For what will thir buſineſs then be, and the chief Expence of thir time, but an endleſs tugging between Petition of Right and Royal Prerogative, eſpecially about the negative Voice, Militia, or Subſidies, demanded and oft-times extorted without reaſonable cauſe appeering to the Commons, who are the only true Repreſentatives of the People and thir Liberty, but will be then mingl'd with a Court-faction; beſides which within thir own Walls, the ſincere part of them who ſtand faithful to the People, will again have to deal with two troubleſom counter-working Adverſaries from without, meer Creatures of the King, ſpiritual, and the greater part, as is likelieſt, of temporal Lords, nothing concern'd with the Peoples Liberty. If theſe prevail not in what they pleaſe, though never ſo much againſt the Peoples Intereſt, the Parlament ſhall be ſoon diſſolv'd, or ſit and do nothing; not ſuffer'd to remedy the leaſt Greevance, or enact aught advantageous to the People. Next, the Council of State ſhall not be choſen by the Parlament, but by the King, ſtill his own Creatures, Courtiers and Favorites; who will be ſure in all thir Counſels to ſet thir Maſter's Grandure and abſolute Power, in what they are able, far above the Peoples Liberty. I deny not but that ther may be ſuch a King, who may regard the common Good before his own, may have no vitious Favorite, may hearken only to the wiſeſt and incorrupteſt of his Parlament: but this rarely happens in a Monarchy not elective; and it behoves not a wiſe Nation to commit the ſum of thir well-being, the whole ſtate of thir Safety to Fortune. What need they; and how abſurd would it be, when as they themſelves to whom his chief Vertue will be but to hearken, may with much better Management and Diſpatch, with much more Commendation of thir own Worth and Magnanimity govern without a Maſter? Can the Folly be parallel'd, to adore and be the Slaves of a ſingle Perſon, for doing that which it is ten thouſand to one whether he can or will do, and we without him might do more eaſily, more effectually, more laudably our ſelves? Shall we never grow old anough to be wiſe to make ſeaſonable uſe of graveſt Autorities, Experiences, Examples? Is it ſuch an unſpeakable Joy to ſerve, ſuch Felicity to wear a Yoke? to clink our Shackles, lock'd on by pretended Law of Subjection, more intolerable and hopeleſs to be ever ſhaken off, than thoſe which are knock'd on by illegal Injury and Violence? *Ariſtotle*, our chief Inſtructer in the Univerſities, leſt this Doctrin be thought *Sectarian*, as the Royaliſt would have it thought, tells us in the third of his Politicks, that certain Men at firſt, for the matchleſs Excellence of thir Vertue above others, or ſom great public Benefit, were created Kings by the People; in ſmall Cities and Territories, and in the ſcarcity of others to be found like them: but when they abus'd thir Power, and Governments grew larger, and the number of prudent Men increas'd, that then the People ſoon depoſing thir Tyrants, betook them, in all civileſt places, to the form of a free Commonwealth. And why ſhould we thus diſparage and prejudicate our own Nation, as to fear a ſcarcity of able and worthy Men united in Counſel to govern us, if we will but uſe diligence and impartiality to find them out and chuſe them, rather yoking our ſelves to a ſingle Perſon, the natural Adverſary and Oppreſſor of Liberty, though good, yet far eaſier corruptible by the exceſs of his ſingular Power and Exaltation, or at beſt, not comparably ſufficient to bear the weight of Government, nor equally diſpos'd to make us happy in the enjoyment of our Liberty under him.

But admit, that Monarchy of it ſelf may be convenient to ſom Nations; yet to us who have thrown it out, receiv'd back again, it cannot but prove pernicious. For Kings to com, never forgetting thir former Ejection, will be ſure to fortify and arm themſelves ſufficiently for the future againſt all ſuch Attempts hereafter from the People: who ſhall be then ſo narrowly watch'd and kept ſo low, that though they would never ſo fain, and at the ſame rate of thir Blood and Treaſure, they never ſhall be able to regain what they now have purchas'd and may enjoy, or to free themſelves from any Yoke impos'd upon them: nor will they dare to go about it; utterly diſheartn'd for the future, if theſe thir higheſt Attempts prove unſucceſsful; which will be the

Triumph of all Tyrants herafter over any People that ſhall reſiſt Oppreſſion ; and thir Song will then be, to others, how ſped the rebellious Engliſh ? to our Poſterity, how ſped the Rebels your Fathers ? This is not my Conjecture, but drawn from God's known Denouncement againſt the gentilizing *Iſraelites*, who though they were govern'd in a Commonwealth of God's own ordaining, he only thir King, they his peculiar People, yet affecting rather to reſemble Heathen, but pretending the Miſgovernment of *Samuel*'s Sons, no more a reaſon to diſlike thir Commonwealth, than the Violence of *Eli*'s Sons was imputable to that Prieſthood or Religion, clamour'd for a King. They had thir longing ; but with this Teſtimony of God's Wrath ; *Ye ſhall cry out in that day, becauſe of your King whom ye ſhall have choſen, and the Lord will not hear you in that day.* Us if he ſhall hear now, how much leſs will he hear when we cry herafter, who once deliver'd by him from a King, and not without wondrous Acts of his Providence, inſenſible and unworthy of thoſe high Mercies, are returning precipitantly, if he withold us not, back to the Captivity from whence he freed us. Yet neither ſhall we obtain or buy at an eaſy rate this new gilded Yoke which thus tranſports us : a new royal Revenue muſt be found, a new Epiſcopal ; for thoſe are individual : both which being wholy diſſipated or bought by privat Perſons, or aſſign'd for Service don, and eſpecially to the Army, cannot be recovered without a general Detriment and Confuſion to Mens Eſtates, or a heavy Impoſition on all Mens Purſes ; Benefit to none, but to the worſt and ignobleſt ſort of Men, whoſe hope is to be either the Miniſters of Court, Riot and Exceſs, or the Gainers by it : But not to ſpeak more of Loſſes and extraordinary Levies on our Eſtates, what will then be the Revenges and Offences remember'd and return'd, not only by the chief Perſon, but by all his Adherents ; Accounts and Reparations that will be requir'd, Suits, Inditements, Inquiries, Diſcoveries, Complaints, Informations, who knows againſt whom or how many, though perhaps Neuters, if not to utmoſt Infliction, yet to Impriſonment, Fines, Baniſhment, or Moleſtation ; if not theſe, yet diſfavor, diſcountenance, diſregard and contempt on all but the known Royaliſt or whom he favors, will be plenteous : nor let the new royaliz'd Presbyterians perſwade themſelves that thir old doings, though now recanted, will be forgotten ; whatever Conditions be contriv'd or truſted on. Will they not beleeve this ; nor remember the Pacification how it was kept to the *Scots* ; how other ſolemn Promiſes many a time to us ? Let them but now read the diabolical forerunning Libels, the Faces, the Geſtures that now appeer foremoſt and briskeſt in all publick places, as the Harbingers of thoſe that are in expectation to raign over us ; let them but hear the Inſolencies, the Menaces, the Inſultings of our newly animated common Enemies crept lately out of thir Holes, thir Hell, I might ſay, by the Language of thir infernal Pamphlets, the Spue of every Drunkard, every Ribald ; nameleſs, yet not for want of Licence, but for very ſhame of thir own vile Perſons, not daring to name themſelves, while they traduce others by name ; and give us to foreſee, that they intend to ſecond thir wicked Words, if ever they have Power, with more wicked Deeds. Let our zealous Backſliders forethink now with themſelves, how their Necks yok'd with theſe Tigers of *Bacchus*, theſe new Fanatics of not the preaching but the ſweating-tub, inſpir'd with nothing holier than the Venereal Pox, can draw one way under Monarchy to the eſtabliſhing of Church Diſciplin with theſe new-diſgorg'd Atheiſms : yet ſhall they not have the honor to yoke with theſe, but ſhall be yok'd under them ; theſe ſhall plow on thir backs. And do they among them who are ſo forward to bring in the ſingle Perſon, think to be by him truſted or long regarded ? So truſted they ſhall be and ſo regarded, as by Kings are wont reconcil'd Enemies ; neglected and ſoon after diſcarded, if not proſecuted for old Traytors ; the firſt Inciters, Beginners, and more than to the third part actors of all that follow'd. It will be found alſo, that there muſt be then as neceſſarily as now (for the contrary part will be ſtill fear'd) a Standing Army ; which for certain ſhall not be this, but of the fierceſt Cavaliers, of no leſs expence, and perhaps again under *Rupert* : but let this Army be ſure they ſhall be ſoon disbanded, and likelieſt without Arrear or Pay ; and being disbanded, not be ſure but they may as ſoon be queſtion'd for being in Arms againſt thir King : the ſame let them fear, who have contributed Money; which will amount to no ſmall number that muſt then take thir turn to be made Delinquents and Compounders. They who paſt reaſon and recovery are devoted to Kingſhip, perhaps will anſwer, That a greater part by far of the Nation will have it ſo, the reſt therfore muſt yield. Not ſo much to convince theſe, which I little hope, as to confirm them who yield not, I reply; that this greateſt part have both in Reaſon, and the trial of juſt Battel, loſt the right of thir Election what the Government ſhall be: of them who have not loſt that right, whether they for Kingſhip be the greater Number, who can certainly determin? Suppoſe they be, yet of freedom they partake all alike, one main end of Government: which if the greater part value not, but will degenerately forgo, is it juſt or reaſonable, that moſt Voices againſt the main End of Government, ſhould enſlave the leſs Number that would be free? More juſt it is doubtleſs, if it come to force, that a leſs Number compel a greater to retain, which can be no wrong to them, thir Liberty, than that a greater Number, for the pleaſure of thir baſeneſs, compel a leſs moſt injuriouſly to be thir fellow Slaves. They who ſeek nothing but thir own juſt Liberty, have always right to win it, and to keep it, whenever they have Power, be the Voices never ſo numerous that oppoſe it. And how much we above others are concern'd to defend it from Kingſhip, and from them who in purſuance therof ſo perniciouſly would betray us and themſelves to moſt certain Miſery and Thraldom, will be needleſs to repeat.

Having thus far ſhewn with what eaſe we may now obtain a Free Commonwealth, and by it with as much eaſe all the Freedom, Peace, Juſtice, Plenty, that we can deſire; on the other ſide, the Difficulties, Troubles, Uncertainties, nay rather Impoſſibilities to enjoy theſe things conſtantly under a Monarch: I will now proceed to ſhew more particularly wherin our Freedom and flouriſhing Condition will be more ample and ſecure to us under a Free Commonwealth, than under Kingſhip.

The whole freedom of Man conſiſts either in Spiritual or Civil Liberty. As for Spiritual, who can be at reſt, who can enjoy any thing in this World with contentment, who hath not liberty to ſerve God, and to ſave his own Soul, according to the beſt Light which God hath planted in him to that purpoſe, by the reading of his reveal'd Will, and the guidance of his Holy Spirit? That this is beſt pleaſing to God, and that the whole Proteſtant Church allows no ſupream Judg or Rule in Matters of Religion, but the Scriptures; and theſe to be interpreted by the Scriptures themſelves, which neceſſarily infers Liberty of Conſcience; I have heretofore prov'd at large in another Treatiſe; and might yet furder by the public Declarations, Confeſſions and Admonitions of whole Churches and States, obvious in all Hiſtories ſince the Reformation.

This Liberty of Conſcience, which above all other things ought to be to all Men deareſt and moſt precious, no Government more inclinable not to favor only, but to protect, than a free Commonwealth; as being moſt magnanimous, moſt fearleſs and confident of its own fair Proceedings. Wheras Kingſhip, though looking big, yet indeed moſt puſillanimous, full of Fears, full of Jealouſies, ſtartl'd at every Ombrage, as it hath been obſerv'd of old to have ever ſuſpected moſt, and miſtruſted them who were in moſt eſteem for Vertue and Generoſity of Mind; ſo it is now known to have moſt in doubt and ſuſpicion, them who are moſt reputed to be religious. Queen *Elizabeth*, though her ſelf accounted ſo good a Proteſtant, ſo moderate, ſo confident of her Subjects Love, would never give way ſo much as to Presbyterian Reformation in this Land, though once and again beſought, as *Camden* relates, but impriſon'd and perſecuted the very Propoſers therof; alleging it as her Mind and Maxim unalterable, that ſuch Reformation would diminiſh Regal Authority. What Liberty of Conſcience can we then expect of others, far wors principl'd from the Cradle, train'd up and govern'd by *Popiſh* and *Spaniſh* Counſels, and on ſuch depending hitherto for ſubſiſtence? Eſpecially what can this laſt Parlament expect, who having reviv'd lately and publiſh'd the Cov'nant, have reingag'd themſelves, never to readmit Epiſcopacy? Which no Son of *Charles* returning, but will moſt certainly bring back with him, if he regard the laſt and ſtricteſt Charge of his Father, *to* *perſevere in, not the Doctrin only, but Government of the Church* of England; *not to neglect the ſpeedy and effectual ſuppreſſing of Errors and Schiſms*; among which he accounted Preſbytery one of the chief. Or if, notwithſtanding that Charge of his Father, he ſubmit to the Cov'nant, how will he keep Faith to us, with Diſobedience to him; or regard that Faith given, which muſt be founded on the breach of that laſt and ſolemneſt paternal Charge, and the Reluctance, I may ſay the Antipathy, which is in all Kings againſt Preſbyterian and Independent Diſcpline? For they hear the Goſpel ſpeaking much of Liberty; a word which Monarchy and her Biſhops both fear and hate, but a Free Commonwealth both favors and promotes; and not the word only, but the thing it ſelf. But let our Governors beware in time, leſt thir hard meaſure to Liberty of Conſcience be found the Rock wheron they ſhipwrack themſelves, as others have now don before them in the cours wherin God was directing thir Steerage to a Free Commonwealth; and the abandoning of all thoſe whom they call *Sectaries*, for the detected Falſhood and Ambition of ſom, be a wilful rejection of thir own chief Strength and Intereſt in the freedom of all Proteſtant Religion, under what abuſive Name ſoever calumniated.

The other part of our Freedom conſiſts in the Civil Rights and Advancements of every Perſon according to his Merit: the enjoyment of thoſe never more certain, and the acceſs to theſe never more open, than in a Free Commonwealth. Both which, in my Opinion, may be beſt and ſooneſt obtain'd, if every County in the Land were made a kind of ſubordinate Commonalty or Commonwealth, and one chief Town or more, according as the Shire is in Circuit, made Cities, if they be not ſo call'd already; where the Nobility and chief Gentry, from a proportionable compaſs of Territory annex'd to each City, may build Houſes or Palaces befitting thir Quality, may bear part in the Government, make thir own Judicial Laws, or uſe theſe that are, and execute them by thir own elected Judicatures and Judges without Appeal, in all things of Civil Government between Man and Man: ſo they ſhall have Juſtice in thir own hands, Law executed fully and finally in thir own Counties and Precincts, long wiſh'd and ſpoken of, but never yet obtain'd; they ſhall have none then to blame but themſelves, if it be not well adminiſter'd; and fewer Laws to expect or fear from the ſupreme Autority; or to thoſe that ſhall be made, of any great concernment to Public Liberty, they may, without much trouble in theſe Commonalties, or in more General Aſſemblies call'd to thir Cities from the whole Territory on ſuch occaſion, declare and publiſh thir aſſent or diſſent by Deputies, within a time limited, ſent to the Grand Council; yet ſo as this thir Judgment declar'd, ſhall ſubmit to the greater number of other Counties or Commonalties, and not avail them to any exemption of themſelves, or refuſal of Agreement with the reſt, as it may in any of the *United Provinces*, being Sovran within it ſelf, oft-times to the great diſadvantage of that Union. In theſe Imployments they may much better than they do now, exerciſe and fit themſelves till thir Lot fall to be choſen into the Grand Council, according as thir Worth and Merit ſhall be taken notice of by the People. As for Controverſies that ſhall happen between Men of ſeveral Counties, they may repair, as they do now, to the Capital City, or any other more commodious, indifferent Place, and equal Judges. And this I find to have been practis'd in the old *Athenian* Commonwealth, reputed the firſt and ancienteſt place of Civility in all *Greece*: that they had in thir ſeveral Cities, a Peculiar; in *Athens*, a common Government; and thir Right, as it befel them, to the Adminiſtration of both. They ſhould have here alſo Schools and Academies at thir own choice, wherin thir Children may be bred up in thir own ſight to all Learning and noble Education; not in Grammar only, but in all Liberal Arts and Exerciſes. This would ſoon ſpread much more Knowledg and Civility, yea, Religion, through all parts of the Land, by communicating the natural heat of Government and Culture more diſtributively to all extreme parts, which now lie num and neglected, would ſoon make the whole Nation more induſtrious, more ingenuous at home; more potent, more honourable abroad. To this a Free Commonwealth will eaſily aſſent; (nay, the Parlament hath had already ſom ſuch thing in deſign) for of all Governments a Commonwealth aims moſt to make the People flouriſhing, vertuous, noble and high-

high-ſpirited. Monarchs will never permit; whoſe Aim is to make the People wealthy indeed perhaps, and well fleec't, for thir own ſhearing, and the ſupply of Regal Prodigality; but otherwiſe ſofteſt, baſeſt, vitiouſeſt, ſerrvileſt, eaſieſt to be kept under; and not only in Fleece, but in Mind alſo ſheepiſheſt; and will have all the Benches of Judicature annex'd to the Throne, as a Gift of Royal Grace, that we have Juſtice don us; wheras nothing can be more eſſential to the freedom of a People, than to have the adminiſtration of Juſtice, and all Publick Ornaments, in thir own Election, and within thir own Bounds, without long travelling or depending on remote Places to obtain thir Right, or any Civil Accompliſhment; ſo it be not ſupreme, but ſubordinate to the general Power and Union of the whole Republic. In which happy firmneſs, as in the Particular above-mention'd, we ſhall alſo far exceed the *United Provinces*, by having, not as they (to the retarding and diſtracting oft-times of thir Counſels or urgenteſt occaſions) many Sov'ranties united in one Commonwealth, but many Commonwealths under one united and entruſted Sov'ranty. And when we have our Forces by Sea and Land, either of a faithful Army, or a ſetl'd Militia, in our own hands, to the firm eſtabliſhing of a Free Commonwealth, public Accounts under our own inſpection, general Laws and Taxes, with thir Cauſes in our own Domeſtic Suffrages, Judicial Laws, Offices and Ornaments at home in our own ordering and adminiſtration, all diſtinction of Lords and Commoners, that may any way divide or ſever the Public Intereſt, remov'd, what can a perpetual Senat have then, wherin to grow corrupt, wherin to encroach upon us, or uſurp? or if they do, wherin to be formidable? Yet if all this avail not to remove the Fear or Envy of a perpetual Sitting, it may be eaſily provided, to change a third part of them yearly, or every two or three Years, as was above-mention'd; or that it be at thoſe times in the Peoples choice, whether they will change them, or renew thir Power, as they ſhall find cauſe.

I have no more to ſay at preſent: few words will ſave us, well conſider'd; few and eaſy things, now ſeaſonably don. But if the People be ſo affected, as to proſtitute Religion and Liberty to the vain and groundleſs apprehenſion, that nothing but Kingſhip can reſtore Trade, not remembring the frequent Plagues and Peſtilences that then waſted this City, ſuch as through God's Mercy we never have felt ſince; and that Trade flouriſhes no where more than in the Free Commonwealths of *Italy*, *Germany*, and the *Low Countries*, before thir eyes at this day: yet if Trade be grown ſo craving and importunate through the profuſe living of Tradeſmen, that nothing can ſupport it, but the luxurious Expences of a Nation upon Trifles or Superfluities; ſo as if the People generally ſhould betake themſelves to Frugality, it might prove a dangerous matter, leſt Tradeſmen ſhould mutiny for want of Trading; and that therfore we muſt forgo and ſet to ſale Religion, Liberty, Honor, Safety, all Concernments Divine or Human, to keep up Trading. If, laſtly, after all this Light among us, the ſame Reaſon ſhall paſs for current, to put our Necks again under Kingſhip, as was made uſe of by the *Jews* to return back to *Egypt*, and to the worſhip of thir Idol Queen, becauſe they falſly imagin'd that they then liv'd in more plenty and proſperity; our Condition is not ſound but rotten, both in Religion and all Civil Prudence; and will bring us ſoon, the way we are marching, to thoſe Calamities which attend always and unavoidably on Luxury, all national Judgments under Forein or Domeſtic Slavery: So far we ſhall be from mending our condition by monarchizing our Government, whatever new Conceit now poſſeſſes us. However with all hazard I have ventur'd what I thought my Duty to ſpeak in ſeaſon, and to forewarn my Country in time; wherin I doubt not but there be many wiſe Men in all Places and Degrees, but am ſorry the Effects of Wiſdom are ſo little ſeen among us. Many Circumſtances and Particulars I could have added in thoſe things wherof I have ſpoken: but a few main Matters now put ſpeedily in execution, will ſuffice to recover us, and ſet all right: And ther will want at no time who are good at Circumſtances; but Men who ſet thir Minds on main Matters, and ſufficiently urge them, in theſe moſt difficult times I find not many. What I have ſpoken, is the Language of that which is not call'd amiſs *The good Old Cauſe*: if it ſeem ſtrange to any, it will not ſeem more ſtrange, I hope, than convincing to Backſliders. Thus much I ſhould perhaps have ſaid, though I were ſure *I* ſhould have ſpoken only to Trees and Stones; and had none to cry to, but with the Prophet, *O Earth, Earth, Earth!* to tell the very Soil it ſelf, what her perverſe Inhabitants are deaf to. Nay, though what I have ſpoke, ſhould happ'n (which Thou ſuffer not, who didſt create Mankind free; nor Thou next, who didſt redeem us from being Servants of Men!) to be the laſt words of our expiring Liberty. But I truſt I ſhall have ſpoken Perſwaſion to abundance of ſenſible and ingenuous Men; to ſom perhaps whom God may raiſe of theſe Stones to become Children of reviving Liberty; and may reclaim, though they ſeem now chuſing them a Captain back for *Egypt*, to bethink themſelves a little, and conſider whither they are ruſhing; to exhort this Torrent alſo of the People, not to be ſo impetuous, but to keep thir due Channel; and at length recovering and uniting thir better Reſolutions, now that they ſee already how open and unbounded the inſolence and rage is of our common Enemies, to ſtay theſe ruinous Proceedings, juſtly and timely fearing to what a Precipice of Deſtruction the deluge of this epidemic Madneſs would hurry us, through the general defection of a miſguided and abus'd Multitude.

THE

# THE
# Preſent Means, and brief Delineation
# OF A
# Free Commonwealth,
## Eaſy to be put in Practice, and without Delay.

### In a Letter to General *Monk*.

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*Publiſhed from the Manuſcript.*

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FIRST, all endeavours ſpeedily to be us'd, that the enſuing Election be of ſuch as are already firm, or inclinable to conſtitute a free Commonwealth (according to the former qualifications decreed in Parlament, and not yet repeal'd, as I hear) without ſingle Perſon, or Houſe of Lords. If theſe be not ſuch, but the contrary, who foreſees not, that our Liberties will be utterly loſt in this next Parlament, without ſome powerful courſe taken, of ſpeedieſt prevention? The ſpeedieſt way will be to call up forthwith the chief Gentlemen out of every County; to lay before them (as your Excellency hath already, both in your publiſh'd Letters to the Army, and your Declaration recited to the Members of Parlament) the Danger and Confuſion of readmitting Kingſhip in this Land; eſpecially againſt the Rules of all Prudence and Example, in a Family once ejected, and therby not to be truſted with the power of Revenge: that you will not longer delay them with vain expectation, but will put into thir hands forthwith the poſſeſſion of a free Commonwealth; if they will firſt return immediately and elect them, by ſuch at leaſt of the People as are rightly qualifi'd, a ſtanding Council in every City, and great Town, which may then be dignified with the name of City, continually to conſult the good and flouriſhing ſtate of that Place, with a competent Territory adjoin'd; to aſſume the judicial Laws, either theſe that are, or ſuch as they themſelves ſhall new make ſeverally, in each Commonalty, and all Judicatures, all Magiſtracies, to the Adminiſtration of all Juſtice between man and man, and all the Ornaments of publick Civility, Academies, and ſuch like, in thir own hands. Matters appertaining to men of ſeveral Counties, or Territories, may be determin'd, as they are here at *London*, or in ſome more convenient Place, under equal Judges.

Next, That in every ſuch Capital Place, they will chooſe them the uſual number of ableſt Knights and Burgeſſes, engag'd for a Commonwealth, to make up the Parlament, or (as it will from henceforth be better called) the Grand or General Council of the Nation: whoſe Office muſt be, with due Caution, to diſpoſe of Forces, both by Sea and Land, under the conduct of your Excellency, for the preſervation of Peace, both at home and abroad; muſt raiſe and manage the publick Revenue, but with provided inſpection of thir Accompts; muſt adminiſter all forein Affairs, make all General Laws, Peace, or War, but not without Aſſent of the ſtanding Council in each City, or ſuch other general Aſſembly as may be call'd on ſuch occaſion, from the whole Territory, where they may without much trouble, deliberate on all things fully, and ſend up thir Suffrages within a ſet time, by Deputies appointed. Though this grand Council be perpetual (as in that Book I prov'd would be beſt and moſt conformable to beſt examples) yet they will then, thus limited, have ſo little matter in thir Hands, or Power to endanger our Liberty; and the People ſo much in thirs, to prevent them, having all Judicial Laws in thir own choice, and free Votes in all thoſe which concern generally the whole Commonwealth, that we ſhall have little cauſe to fear the perpetuity of our general Senat; which will be then nothing elſe but a firm foundation and cuſtody of our Public Liberty, Peace, and Union, through the whole Commonwealth, and the tranſactors of our Affairs with forein Nations.

If this yet be not thought enough, the known Expedient may at length be uſ'd, of a partial Rotation.

Laſtly, if theſe Gentlemen convocated refuſe theſe fair and noble Offers of immediate Liberty, and happy Condition, no doubt there be enough in every County who will thankfully accept them, your Excellency once more declaring publickly this to be your Mind, and having a faithful Veteran Army, ſo ready, and glad to aſſiſt you in the proſecution therof. For the full and abſolute Adminiſtration of Law in every County, which is the difficulteſt of theſe Propoſals, hath bin of moſt long deſired; and the not granting it, held a general Grievance. The reſt when they ſhall ſee the beginnings and proceedings of theſe Conſtitutions propoſ'd, and the orderly, the decent, the civil, the ſafe, the noble Effects therof, will be ſoon convinc'd, and by degrees come in of thir own accord, to be partakers of ſo happy a Government.

# Brief NOTES upon a late
# SERMON
# TITL'D,
# *The Fear of God and the King*;

Preach'd, and ſince publiſh'd,
By *MATTHEW GRIFFITH*, D.D.
And Chaplain to the late KING.

### Wherin many notorious wreſtings of Scripture, and other Falſities are obſerv'd.

I Affirm'd in the Preface of a late Diſcourſe, Entitl'd, *The ready way to eſtabliſh a free Commonwealth, and the dangers of readmitting Kingſhip in this Nation*, that *the humor of returning to our old Bondage, was inſtill'd of late by ſome Deceivers*; and to make good, that what I then affirm'd, was not without juſt ground, one of thoſe Deceivers I preſent here to the People: and if I prove him not ſuch, refuſe not to be ſo accounted in his ſtead.

He begins in his Epiſtle to the General, and moves cunningly for a Licence to be admitted Phyſician both to Church and State; then ſets out his practice in Phyſical terms, *an wholſom Electuary to be taken every Morning next our Hearts*; tells of the oppoſition which he met with from the College of State-Phyſicians, then lays before you his Drugs and Ingredients; *Strong purgatives in the Pulpit, contemper'd of the myrrh of Mortification, the aloes of Confeſſion and Contrition, the rubarb of Reſtitution and Satisfaction*; a pretty Fantaſtic doſe of Divinity from a Pulpit-Mountibank, not unlike the Fox, that turning Pedlar, open'd his pack of War before the Kid; though he now would ſeem *to perſonate the good Samaritan*, undertaking to *deſcribe the Riſe and Progreſs of our national Malady, and to preſcribe the only Remedy*; which how he performs, we ſhall quickly ſee.

Firſt, he would ſuborn Saint *Luke* as his ſpokeſman to the General, preſuming, it ſeems, *to have had as perfect underſtanding of things from the very firſt*, as the Evangeliſt had of his Goſpel; that the General who hath ſo eminently born his part in the whole Action, *mighty know the certainty of thoſe things* better from him a partial Sequeſtred enemy; for ſo he preſently appears, though covertly and like the Tempter, commencing his Addreſs with an impudent Calumny and Affront to his Excellence, that he would be pleas'd *to carry on what he had ſo happily begun in the name and cauſe* not of God only, which we doubt not, but *of his anointed*, meaning the late Kings Son; which is to charge him moſt audaciouſly and falſly with the renouncing of his own public Promiſes and Declarations, both to the Parlament and the Army, and we truſt his Actions ere long will deter ſuch inſinuating ſlanderers from thus approaching him for the future. But the General may well excuſe him; for the *Comforter* himſelf ſcapes not his Preſumption, avouch'd as falſly, to have *impowr'd* to thoſe deſigns *him and him only*, who hath ſolemnly declar'd the contrary. What *Phanatic*, againſt whom he ſo often inveighs, could more preſumptuouſly affirm whom the Comforter hath impowr'd, then this Antifanatic, as he would be thought?

## The Text.

Prov. 24. 21. *My Son, fear God and the King, and meddle not with them tha be Seditious, or deſirous of change,* &c.

Letting paſs matters not in Controverſy, I come to the main drift of your Sermon, the *King*; which word here is either to ſignify any ſupreme Magiſtrate, or elſe your latter Object of fear is not Univerſal, belongs not at all to many parts of Chriſtendom, that have no King; and in particular, not to us. That we have no King ſince the putting down of Kingſhip in this Commonwealth, is manifeſt by this laſt Parlament, who to the time of thir Diſſolving, not only made no Addreſs at all to any King, but ſummon'd this next to come by the Writ formerly appointed of a free Commonwealth, without Reſtitution or the leaſt mention of any Kingly Right or Power; which could not be, if there were at preſent any King of *England*. The main part therfore of your Sermon, if it mean a King in the uſual ſenſe, is either impertinent and abſurd, exhorting your Auditory to fear that which is not; or if King here be, as it is underſtood for any ſupreme Magiſtrate, by your own Exhortation they are in the firſt place not to *meddle* with you, as being your ſelf moſt of all the *ſeditious* meant here, and the *deſirous of change*, in ſtirring them up to *fear a King*, whom the preſent Government takes no notice of.

You begin with a vain Viſion, *God and the King at the firſt bluſh* (which will not be your laſt bluſh) *ſeeming to ſtand in* your *Text like thoſe two Cherubims on the Mercy-ſeat, looking on each other.* By this Similitude, your conceited Sanctuary, worſe than the Altar of *Ahaz*, pattern'd from *Damaſcus*, degrades God to a Cherub, and raiſes your King to be his collateral in place, notwithſtanding the other differences you put; which well agrees with the Court-letters, lately publiſh'd from this Lord to tother Lord, that cry him up for no leſs than Angelical and Celeſtial.

Your firſt obſervation, *pag.* 8. is, *That God and the King are coupl'd in the Text, and what the Holy Ghoſt hath thus firmly combin'd, we may not, we muſt not dare to put aſunder*; and your ſelf is the firſt man who puts them aſunder by the firſt proof of your Doctrin immediately following, *Judg.* 7. 20. which *couples the ſword of the Lord and Gideon*, a man who not only was no King, but refus'd to be a King or Monarch, when it was offer'd him, in the very next Chapter, *Ver.* 22, 23. *I will not rule over you, neither ſhall my Son rule over you; the Lord ſhall rule over you.* Here we ſee that this worthy Heroic deliverer of his Country, thought it beſt govern'd, if the Lord govern'd it in that form of a free Commonwealth, which they then enjoi'd without a ſingle Perſon. And this is your firſt Scripture, abus'd and moſt impertinently cited, nay againſt your ſelf, to prove that *Kings at thir Coronation have a Sword given them*, which you interpret *the Militia, the power of life and death put into thir Hands*, againſt the declar'd judgment of our Parlaments, nay of all our Laws, which reſerve to themſelves only the power of Life and Death, and render you in thir juſt reſentment of this boldneſs, another Doctor *Manwaring*.

Your next proof is as falſe and frivolous; *The King*, ſay you, *is Gods Sword-bearer*; true, but not the King only, for *Gideon* by whom you ſeek to prove this, neither was, nor would be a King; and as you your ſelf confeſs, *pag.* 40. *There be divers forms of Government. He bears not the Sword in vain*, Rom. 13. 4. this alſo is as true of any lawful Rulers, eſpecially Supreme; ſo that *Rulers, ver.* 3. and therfore this preſent Government, without whoſe Authority you excite the People to a King, bear the Sword as well as Kings, and as little in vain. *They fight againſt God, who reſiſt his Ordinance, and go about to wreſt the Sword out of the hands of his Anointed.* This is likewiſe granted: but who is his *Anointed?* Not every King, but they only who were Anointed or made Kings by his ſpecial command; as *Saul, David*, and his race, which ended in the Meſſiah, (from whom no Kings at this day can derive thir Title) *Jehu, Cyrus*, and if any other were by name appointed by him to ſom particular ſervice: as for the reſt of Kings, all other ſupreme Magiſtrates are as much the Lords Anointed as they; and our Obedience commanded equally to them all; *For ther is no power but of God, Rom.* 13. 1. and we are exhorted in the Goſpel to obey Kings, as other Magiſtrates, not that they are call'd any where the Lord's Anointed, but as they are the *Ordinance of Man*, 1 Pet. 2. 13. You therfore and other ſuch falſe Doctors, preaching Kings to your Auditory, as the Lord's only Anointed, to withdraw People from the preſent Government, by your own Text are ſelf-condemn'd, and not to be follow'd, not to be *medl'd with*, but to be noted, as moſt of all others the *ſeditious and deſirous of change*.

Your third Proof is no leſs againſt your ſelf. *Pſal.* 105. 15. *Touch not mine Anointed.* For this is not ſpoken in behalf of Kings, but ſpoken to reprove Kings, that they ſhould not touch his anointed Saints and Servants, the Seed of *Abraham*, as the Verſe next before might have taught you: He reprov'd Kings for thir ſakes, ſaying, *Touch not mine Anointed, and do my Prophets no harm*; according to that 2 *Cor.* 1. 21. *He who hath anointed us, is God.* But how well you confirm one wreſted Scripture with another: 1 *Sam.* 8. 7. *They have not rejected thee, but me:* groſly miſapplying theſe words, which were not ſpoken to any who had *reſiſted or rejected* a King, but to them who much againſt the Will of God had ſought a King, and rejected a Commonwealth, wherin they might have liv'd happily under the Reign of God only, thir King. Let the words interpret themſelves; *ver.* 6, 7. *But the thing diſpleaſed* Samuel, *when they ſaid, give us a King to judg us: and* Samuel *pray'd unto the Lord. And the Lord ſaid unto* Samuel, *hearken unto the voice of the People in all that they ſay unto thee; for they have not rejected thee, but they have rejected me, that I ſhould not reign over them.* Hence you conclude, *ſo indiſſoluble is the Conjunction of God and the King.* O notorious abuſe of Scripture! whenas you ſhould have concluded, ſo unwilling was God to give them a King, ſo wide was the disjunction of God from a King. Is this the Doctrin you boaſt of to be *ſo clear in it ſelf, and like a Mathematical Principle, that needs no farther Demonſtration?* Bad Logic, bad Mathematics (for Principles can have no Demonſtration at all) but wors Divinity. O People of an implicit Faith no better than *Romiſh*, if theſe be thy prime Teachers, who to thir credulous Audience dare thus juggle with Scripture, to allege thoſe places for the proof of thir Doctrin, which are the plain Refutation: and this is all the Scripture which he brings to confirm his Point.

The reſt of his Preachment is meer groundleſs Chat, ſave here and there a few grains of Corn ſcatter'd to intice the ſilly Fowl into his Net, interlac'd here and there with ſom human reading, tho ſlight, and not without Geographical and Hiſtorical Miſtakes: as *pag.* 29. *Suevia* the German Dukedom, for *Suecia* the Northern Kingdom: *Philip of Macedon*, who is generally underſtood of the great *Alexander*'s Father only, made contemporary, *pag.* 31. with *T. Quintus the Roman Commander*, inſtead of *T. Quintius* and the latter *Philip*: and *pag.* 44. *Tully* cited *in his third Oration againſt Verres*, to ſay of him, *that he was a wicked Conſul*, who never was a Conſul: nor Trojan *Sedition ever portraid* by that Verſe of *Virgil*, which you cite *pag.* 47. as that of *Troy*: School-boys could have told you, that there is nothing of *Troy* in that whole Portraiture, as you call it, of *Sedition*. Theſe groſs Miſtakes may juſtly bring in doubt your other looſe Citations, and that you take them up ſomwhere at the ſecond or third hand raſhly, and without due conſidering.

Nor are you happier in the relating or the moralizing your Fable. *The Frogs* (**being once a free Nation** ſaith the Fable) *petition'd* Jupiter *for a King: he tumbl'd among them a Log: They found it inſenſible; they petitioned then for a King that ſhould be active: he ſent them a Crane* (a **Stork** ſaith the Fable) *which ſtraight fell to pecking them up.* This you apply to the reproof of them who deſire change: wheras indeed the true Moral ſhews rather the folly of thoſe who being free ſeek a King; which for the moſt part either as a Log lies heavy on his Subjects, without doing aught worthy of his Dignity and the Charge to maintain him, or as a Stork is ever pecking them up, and devouring them.

*But by our fundamental Laws, the King is the higheſt Power*, pag. 40. If we muſt hear mooting and Law Lectures from the Pulpit, what ſhame is it for a Doctor of Divinity, not firſt to conſider, that no Law can be *fundamental*, but that which is grounded on the Light of Nature or right Reaſon, commonly call'd *Moral Law*: which no form of Government was ever counted, but arbitrary, and at all times in the choice of every free People, or thir Repreſenters? This choice of Government is ſo eſſential to thir Freedom, that longer than they have it, they are not free. In this Land not only the late King and his Poſterity, but Kingſhip it ſelf hath bin abrogated by a Law; which involves with as good reaſon the Poſterity of a King forfeited to the People, as that Law hertofore of Treaſon againſt the King, attainted the Children with the Father. This Law againſt both King and Kingſhip they who moſt queſtion, do not leſs queſtion all enacted without the King and his Antiparlament at *Oxford*, though call'd Mungrel by himſelf. If no Law muſt be held good, but what paſſes in full Parlament, then ſurely in exactneſs of Legality, no Member muſt be miſſing: for look how many are miſſing, ſo many Counties or Cities that ſent them want thir Repreſenters. But if being once choſen, they ſerve for the whole Nation, then any number which is ſufficient, is full, and moſt of all in times of diſcord, neceſſity and danger. The King himſelf was bound by the old Mode of Parlaments, not to be abſent, but in caſe of Sickneſs, or ſom extraordinary occaſion, and then to leave his Subſtitute; much leſs might any Member be allow'd to abſent himſelf. If the King then and many of the Members with him, without leaving any in his ſtead, forſook the Parlament upon a meer panic fear, as was that time judg'd by moſt Men, and to levy War againſt them that ſat, ſhould they who were left ſitting, break up, or not dare enact aught of neereſt and preſenteſt concernment to public Safety, for the punctilio wanting of a full number, which no Law-book in ſuch extraordinary caſes hath determin'd? Certainly if it were lawful for them to fly from thir Charge upon pretence of privat Safety, it was much more lawful for theſe to ſit and act in thir truſt what was neceſſary for public. By a Law therfore of Parlament, and of a Parlament that conquer'd both *Ireland*, *Scotland*, and all thir Enemies in *England*, defended thir friends, were generally acknowledg'd for a Parlament both at home and abroad, Kingſhip was aboliſh'd: This Law now of late hath bin negatively repeal'd; yet Kingſhip not poſitively reſtor'd, and I ſuppoſe never was eſtabliſh'd by any certain Law in this Land, nor poſſibly could be: for how could our Fore-fathers bind us to any certain form of Government, more than we can bind our Poſterity? If a People be put to war with thir King for his Miſgovernment, and overcom him, the Power is then undoubtedly in thir own hands how they will be govern'd. The War was granted *juſt* by the King himſelf at the beginning of his laſt Treaty, and ſtill maintain'd to be ſo by this laſt Parlament, as appears by the Qualification preſcrib'd to the Members of this next enſuing, That none ſhall be elected, who have born Arms againſt the Parlament ſince 1641. If the War were *juſt*, the Conqueſt was alſo juſt by the Law of Nations. And he who was the chief Enemy, in all right ceas'd to be the King, eſpecially after Captivity, by the deciding Verdit of War; and Royalty with all her Laws and Pretenſions, yet remains in the Victor's power, together with the choice of our future Government. Free Commonwealths have bin ever counted fitteſt and propereſt for civil, vertuous and induſtrious Nations, abounding with prudent Men worthy to govern: Monarchy fitteſt to curb degenerate, corrupt, idle, proud, luxurious People. If we deſire to be of the former, nothing better for us, nothing nobler than a free Commonwealth: if we will needs condemn our ſelves to be of the latter, deſparing of our own Vertue, Induſtry, and the number of our able Men, we may then, conſcious of our own unworthineſs to be govern'd better, ſadly betake us to our befitting Thraldom: yet chuſing out of our own number one who hath beſt aided the People, and beſt merited againſt Tyranny, the ſpace of a Raign or two we may chance to live happily enough, or tolerably. But that a victorious People ſhould give up themſelves again to the vanquiſh'd, was never yet heard of; ſeems rather void of all Reaſon and good Policy, and will in all probability ſubject the Subduers to the Subdu'd, will expoſe to Revenge, to Beggary, to Ruin and perpetual Bondage the Victors under the vanquiſh'd: than which what can be more unworthy?

From miſinterpreting our Law, you return to do again the ſame with Scripture, and would prove the Supremacy of *Engliſh* Kings from 1 *Pet.* 2.13. as if that were the Apoſtle's work: wherin if he ſaith that *the King is ſupreme*,

*preme*, he ſpeaks ſo of him but as an *Ordinance of Man*, and in reſpect of thoſe *Governors that are ſent by him*, not in reſpect of Parlaments, which by the Law of this Land are his Bridle; in vain his Bridle, if not alſo his Rider: and therfore hath not only *Co-ordination* with him, which you falſly call *ſeditious*, but hath Superiority above him, and that neither *againſt Religion*, nor *right Reaſon:* no nor againſt common Law; for our Kings reign'd only by Law: but the Parlament is above all poſitive Law, whether civil or common, makes or unmakes them both; and ſtill the latter Parlament above the former, above all the former Lawgivers, then certainly above all precedent Laws; entail'd the Crown on whom it pleas'd; and as a great Lawyer ſaith, *is ſo tranſcendent and abſolute, that it cannot be confin'd either for Cauſes or Perſons, within any bounds.* But your cry is, no Parlament without a King. If this be ſo, we have never had lawful Kings, who have all bin created Kings either by ſuch Parlaments, or by Conqueſt: if by ſuch Parlaments, they are in your allowance none: if by Conqueſt, that Conqueſt we have now conquer'd. So that as well by your own Aſſertion as by ours, there can at preſent be no King. And how could that Perſon be abſolutely ſupreme, who reign'd, not under Law only, but under Oath of his good Demeanor given to the People at his Coronation, ere the People gave him his Crown? And his principal Oath was to maintain thoſe Laws which the People ſhould chuſe. If then the Law it ſelf, much more he who was but the Keeper and Miniſter of Law, was in thir choice, and both he ſubordinat to the performance of his Duty ſworn, and our ſworn Allegiance in order only to his performance.

You fall next on the *Conſiſtorian Schiſmatics*; for ſo you call Presbyterians, *pag*. 40. and judg them to have *enervated the King's Supremacy by thir Opinions and Practice, differing in many things only in terms from Popery*; though ſome of thoſe Principles which you there cite concerning Kingſhip, are to be ready in *Ariſtotle*'s Politics, long ere Popery was thought on. The Presbyterians therfore it concerns to be well forewarn'd of you betimes; and to them I leave you.

As for your Examples of ſeditious Men, *pag*. 54, &c. *Cora*, *Abſalom*, *Zimri*, *Sheba*, to theſe you might with much more reaſon have added your own Name, who *blow the Trumpet of Sedition* from your Pulpit againſt the preſent Government: in reward wherof they have ſent you by this time, as I hear, *to* your *own place*, for preaching open Sedition, while you would ſeem to preach againſt it.

As for your Appendix annext of the *Samaritan reviv'd*, finding it ſo foul a Libel againſt all the well-affected of this Land, ſince the very time of *Ship-money*, againſt the whole Parlament, both Lords and Commons, except thoſe that fled to *Oxford*, againſt the whole reform'd Church, not only in *England* and *Scotland*, but all over *Europe* (in compariſon wherof you and your Prelatical Party are more truly Schiſmatics and Sectarians, nay more properly *Fanatics* in your *Fanes* and gilded Temples, than thoſe whom you revile by thoſe names) and meeting with no more Scripture or ſolid reaſon in your *Samaritan wine and oyl*, than hath already bin found ſophiſticated and adulterate, I leave your malignant Narrative, as needing no other Confutation, than the juſt Cenſure already paſs'd upon you by the Council of State.

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OF

[illegible] of him [illegible] an [illegible] in respect of [illegible] that are just [illegible] in respect [illegible] the Law [illegible] Britain [illegible] and [illegible] hath not only [illegible] which you [illegible] call [illegible], but hath [illegible] the [illegible] [illegible] but the Parliament is above all [illegible] Law [illegible] [illegible] makes [illegible] till the [illegible] [illegible] above all [illegible] Laws [illegible] [illegible] your [illegible] If this be [illegible] we had [illegible] created [illegible] Parliament [illegible] [illegible] are to your [illegible] that [illegible] are now [illegible]. So [illegible] is [illegible] can [illegible] be no King. And [illegible] would [illegible] be [illegible] not only [illegible] but [illegible] of [illegible] the People [illegible] which was [illegible] If then the Law [illegible] [illegible] and [illegible] of Law [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] the Case [illegible] the King's [illegible] [illegible] which you [illegible] concerning [illegible] [illegible] long [illegible] was [illegible] on. The Pre[illegible] [illegible] to be well [illegible] you [illegible]

[illegible] which [illegible] Parliament [illegible] [illegible] in [illegible] [illegible] of the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] whole Parliament, both [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] in com[illegible] [illegible] and [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] that [illegible] intelligent [illegible]

# OF
# True Religion, Hereſie, Schiſm, Toleration,
## And what beſt Means may be us'd againſt the Growth of
# POPERY.

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IT is unknown to no Man, who knows ought of Concernment among us, that the increaſe of Popery is at this day no ſmall Trouble and Offence to greateſt part of the Nation; and the rejoicing of all good Men that it is ſo; the more thir rejoicing, that God hath giv'n a Heart to the People to remember ſtill thir great and happy Deliverance from Popiſh Thraldom, and to eſteem ſo highly the precious benefit of his Goſpel, ſo freely and ſo peaceably injoy'd among them. Since therfore ſome have already in public with many conſiderable Arguments exhorted the People to beware the growth of this Romiſh Weed; I thought it no leſs than a common duty to lend my hand, how unable ſoever, to ſo good a purpoſe. I will not now enter into the Labyrinth of Councils and Fathers, an intangl'd wood which the Papiſt loves to fight in, not with hope of Victory, but to obſcure the ſhame of an open Overthrow: which yet in that kind of Combat, many heretofore, and one of late, hath eminently given them. And ſuch manner of diſpute with them, to Learned Men, is uſeful and very commendable: But I ſhall inſiſt now on what is plainer to common Apprehenſion, and what I have to ſay, without longer Introduction.

True Religion is the true Worſhip and Service of God, learnt and believ'd from the Word of God only. No Man or Angel can know how God would be worſhip'd and ſerv'd unleſs God reveal it: He hath reveal'd and taught it us in the holy Scriptures by inſpir'd Miniſters, and in the Goſpel by his own Son and his Apoſtles, with ſtricteſt command to reject all other Traditions or Additions whatſoever. According to that of St. *Paul*, *Though we or an Angel from Heaven preach any other Goſpel unto you, than that which we have preacht unto you, let him be Anathema, or accurſt.* And *Deut.* 4. 2. *Ye ſhall not add to the Word which I command you, neither ſhall you diminiſh ought from it.* Rev. 22. 18,19. *If any Man ſhall add,* &c. *If any Man ſhall take away from the words,* &c. With good and religious Reaſon therfore all Proteſtant Churches with one Conſent, and particularly the Church of *England* in her thirty nine Articles, Artic. 6*th*, 19*th*, 20*th*, 21*ſt*, and elſewhere, maintain theſe two Points, as the main Principles of true Religion: that the Rule of true Religion is the Word of God only: and that thir Faith ought not to be an implicit Faith, that is, to believe, though as the Church believes, againſt or without expreſs Authority of Scripture. And if all Proteſtants as univerſally as they hold theſe two Principles, ſo attentively and religiouſly would obſerve them, they would avoid and cut off many Debates and Contentions, Schiſms and Perſecutions, which too oft have been among them, and more firmly unite againſt the common Adverſary. For hence it directly follows, that no true Proteſtant can perſecute, or not tolerate his Fellow-Proteſtant, though diſſenting from him in ſom Opinions, but he muſt flatly deny and renounce theſe two his own main Principles, wheron true Religion is founded; while he compels his Brother from that which he believes as the manifeſt Word of God, to an implicit Faith (which he himſelf condemns) to the endangering of his Brother's Soul, whether by raſh Belief, or outward Conformity: for *whatſoever is not of Faith, is Sin.*

I will now as briefly ſhow what is falſe Religion or Hereſie, which will be don as eaſily: for of Contraries the Definitions muſt needs be contrary. Hereſie therfore is a Religion taken up and believ'd from the Traditions of Men and Additions to the Word of God. Whence alſo it follows clearly that of all known Sects or pretended Religions at this day in Chriſtendom, Popery is the only or the greateſt Hereſie: and he who is ſo forward to brand all others for Heretics, the obſtinate Papiſt, the only Heretic. Hence one of thir own famous Writers found juſt cauſe to ſtile the Romiſh Church *Mother of Error, School of Hereſie.* And wheras the Papiſt boaſts himſelf to be a Roman Catholic, it is a meer Contradiction, one of the Pope's Bulls, as if he ſhould ſay, univerſal particular, a Catholic Schiſmatic. For Catholic in Greek ſignifies Univerſal: and the Chriſtian Church was ſo call'd, as conſiſting of all Nations to whom the Goſpel was to be preach'd, in contradiſtinction to the Jewiſh Church, which conſiſted for the moſt part of Jews only.

Sects may be in a true Church as well as in a falſe, when Men follow the Doctrin too much for the Teachers ſake, whom they think almoſt infallible; and this becomes, through Infirmity, implicit Faith; and the name Sectary pertains to ſuch a Diſciple.

Schiſm is a Rent or Diviſion in the Church, when it comes to the ſeparating of Congregations; and may alſo happen to a true Church, as well as to a falſe; yet in the true needs not tend to the breaking of Communion, if they can agree in the right Adminiſtration of that wherin they communicate, keeping thir other Opinions to themſelves, not being deſtructive to Faith. The Phariſees and Saduces were two Sects, yet both met together in thir common Worſhip of God at *Jeruſalem.* But here the Papiſt will angrily demand, what! Are Lutherans, Calviniſts, Anabaptiſts, Socinians, Arminians, no Heretics? I anſwer, all theſe may have ſome Errors, but are no Heretics. Hereſie is in the Will and Choice profeſtly againſt Scripture; Error is againſt the Will, in miſunderſtanding the Scripture after all ſincere Endeavours to underſtand it rightly: Hence it was ſaid well by one of the Ancients, *Err I may, but a Heretic I will not be.* It is a human Frailty to err, and no Man is infallible here on Earth. But ſo long as all theſe profeſs to ſet the Word of God only before them as the Rule of Faith and Obedience; and uſe all Diligence and Sincerity of Heart, by Reading, by Learning, by Study, by Prayer for Illumination of the holy Spirit, to underſtand the Rule and obey it, they have done what Man can do: God will aſſuredly pardon them, as he did the Friends of *Job*, good and pious Men, though much miſtaken, as there it appears, in ſome Points of Doctrin. But ſom will ſay, with Chriſtians it is otherwiſe, whom God hath promis'd by his Spirit to teach all things. True, all things abſolutely neceſſary to Salvation: But the hotteſt Diſputes among Proteſtants, calmly and charitably enquir'd into, will be found leſs than ſuch. The Lutheran holds Conſubſtantiation; an Error indeed, but not mortal. The Calviniſt is taxt with Predeſtination, and to make God the Author of Sin; not with any diſhonourable Thought of God, but it may be over zealouſly aſſerting his abſolute Power, not without Plea of Scripture. The Anabaptiſt is accus'd of denying Infants thir Right to Baptiſm; again they ſay, they deny nothing but what the Scripture denies them. The Arian and Socinian are charg'd to diſpute againſt the Trinity: they affirm to believe the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, according to Scripture and the Apoſtolic Creed; as for terms of Trinity, Triniunity, Coeſſentiality, Triperſonality, and the like, they reject them as Scholaſtic Notions, not to be found in Scripture, which by a general Proteſtant Maxim is plain and perſpicuous abundantly to explain its own meaning in the propereſt Words, belonging to ſo high a Matter, and ſo neceſſary to be known; a Myſtery indeed in thir Sophiſtic Subtilties,

tilties, but in Scripture a plain Doctrin. Their other Opinions are of leſs moment. They diſpute the Satisfaction of Chriſt, or rather the word *Satiſfaction*, as not Scriptural: but they acknowledg him both God and their Saviour. The *Arminian* laſtly is condemn'd for ſetting up Free Will againſt Free Grace; but that Imputation he diſclaims in all his Writings, and grounds himſelf largely upon Scripture only. It cannot be deny'd that the Authors or late Revivers of all theſe Sects or Opinions were learned, worthy, zealous, and religious Men, as appears by thir Lives written, and the ſame of thir many eminent and learned Followers, perfect and powerful in the Scriptures, holy and unblamable in thir Lives: and it cannot be imagin'd that God would deſert ſuch painful and zealous Laborers in his Church, and oft-times great Sufferers for thir Conſcience, to damnable Errors and a reprobate Senſe, who had ſo often implor'd the Aſſiſtance of his Spirit; but rather, having made no Man infallible, that he hath pardon'd thir Errors, and accepts thir pious Endeavours, ſincerely ſearching all things according to the Rule of Scripture, with ſuch Guidance and Direction as they can obtain of God by Prayer. What Proteſtant then who himſelf maintains the ſame Principles, and diſavows all implicit Faith, would perſecute, and not rather charitably tolerate ſuch Men as theſe, unleſs he mean to abjure the Principles of his own Religion? If it be ask'd how far they ſhould be tolerated? I anſwer, doubtleſs equally, as being all Proteſtants; that is on all occaſions to give account of thir Faith, either by arguing, preaching in thir ſeveral Aſſemblies, publick writing, and the freedom of Printing. For if the *French* and *Polonian* Proteſtants injoy all this Liberty among Papiſts, much more may a Proteſtant juſtly expect it among Proteſtants; and yet ſomtimes here among us, the one perſecutes the other upon every ſlight pretence.

But he is wont to ſay, he enjoyns only things indifferent. Let them be ſo ſtill; who gave him Authority to change thir Nature by injoyning them? If by his own Principles, as is prov'd, he ought to tolerate controverted Points of Doctrin not ſlightly grounded on Scripture, much more ought he not impoſe things indifferent without Scripture. In Religion nothing is indifferent, but, if it come once to be impos'd, is either a Command or a Prohibition, and ſo conſequently an addition to the Word of God, which he profeſſes to diſallow. Beſides, how unequal, how uncharitable muſt it needs be, to impoſe that which his Conſcience cannot urge him to impoſe, upon him whoſe Conſcience forbids him to obey? What can it be but love of Contention for things not neceſſary to be don, to moleſt the Conſcience of his Brother, who holds them neceſſary to be not don? To conclude, let ſuch an one but call to mind his own Principles above-mention'd, and he muſt neceſſarily grant, that neither he can impoſe, nor the other believe or obey ought in Religion, but from the Word of God only. More amply to underſtand this may be read the 14*th* and 15*th* Chapters to the Romans, and the Contents of the 14*th*, ſet forth no doubt but with full Authority of the Church of *England*; the Gloſs is this: *Men may not contemn or condemn one the other for things indifferent.* And in the 6*th* Article above mention'd, *whatſoever is not read in Holy Scripture, nor may be proved therby, is not to be required of any Man as an Article of Faith, or neceſſary to Salvation.* And certainly what is not ſo, is not to be required at all; as being an Addition to the Word of God expreſly forbidden.

Thus this long and hot Conteſt, whether Proteſtants ought to tolerate one another, if Men will be but rational and not partial, may be ended without need of more Words to compoſe it.

Let us now enquire whether Popery be tolerable or no. Popery is a double thing to deal with, and claims a twofold Power, Eccleſiaſtical and Political, both uſurpt, and the one ſupporting the other.

But Eccleſiaſtical is ever pretended to Political. The Pope by this mixt Faculty pretends Right to Kingdoms and States, and eſpecially to this of *England*, thrones and unthrones Kings, and abſolves the People from thir Obedience to them; ſomtimes interdicts to whole Nations the Public Worſhip of God, ſhutting up thir Churches: and was wont to dreign away greateſt part of the Wealth of this then miſerable Land, as part of his Patrimony, to maintain the Pride and Luxury of his Court and Prelats: and now ſince, through the infinite Mercy and Favour of God, we have ſhaken off his *Babyloniſh* Yoke, hath not ceas'd by his Spies and Agents, Bulls and Emiſſaries, once to deſtroy both King and Parliament; perpetually to ſeduce, corrupt, and pervert as many as they can of the People. Whether therfore it be fit or reaſonable, to tolerate Men thus principl'd in Religion towards the State, I ſubmit it to the conſideration of all Magiſtrates, who are beſt able to provide for thir own and the public Safety. As for tolerating the exerciſe of thir Religion, ſuppoſing thir State-Activities not to be dangerous, I anſwer, that Toleration is either public or private; and the exerciſe of thir Religion, as far as it is idolatrous, can be tolerated neither way: not publicly, without grievous and unſufferable Scandal giv'n to all conſcientious Beholders; not privately, without great Offence to God, declar'd againſt all kind of Idolatry, though ſecret. Ezek. 8. 7, 8. *And he brought me to the door of the Court, and when I looked, behold a hole in the Wall. Then ſaid he unto me, Son of Man, dig now in the Wall; and when I had digged, behold a door; and he ſaid unto me, go in, and behold the wicked Abominations that they do here.* And *ver.* 12. *Then ſaid he unto me, Son of Man, haſt thou ſeen what the Ancients of the houſe of* Iſrael *do in the dark?* &c. And it appears by the whole Chapter, that God was no leſs offended with theſe ſecret Idolatries, than with thoſe in public; and no leſs provok'd, than to bring on and haſten his Judgments on the whole Land for theſe alſo.

Having ſhown thus, that Popery, as being idolatrous, is not to be tolerated either in public or in private; it muſt be now thought how to remove it and hinder the growth thereof, I mean in our Natives, and not Foreiners, privileg'd by the Law of Nations. Are we to puniſh them by corporal Puniſhment, or Fines in thir Eſtates, upon account of thir Religion? I ſuppoſe it ſtands not with the Clemency of the Goſpel, more than what appertains to the Security of the State: But firſt we muſt remove thir Idolatry, and all the Furniture therof, whether Idols, or the Maſs wherin they adore thir God under Bread and Wine: for the Commandment forbids to adore, not only *any graven Image, but the likeneſs of any thing in Heaven above, or in the Earth beneath, or in the Water under the Earth; thou ſhalt not bow down to them, nor worſhip them, for I the Lord thy God am a jealous God.* If they ſay that by removing thir Idols we violate thir Conſciences, we have no warrant to regard Conſcience which is not grounded on Scripture: and they themſelves confeſs in thir late Defences, that they hold not thir Images neceſſary to Salvation, but only as they are enjoyn'd them by Tradition.

Shall we condeſcend to diſpute with them? The Scripture is our only Principle in Religion; and by that only they will not be judg'd, but will add other Principles of thir own, which, forbidden by the Word of God, we cannot aſſent to. And [in ſeveral places of the Goſpel] the common Maxim alſo in *Logic* is, *againſt them who deny Principles, we are not to diſpute.* Let them bound thir Diſputations on the Scripture only, and an ordinary Proteſtant, well read in the Bible, may turn and wind thir Doctors. They will not go about to prove thir Idolatries by the Word of God, but run to Shifts and Evaſions, and frivolous Diſtinctions: Idols they ſay are *Laymens* Books, and a great means to ſtir up pious Thoughts and Devotion in the learnedſt. I ſay they are no means of God's appointing, but plainly the contrary: Let them hear the Prophets; *Jer.* 10. 8. *The Stock is a Doctrin of Vanities.* Hab. 2. 18. *What profiteth the graven Image that the Maker therof hath graven it: The Molten Image and a Teacher of Lies?* But they allege in thir late Anſwers, that the Laws of *Moſes* giv'n only to the Jews, concern not us under the Goſpel: and remember not that Idolatry is forbidden as expreſly, but with theſe Wiles and Fallacies *compaſſing Sea and Land, like the Phariſees of old, to make one Proſelite,* they lead away privily many ſimple and ignorant Souls, Men or Women, *and make them twofold more the Children of Hell than themſelves,* Mat. 23. 15. But the Apoſtle hath well warn'd us, I may ſay, from ſuch Deceivers as theſe, for thir Myſtery was then working. *I beſeech you, Brethren,* ſaith he, *mark them which cauſe Diviſions and Offences, contrary to the Doctrin which ye have learned, and avoid them; for they that are ſuch ſerve not our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, but thir own Belly, and by good Words and fair Speeches deceive the Heart of the ſimple,* Rom. 16. 17, 18.

The next means to hinder the growth of Popery will be to read duly and diligently the Holy Scriptures, which as St. *Paul* ſaith to *Timothy*, who had known them from a Child, *are able to make wiſe unto Salvation.* And to the whole Church of *Coloſſi*; *Let the word of Chriſt dwell in you plentifully, with all Wiſdom*, Col. 3. 16. The Papal Antichriſtian Church permits not her Laity to read the Bible in thir own Tongue: Our Church on the contrary hath propos'd it to all men, and to this end tranſlated it into Engliſh, with profitable Notes on what is met with obſcure, though what is moſt neceſſary to be known be ſtill plaineſt; that all ſorts and degrees of men, not underſtanding the Original, may read it in thir Mother Tongue. Neither let the Countryman, the Tradeſman, the Lawyer, the Phyſician, the Sateſman, excuſe himſelf by his much Buſineſs from the ſtudious reading thereof. Our Saviour ſaith, *Luke* 10. 41, 42. *Thou art careful and troubled about many things, but one thing is needful.* If they were ask'd, they would be loth to ſet earthly things, Wealth, or Honour before the wiſdom of Salvation. Yet moſt men in the courſe and practice of thir Lives are found to do ſo; and through unwillingneſs to take the pains of underſtanding thir Religion by thir own diligent ſtudy, would fain be ſav'd by a Deputy. Hence comes implicit Faith, ever learning and never taught, much hearing and ſmall proficience, till want of Fundamental Knowledg eaſily turns to Superſtition or Popery: Therfore the Apoſtle admoniſhes, *Epheſ.* 4. 14. *That we henceforth be no more Children, toſſed to and fro and carryed about with every wind of Doctrin, by the ſleight of men, and cunning craftineſs wherby they lie in wait to deceive.* Every member of the Church, at leaſt of any breeding or capacity, ſo well ought to be grounded in ſpiritual Knowledg, as, if need be, to examin thir Teachers themſelves, *Acts* 17. 11. *They ſearched the Scriptures daily, whether thoſe things were ſo.* Rev. 2. 2. *Thou haſt tried them which ſay they are Apoſtles, and are not.* How ſhould any private Chriſtian try his Teachers, unleſs he be well grounded himſelf in the Rule of Scripture, by which he is taught. As therfore among Papiſts, thir ignorance in Scripture chiefly upholds Popery; ſo among Proteſtant People, the frequent and ſerious reading therof will ſooneſt pull Popery down.

Another means to abate Popery, ariſes from the conſtant reading of Scripture, wherin Believers who agree in the main, are every where exhorted to mutual Forbearance and Charity one towards the other, though diſſenting in ſom Opinions. It is written that the Coat of our Saviour was without Seam; whence ſom would infer, that there ſhould be no diviſion in the Church of Chriſt. It ſhould be ſo indeed; yet Seams in the ſame Cloth, neither hurt the Garment, nor misbecom it; and not only Seams, but Schiſms will be while men are fallible: But if they who diſſent in matters not eſſential to Belief, while the common Adverſary is in the Field, ſhall ſtand jarring and pelting at one another, they will be ſoon routed and ſubdued. The Papiſt with open mouth makes much advantage of our ſeveral Opinions; not that he is able to confute the worſt of them, but that we by our continual jangle among our ſelves make them worſe than they are indeed. To ſave our ſelves therfore, and reſiſt the common enemy, it concerns us mainly to agree within our ſelves, that with joint Forces we may not only hold our own, but get ground; and why ſhould we not? The Goſpel commands us to tolerate one another, though of various Opinions, and hath promiſed a good and happy event therof; *Phil.* 3. 15. *Let us therfore, as many as be perfect, be thus minded; and if in any thing ye be otherwiſe minded, God ſhall reveal even this unto you.* And we are bid 1 *Theſſ.* 5. 21. *Prove all things, hold faſt that which is good.* St. *Paul* judg'd that not only to tolerate, but to examin and prove all things, was no danger to our holding faſt of that which is good. How ſhall we prove all things, which includes all opinions at leaſt founded on Scripture, unleſs we not only tolerate them, but patiently hear them, and ſeriouſly read them? If he who thinks himſelf in the truth, profeſſes to have learnt it, not by implicit Faith, but by attentive ſtudy of the Scriptures, and full perſwaſion of Heart; with what Equity can he refuſe to hear or read him, who demonſtrates to have gained his knowledg by the ſame way? Is it a fair courſe to aſſert Truth by arrogating to himſelf the only freedom of Speech, and ſtopping the Mouths of others equally gifted? This is the direct way to bring in that Papiſtical implicit Faith which we all diſclaim. They pretend it would unſettle the weaker ſort; the ſame groundleſs fear is pretended by the Romiſh Clergy. At leaſt then let them have leave to write in Latin, which the common People underſtand not; that what they hold may be diſcuſt among the Learned only. We ſuffer the idolatrous Books of Papiſts, without this fear, to be ſold and read as common as our own: Why not much rather of Anabaptiſts, Arians, Arminians, and Socinians? There is no Learned man but will confeſs he hath much profited by reading Controverſies, his Senſes awakt, his Judgment ſharpn'd, and the Truth which he holds more firmly eſtabliſh't. If then it be profitable for him to read, why ſhould it not at leaſt be tolerable and free for his Adverſary to write? In *Logic* they teach, that contraries laid together more evidently appear: it follows then that all Controverſy being permitted, Falſhood will appear more falſe, and Truth the more true; which muſt needs conduce much, not only to the confounding of Popery, but to the general confirmation of unimplicit Truth.

The laſt means to avoid Popery, is to amend our Lives: it is a general Complaint that this Nation of late years, is grown more numerouſly and exceſſively vitious than heretofore; Pride, Luxury, Drunkenneſs, Whoredom, Curſing, Swearing, bold and open Atheiſm every where abounding: where theſe grow, no wonder if Popery alſo grow apace. There is no man ſo wicked, but at ſomtimes his Conſcience will wring him with thoughts of another World, and the peril of his Soul; the trouble and melancholy which he conceives of true Repentance and Amendment he endures not, but enclines rather to ſom carnal Superſtition, which may pacify and lull his Conſcience with ſom more pleaſing Doctrin. None more ready and officious to offer her ſelf than the *Romiſh*, and opens wide her Office, with all her faculties, to receive him; eaſy Confeſſion, eaſy Abſolution, Pardons, Indulgences, Maſſes for him both quick and dead, *Agnus Dei's*, Reliques, and the like: and he, inſtead of *working out his Salvation with fear and trembling*, ſtrait thinks in his Heart (like another kind of Fool than he in the Pſalms) to bribe God as a corrupt Judg; and by his Proctor, ſome Prieſt, or Fryer, to buy out his Peace with Mony, which he cannot with his Repentance. For God, when men ſin outragiouſly, and will not be admoniſh'd, gives over chaſtizing them, perhaps by Peſtilence, Fire, Sword, or Famin, which may all turn to thir good, and takes up his ſevereſt Puniſhments, hardneſs, beſottedneſs of Heart, and Idolatry, to thir final Perdition. Idolatry brought the Heathen to hainous Tranſgreſſions, *Rom.* 2. And hainous Tranſgreſſions oftimes bring the ſlight Profeſſors of true Religion, to groſs Idolatry: 1 Theſſ. 2. 11, 12. *For this cauſe God ſhall ſend them ſtrong Deluſion that they ſhould believe a Lie, that they all might be damn'd who believe not the Truth, but had pleaſure in Unrighteouſneſs.* And *Iſaiah* 44. 18. Speaking of Idolaters, *They have not known nor underſtood, for he hath ſhut thir Eyes that they cannot ſee, and thir Hearts that they cannot underſtand.* Let us therfore, uſing this laſt means, laſt here ſpoken of, but firſt to be don, amend our Lives with all ſpeed; leſt through impenitency we run into that Stupidity, which we now ſeek all means ſo warily to avoid, the worſt of Superſtitions, and the heavieſt of all God's Judgments, Popery.

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# FOUR
# Miſcellaneous Tracts,

*VIZ.*

I. A Brief Hiſtory of *Moſcovia*, and of other leſs-known Countries lying Eaſtward of *Ruſſia*, &c.

II. A Declaration, or Letters Patents of the Election of *John* III. King of *Poland*; containing the Reaſons therof, his great Vertues and Merits, *&c.*

III. Of Education. To Mr. *Samuel Hartlib*.

IV. Accedence commenc'd Grammar, ſuppli'd with ſufficient Rules for the Uſe of ſuch as are deſirous to attain the Latin Tongue.

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AMSTERDAM, MDCXCIV.

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# A Brief
# HISTORY
# OF
# MOSCOVIA,
# AND
# Of other leſs-known Countries lying Eaſtward of *Ruſſia* as far as *Cathay*.

## Gather'd from the Writings of ſeveral Eye-witneſſes.

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## The PREFACE.

THE ſtudy of Geography is both profitable and delightful; but the Writers therof, though ſom of them exact enough in ſetting down Longitudes and Latitudes, yet in thoſe other relations of Manners, Religion, Government, and ſuch like, accounted Geographical, have for the moſt part miſs'd thir proportions. Som too brief and deficient ſatisfy not; others too voluminous and impertinent cloy and weary out the Reader, while they tell long Stories of abſurd Superſtitions, Ceremonies, quaint Habits, and other petty Circumſtances little to the purpoſe. Wherby that which is uſeful, and only worth obſervation, in ſuch a wood of words, is either overſlipt, or ſoon forgotten; which perhaps brought into the mind of ſome men more learned and judicious, who had not the leiſure or purpoſe to write an entire Geography, yet at leaſt to aſſay ſomthing in the deſcription of one or two Countries, which might be as a Pattern or Example to render others more cautious herafter, who intended the whole work. And this perhaps induc'd *Paulus Jovius* to deſcribe only *Moſcovy* and *Britain*. Some ſuch thoughts, many years ſince, led me at a vacant time to attempt the like argument, and I began with *Muſcovy*, as being the moſt northern Region of *Europe* reputed civil; and the more northern parts therof, firſt diſcovered by *Engliſh* Voyages. Wherin I ſaw I had by much the advantage of *Jovius*. What was ſcatter'd in many Volumes, and obſerv'd at ſeveral times by Eye-witneſſes, with no curſory pains I laid together, to ſave the Reader a far longer travail of wandring through ſo many deſert Authors; who yet with ſome delight drew me after them, from the eaſtern Bounds of *Ruſſia*, to the Walls of *Cathay*, in ſeveral late Journeys made thither overland by *Ruſſians*, who deſcribe the Countries in thir way far otherwiſe then our common Geographers. From proceeding further, other occaſions diverted me. This Eſſay, ſuch as it is, was thought by ſome, who knew of it, not amiſs to be publiſhed; that ſo many things remarkable, diſpers'd before, now brought under one view, might not hazard to be otherwiſe loſt, nor the labour loſt of collecting them.

yond them to *Aſtracan*, *Tartars* of *Mangat*, and *Nagay*; on the right ſide thoſe of *Crimme*. From *Moſco* to *Aſtracan* is about 600 Leagues. The Town is ſituate in an Iſland on a Hill-ſide wall'd with Earth, but the Caſtle with Earth and Timber; the Houſes, except that of the Governor's, and ſome few others, poor and ſimple; the Ground utterly barren, and without Wood: they live there on Fiſh, and Sturgeon eſpecially; which hanging up to dry in the Streets and Houſes, brings whole ſwarms of Flies, and infection to the Air, and oft great Peſtilence. This Iſland in length 12 leagues, 3 in breadth, is the *Ruſſian* limit toward the *Caſpian*, which he keeps with a ſtrong Gariſon, being 20 Leagues from that Sea, into which *Volga* falls at 70 mouths. From Saint *Nicholas*, or from *Moſco* to the *Caſpian*, they paſs in 46 days and nights, moſt part by Water.

Weſt. *Novogrod.* 365. Weſt-ward from Saint *Nicholas* 1200 miles is the City *Novogrod* 58 degrees, the greateſt Mart-town of all this Dominion, and in bigneſs not inferior to *Moſco*. The way thither is through the weſtern bottom of Saint *Nicholas* Bay, and ſo along the Shoar full of dangerous Rocks to the Monaſtery *Soloſky*, wherin are at leaſt 200 Monks; the People therabout in a manner Savages, yet Tenants to thoſe Monks. Thence to the dangerous River *Owiga*, wherin are Waterfalls as ſteep as from a Mountain, and by the violence of thir deſcent kept from freezing: ſo that the Boats are to be carried there a mile over land; which the Tenants of that Abby did by command, and were guides to the Merchants without taking any reward. Thence to the Town *Povenſa* ſtanding within a mile of the famous Lake *Onega* 320 miles long, and in ſom places 70, at narroweſt 25 broad, and of great depth. Thence by ſom Monaſteries to the River *Swire*; then into the Lake *Ladiſcay* much longer then *Onega*; after which into the River *Volhusky*, which through the midſt of *Novogrod* runs into this Lake, and this Lake into the *Baltick* ſound by *Narv* and *Revel*. Thir other Cities toward the weſtern bound are *Pleſco*, *Smolensko*, or *Vobſco*.

Government. *Hack.* 243. The Emperor exerciſeth abſolute power: if any man die without male Iſſue, his Land returns to the Emperor. Any rich man who through age or other impotence is unable to ſerve the Publick, being inform'd of, is turn'd out of his Eſtate, and forc'd with his Family to live on a ſmall Penſion, while ſome other more deſerving is by the Duke's autority put into poſſeſſion. The manner of informing the Duke is thus. Your Grace, ſaith one, hath ſuch a Subject, abounding with Riches, but for ſervice of the State unmeet, and you have others poor and in want, but well able to do thir Country good ſervice. Immediately the Duke ſends forth to enquire, and calling the rich man before him, Friend, ſaith he, you have too much Living, and are unſerviceable to your Prince; leſs will ſerve you, and the reſt maintain others who deſerve more. The man thus call'd to impart his Wealth repines not, but humbly anſwers, that all he hath is God's and the Duke's, as if he made reſtitution of what more juſtly was anothers than parted with his own. Every Gentleman hath rule and juſtice over his own Tenants: if the Tenants of two Gentlemen agree not, they ſeek to compoſe it; if they cannot, each brings his Tenant before the high Judg of that Country. They have no Lawyers, but every man pleads his own Cauſe, or elſe by Bill or Anſwer in writing delivers it with his own hands to the Duke: yet Juſtice, by corruption of inferior Officers, is much perverted. Where other proof is wanting, they may try the matter by perſonal Combat, or by Champion. If a Debtor be poor, he becomes bondman to the Duke, who lets *Hac.* 309. out his labour till it pay the Debt; till then he remains in bondage. Another trial they have by Lots.

Revenues. The Revenues of the Emperor are what he liſt, and what his Subjects are able; and he omits not the courſeſt means to raiſe them: for in every good Town there is a drunken Tavern, call'd a *Curſemay*, which the Emperor either *Hac.* 314. lets out to farm, or beſtows on ſom Duke, or Gentleman in reward of his Service, who for that time is Lord of the whole Town, robbing and ſpoiling at his pleaſure, till being well enricht, he is ſent at his own charge to the Wars, and there ſqueez'd of his ill got wealth; by which means the waging of War is to the Emperor little or nothing chargeable.

Forces. *Hac.* 239. 250. The *Ruſſian* armeth not leſs in time of war then 300000 men, half of whom he takes with him into the Field, the reſt beſtows in Gariſons on the Borders. He preſſeth no Husbandman or Merchant, but the Youth of the Realm. He uſeth no Foot, but ſuch as are Pioneers, or Gunners, of both which ſort 30000. The

reſt

being Horſemen, are all Archers, and ride with a ſhort Stirrup after the *Turkiſh*. Thir Armour is a Coat of Plate, and a Scull on thir Heads. Som of thir Coats are cover'd with Velvet, or cloth of Gold; for they deſire to be gorgeous in Arms, but the Duke himſelf above meaſure; his Pavilion cover'd with Cloth of Gold or Silver, ſet with precious Stones. They uſe little Drums at the Saddle bow inſtead of Spurs, for at the ſound thereof the Horſes run more ſwiftly.

They fight without order; nor willingly give battail, but by ſtealth or ambuſh. *Hac.* 314.
Of Cold and hard Diet marvelouſly patient; for when the Ground is 250.
cover'd with Snow froz'n a yard thick, the common Souldier will lie in the Field two months together without Tent, or covering over head; only hangs up his Mantle againſt that part from whence the Weather drives, and kindling a little fire, lies him down before it, with his Back under the Wind: his Drink the cold Stream mingl'd with Oat-meal, and the ſame all his Food: his Horſe fed with green Wood and Bark, ſtands all this while in the open Field, yet does his ſervice. The Emperor gives no pay at all, but to Strangers; yet repairs good deſerts in War with certain Lands during life; and they who ofteneſt are
ſent to the Wars, think themſelves moſt favour'd, tho ſerving without Wages. *Hac.* 316.
On the 12*th* of *December* yearly, the Emperor rides into the Field, which is without the City, with all his Nobility, on Jennets and Turky Horſes in great ſtate; before him 5000 Harquebuſiers, who ſhoot at a Bank of Ice, till they beat it down; the Ordnance, which they have very fair of all ſorts, they plant againſt two wooden Houſes fill'd with Earth at leaſt 30 foot thick, and beginning with the ſmalleſt, ſhoot them all off thrice over, having beat thoſe two Houſes flat. Above the reſt 6 great Cannon they have, whoſe Bullet is a yard high, ſo that a man may ſee it flying: then out of Mortar-pieces they ſhoot Wild-fire into the Air. Thus the Emperor having ſeen what his Gunners can do, returns home in the ſame order.

They follow the *Greek* Church, but with exceſs of Superſtitions: thir Service Religion.
is in the *Ruſſian* Tongue. They hold the Ten Commandments not to concern *Hac.* 253.
them, ſaying that God gave them under the Law, which *Chriſt* by his Death on the Croſs hath abrogated: the Euchariſt they receive in both kinds. They obſerve 4 Lents, have Service in thir Churches daily, from two hours
before dawn to evening; yet for Whordom, Drunkenneſs and Extortion none 242, 321.
worſe than the Clergy.

They have many great and rich Monaſteries, where they keep great hoſpitality. 320.
That of *Trojetes* hath in it 700 Friers, and is wall'd about with Brick very ſtrongly, having many pieces of Braſs Ordnance on the Walls; moſt of the Lands, Towns, and Villages within 40 miles belong to thoſe Monks, who are alſo as great Merchants as any in the Land. During Eaſter Holy-daies when two Friends meet, they take each other by the hand; one of them ſaying, The
Lord is riſen; the other anſwering, It is ſo of a truth; and then they kiſs, 318.
whether Men or Women. The Emperor eſteemeth the Metropolitan next to God, after our Lady and Saint *Nicholas*, as being his ſpiritual Officer, himſelf
but his temporal. But the *Muſcovites* that border on *Tartaria* are yet *Pagans*. 320, 254.

When there is love between two, the Man among other trifling Gifts, ſends Marriages.
to the Woman a Whip, to ſignify, if ſhe offend, what ſhe muſt expect; and it *Hac.* 322.
is a Rule among them, that if the Wife be not beaten once a week, ſhe thinks her ſelf not belov'd, and is the worſe; yet are they very obedient, and ſtir not forth but at ſome Seaſons. Upon utter diſlike the Husband divorces;
which Liberty no doubt they receiv'd firſt with thir Religion from the *Greek* 314.
Church, and the Imperial Laws.

Thir Dead they bury with new Shooes on thir Feet, as to a long Journey, Burial.
and put Letters teſtimonial in thir hands to Saint *Nicholas* or Saint *Peter*, that 242, 254.
this was a *Ruſſe* of *Ruſſes*, and dy'd in the true Faith, which, as they believe, 323.
Saint *Peter* having read, forthwith admits him into Heaven.

They have no Learning, nor will ſuffer to be among them: Thir greateſt Friendſhip Manners.
is in drinking: they are great Talkers, Liars, Flatterers and Diſſemblers. 241, 314.
They delight in groſs Meats and noyſom Fiſh; thir Drink is better, being ſundry ſorts of Meath; the beſt made with Juice of a ſweet and crimſon Berry
call'd *Maliena*, growing alſo in *France*; other ſorts with Black-cherry, or di- 323.
vers

vers other Berries: another drink they uſe in the Spring drawn from the Birch-tree Root, whoſe Sap after *June* dries up. But there is no People that live ſo miſerably as the Poor of *Ruſſia*; if they have Straw and Water, they make ſhift to live; for Straw dry'd and ſtampt in Winter time is thir Bread; in Summer Graſs and Roots; at all times Bark of Trees is good Meat with them; yet many of them die in the Street for hunger, none relieving or regarding them.

Habit. 239. When they are ſent into Foreign Countries, or that Strangers come thither, they are very ſumptuous in apparel, elſe the Duke himſelf goes but meanly.

Travailing. 314. In Winter they travail only upon Sleds, the Ways being hard and ſmooth with Snow, the Rivers all froz'n: one Horſe with a Sled will draw a man 400 miles in 3 days; in Summer the way is deep, and travailing ill. The *Ruſſe* of better ſort goes not out in Winter, but on his Sled; in Summer on his Horſe: in his Sled he ſits on a Carpet, or a white Bears skin; the Sled drawn with a horſe well deckt, with many Fox or Wolve-tails about his neck, guided by a Boy on his back, other Servants riding on the tail of the Sled.

Beaſts. 252. The *Ruſſian* Sea breeds a certain Beaſt which they call a Morſe, who ſeeks his Food on the Rocks, climbing up with help of his Teeth; wherof they make as great account as we of the Elephant's tooth.

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## CHAP. II.

### Of Samoedia, Siberia, *and other Countries North Eaſt, ſubject to the* Muſcovites.

NOrth Eaſt of *Ruſſia* lieth *Samoedia* by the River *Ob*. This Country was firſt diſcover'd by *Oneke* a *Ruſſian*; who firſt trading privatly among them in rich Furs, got great Wealth, and the knowledg of thir Country; then reveal'd his diſcovery to *Boris* Protector to *Pheodor*, ſhewing how beneficial that Country gain'd, would be to the Empire. Who ſending Ambaſſadors among them gallantly attir'd, by fair means won thir ſubjection to the Empire, every Head paying yearly two skins of richeſt Sables. Thoſe Meſſengers travailing alſo 200 leagues beyond *Ob* Eaſtward, made report of pleaſant Countries, abounding with Woods and Fountains, and people riding on Elks and Loſhes; others drawn on Sleds by Rain-deer; others by Dogs as ſwift as Deer. The *Samoeds* that came along with thoſe Meſſengers, returning to *Moſco*, admir'd the ſtatelineſs of that City, and were as much admir'd for excellent Shooters, hitting every time the breadth of a penny, as far diſtant as hardly could be diſcern'd.

*Purch.* part 3. 543, 540. The River *Ob* is reported by the *Ruſſes* to be in breadth the ſailing of a Summer's day: but full of Iſlands and Shoals, having neither Woods, nor, till of late, Inhabitants. Out of *Ob* they turn into the River *Tawze*. The *Ruſſians* have here, ſince the *Samoeds* yielded them ſubjection, two Governours with 3 or 400 Gunners; have built Villages and ſome ſmall Caſtles; all which place they call *Mongozey* or *Molgomſay*. *Molgomſay.* 524. 526. Furthe[illegible]p-land they have alſo built other Cities of Wood, conſiſting chiefly of *Poles*, *Tartars* and *Ruſſes*, fugitive or condemned men; as *Vergateria*, *Siber*, whence the whole Country is nam'd *Tinna*, thence *Tobolſca* on this ſide *Ob*, on the Rivers *Irtis*, and *Tobol*, chief Seat of the *Ruſſian* Governour; above that, *Zergolta* in an Iſland of *Ob*, where they have a Cuſtom-houſe, beyond 526, 527. that on the other ſide *Ob*, *Narim*, and *Tooina* now a great City. Certain Churches alſo are erected in thoſe Parts; but no man forc'd to Religion; beyond *Narim* eaſt ward on the River *Telta* is built the Caſtle of *Comgoſcoi*, and all this Plantation began ſince the year 1590. with many other Towns like theſe. And theſe are the Countries from whence come all the Sables and rich Furs.

Manners of the *Samoeds*. 522, 555. The *Samoeds* have no Towns or certain place of abode, but up and down where they find Moſs for thir Deer; they live in companies peaceably, and are govern'd by ſome of the antienteſt amongſt them, but are Idolaters. They ſhoot wondrous cunningly: thir Arrow heads are ſharpned Stones, or Fiſhbones, which latter ſerve them alſo for Needles; thir Thread being the Sinews of certain ſmall Beaſts, wherwith they ſow the Furs which clothe them; the furry ſide in Summer outward, in Winter inward. They have many

Wives, and thir Daughters they ſell to him who bids moſt; which, if they be not lik'd, are turn'd back to thir Friends, the Husband allowing only to the Father what the Marriage Feaſt ſtood him in. Wives are brought to bed there by thir Husbands, and the next day go about as before. They till not the ground; but live on the Fleſh of thoſe wild Beaſts which they hunt. They are the only Guides to ſuch as travail *Jougoria*, *Siberia*, or any of thoſe North-East parts in Winter; being drawn on Sleds with Bucks, riding poſt day and 548.
night, if it be moon-light, and lodg on the Snow under Tents of Deer Skins in whatever place they find enough of white Moſs to feed thir Sled-Stags, turning them looſe to dig it up themſelves out of the deep Snow: another *Samoed* ſtepping to the next Wood, brings in ſtore of firing: round about which they lodg within thir Tents, leaving the top open to vent Smoak; in which manner they are as warm as the Stoves in *Ruſſia*. They carry Proviſion of meat with them, and partake beſides of what Fowl or Veniſon the *Samoed* kills with ſhooting by the way; thir drink is melted Snow. Two Deer being yok'd to a Sled riding poſt, will draw 200 miles in 24 hours without reſting, and laden with thir Stuff will draw it 30 miles in 12.

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## CHAP. III.

## Of Tingoeſia, *and the Countries adjoining Eaſtward as far as* Cathay.

BEyond *Narim* and *Comgoſcoi* the Souldiers of thoſe Gariſons travailing by Pur. par. 3.
appointment of the Ruſſian Governour in the year 1605. found many goodly 527.
Countries not inhabited; many vaſt Deſerts and Rivers, till at the end of ten weeks they ſpy'd certain Cottages and Herds, or companies of People, which came to them with reverent behaviour, and ſignify'd to the *Samoeds* and *Tartars*, which were Guides to the *Ruſſian* Souldiers, that they were call'd *Tingoeſi*; that thir dwelling was on the great River *Jeniſſey*. Jeniſſey.
This River is ſaid to be far bigger than *Ob*, diſtant from the Mouth therof 4 days and nights ſailing; and like- 527.
wiſe falls into the Sea of *Naramzae*: it hath high Mountains on the Eaſt, ſom of 551.
which caſt out Fire, to the Weſt a plain and fertile Country, which in the 546.
ſpring time it overflows about 70 leagues; all that time the Inhabitants keep 527.
them in the Mountains, and then return with thir Cattel to the Plain. The *Tingoeſi* are a very gentle Nation, they have great ſwoln Throats, like thoſe in Manners.
*Italy* that live under the *Alps*; at perſwaſion of the *Samoeds* they forthwith Ibid.
ſubmitted to the *Ruſſian* Government: and at thir requeſt travailing the next year to diſcover ſtill Eaſtward, they came at length to a River, which the Savages of that place call'd *Piſida*, ſomewhat leſs than *Jeniſſey*; beyond which 528.
hearing oft-times the towling of Brazen Bells, and ſomtimes the noiſe of Men and Horſes, they durſt not paſs over; they ſaw there certain Sails afar off, ſquare, and therfore ſuppos'd to be like *Indian* or *China* Sails, and the rather for that they report that great Guns have been heard ſhot off from thoſe Veſſels. In *April* and *May* they were much delighted with the fair proſpect of that Country, repleniſh'd with many rare Trees, Plants and Flowers, Beaſts and Fowl. Some think here to be the Borders of *Tangut* in the 543.
north of *Cathay*. Some of thoſe *Samoeds* about the year 1610, travail'd ſo far 546.
till they came in view of a white City, and heard a great din of Bells, and report there came to them Men all arm'd in Iron from head to foot. And in the year 1611. divers out of *Cathay*, and others from *Alteen Czar*, who ſtiles himſelf the golden King, came and traded at *Zergolta*, or *Surgoot*, on the River *Ob*, bringing with them Plates of Silver. Wherupon *Michael Pheodorowick* the *Ruſſian* Emperor, in the year 1619. ſent certain of his people from *Tooma* to *Alteen*, and *Cathay*, who return'd with Ambaſſadors from thoſe Princes. Theſe relate, that 797.
from *Tooma* in ten days and a half, three days wherof over a Lake, where Rubies and Saphirs grow, they came to the *Alteen* King, or King of *Alty*; through his Land in five weeks they paſs'd into the Country of *Sheromugaly*, or *Mugalla*, where reigned a Queen call'd *Manchica*; whence in four days they came to the Borders of *Cathay*, fenc'd with a ſtone Wall, 15 fathom high; along the ſide of which, having on the other hand many pretty Towns belonging to

Queen *Manchica*, they travail'd ten days without ſeeing any on the Wall till they came to the Gate; where they ſaw very great Ordnance lying, and 3000 men in watch. They traffic with other Nations at the Gate, and very few at once are ſuffered to enter. They were travailing from *Tooma* to this Gate 12 weeks; and from thence to the great City of *Cathay* ten days. Where being conducted to the Houſe of Ambaſſadors, within a few days there came a Secretary from King *Tambur* with 200 Men well apparell'd, and riding on Aſſes, to feaſt them with divers ſorts of Wine, and to demand thir Meſſage; but having brought no Preſents with them, they could not be admitted to his ſight; only with his Letter to the Emperor they return'd as is aforeſaid to *Tobolſca*. They report that the Land of *Mugalla* reaches from *Boghar* to the North 799. Sea, and hath many Caſtles built of Stone four-ſquare, with Towers at the Corners cover'd with glazed Tiles; and on the Gates Alarum-Bells, or Watch-Bells, twenty pound weight of Metal; thir Houſes built alſo of Stone, the Ceelings cunningly painted with Flowers of all Colours. The People are Idolaters; the Country exceeding fruitful. They have Aſſes and Mules, but no Horſes. The people of *Cathay* ſay that this great Wall ſtretches from *Boghar* to the North Sea, four months journey, with continual Towers a flight ſhot diſtant from each other, and Beacons on every Tower; and that this Wall is the bound between *Mugalla* and *Cathay*. In which are but five Gates; thoſe narrow, and ſo low that a Horſe-man ſitting upright cannot ride in. Next to the Wall is the City *Shirokalga*; it hath a Caſtle well furniſh'd with ſhort Ordnance and ſmall ſhot, which they who keep watch on the Gates, Towers and Walls, duly at Sun-ſet and riſing diſcharge thrice over. The City abounds with rich Merchandize, Velvets, Damasks, Cloth of Gold and Tiſſue, with many ſorts of Sugars. Like to this is the City *Tara*, thir Markets ſmell odoriferouſly with Spices, and *Tayth* more rich than that. *Shirooan* yet more magnificent, half a day's journey through, and exceeding populous. From hence to *Cathaia* the Imperial City is two days journey, built of white ſtone four ſquare, in circuit four days going, corner'd with four white Towers, very high and great, and others very fair along the Wall, white intermingl'd with blew, and Loop-holes furniſht with Ordnance. In midſt of this white City ſtands a Caſtle built of Magnet, where the King dwels, in a ſumptuous Palace, the top wherof is overlaid with Gold. The City ſtands on even ground encompaſs'd with the River *Touga*, 7 days journey from the Sea. The People are very fair, but not warlike, delighting moſt in rich Traffick. Theſe Relations are referr'd hither, becauſe 806. we have them from *Ruſſians*; who report alſo, that there is a Sea beyond *Ob* ſo warm that all kind of Sea-Fowl live therabout as well in Winter as in Summer. Thus much briefly of the Sea and Lands between *Ruſſia* and *Cathay*.

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# CHAP. IV.

## Hac. vol. 1. 221. *The Succeſſion of* Moſcovia *Dukes and Emperors, taken out of thir Chronicles by a* Polack, *with ſome later Additions.*

THE Great Dukes of *Muſcovy* derive thir Pedegree, though without ground, from *Auguſtus Cæſar*: whom they fable to have ſent certain of his Kindred to be Governours over many remote Provinces; and among them, *Pruſſus* over *Pruſſia*; him to have had his Seat on the eaſtern *Baltick* Shore by the River *Wixel*; of whom *Rurek*, *Sinaus*, and *Truuor* deſcended by the fourth Generation, were by the *Ruſſians*, living then without Civil Government, ſent for in 573. the year 573. to bear rule over them, at the perſwaſion of *Goſtomiſlius* chief Citizen of *Novogrod*. They therfore taking with them *Olecus* thir Kinſman, divided thoſe Countries among themſelves, and each in his Province taught them Civil Government.

*Ivarſon* of *Rurek*, the reſt dying without Iſſue, became Succeſſor to them all; being left in nonage under the protection of *Olechus*. He took to Wiſe *Olha* Daughter to a Citizen of *Pleſco*, of whom he begat *Stoſlaus*; but after that being ſlain by his Enemies, *Olha* his Wife went to *Conſtantinople*, and was there baptiz'd *Helena*.

*Stoſlaus* fought many Battels with his Enemies; but was at length by them ſlain, who made a Cup of his Scull engrav'n with this Sentence in Gold; *Seeking after other Mens he loſt his own.* His Sons were *Teropolchus*, *Olega* and *Volodimir*.

*Volodimir* having ſlain the other two, made himſelf ſole Lord of *Ruſſia*; yet after that fact enclining to Chriſtian Religion, had to Wiſe *Anna* Siſter of *Baſilius* and *Conſtantine Greek* Emperors; and with all his People in the year 988, was baptiz'd, and call'd *Baſilius*. 988. Howbeit *Zonaras* reporteth that before that time *Baſilius* the *Greek* Emperor ſent a Biſhop to them; at whoſe preaching they not being mov'd, but requiring a Miracle, he after devout Prayers, taking the Book of Goſpel into his hands, threw it before them all into the Fire; which remaining there unconſum'd, they were converted.

*Volodimir* had eleven Sons, among whom he divided his Kingdom; *Boriſtus* and *Glebus* for thir holy Life regiſter'd Saints; and thir Feaſt kept every year in *November* with great ſolemnity. The reſt, through contention to have the ſole Government, ruin'd each other, leaving only *Jaroſlaus* inheritor of all.

*Volodimir* Son of *Jaroſlaus* kept his Reſidence in the antient City *Kiow* upon the River *Boriſtenes*. And after many conflicts with the Sons of his Uncles; and having ſubdu'd all, was call'd *Monomachus*. He made war with *Conſtantine* the *Greek* Emperor, waſted *Thracia*; and returning home with great ſpoils to prepare new War, was appeas'd by *Conſtantine*, who ſent *Neophytus* Biſhop of *Epheſus*, and *Euſtathius* Abbot of *Jeruſalem*, to preſent him with part of our Saviour's Croſs, and other rich Gifts, and to ſalute him by the name of *Czar*, or *Cæſar*; with whom he thenceforth enter'd into league and amity.

After him in order of deſcent *Vuſzevolodus*, *George*, *Demetrius*.

Then *George* his Son, who in the year 1237. was ſlain in battle by the *Tartar* Prince *Bathy*, who ſubdu'd *Muſcovia*, and made it tributary. 1237. From that time the *Tartarians* made ſuch Dukes of *Ruſſia*, as they thought would be moſt pliable to thir ends; of whom they requir'd, as oft as Ambaſſadors came to him out of *Tartary*, to go out and meet them, and in his own Court to ſtand bareheaded, while they ſate and deliver'd thir Meſſage. At which time the *Tartars* waſted alſo *Polonia*, *Sileſia*, and *Hungaria*, till Pope *Innocent* the Fourth obtain'd peace of them for 5 years. This *Bathy* ſay the *Ruſſians* was the Father of *Tamerlan*, whom they call *Temirkutla*.

Then ſucceeded *Jaroſlaus* the Brother of *George*, then *Alexander* his Son.

*Daniel* the Son of *Alexander* was he who firſt made the City of *Moſco* his Royal Seat, builded the Caſtle, and took on him the Title of Great Duke.

*John* the Son of *Daniel* was ſirnamed *Kaleta*, that word ſignifying a Scrip, out of which, continually carried about with him, he was wont to deal his Alms.

His Son *Simeon* dying without Iſſue left the Kingdom to *John* his next Brother; and he to his Son *Demetrius*, who left two Sons, *Baſilius* and *George*.

*Baſilius* reigning had a Son of his own name, but doubting leſt not of his own Body, through the ſupicion he had of his Wife's Chaſtity, him he diſinherits, and gives the Dukedom to his Brother *George*.

*George* putting his Nephew *Baſilius* in priſon, reigns; yet at his death, either through remorſe or other cauſe, ſurrenders him the Dukedom.

*Baſilius* unexpectedly thus attaining his ſuppoſed right, enjoy'd it not long in quiet; for *Andrew* and *Demetrius* the two Sons of *George* counting it injury not to ſucceed thir Father, made war upon him, and ſurprizing him on a ſudden, put out his Eyes. Notwithſtanding which, the *Baiarens*, or Nobles kept thir Allegiance to the Duke though blind, whom therfore they call'd *Czienmox*.

*John Vaſiliwich* his Son was the firſt who brought the *Ruſſian* name out of obſcurity into renown. To ſecure his own Eſtate he put to death as many of his Kindred as were likely to pretend; and ſtil'd himſelf great Duke of *Wolodimiria*, *Muſcovia*, *Novogardia*, *Czar* of all *Ruſſia*. He won *Pleſco* the only walled City in all *Muſcovy*, and *Novogrod* the richeſt, from the *Lituanians*, to whom they had been ſubject 50 years before; and from the latter carried home 300 Waggons laden with Treaſure. He had war with *Alexander* King of *Poland*, and with the *Livonians*; with him, on pretence of withdrawing his Daughter *Helena*, whom he had to wife, from the *Greek* Church to the *Romiſh*; with the *Livonians* for no other cauſe, but to enlarge his bounds: though he were often foil'd by *Plettebergius* great Maſter of the *Pruſſian* Knights. His Wife was Daughter to the Duke of *Tyverſky*; of her he begat *John*, and to him reſigned his Dukedom, giving him to Wife the Daughter of *Steven*, Palatine of *Moldavia*, by whom he had Iſſue *Demetrius*, and deceas'd ſoon after. *Vaſiliwich* therfore reaſſuming the Dukedom, married a ſecond Wife, *Sophia* Daughter to *Thomas Palæologus*; who is ſaid to have receiv'd her Dowry out of the Pope's Treaſury, upon promiſe of the Duke to become *Romiſh*.

This Princeſs of a haughty mind, often complaining that ſhe was married to the *Tartars* Vaſſal, at length by continual perſwaſions, and by a wile found means to eaſe her Husband, and his Country of that Yoke. For wheras till then the *Tartar* had his Procurators, who dwelt in the very Caſtle of *Moſco*, to overſee State-affairs, ſhe fain'd that from Heaven ſhe had been warn'd to build a Temple to Saint *Nicholas* on the ſame place where the *Tartar* Agents had thir Houſe. Being therfore delivered of a Son, ſhe made it her requeſt to the Prince of *Tartary*, whom ſhe had invited to the baptizing, that he would give her that Houſe, which obtaining, ſhe raz'd to the ground, and remov'd thoſe Overſeers out of the Caſtle; and ſo by degrees diſpoſſeſs'd them of all which they held in *Ruſſia*. She prevail'd alſo with her Husband to transfer the Dukedom from *Demetrius* the Son of *John* deceas'd to *Gabriel* his eldeſt by her.

*Gabriel* no ſooner Duke, but chang'd his name to *Baſilius*, and ſet his mind to do nobly; he recover'd great part of *Muſcovy* from *Vitoldus* Duke of *Lituania*; 1514. and on the *Boriſthenes* won *Smolensko* and many other Cities in the Year 1514. He divorc'd his firſt Wife, and of *Helena* Daughter to Duke *Glinski* begat *Juan Vaſiliwich*.

*Juan Vaſiliwich* being left a Child, was committed to *George* his Uncle and Protector; at 25 years of age he vanquiſh'd the *Tartars* of *Cazan* and *Aſtracan*, bringing home with him thir Princes captive; made cruel War in *Livonia*, pretending right of inheritance. He ſeem'd exceedingly devout; and wheras the *Ruſſians* in thir Churches uſe out of zeal and reverence to knock thir Heads againſt the ground, his Forehead was ſeldom free of ſwellings and bruzes, and very often ſeen to bleed. The cauſe of his rigour in Government he alledg'd to *Horſey*'s Obſervations. be the malice and treachery of his Subjects. But ſome of the Nobles, incited by his cruelty, call'd in the *Crim Tartar*, who in the Year 1571. broke into *Ruſſia*, 1571. burnt *Moſco* to the ground: He reigned 54 years, had three Sons, of which the eldeſt being ſtrook on a time by his Father, with grief therof dy'd; his other Sons were *Pheodor* and *Demetrius*. In the time of *Juan Vaſiliwich* the *Engliſh* came firſt by Sea into the north parts of *Ruſſia*.

1584. *Hac.* vol. 1. *Horſey.* *Pheodor Juanowick* being under age, was left to the protection of *Boris*, Brother to the young Empreſs, and third Son by adoption in the Emperour's Will. After 40 daies of mourning, the appointed time of Coronation being come, the Emperour iſſuing out of his Palace, the whole Clergy before him, enter'd with his Nobility the Church of *Blaveſhina* or Bleſſedneſs; whence after Service to the Church of *Michael*, then to our Lady Church, being the Cathedral. In the midſt wherof a Chair of Majeſty was plac'd, and moſt unvaluable Garments put upon him; there alſo was the imperial Crown ſet on his Head by the Metropolitan, who out of a ſmall Book in his hand read Exhortations to the Emperour of Juſtice and peaceable Government. After this riſing from his Chair he was inveſted with an upper Robe, ſo thick with Orient Pearls and Stones, as weigh'd 200 pounds, the Train born up by 6 Dukes; his Staff imperial was of a Unicorn's Horn three foot and a half long, beſet with rich Stones; his Globe and ſix Crowns carried before him by Princes of the Blood; his Horſe at the Church door ſtood ready with a Covering of imbroidered Pearl, Saddle and all ſutable, to the value of 300000 Marks. There was a kind of Bridg made three waies, 150 fathom long, three foot high, two fathom broad, wheron the Emperor with his Train went from one Church to another above the infinite throng of People making loud Acclamations: At the Emperour's returning from thoſe Churches they were ſpread under-foot with Cloth of Gold, the Porches with red Velvet, the Bridges with Scarlet and Stammel-cloth, all which, as the Emperour paſsd by, were cut and ſnatch't by them that ſtood next; beſides new minted Coins of Gold and Silver caſt among the People. The Empreſs in her Palace was plac't before a great open Window in rich and ſhining Robes, among her Ladies. After this the Emperor came into Parliament, where he had a Banquet ſerv'd by his Nobles in princely order; two ſtanding on either ſide his Chair with Battel-axes of Gold; three of the next Rooms great and large, being ſet round with Plate of Gold and Silver, from the ground up to the roof. This Triumph laſted a week, wherin many royal Paſtimes were ſeen: after which election was made of the Nobles to new Offices and Dignities. The concluſion of all was a Peal of 170 Braſs Ordnance two miles without the City, and 20000 Harquebuzes twice over: and ſo the Emperour with at leaſt 50000 Horſe return'd through the City to his Palace, where all the Nobility, Officers, and Merchants brought him rich Preſents. Shortly after the Emperour by direction of *Boris* conquer'd the large Country of *Siberia*, and took Priſoner the King therof: he remov'd alſo corrupt Officers and former Taxes. In ſum, a great alteration in the Government follow'd, yet all quietly and without Tumult. Theſe things reported abroad ſtrook ſuch awe into the neighbour Kings, that the Crim *Tartar*, with his Wives alſo, and many Nobles valiant and perſonable men, came to viſit the *Ruſſian*. There came alſo 12 hundred *Poliſh* Gentlemen, many *Circaſſians*, and People of other Nations to offer ſervice; Ambaſſadors from the *Turk*, the *Perſian*, *Georgian*, and other *Tartar* Princes; from *Almany*, *Poland*, *Sweden*, *Denmark*. But this glory laſted not long through the treachery of *Boris*, who procured the Death firſt of *Demetrius*, then of the Emperour himſelf, wherby the Imperial Race after the ſucceſſion of 300 years was quite extinguiſht.

*Boris* adopted, as before was ſaid, third Son to *Juan Vaſiliwich*, without impeachment now aſcended the Throne; but neither did he enjoy long what he had ſo wickedly compaſs'd, divine revenge raiſing up againſt him a 1604.
Counterfeit of that *Demetrius* whom he had cauſ'd to be murthered at *Ouglets*. *Purc.* par. 3.
This Upſtart, ſtrength'd with many *Poles* and *Coſſacks*, appears in arms to claim 750.
his right out of the hands of *Boris*, who ſent againſt him an army of 200000 Men, many of whom revolted to this *Demetrius*: *Peter Baſman* the General returning to *Moſco* with the empty Triumph of a reported Victory. But the Enemy ſtill advancing, *Boris* one day, after a plentiful Meal, finding himſelf heavy and pain'd in his Stomach, laid him down on his Bed; but e're his Doctors, who made great haſte, came to him, was found ſpeechleſs, and ſoon after dy'd with grief, as is ſuppos'd, of his ill ſucceſs againſt *Demetrius*. Before his death, though it were ſpeedy, he would be ſhorn, and new chriſtn'd. He had but one Son, whom he lov'd ſo fondly, as not to ſuffer him out of ſight; uſing to ſay he was Lord and Father of his Son, and yet his Servant, yea his Slave. To gain the Peoples love, which he had loſt by his ill getting the Empire, he us'd two Policies; firſt he cauſ'd *Moſco* to be fired in four Places, that in the quenching therof he might ſhew his great care and tenderneſs of the People; among whom he likewiſe diſtributed ſo much of his Bounty, as both new built thir Houſes, and repair'd thir Loſſes. At another time the People murmuring that the great Peſtilence which had then ſwept away a third part of the Nation, was the puniſhment of thir electing him, a Murtherer, to reign over them, he built Galleries round about the utmoſt Wall of *Moſco*, and there appointed for one whole month 20000 pound to be given to the Poor, which well nigh ſtopt their Mouths. After the death of *Boris*, *Peter Baſman*, thir only hope and refuge, though a young man, was ſent again to the Wars, with him many *Engliſh*, *Scots*, *French*, and *Dutch*; who all with the other General *Goleeche* fell off to the new *Demetrius*, whoſe Meſſengers coming now to the Suburbs of *Moſco*, were brought by the Multitude to that ſpacious Field before the Caſtle Gate, within which the Council were then ſitting, many of whom were by the Peoples threatning call'd out and conſtrain'd to hear the Letters of *Demetrius* openly read: which, long ere the end, wrought ſo with the Multitude, that furiouſly they broke into the Caſtle, laying violence on all they met; when ſtrait appear'd coming towards them two Meſſengers of *Demetrius* formerly ſent, pitifully whipt and roaſted, which added to thir rage. Then was the whole City in an uproar, all the great Counſelors Houſes ranſack't, eſpecially of the *Godonova*'s, the Kindred and Family of *Boris*. Such of the Nobles that were beſt belov'd, by entreaty prevail'd at length to put an end to this Tumult. The Empreſs flying to a ſafer place, had her Collar of Pearl pull'd from her Neck; and by the next Meſſage command was given to ſecure her with her Son and Daughter. Wherupon *Demetrius* by general conſent was proclaim'd Emperor. The Empreſs

now ſeeing all loſt, counſel'd the Prince her Son to follow his Father's example, who, it ſeems, had diſpatcht himſelf by Poyſon; and with a deſperate courage beginning the deadly Health, was pledg'd effectually by her Son; but the Daughter only ſipping, eſcap'd. Others aſcribe this deed to the ſecret Command of *Demetrius*, and Self-murther imputed to them, to avoid the envy of ſuch a Command. Purc. par. 3. 764.

*Demetrius Evanowich*, for ſo he call'd himſelf, who ſucceeded, was credibly reported the Son of *Gregory Peupoloy* a *Ruſſe* Gentleman, and in his younger years to have been ſhorn a Friar, but eſcaping from the Monaſtery, to have travail'd *Germany* and other Countries, but chiefly *Poland*: where he attain'd to good ſufficiency in Arms and other Experience; which rais'd in him ſuch high thoughts, as grounding on a common belief among the *Ruſſians*, that the young *Demetrius* was not dead, but convey'd away, and their hatred againſt *Boris*, on this foundation with ſome other circumſtances, to build his hopes no lower than an Empire; which on his firſt diſcovery found acceptation ſo generally, as planted him at length on the Royal Seat: but not ſo firmly as the fair beginning promis'd; for in a ſhort while the *Ruſſians* finding themſelves abus'd by an Impoſtor, on the ſixth day after his Marriage, obſerving when his Guard of *Poles* were moſt ſecure, ruſhing into the Palace before break of day, drag'd him out of his Bed, and when he had confeſs'd the fraud, pull'd him to pieces; with him *Peter Baſman* was alſo ſlain, and both thir dead Bodies laid open in the Market-place. He was of no preſence, but otherwiſe of a princely diſpoſition; too bountiful, which occaſion'd ſome exactions; in other matters a great lover of Juſtice, not unworthy the Empire which he had gotten, and loſt only through greatneſs of mind, neglecting the Conſpiracy, which he knew the *Ruſſians* were plotting. Some ſay thir hatred grew, for that they ſaw him alienated from the *Ruſſian* Manners and Religion, having made *Buchinskoy* a learned Proteſtant his Secretary. Some report from *Gilbert*'s relation, who was a *Scot*, and Captain of his Guard, that lying on his Bed awake, not long before the Conſpiracy, he ſaw the appearance of an aged man coming toward him, at which he roſe, and call'd to them that watch'd; but they denied to have ſeen any ſuch paſs by them. He returning to his Bed, and within an hour after troubl'd again with the ſame Apparition, ſent for *Buchinskoy*, telling him he had now twice the ſame night ſeen an aged man, who at his ſecond coming told him, that though he were a good Prince of himſelf, yet for the injuſtice and oppreſſion of his inferiour Miniſters, his Empire ſhould be taken from him. The Secretary counſell'd him to embrace true Religion, affirming that for lack therof his Officers were ſo corrupt. The Emperor ſeem'd to be much mov'd, and to intend what was perſwaded him. But a few daies after, the other Secretary, a *Ruſſian*, came to him with a drawn Sword, of which the Emperour made ſlight at firſt; but he after bold words aſſaulted him, ſtrait ſeconded by other Conſpirators, crying Liberty.' *Gilbert* with many of the Guard overſuddenly ſurpris'd, retreated to *Coluga* a Town which they fortify'd; moſt of the other Strangers were maſſacred, except the *Engliſh*, whoſe mediation ſav'd alſo *Buchinskoy*. *Shusky* who ſucceeded him reports in a Letter to King *James* otherwiſe of him; that his right name was *Gryſhca* the Son of *Boughdam*; that to eſcape puniſhment for Villanies done, he turn'd Fryar, and fell at laſt to the Black Art; and fearing that the Metropolitan intended therfore to impriſon him, fled into *Lettow*; where by counſel of *Sigiſmund* the *Poland* King, he began to call himſelf *Demetry* of *Ouglitts*; and by many Libels and Spies privily ſent into *Moſco*, gave out the ſame; that many Letters and Meſſengers therupon were ſent from *Boris* into *Poland*, and from the Patriarch, to acquaint them who the Runnagate was: but the *Polanders* giving them no credit, furniſht him the more with Arms and Money, notwithſtanding the League; and ſent the Palatine *Sandamersko* and other Lords to accompany him into *Ruſſia*, gaining alſo a Prince of the Crim *Tartars* to his aid; that the Army of *Boris* hearing of his ſudden death, yielded to this *Gryſhca*, who taking to wife the Daughter of *Sandamersko*, attempted to root out the *Ruſſian* Clergy, and to bring in the *Romiſh* Religion, for which purpoſe many Jeſuits came along with him. Wherupon *Shusky* with the Nobles and Metropolitans conſpiring againſt him, in half a year gather'd all the Forces of *Moſcovia*, and ſurpriſing him found writing under his own hand all theſe his intentions; Letters alſo from the Pope and Cardinals to the ſame effect, not only to ſet up the Religion of *Rome*, but to force it upon all, with death to them that refus'd.

*Vaſily Evanowich Shusky*, after the ſlaughter of *Demetry* or *Gryſhca*, was elected 1605.
Emperor, having not long before been at the Block for reporting to have ſeen
the true *Demetrius* dead and buried; but *Gryſhca* not only recall'd him, but advanc'd
him to be the inſtrument of his own ruin. He was then about the age of
50; nobly deſcended, never married, of great wiſdom reputed, a favourer
of the *Engliſh*; for he ſav'd them from riſing in the former Tumults. Some
ſay he modeſtly refus'd the Crown, till by lot four times together it fell to him; *Purc*. par. 3.
yet after that growing jealous of his Title, remov'd by Poyſon and other means 769, *&c*.
all the Nobles that were like to ſtand his Rivals; and is ſaid to have conſulted
with Witches of the *Samoeds*, *Lappians*, and *Tartarians*, about the ſame fears;
and being warn'd of one *Michalowich* to have put to death three of that name,
yet a fourth was reſerv'd by Fate to ſucceed him, being then a Youth attendant
in the Court, one of thoſe that held the golden Axes, and leaſt ſuſpected. But
before that time he alſo was ſupplanted by another reviving *Demetrius* brought
in by the *Poles*; whoſe counterfeited Hand, and ſtrange relating of privateſt
Circumſtances, had almoſt deceiv'd *Gilbert* himſelf, had not thir Perſons been
utterly unlike; but *Gryſhca*'s Wife ſo far believ'd him for her Husband, as to
receive him to her Bed. *Shusky* beſieg'd in his Caſtle of *Moſco*, was adventrouſly
ſupply'd with ſome Powder and Ammunition by the *Engliſh*; and with 2000
*French*, *Engliſh* and *Scots*, with other Forces from *Charles* King of *Sweden*.
The *Engliſh* after many miſeries of Cold, and Hunger, and aſſaults by the way, 1609.
deſerted by the *French*, yielded moſt of them to the *Pole* near *Smolenske*, and
ſerv'd him againſt the *Ruſs*. Mean while this ſecond *Demetrius* being now rejected
by the *Poles*, with thoſe *Ruſſians* that ſided with him, laid ſiege to *Moſco*: 779.
*Zolkiewsky* for *Sigiſmund* King of *Poland* beleaguers on the other ſide with forty
thouſand Men, whereof 1500 *Engliſh*, *Scotch* and *French*. *Shusky* deſpairing
ſucceſs, betakes him to a Monaſtery; but with the City is yielded to the *Pole*,
who turns now his force againſt the Counterfeit *Demetrius*; he ſeeking to fly, is
by a *Tartar* ſlain in his Camp. *Smolensko* held out a Siege of two years, then
ſurrendr'd. *Shusky* the Emperor carried away into *Poland*, there ended miſerably
in priſon. But before his departure out of *Muſcovy* the *Polanders* in his
name ſending for the chief Nobility, as to a laſt farewell, cauſe them to be entertain'd
in a ſecret place, and there diſpatch'd: by this means the eaſier to ſubdue
the People. Yet the *Poles* were ſtarv'd at length out of thoſe Places in *Moſco*
which they had fortify'd. Wherin the *Ruſſians* who beſieg'd them, found, as
is reported, 60 Barrels of Man's Fleſh powdered, being the Bodies of ſuch as *Janſonius*.
dy'd among them, or were ſlain in fight.

After which the Empire of *Ruſſia* broke to pieces, the prey of ſuch as could 1612.
catch, every one naming himſelf, and ſtriving to be accounted that *Demetrius* of
*Ouglitts*. Some choſe *Uladiſlaus* King *Sigiſmund*'s Son, but he not accepting,
they fell to a popular Government, killing all the Nobles under pretence of
favouring the *Poles*. Some overtures of receiving them were made, as ſome
ſay, to King *James*, and Sir *John Meric* and Sir *William Ruſſel* imploy'd therin.
Thus *Ruſſia* remaining in this confuſion, it happ'nd that a mean man, a
Butcher dwelling in the North about *Duina*, inveighing againſt the baſeneſs of *Purc*. par. 3.
thir Nobility, and the corruption of Officers, uttered words, that if they 790.
would but chooſe a faithful Treaſurer to pay well the Souldiers, and a good
General (naming one *Pozarsky* a poor Gentleman, who after good ſervice don
liv'd not far off retir'd and neglected) that then he doubted not to drive out
the *Poles*. The People aſſent, and chooſe that General; the Butcher they make
thir Treaſurer, who both ſo well diſcharg'd thir Places, that with an Army
ſoon gather'd they raiſe the ſiege of *Moſco*, which the *Polanders* had renew'd;
and with *Boris Licin*, another great Souldier of that Country, fall into conſultation
about the choice of an Emperour, and choſe at laſt *Michalowich*, or *Michael
Pheodorowich*, the fatal Youth, whoſe name *Shusky* ſo fear'd.

*Michael Pheidorowich* thus elected by the valour of *Pozarsky* and *Boris Licin*, 1613.
made them both Generals of his Forces, joining with them another great Commander
of the *Coſſacky*, whoſe aid had much befriended him; the Butcher alſo
was made a Counſellor of State. Finally a Peace was made up between the
*Ruſſians* and the *Poles*; and that partly by the mediation of King *James*.

CHAP.

# CHAP. V.

## *The firſt diſcovery of* Ruſſia *by the North Eaſt, 1553, with the* Engliſh *Embaſſies and Entertainments at that Court, until the year 1604.*

Hac. vol. 1. 243. 234. THE Diſcovery of *Ruſſia* by the Northern Ocean, made firſt of any Nation that we know by *Engliſh*-men, might have ſeem'd an Enterprize almoſt heroic, if any higher end than the exceſſive love of Gain and Traffick, had animated the deſign. Nevertheleſs that in regard that many things not unprofitable to the knowledg of Nature, and other Obſervations are hereby come to light, as good events ofttimes ariſe from evil occaſions, it will not be the worſt labour to relate briefly the beginning, and proſecution of this adventurous Voyage, until it became at laſt a familiar Paſſage.

When our Merchants perceiv'd the Commodities of *England* to be in ſmall requeſt abroad, and forein Merchandize to grow higher in eſteem and value than before, they began to think with themſelves how this might be remedied. And ſeeing how the *Spaniards* and *Portugals* had encreas'd thir Wealth by diſcovery of new Trades and Countries, they reſolv'd upon ſome new and ſtrange Navigation. At the ſame time *Sebaſtian Chabota*, a man for the knowledg of Sea-affairs much renown'd in thoſe days, happen'd to be in *London*. With him firſt they conſult; and by his advice conclude to furniſh out three Ships for the ſearch and diſcovery of the northern parts. And having heard that a certain Worm is bred in that Ocean, which many times eateth through the ſtrongeſt Oak, they contrive to cover ſome part of the Keel of thoſe Ships with thin ſheets of Lead; and victual them for 18 months; allowing equally to thir journey, thir ſtay, and thir return. Arms alſo they provide, and ſtore of Munition, with ſufficient Captains and Governours for ſo great an Enterpriſe. To which among many, and ſome void of experience that offer'd themſelves, Sir *Hugh Willowby* a valiant Gentleman earneſtly requeſted to have the charge. Of whom before all others both for his goodly perſonage, and ſingular skil in the ſervices of War, they made choice to be Admiral, and of *Richard Chancelor*, a man greatly eſteem'd for his skil, to be chief Pilot. This man was brought up by Mr. *Henry Sidney*, afterwards Deputy of *Ireland*, who coming where the Adventurers were gather'd together, though then a young man, with a grave and eloquent Speech commended *Chancelor* unto them.

After this, they omitted no enquiry after any perſon that might inform them concerning thoſe North-eaſterly parts to which the Voyage tended; and two *Tartarians* then of the Kings's Stable were ſent for; but they were able to anſwer nothing to purpoſe. So, after much debate, it was concluded that by the 20*th* of *May* the Ships ſhould depart. Being come near *Greenwich*, where the Court then lay, preſently the Courtiers came running out, the Privy Council at the Windows, the reſt on the Towers and Battlements. The Mariners all apparell'd in watchet or sky-coloured Cloth, diſcharge thir Ordnance; the noiſe whereof, and of the People ſhouting, is anſwer'd from the Hills and Waters with as loud an Echo: Only the good King *Edward*, then ſick, beheld not this ſight, but dy'd ſoon after. From hence putting into *Harwich*, they ſtaid long, and loſt much time. At length paſſing by *Shetland*, they kenn'd a far off *Æglands*, being an innumerable ſort of Ilands call'd *Roſt Ilands* in 66 degrees. Thence to *Lofoot* in 68, to *Seinam* in 70 degrees; theſe Ilands belong all to the Crown of *Denmark*. Whence departing, Sir *Hugh Willowby* ſet out his Flag, by which he call'd together the chief men of his other Ships to counſel; where they conclude, in caſe they happen'd to be ſcatter'd by Tempeſt, that *Wardhouſe* a noted Haven in *Finmark* be the appointed place of thir meeting. The very ſame day afternoon ſo great a Tempeſt aroſe, that the Ships were ſome driv'n one way, ſome another in great peril. The General with his loudeſt voice call'd to *Chancelor* not to be far from him; but in vain, for the Admiral ſailing much better than his Ship, and bearing all her Sails, was carried with great ſwiftneſs ſoon out of ſight; but before that, the Ship-boat ſtriking againſt her Ship was overwhelmed in view of the *Bonaventure*, wherof *Chancelor* was Captain. The third Ship alſo in the ſame Storm was loſt. But Hac. 235.

Sir *Hugh Willowby* eſcaping that Storm, and wandring on thoſe deſolate Seas till the 18*th* of *September*, put into a Haven where they had weather as in the depth of Winter; and there determining to abide till Spring, ſent out three men South-Weſt to find Inhabitants; who journy'd three days, but found none; then other three went Weſtward four days journey, and laſtly three South Eaſt three days; but they all returning without news of People, or any ſign of Habitation, Sir *Hugh* with the Company of his two Ships abode there till *January*, as appears by a Will ſince found in one of the Ships; but then periſh'd all with cold. This River or Haven was *Arzina* in *Lapland* near to *Kegor*, where they were *Hac.* 464. found dead the year after by certain *Ruſſian* Fiſhermen. Wherof the *Engliſh* Agent at *Moſco* having notice, ſent and recover'd the Ships with the dead Bodies and moſt of the Goods, and ſent them for *England*; but the Ships being unſtaunch, as is ſuppos'd, by thir two years wintring in *Lapland*, ſunk by the way with thir dead, and them alſo that brought them. But now *Chancelor* with his Ship and Company thus left, ſhap'd his courſe to *Wardhouſe*, the place agreed on to expect the reſt; where having ſtaid ſeven days without tidings of them, he reſolves at length to hold on his Voyage; and ſail'd ſo far till he found no night, but continual day and Sun clearly ſhining on that huge and vaſt Sea for certain days. At length they enter into a great Bay, nam'd, as they knew after, from Saint *Nicholas*; and ſpying a Fiſher-boat, made after him to know what People they were. The Fiſhermen amaz'd with the greatneſs of his Ship, to them a ſtrange and new ſight, ſought to fly; but overtak'n, in great fear they proſtrate themſelves, and offer to kiſs his feet; but he raiſing them up with all ſigns and geſtures of courteſie, ſought to win thir Friendſhip. They no ſooner diſmiſt, but ſpread abroad the arrival of a ſtrange Nation, whoſe humanity they ſpake of with great affection; wherupon the People running together, with like return of all courteous uſage receive them; offering them Victuals freely; nor refuſing to traffick, but for a Loyal Cuſtom which bound them from that, without firſt the conſent had of thir King. After mutual demands of each other's Nation, they found themſelves to be in *Ruſſia*, where *Juan Vaſiliwich* at that time reign'd Emperor. To whom privily the Governour of that place ſending notice of the ſtrange Gueſts that were arriv'd, held in the mean while our Men in what ſuſpence he could. The Emperor well pleas'd with ſo unexpected a Meſſage, invites them to his Court, offering them Poſt-horſes at his own charge, or if the journey ſeem'd overlong, that they might freely traffic where they were. But 'ere this Meſſenger could return, having loſt his way, the *Muſcovites* themſelves, loth that our men ſhould depart which they made ſhew to do, furniſh'd them with Guides and other Conveniences to bring them to thir King's Preſence. *Chancelor* had now gon more than half his journey, when the Sled-man ſent to Court meets him on the way; delivers him the Emperor's Letters; which when the *Ruſſes* underſtood, ſo willing they were to obey the Contents therof, that they quarrell'd and ſtrove who ſhould have the preferment to put his Horſes to the Sled. So after a long and troubleſom journey of 1500 miles he arrived at *Moſco*. After he had remain'd in the City about 12 days, a Meſſenger was ſent to bring them to the King's Houſe. Being enter'd within the Court-Gates, and brought into an outward Chamber, they beheld there a very honourable Company, to the number of a hunder'd, ſitting all apparell'd in Cloth of gold down to thir Ancles; next conducted to the Chamber of Preſence, there ſate the Emperor on a lofty and very Royal Throne; on his Head a Diadem of gold, his Robe all of Goldſmiths work, in his Hand a Chryſtal Scepter garniſh'd and beſet with precious Stones; no leſs was his Countenance full of Majeſty. Beſide him ſtood his chief Secretary; on his other ſide the great Commander of ſilence, both in Cloth of gold; then ſate his Council of 150 round about on high Seats, clad all as richly. *Chancelor* nothing abaſh'd, made his obeyſance to the Emperor after the *Engliſh* manner. The Emperor having taken and read his Letters, after ſome enquiry of King *Edward*'s Health, invited them to dinner, and till then diſmiſs'd them. But before diſmiſſion the Secretary preſented thir Preſent bare-headed; till which time they were all cover'd; and before admittance our men had charge not to ſpeak, but when the Emperor demanded ought. Having ſat two hours in the Secretary's Chamber, they were at length call'd in to dinner; where the Emperor was ſet at Table, now in a Robe of Silver, and another Crown on his Head. This place was call'd the golden Palace, but without cauſe, for the *Engliſh*-men had ſeen many fairer; round about the room, but at diſtance, were other long Tables; in the midſt a Cupboard of huge and maſſy goblets, and other Veſſels of gold and ſilver; among the reſt four great Flagons nigh two yards high, wrought in the top with devices of Towers and Dragons heads. The Gueſts aſcended to thir Tables by three ſteps; all apparell'd in Linen, and that lin'd with rich Furs. The Meſſes came in without order, but all in Chargers of Gold, both to the Emperor, and to the reſt that din'd there, which were two hundred Perſons; on every Board alſo were ſet Cups of gold without number. The Servitors one hundred and forty were likewiſe array'd in gold, and waited with Caps on thir heads. They that are in high favour, ſit on the ſame Bench with the Emperor, but far off. Before Meat came in, according to the cuſtom of thir Kings, he ſent to every Gueſt a ſlice of Bread; whom the Officer naming, ſaith thus, *John Baſilivich* Emperor of *Ruſs*, &c. doth reward thee with Bread, at which words all men ſtand up. Then were Swans in ſeveral pieces ſerv'd in, each piece in a ſeveral Diſh, which the Great Duke ſends about as the Bread, and ſo likewiſe the Drink. In dinner time he twice chang'd his Crown, his Waiters thrice thir Apparel; to whom the Emperor in like manner gives both Bread and Drink with his own hands; which they ſay is done to the intent that he may perfectly know his own Houſhold; and indeed when Dinner was done, he call'd his Nobles every one before him by name; and by this time Candles were brought in, for it grew dark; and the *Engliſh* departed to thir Lodgings from Dinner, an hour within night.

*Hac.* 258. 263. 465. In the year 1555. *Chancelor* made another Voyage to this place with Letters from Queen *Mary*; had a Houſe in *Moſco*, and Diet appointed him; and was ſoon admitted to the Emperor's Preſence in a large room ſpread with Carpets; at his entring and ſalutation all ſtood up, the Emperor only ſitting, except when the Queen's Name was read or ſpoken; for then he himſelf would riſe: at Dinner he ſat bareheaded, his Crown and rich Cap ſtanding on a Pinacle by. 286. *Chancelor* returning for *England*, *Oſep Napea* Governour of *Wologda* came in his Ship Ambaſſador from the *Ruſſe*; but ſuffering Shipwrack in *Petriſlego*, a Bay in *Scotland*, *Chancelor*, who took more care to ſave the Ambaſſador than himſelf, was drown'd, the Ship rifled, and moſt of her lading made booty by the People therabout.

310, &c. In the year 1557. *Oſep Napea* returned into his Country with *Anthony Jenkinſon* who had the command of four tall Ships. He reports of a Whirlpool between the *Roſt Iſlands* and *Lofoot* call'd *Maleſtrand*; which from half ebb till half flood is heard to make ſuch a terrible noiſe, as ſhakes the Door-rings of Houſes in thoſe Iſlands ten mile off; Wales that come within the Current therof make a pitiful cry; Trees carried in and caſt out again, have the ends and boughs of them ſo beaten, as they ſeem like the ſtalks of bruized Hemp. About *Zeinam* they ſaw many Whales very monſtrous hard by thir Ships; wherof ſome by eſtimation ſixty foot long; they roard hideouſly, it being then the time of thir engendring. At *Wardhouſe* he ſaith the Cattel are fed with Fiſh. Coming to *Moſco*, he found the Emperor ſitting aloft in a Chair of State, richly Crown'd, a Staff of gold in his hand wrought with coſtly ſtone. Diſtant from him ſat his Brother, and a Youth the Emperor's Son of *Caſan*, whom the *Ruſs* had conquer'd; there din'd with him diverſe Ambaſſadors, Chriſtian and Heathen, diverſly apparell'd; his Brother with ſome of the chief Nobles ſat with him at Table: the Gueſts were in all ſix hundred. In Dinner-time came in ſix Muſicians, and ſtanding in the midſt, ſung three ſeveral times, but with little or no delight to our men; there din'd at the ſame time in other Halls two thouſand *Tartars* who came to ſerve the Duke in his Wars. The *Engliſh* were ſet at a ſmall Table by themſelves direct before the Emperor; who ſent them diverſe Bowls of Wine and Meath, and many Diſhes from his own hand: the Meſſes were but mean, but the change of Wines and ſeveral Meaths were wonderful. As oft as they din'd with the Emperor, he ſent for them in the morning, and invited them with his own Mouth. On *Chriſtmaſs*-day being 317. invited, they had for other proviſion as before; but for ſtore of gold and ſilver Plate exceſſive; among which were twelve Barrels of ſilver, hoop'd with fine gold, containing twelve gallons a piece.

1560. Was the firſt *Engliſh* traffick to the *Narve* in *Livonia*, till then conceal'd by *Danskers* and *Lubeckers*.

1561. The ſame *Anthony Jenkinſon* made another Voyage to *Moſco*; and arriv'd while the Emperor was celebrating his Marriage with a *Circaſſian* Lady; during which time the City Gates for three days were kept ſhut; and all men whatſoever ſtraitly commanded to keep within thir Houſes, except ſome of his Houſhold; the cauſe wherof is not known.

1566. He made again the ſame Voyage; which now men uſually made in a month from *London* to Saint *Nicholas* with good Winds, being ſeven hundred and fifty leagues. 311.

1568. *Thomas Randolf*, Eſq; went Ambaſſador to *Muſcovy*, from Queen *Elizabeth*; and in his paſſage by Sea met nothing remarkable ſave great ſtore of Whales, whom they might ſee engendring together, and the Sperma-ceti ſwimming on the Water. At *Colmogro* he was met by a Gentleman from the Emperor, at whoſe charge he was conducted to *Moſco*: but met there by no man, not ſo much as the *Engliſh*; lodg'd in a fair Houſe built for Ambaſſadors; but there confin'd upon ſome ſuſpicion which the Emperor had conceav'd; ſent for at length after ſeventeen weeks delay, was fain to ride thither on a borrow'd Horſe, his men on foot. In a Chamber before the Preſence were ſitting about three hundred Perſons, all in rich Robes taken out of the Emperor's Wardrobe for that day; they ſat on three ranks of Benches, rather for ſhew than that the Perſons were of honour; being Merchants and other mean Inhabitants. The Ambaſſador ſaluted them, but by them unſaluted paſs'd on with his Head cover'd. At the Preſence-door being receiv'd by two which had been his Guardians, and brought into the midſt, he was there will'd to ſtand ſtill, and ſpeak his meſſage from the Queen; at whoſe name the Emperor ſtood up, and demanded her health: then giving the Ambaſſador his Hand to kiſs, fell to many queſtions. The Preſent being deliver'd, which was a great ſilver Bowl curiouſly grav'n, the Emperor told him he din'd not that day openly becauſe of great affairs; but, ſaith he, I will ſend thee my Dinner, and augment thy Allowance. And ſo diſmiſſing him, ſent a Duke richly apparell'd ſoon after to his Lodging with fifty Perſons, each of them carrying Meat in ſilver Diſhes cover'd; which himſelf deliver'd into the Ambaſſador's own hands, taſting firſt of every Diſh, and every ſort of Drink; that don, ſet him down with his Company, took part, and went not thence unrewarded. The Emperor ſent back with this Ambaſſador another of his own call'd *Andrew Savin*. 373.

1571. *Jenkinſon* made a third Voyage; but was ſtaid long at *Colmogro* by reaſon of the Plague in thoſe Parts; at length had audience where the Court then was, near to *Pereſlave*; to which place the Emperor was return'd from his *Swediſh* War with ill ſucceſs: and *Moſco* the ſame year had been wholly burnt by the *Crim*; in it the *Engliſh* houſe, and diverſe *Engliſh* were ſmother'd in the Sellars, multitudes of people in the City periſh'd, all that were young led captive with exceeding ſpoil.

1583. *Juan Baſiliwich* having the year before ſent his Ambaſſador *Pheodor Andrewich* about matters of Commerce, the Queen made choice of Sir *Jerom Bowes*, one of her Houſhold, to go into *Ruſſia*; who being attended with more than 40 Perſons, and accompanied with the *Ruſſe* returning home, arriv'd at St. *Nicolas*. The *Dutch* by this time had intruded into the *Muſcovy*-Trade; which by privilege long before had been granted ſolely to the *Engliſh*; and had corrupted to thir ſide *Shalkan* the Chancellor, with others of the great ones; who ſo wrought, that a Creature of thir own was ſent to meet Sir *Jerom* at *Colmogro*, and to offer him occaſions of diſlike: Until at *Vologda* he was receiv'd by another from the Emperor; and at *Teraſlave* by a Duke well accompanied, who preſented him with a Coach and ten Geldings. Two miles from *Moſco* met him four Gentlemen with two hundred horſe, who after ſhort ſalutation, told him what they had to ſay from the Emperor, willing him to alight, which the Ambaſſador ſoon refus'd, unleſs they alſo lighted; wheron they ſtood long debating; at length agreed, great diſpute follow'd, whoſe foot ſhould firſt touch the ground. Thir Meſſage deliver'd, and then embracing, they conducted the Ambaſſador to a houſe at *Moſco*, built for him purpoſely. At his going to Court he and his followers honorably mounted and apparell'd, the Emperor's Guard were ſet on either ſide all the way about 6000 ſhot. At the Court gate met him four Hac. vol. 1. 458.

Noblemen in cloth of Gold, and rich Fur-caps, embroider'd with Pearl and Stone; then four others of greater degree, in which paſſage there ſtood along the Walls, and ſat on Benches ſeven or eight hundred men in colour'd Sattins and gold. At the Preſence-door met him the chief Herald, and with him all the great Officers of Court, who brought him where the Emperor ſat: there were ſet by him three Crowns of *Muſcovy*, *Cazan* and *Aſtracan*; on each ſide ſtood two young Noblemen, coſtly apparell'd in white; each of them had a broad Ax on his ſhoulder; on the Benches round ſat above a hundred Noblemen. Having giv'n the Ambaſſador his hand to kiſs, and enquir'd of the Queen's health, he will'd him to go ſit in the place provided for him, nigh ten paces diſtant; from thence to ſend him the Queen's Letters and Preſent. Which the Ambaſſador thinking not reaſonable, ſtep'd forward; but the Chancellor meeting him, would have tak'n his Letters; to whom the Ambaſſador ſaid, that the Queen had directed no Letters to him; and ſo went on and deliver'd them to the Emperor's own hands; and after a ſhort withdrawing into the Council-Chamber, where he had Conference with ſom of the Council, he was call'd in to dinner: about the midſt wherof, the Emperor ſtanding up, drank a deep Carouſe to the Queen's Health, and ſent to the Ambaſſador a great Bowl of Rheniſh Wine to pledg him. But at ſeveral times being call'd for to treat about Affairs, and not yielding ought beyond his Commiſſion, the Emperor not wont to be gain-ſay'd, one day eſpecially broke into paſſion, and with a ſtern Countenance told him, he did not reckon the Queen to be his fellow: for there are, quoth he, her betters. The Ambaſſador not holding it his part, whatever danger might enſue, to hear any derogate from the Majeſty of his Princeſs, with like courage and countenance told him, that the Queen was equal to any in Chriſtendom who thought himſelf greateſt; and wanted not means to offend her Enemies whomſoever. Yea, quoth he, what ſaiſt thou of the *French* and *Spaniſh* Kings? I hold her, quoth the Ambaſſador, equal to either. Then what to the *German* Emperor? Her Father, quoth he, had the Emperor in his pay. This anſwer miſlik'd the Duke ſo far, as that he told him, were he not an Ambaſſador, he would throw him out of doors. You may, ſaid the Ambaſſador do your will, for I am now faſt in your Country; but the Queen I doubt not will know how to be reveng'd of any injury offer'd to her Ambaſſador. Wherat the Emperor in great ſudden bid him get home; and he with no more reverence than ſuch uſage requir'd, ſaluted the Emperor, and went his way. Notwithſtanding this, the *Muſcovite*, ſoon as his mood left him, ſpake to them that ſtood by, many praiſes of the Ambaſſador, wiſhing he had ſuch a Servant, and preſently after ſent his chief Secretary to tell him that whatever had paſs'd in words, yet for his great reſpect to the Queen, he would ſhortly after diſpatch him with honour and full contentment, and in the mean while he much enlarg'd his entertainment. He alſo deſir'd that the Points of our Religion might be ſet down, and caus'd them to be read to his Nobility with much approbation. And as the year before he had ſought in marriage the Lady *Mary Haſtings*, which took not effect, the Lady and her Friends excuſing it, he now again renu'd the motion to take to Wife ſome one of the Queen's Kinſwomen, either by ſending an Ambaſſage, or going himſelf with his Treaſure into *England*. Now happy was that Nobleman whom Sir *Jerom Bows* in public favour'd; unhappy they who had oppos'd him: for the Emperor had beaten *Shalkan* the Chancelor very grievouſly for that cauſe, and threatn'd not to leave one of his race alive. But the Emperor dying ſoon after of a Surfeit, *Shalkan*, to whom then almoſt the whole Government was committed, caus'd the Ambaſſador to remain cloſe Priſoner in his Houſe nine weeks. Being ſent for at length to have his diſpatch, and ſlightly enough conducted to the Council-Chamber, he was told by *Shalkan* that this Emperor would condeſcend to no other agreements than were between his Father and the Queen before his coming: and ſo diſarming both him and his Company, brought them to the Emperor with many affronts in thir paſſage, for which there was no help but patience. The Emperor ſaying but over what the Chancellor had ſaid before, offer'd him a Letter for the Queen: which the Ambaſſador, knowing it contain'd nothing to the purpoſe of his Embaſſy, refus'd, till he ſaw his danger grow too great; nor was he ſuffer'd to reply, or have his Interpreter. *Shalkan* ſent him word that now the *Engliſh* Emperor was dead; and haſten'd his departure, but with ſo many diſgraces put upon him, as made him fear ſome miſchief in his journey to the Sea; having only one mean Gentleman ſent with him to be his Convoy: he commanded the *Engliſh* Merchants in the Queen's name to accompany him, but ſuch was his danger, that they durſt not. So arming himſelf and his Followers in the beſt wiſe he could, againſt any outrage, he at length recover'd the Shoar of Saint *Nicholas*. Where he now reſolv'd to ſend them back by his Conduct ſome of the affronts which he had receiv'd. Ready therfore to take Ship, he cauſes three or four of his valianteſt and diſcreeteſt men to take the Emperor's Letter, and diſgraceful Preſent, and to deliver it, or leave it at the Lodging of his Convoy, which they ſafely did; though follow'd with a great Tumult of ſuch as would have forc'd them to take it back.

1584. At the Coronation of *Pheodor* the Emperor, *Jerom Horſey* being then Agent in *Ruſſia*, and call'd for to Court with one *John de Wale* a Merchant of the *Netherlands* and a Subject of *Spain*, ſome of the Nobles would have prefer'd the *Fleming* before the *Engliſh*. But to that our Agent would in no caſe agree, ſaying he would rather have his Legs cut off by the Knees, than bring his Preſent in courſe after a Subject of *Spain*. The Emperor and Prince *Boris* perceiving the Controverſy, gave order to admit *Horſey* firſt: who was diſmiſs'd with large Promiſes, and ſeventy Meſſes with three Carts of ſeveral Meath ſent after him.

1588. Dr. *Giles Fletcher* went Ambaſſador from the Queen to *Pheodor* then Emperor; whoſe Relations being judicious and exact, are beſt read entirely by themſelves. This Emperor upon report of the great Learning of *John Dee* the Mathematician, invited him to *Moſco* with offer of two thouſand pounds a year, and from Prince *Boris* one thouſand Marks; to have his Proviſion from the Emperor's Table, to be honourably receiv'd, and accounted as one of the chief men in the Land. All which *Dee* accepted not. 508.

1604. Sir *Thomas Smith* was ſent Ambaſſador from King *James* to *Boris* then Emperor; and ſtaid ſome days at a place five miles from *Moſco* till he was honourably receiv'd into the City; met on horſeback by many thouſands of Gentlemen and Nobles on both ſides the way; where the Ambaſſador alighting from his Coach, and mounted on his Horſe, rode with his Trumpets ſounding before him; till a Gentleman of the Emperor's Stable brought him a Gennet gorgeouſly trapt with Gold, Pearl and Stone, eſpecially with a great Chain of plated Gold about his Neck, and Horſes richly adorn'd for his Followers. Then came three great Noblemen with an Interpreter offring a Speech; but the Ambaſſador deeming it to be ceremony, with a brief Compliment found means to put it by. Thus alighting all, they ſaluted, and gave hands mutually. Thoſe three after a tedious preamble of the Emperor's Title thrice repeated, brought a ſeveral Compliment of three words apiece, as namely, the firſt, To know how the King did; the next, How the Ambaſſador; the third, That there was a fair Houſe provided him. Then on they went on either hand of the Ambaſſador, and about ſix thouſand Gallants behind them; ſtill met within the City by more of greater quality to the very Gate of his lodging: where fifty Gunners were his daily Guard both at home and abroad. The Preſtaves or Gentlemen aſſign'd to have the care of his entertainment, were earneſt to have had the Ambaſſador's Speech and Meſſage given them in writing, that the Interpreter, as they pretended, might the better tranſlate it; but he admoniſh'd them of thir fooliſh demand. On the day of his audience other Gennets were ſent him and his Attendants to ride on, and two white Palfreys to draw a rich Chariot, which was parcel of the Preſent; the reſt wherof was carried by his Followers through a lane of the Emperor's Guard; many Meſſengers poſting up and down the while, till they came through the great Caſtle to the uttermoſt Court-gate. There met by a great Duke, they were brought up ſtairs through a Stone-gallery, where ſtood on each hand many in fair Coats of *Perſian* Stuff, Velvet and Damask. The Ambaſſador by two other Counſellors being led into the preſence, after his obeyſance don, was to ſtay and hear again the long Title repeated; then the particular Preſents; and ſo deliver'd as much of his Embaſſage as was then requiſite. After which the Emperor ariſing from his Throne, demanded of the King's health; ſo did the young Prince. The Ambaſſador then deliver'd his Letters into the Emperor's own hand, though the Chancellor offer'd to have taken them. He bore the Majeſty of a mighty Emperor; his Crown and Sceptre of pure Gold, a Collar of Pearls about his

Neck, his Garment of crimſon Velvet embroider'd with precious Stone and Gold. On his right Side ſtood a fair Globe of beaten Gold on a Pyramis with a Croſs upon it; to which before he ſpake, turning a little he croſt himſelf. Not much leſs in ſplendor on another Throne ſat the Prince. By the Emperor ſtood two Noblemen in Cloth of Silver, high Caps of black Fur, and Chains of gold hanging to thir Feet; on thir Shoulders two Poleaxes of gold, and two of ſilver by the Prince; the ground was all cover'd with Arras or Tapiſtry. Diſmiſt, and brought in again to dinner, they ſaw the Emperor and his Son ſeated in ſtate, ready to dine; each with a Skull of Pearl on thir bare Heads, thir Veſtments chang'd. In the midſt of this Hall ſeem'd to ſtand a Pillar heap'd round to a great height with maſſy Plate curiouſly wrought with Beaſts, Fiſhes and Fowl. The Emperor's Table was ſerv'd with two hundred Noblemen in Coats of gold; the Princes Table with young Dukes of *Caſan*, *Aſtracan*, *Siberia*, *Tartaria* and *Circaſſia*. The Emperor ſent from his Table to the Ambaſſador, thirty diſhes of Meat, to each a Loaf of extraordinary fine Bread. Then follow'd a number more of ſtrange and rare diſhes pil'd up by half dozens, with boil'd, roaſt and bak't, moſt part of them beſawc'd with Garlick and Onions. In midſt of dinner calling the Ambaſſador up to him, he drank the King's health, who receiving it from his hand, return'd to his place, and in the ſame Cup being of fair Chryſtal pledg'd it with all his Company. After dinner they were call'd up to drink of excellent and ſtrong Meath from the Emperor's hand; of which when many did but ſip, he urg'd it not; ſaying he was beſt pleas'd with what was moſt for thir health. Yet after that, the ſame day he ſent a great and glorious Duke, one of them that held the golden Poleax, with his Retinue, and ſundry ſorts of Meath to drink merrily with the Ambaſſador, which ſome of the *Engliſh* did, until the Duke and his Followers light-headed, but well rewarded with thirty yards of Cloth of gold, and two ſtanding Cups, departed. At ſecond audience the Ambaſſador had like reception as before: and being diſmiſs'd, had dinner ſent after him with three hundred ſeveral diſhes of Fiſh, it being Lent, of ſuch ſtrangeneſs, greatneſs and goodneſs, as ſcarce would be credible to report. The Ambaſſador departing, was brought a mile out of the City with like honour as he was firſt met; where lighting from the Emperor's Sled, he took him to his Coach, made faſt upon a Sled; the reſt to thir Sleds, an eaſy and pleaſant paſſage.

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## Names of the Authors from whence theſe Relations have been taken; being all either Eye-witneſſes, or immediate Relaters from ſuch as were.

THE *Journal of* Sir Hugh Willowby.  
*Diſcourſe of* Richard Chancelor.  
*Another of* Clement Adams *taken from the mouth of* Chancelor.  
*Notes of* Richard Johnſon, *Servant to* Chancelor.  
*The* Protonotaries *Regiſter.*  
*Two Letters of Mr.* Hen. Lane.  
*Several Voyages of* Jenkinſon.  
Southam *and* Sparks.  
*The Journal of* Randolf *the Embaſſador.*  
*Another of* Sir Jerom Bowes.  
*The Coronation of* Pheodor *written by* Jerom Horſey.  
Gourdon *of* Hull*'s Voyage to* Pechora.  
*The Voyage of* William Purſglove *to* Pechora.  
*Of* Joſias Logan.  
Heſſel Gerardus, *out of* Purchas, *part* 3. *l.* 3.  
Ruſſian *Relations in* Purch. 797. ibid. 806. ibid.  
*The Embaſſage of* Sir Thomas Smith.  
*Papers of* Mr. Hackluit.  
Janſonius.

# A
# DECLARATION,
## OR,
# Letters Patents for the Election of this preſent
# King of POLAND
## JOHN the Third,

Elected on the 22d of *May* laſt paſt, *Annò Dom.* 1674.

## CONTAINING

The Reaſons of this Election, the great Vertues and Merits of the ſaid Serene Elect, his eminent Services in War, eſpecially in his laſt great Victory againſt the **Turks** and **Tartars**, whereof many Particulars are here related, not publiſhed before.

*Now faithfully tranſlated from the Latin Copy.*

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*In the name of the moſt Holy and Individual Trinity, the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.*

WE Andrew Trezebicki, Biſhop of *Cracovia*, Duke of *Severia*, John Gembicki of *Uladiſlau* and *Pomerania*, &c. Biſhops to the number of Ten.

Stanislaus Warszycki, Caſtellan of *Cracovia*; Alexander Michael Lubomirski of *Cracovia*, &c. Palatins to the number of 23.

Christopherus Grzymaltouski of *Poſnania*, Alexander Gratus de *Tarnow* of *Sandimer*: Caſtellans to the number of 24.

Hilareus Polubinski, High Marſhal of the great Dukedom of *Littunia*, Christopherus Pac, High-Chancelor of the great Dukedom of *Lituania*, Senators and great Officers, to the number of 75.

WE Declare by theſe our preſent Letters unto all and ſingle Perſons whom it may concern: Our Commonwealth being again left widowed by the unſeaſonable Death of that famous Michael late King of *Poland*, who having ſcarce reigned full five years, on the tenth day of *November*, of the year laſt paſt, at *Leopolis*, changed his fading Crown for one Immortal; in the ſenſe of ſo mournful a Funeral and freſh Calamity, yet with an undaumnted Courage, mindful of her ſelf in the midſt of Dangers, forbore not to ſeek Remedies, that the World may underſtand

ſtand ſhe grows in the midſt of her loſſes ; it pleaſed her to begin her Counſels of preſerving her Country, and delivering it from the utmoſt chances of an Interreign, from the Divine Deity (as it were by the only motion of whoſe Finger, it is eaſie that Kingdoms be transferred from Nation to Nation, and Kings from the loweſt ſtate to Thrones ; and therfore the buſineſs was begun according to our Country-Laws, and Anceſtors Inſtitutions. After the Convocation of all the States of the Kingdom ended, in the month of *February* at *Warſaw*, by the common conſent of all thoſe States, on the day decreed for the Election the 20*th* of *April* : At the report of this famous Act, as though a Trumpet had been founded, and a Trophy of Vertue erected, the wiſhes and deſires of Forein Princes came forth of their own accord into the Field of the *Polonian* Liberty, in a famous ſtrife of Merits and good-will towards the Commonwealth, every one bringing thir Ornaments, Advantages and Gifts to the Commonwealth : but the Commonwealth becoming more diligent by the prodigal ambition uſed in the laſt Interreign and Factions, and diſagreeings of minds, nor careleſs of the future, conſidered with her ſelf whether firm or doubtful things were promiſed, and whether ſhe ſhould ſeem from the preſent ſtate to transfer both the old and new Honours of *Poland* into the poſſeſſion of ſtrangers, or the military Glory, and thir late unheard of Victory over the *Turks*, and Blood ſpilt in the war, upon the purple of ſome unwarlike Prince ; as if any one could ſo ſoon put on the love of the Country, and that *Poland* was not ſo much an enemy to her own Nation and Fame, as to favour ſtrangers more than her own ; and Valour being found in her, ſhould ſuffer a Gueſt of new Power to wax proud in her : therfore ſhe thenceforth turned her thoughts upon ſom one in her own Nation, and at length aboliſhed (as ſhe began in the former Election) that reproach caſt upon her, under pretence of a ſecret Maxim, *That none can be elected King of* Poland, *but ſuch as are born out of* Poland ; neither did ſhe ſeek long among her Citizens whom ſhe ſhould prefer above the reſt (for this was no uncertain or ſuſpended Election, there was no place for delay) ; for although in the equality of our Nobles many might be elected, yet the vertue of a Hero appeared above his equals : therfore the eyes and minds of all men were willingly, and by a certain divine inſtinct turned upon the High Marſhal of the Kingdom, Captain of the Army, *John Sobietski*. The admirable vertue of the Man, the High Power of Marſhal in the Court, with his ſupreme command in Arms, Senatorial Honour, with his civil Modeſty, the extraordinary Splendor of his Birth and Fortune, with open Courteſie, Piety towards God, Love to his Fellow-Citizens in words and deeds, Conſtancy, Faithfulneſs, and Clemency towards his very enemies, and what noble things ſoever can be ſaid of a Hero, did lay ſuch Golden Chains on the Minds and Tongues of all, that the Senate and People of *Poland* and of the great Dukedom of *Lituania*, with Suffrages and agreeing Voices named and choſe him thir KING ; not with his ſeeking or precipitate counſel, but with mature Deliberations continued and extended till the third day.

Certainly it conduced much for the honour of the moſt ſerene Elect, the Confirmation of a free Election, and the eternal praiſe of the People electing, that the great buſineſs of an Age was not tranſacted in one day, or in the ſhadow of the night, or by one caſual heat : for it was not right that a Hero of the Age ſhould in a moment of time (and as it were by the caſt of a Die) be made a King, whereas Antiquity by an antient Proverb has delivered, that *Hercules* was not begot in one night ; and it hath taught that Election ſhould ſhine openly under a clear Sky in the open Light.

The moſt ſerene Elect took it modeſtly th[illegible] Nomination ſhould be deferred till the third day, plainly ſhewing t[illegible] [illegible] eavour, leſt his ſudden facility of aſſent being ſuſpected, might detract from [illegible] ir Judgment, and the World might be enforced to believe by a more certain Argument, that he that was ſo choſen was elected without his own ambition, or the envy of corrupted Liberty ; or was it by the appointed Counſel of God that this debate continued three whole days, from *Saturday* till *Munday*, as if the *Cotimian* Victory (begun on the Saturday, and at length on the third day after accompliſhed, after the taking of the *Cotimian* Caſtle) had been a lucky preſage of his Royal Reward ; or, as if with an auſpicious *Omen*, the third day of Election had alluded to the Regal name of *JOHN* the Third.

The famous Glory of War paved his way to the Crown, and confirmed the favour of Suffrages to his moſt ſerene Elect. He the firſt of all the *Polonians* ſhewed that the *Scythian* ſwiftneſs (troubleſom heretofore to all the Monarchies of the World) might be repreſſed by a ſtanding Fight, and the terrible main Battalion of the *Turk* might be broken and routed at one ſtroke. That we may paſs by in ſilence the antient Rudiments of Warfare which he ſtoutly and gloriouſly managed under the Conduct and Authority of another, againſt the *Swedes*, *Meſcovites*, *Boruſſians*, *Tranſylvanians*, and *Coſſacks*: though about ſixty Cities taken by him from the *Coſſacks* be leſs noiſed in the mouth of Fame; yet theſe often and proſperous Battels were a *Prelude* to greateſt Victories in the memory of man. Miriads of *Tartars* had overrun within this ſix years with thir plundering Troops the Coaſt of *Podolia*, when a ſmall force and ſom ſhattered Legions were not ſufficient againſt the hoſtile aſſault, yet our General knowing not to yield, ſhut himſelf up (by a new ſtratagem of War) in *Podhajecy*, a ſtrait Caſtle, and fortified in haſte, wherby he might exclude the cruel deſtruction which was haſtening into the bowels of the Kingdom, by which means the Barbarian deluded and routed, took Conditions of Peace; as if he had made his inroad for this only purpoſe, that he might bring to the moſt ſerene Elect matter of Glory, Victory.

For theſe four laſt years the famous Victories of *Sobietski* have ſignalized every year of his warlike Command on the *Coſſacks* and *Tartarians* both joined together, the moſt ſtrong Province of *Braclavia*, as far as it lies between *Hypanis* and *Tyral*, with thir Cities and warlike people, were won from the *Coſſack* Enemy.

And thoſe things are beyond belief which two years ago the moſt ſerene Elect, after the taking of *Camenick* (being undaunted by the Siege of *Laopolis*) performed to a miracle by the hardneſs and fortitude of the *Polonian* Army, ſcarce conſiſting of three thouſand men, in the continual courſe of five days and nights, ſuſtaining life without any food, except wild herbs; ſetting upon the *Tartarians*, he made famous the names of *Narulam*, *Niemicrovia*, *Konarnum*, *Kaluſſia*, obſcure Towns before, by a great Overthrow of the Barbarians. He ſlew three Sultans of the *Crim Tartars*, deſcended of the royal *Gietian* Family, and ſo trampled on that great force of the *Scythians*, that in theſe later years they could not regain thir Courage, or recollect the Forces. But the felicity of this laſt Autumn exceeded all his Victories; whenas the Fortifications at *Chocimum*, famous of old, were poſſeſſed and fortified by above forty thouſand Turks, in which three and forty years ago the *Polonians* had ſuſtained and repreſſed the Forces of the *Ottoman* Family, drawn together out of *Aſia*, *Africa*, and *Europe*, fell to the ground within a few hours, by the only (under God) imperatorious Valour and Prudence of *Sobietski*; for he counted it his chief part to go about the Watches, order the Stations, and perſonally to inſpect the preparations of warlike Ordinance, to encourage the Soldiers with voice, hands, and countenance, wearied with hunger, badneſs of weather, and three days ſtanding in Arms; and he (which is moſt to be admired) on Foot at the head of the Foot-forces made through, and forced his way to the Battery, hazarding his life devoted to God and his Country; and therupon made a cruel ſlaughter within the Camp and Fortifications of the Enemy; while the deſperation of the *Turks* whetted thir valour, and he performed the part of a moſt provident and valiant Captain: at which time three *Baſhaws* were ſlain, the fourth ſcarce paſſed with difficulty the ſwift River of *Tyras*; eight thouſand *Janizaries*, twenty thouſand choſen *Spahies*, beſides the more common Souldiers were cut off; the whole Camp with all thir Ammunition, and great Ordnance, beſides the *Aſſyrian* and *Phrygian* Wealth of luxurious *Aſia*, were taken and pillaged; the famous Caſtle of *Cotimia*, and the Bridg over *Tyras*, ſtrong Fortreſſes, equal to Caſtles on each ſide the River, were additions to the Victory. Why therfore ſhould not ſuch renown'd Heroic Valour be crowned with the legal reward of a Diadem? All *Chriſtendom* have gon before us in example, which being arrived to the recovery of *Jeruſalem* under the conduct of *Godfrey of Bulloin*, on thir own accord gave him that Kingdom, for that he firſt ſcaled the walls of that City. Our moſt ſerene Elect is not inferior, for he firſt alſo aſcended two main Fortreſſes of the Enemy.

The moment of time adorns this Victory unheard of in many ages, the moſt ſerene King *Michael* dying the day before, as it were ſignifying therby that he gave way to ſo great Valour, as if it were by his command and favour, that this Conqueror might ſo much the more gloriouſly ſucceed from the Helmet to the Crown, from the Commander's Staff to the Scepter, from his lying in the Field to the Regal Throne.

The Commonwealth recalled the grateful and never to be forgotten memory of his renowned Father, the moſt Illuſtrious and excellent *James Sobietski*, Caſtellan of *Cracovia*, a Man to be written of with ſedulous care, who by his Golden Eloquence in the publick Councels, and by his hand in the Scene of War, had ſo often amplified the State of the Commonwealth, and defended it with the Arms of his Family. Neither can we believe it happened without Divine Providence, that in the ſame place wherin forty years ago his renowned Father, Embaſſador of the *Polonian* Commonwealth, had made Peace and Covnants with *Cimanus* the Turkiſh General, his great Son ſhould revenge with his Sword the Peace broke (Heaven it ſelf upbraiding the perfidious Enemy). The reſt of his Grandſires and Great-Grandſires, and innumerable Names of famous Senators and great Officers have as it were brought forth light to the ſerene Elect by the emulous Greatneſs and Glory of his Mother's deſcent, eſpecially *Staniſlaus Zelkievius*, High Chancellor of the Kingdom, and General of the Army, at whoſe Grave in the Neighbouring fields, in which by the *Turkiſh* rage in the year 1620 he died, his victorious Nephew took full revenge by ſo remarkable an overthrow of the Enemy: The immortal valour and fatal fall of his moſt noble Uncle *Staniſlaus Danilovitius* in the year 1635, Palatin of *Ruſſia*, doubled the Glory of his Anceſtors; whom deſirous of Honour, and not induring that ſluggiſh Peace wherin *Poland* then ſlept ſecure, Valour and youthful Heat accited at his own expence and private forces into the Tauric fields; that by his footing, and the antient warlike Polonian Diſciplin, he might lead and point the way to theſe merits of *Sobietski*, and being ſlain by *Cantimiz* the Tartarian Cham, in revenge of his Son by him ſlain, he might by his Noble Blood give luſtre to this Regal Purple. Neither hath the people of *Poland* forgot the moſt illuſtrious *Marcus Sobietski* elder Brother of our moſt ſerene Elect, who when the Polonian Army at *Batto* was routed by the Barbarians, although occaſion was offer'd him of eſcape, yet choſe rather to die in the overthrow of ſuch valiant men, a Sacrifice for his Country, then to buy his life with a diſhonourable retreat; perhaps the divine Judgment ſo diſpoſing, whoſe order is, that perſons paſs away and fail, and cauſes and events happen again the ſame; that by the repeated fate of the *Huniades*, the elder Brother of great hopes removed by a lamented ſlaughter, might leave to his younger Brother ſurviving the readier paſſage to the Throne. That therfore which we pray may be happy, auſpicious, and fortunate to our Orthodox Commonwealth, and to all Chriſtendom, with free and unanimous Votes, none oppoſing, all conſenting and applauding, by the right of our free Election, notwithſtanding the abſence of thoſe which have been called and not appeared; We being led by no private reſpect, but having only before our eyes the Glory of God, the increaſe of the antient Catholick Church, the ſafety of the Commonwealth, and the dignity of the *Poliſh* Nation and Name, have thought fit to elect, create, and name, *JOHN in Zolkiew and Zloczew Sobietski*, Supreme Marſhal General of the Kingdom, General of the Armies, Governour of *Neva*, *Bara*, *Strya*, *Loporovient*, and *Kaluſſien*, moſt eminently adorned with ſo high endowments, merits and ſplendor, to be *KING* of *Poland*, Grand-Duke of *Lituania*, *Ruſſia*, *Pruſſia*, *Mazovia*, *Samogitia*, *Kyovia*, *Volhinnia*, *Padlachia*, *Podolia*, *Livonia*, *Smolensko*, *Severia*, and *Czerniechovia*, as we have elected, created, declared, and named him: I the aforeſaid Biſhop of *Cracovia* (the Archiepiſcopal See being vacant) exerciſing the Office and Authority of Primat, and by conſent of all the States thrice demanded, oppoſed by none, by all and every one approved, conclude the Election; promiſing faithfully that we will always perform to the ſame moſt ſerene and potent Elect Prince, Lord *John the third*, our King, the ſame Faith, Subjection, Obedience, and Loyalty, according to our Rights and Liberties, as we have performed to his bleſſed Anceſtor, as alſo that we will crown the ſame moſt ſerene Elect in the next Aſſembly at *Cracovia*, to that end ordained, as our true King and Lord, with the Regal Diadem, with which the Kings of *Poland* were wont to be crown'd, and after the manner which the *Roman* Catholic Church before-time hath obſerved in anointing and inaugurating Kings, We will anoint and inaugurate him: Yet ſo as he ſhall hold faſt and obſerve firſt of all the Rights, Immunities both Eccleſiaſtical and Secular, granted and given to us by his Anceſtor of bleſſed memory; as alſo theſe Laws which we our ſelves in the time of this preſent and former Inter-reign, according to the Right of our Liberty, and better preſervation of the Commonwealth, have eſtabliſhed. And if moreover the moſt Serene Elect will bind himſelf by an Oath to perform the conditions concluded with thoſe perſons ſent by his Majeſty before the exhibition of this preſent Decree of Election, and will provide in beſt manner for the performance of them by his authentick Letters; which Decree of Election we by Divine aid deſirous to put in execution, do ſend by common conſent, to deliver it into the hands of the moſt Serene Elect, the moſt illuſtrious and reverend Lord Biſhop of *Cracovia*, together with ſome Senators and chief Officers, and the illuſtrious and magnificent *Benedictus Sapieha*, Treaſurer of the Court of the Great Dukedom of *Lituania*, Marſhal of the *Equeſtrian* Order; committing to them the ſame Decree of intimating an Oath, upon the aforeſaid premiſes, and receiving his Subſcription; and at length to give and deliver the ſame Decree into the hands of the ſaid Elect, and to act and perform all other things which this Affair requires. In aſſurance wherof the Seals of the Lords Senators, and thoſe of the *Equeſtrian* Order deputed to ſign, are here affixed.

Given by the hands of the moſt illuſtrious and reverend Father in Chriſt, the Lord *Andrew Olſzonski*, Biſhop of *Culma* and *Pomiſania*, High Chancellor of the Kingdom, in the general ordinary Aſſembly of the Kingdom, and great Dukedom of *Lituania*, for the Election of the new King. *Warſaw* the 22*d* day of *May*, in the year of our Lord 1674.

In the preſence of *Franciſcus Praſzmouski*, Provoſt of *Gueſna*, Abbot of *Sieciethovia*, chief Secretary of the Kingdom; *Joannes Malachowski*, Abbot of *Mogila*, Referendary of the Kingdom, *&c.* with other great Officers of the Kingdom and Clergy, to the number of fourſcore and two. And the reſt very many great Officers, Captains, Secretaries, Courtiers, and Inhabitants of the Kingdom, and Great Dukedom of *Lituania*, gathered together at *Warſaw* to the preſent Aſſembly of the Election of the Kingdom and great Dukedom of *Lituania*.

Aſſiſtants at the ſolemn Oath taken of his ſacred Majeſty on the 5*th* day of the Month of *June*, in the Palace at *Warſaw*, after the Letters Patents delivered upon the Covenants, and Agreements, or Capitulations, the moſt Reverend and Excellent Lord *Franciſco Bonviſi*, Archbiſhop of *Theſſalonica*, Apoſtolick Nuntio; Count *Chriſtopherus a Scaffgotſch*, *Cæcareus Tuſſanus de Forbin*, *de Jaſon*, Biſhop of *Marſeilles* in *France*, *Joannes* free-barron *Hoverbec*, from the Marqueſs of *Brandenburg*, Embaſſadors, and other Envoys and Miniſters of State.

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will answer and [illegible] to [illegible] had full and effectually all the Rights, immunities both Ecclesiastical and Secular granted and given to us by his Ancestor of [illegible] [illegible] whatsoever [illegible] in the [illegible] of this [illegible] [illegible] according to the Rights of our Liberty, and [illegible] [illegible] of the Company [illegible], heretofore granted. And [illegible] [illegible] the [illegible] [illegible] signified [illegible] by an Oath [illegible] the conditions contained [illegible] [illegible] of the present Decree of Election, and will [illegible] the performance of them by his [illegible] Letters, which Decree [illegible] the aforesaid manner to put in execution, [illegible] by common [illegible] the Name of the Holy Sacred Itself, the [illegible] [illegible], together with [illegible] the [illegible] and the illustrious and magnificent Senator [illegible], [illegible] of the great Dukedom of Lithuania, Marshal of the Equestrian Order, [illegible] the same Decree of informing an Oath, upon the aforesaid [illegible] his Sacred Majesty, and at length to seal and deliver [illegible] into the hands of the said Elect, and to [illegible] the [illegible] which [illegible]. In assurance whereof the Seals of the [illegible], [illegible] of the Equestrian Order [illegible] are hereto [illegible].

Signed by the hands of the most Illustrious and reverend Fathers in Christ, the Lord [illegible], [illegible] of [illegible] and [illegible], [illegible] of [illegible] general and ordinary Assembly of the Kingdom, and great Dukedom of Lithuania, for the Election of the new King. Warsaw the 22d day of [illegible] 1674.

In the presence of [illegible], Provost of [illegible], Abbot of [illegible], chief Secretary of the Kingdom; [illegible], Abbot [illegible], Referendary of the Kingdom, &c. with other great [illegible] of the Kingdom and [illegible], to the number of fourscore and two. And the [illegible], Secretaries, Councils, and Inhabitants of the Kingdom, and Great Dukedom of Lithuania, [illegible] that it is just to the present Assembly of the Election of the Kingdom and great Dukedom of Lithuania.

Moreover the solemn Oath taken by his Sacred Majesty on the [illegible] day of the Month of June, in the Palace at Warsaw, after the Letters Patents delivered upon the Covenants and Agreements, or [illegible], the most Reverend and Excellent Lord Francis Bonvisi, Archbishop of Thessalonica, Apostolick Nuncio; [illegible], [illegible] de Forbin, Bishop of Marseilles in France, Extraordinary Ambassador from the Kingdom of [illegible], Embassadors, and other [illegible] and Ministers [illegible].

# OF
# EDUCATION.

## To Maſter *Samuel Hartlib.*

*SIR,*

I Am long ſince perſwaded, that to ſay or do ought worth memory and imitation, no purpoſe or reſpect ſhould ſooner move us then ſimply the love of God, and of mankind. Neverthe leſs to write now the reforming of Education, though it be one of the greateſt and nobleſt deſigns that can be thought on, and for the want wherof this Nation periſhes, I had not yet at this time been induc't, but by your earneſt entreaties, and ſerious conjurements; as having my mind for the preſent half diverted in the purſuance of ſome other aſſertions, the knowledg and the uſe of which cannot but be a great furtherance both to the enlargement of truth, and honeſt living with much more peace. Nor ſhould the laws of any private friendſhip have prevail'd with me to divide thus, or tranſpoſe my former thoughts, but that I ſee thoſe aims, thoſe actions which have won you with me the eſteem of a Perſon ſent hither by ſome good providence from a far Country to be the occaſion and the incitement of great good to this Iland. And, as I hear, you have obtain'd the ſame repute with men of moſt approved wiſdom, and ſome of higheſt autority among us. Not to mention the learned correſpondence which you hold in forein parts, and the extraordinary pains and diligence which you have us'd in this matter both here and beyond the Seas; either by the definite will of God ſo ruling, or the peculiar ſway of nature, which alſo is God's working. Neither can I think that ſo reputed, and ſo valu'd as you are, you would to the forfeit of your own diſcerning ability, impoſe upon me an unfit and over-ponderous argument, but that the ſatisfaction which you profeſs to have receiv'd from thoſe incidental Diſcourſes which we have wander'd into, hath preſt and almoſt conſtrain'd you into a perſwaſion, that what you require from me in this point, I neither ought, nor can in conſcience defer beyond this time both of ſo much need at once, and ſo much opportunity to try what God hath determin'd. I will not reſiſt therfore whatever it is, either of divine or human obligement, that you lay upon me; but will forthwith ſet down in writing, as you requeſt me, that voluntary *Idea*, which hath long in ſilence preſented it ſelf to me, of a better Education, in extent and comprehenſion far more large, and yet of time far ſhorter, and of attainment far more certain, then hath been yet in practice. Brief I ſhall endeavour to be; for that which I have to ſay, aſſuredly this Nation hath extream need ſhould be done ſooner then ſpoken. To tell you therfore what I have benefited herein among old renowned Authors, I ſhall ſpare; and to ſearch what many modern *Janua's* and *Didactics* more then ever I ſhall read, have projected, my inclination leads me not. But if you can accept of theſe few Obſervations which have flowr'd off, and are as it were the burniſhing of many ſtudious and contemplative years altogether ſpent in the ſearch of religious and civil knowledg, and ſuch as pleas'd you ſo well in the relating, I here give you them to diſpoſe of.

The end then of Learning is to repair the ruins of our firſt Parents by regaining to know God aright, and out of that knowledg to love him, to imitate him, to be like him, as we may the neareſt by poſſeſſing our ſouls of true vertue, which being united to the heavenly Grace of Faith, makes up the higheſt perfection. But becauſe our underſtanding cannot in this body found it ſelf but on ſenſible things, nor arrive ſo clearly to the knowledg of God and things inviſible, as by orderly conning over the viſible and inferior creature, the ſame method is neceſſarily to be follow'd in all diſcreet teaching. And ſeeing every Nation affords not experience and tradition enough for all kind of Learning, therfore we are chiefly taught the Languages of thoſe people who have at any time been moſt induſtrious after Wiſdom; ſo that Language is but the Inſtrument conveying to us things uſeful to be known. And though a Linguiſt ſhould pride himſelf to have all the Tongues that *Babel* cleft the world into, yet if he have not ſtudied the ſolid things in them as well as the Words and Lexicons, he were nothing ſo much to be eſteem'd a learned man, as any Yeoman or Tradeſman competently wiſe in his Mother-Dialect only. Hence appear the many miſtakes which have made Learning generally ſo unpleaſing and ſo unſucceſsful; firſt we do amiſs to ſpend ſeven or eight years meerly in ſcraping together ſo much miſerable Latin and Greek, as might be learnt otherwiſe eaſily and delightfully in one year. And that which caſts our proficiency therin ſo much behind, is our time loſt partly in too oft idle vacancies given both to Schools and Univerſities, partly in a prepoſterous exaction, forcing the empty wits of Children to compoſe Theams, Verſes and Orations, which are the acts of ripeſt judgment, and the final work of a head fill'd by long reading and obſerving, with elegant maxims, and copious invention. Theſe are not matters to be wrung from poor ſtriplings, like blood out of the noſe, or the plucking of untimely fruit: beſides the ill habit which they get of wretched barbarizing againſt the Latin and Greek *idiom*, with thir untutor'd *Angliciſms*, odious to be read, yet not to be avoided without a well continued and judicious converſing among pure Authors digeſted, which they ſcarce taſte; wheras, if after ſome preparatory grounds of ſpeech by thir certain forms got into memory, they were led to the praxis therof in ſome choſen ſhort book leſſon'd throughly to them, they might then forthwith proceed to learn the ſubſtance of good things, and Arts in due order, which would bring the whole Language quickly into thir power. This I take to be the moſt rational and moſt profitable way of learning Languages, and wherby we may beſt hope to give account to God of our youth ſpent herein. And for the uſual method of teaching Arts, I deem it to be an old error of Univerſities, not yet well recover'd from the Scholaſtic groſsneſs of barbarous ages, that inſtead of beginning with Arts moſt eaſy, and thoſe be ſuch as are moſt obvious to the ſence, they preſent thir young unmatriculated Novices at firſt coming with the moſt intellective abſtractions of Logic and Metaphyſics: ſo that they having but newly left thoſe Grammatic Flats and Shallows where they ſtuck unreaſonably to learn a few words with lamentable conſtruction, and now on the ſudden tranſported under another climat to be toſs'd and turmoil'd with thir unballaſted wits in fadomleſs and unquiet deeps of Controverſy, do for the moſt part grow into hatred and contempt of Learning, mock[illegible] and deluded all this while with ragged Notions and Babblements, while they expected worthy and delightful knowledg; till poverty or youthful years call them importunately thir ſeveral ways, and haſten them with the ſway of friends either to an ambitious and mercenary, or ignorantly zealous Divinity; ſome allur'd to the trade of Law, grounding thir purpoſes not on the prudent and heavenly Contemplation of Juſtice and Equity which was never taught them, but on the promiſing and pleaſing thoughts of litigious terms, fat contentions, and flowing fees; others betake them to State-affairs, with ſouls ſo unprincipl'd in vertue, and true generous breeding, that flattery and Court-ſhifts and tyrannous Aphoriſms appear to them the higheſt points of wiſdom; inſtilling thir barren Hearts with a conſcientious ſlavery, if as I rather think, it be not fain'd. Others laſtly of a more delicious and airie ſpirit, retire themſelves, knowing no better, to the enjoiments, of eaſe and luxury, living out thir days in feaſt and jollity; which indeed is the wiſeſt and the ſafeſt courſe of all theſe, unleſs they were with more integrity undertaken. And theſe are the fruits of miſpending our prime youth at the Schools and Univerſities as we do, either in learning meer words, or ſuch things chiefly as were better unlearnt.

I ſhall detain you no longer in the demonſtration of what we ſhould not do, but ſtrait conduct ye to a hill ſide, where I will point ye out the right path of a vertuous and noble Education; laborious indeed at the firſt aſcent, but elſe ſo ſmooth, ſo green, ſo full of goodly proſpect, and melodious ſounds on every ſide, that the harp of *Orpheus* was not more charming. I doubt not but ye ſhall have more ado to drive our dulleſt and lazieſt youth, our ſtocks and ſtubs, from the infinite deſire of ſuch a happy nurture, then we have now to hale and drag our choiceſt and hopefulleſt wits to that aſinine feaſt of ſowthiſtles and bram-

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brambles which is commonly ſet before them, as all the food and entertainment of thir tendereſt and moſt docible age. I call therfore a compleat and generous Education, that which fits a man to perform juſtly, skilfully and magnanimouſly all the offices both private and public of Peace and War. And how all this may be don between twelve, and one and twenty, leſs time then is now beſtow'd in pure trifling at Grammar and *Sophiſtry*, is to be thus order'd.

Firſt to find out a ſpatious houſe and ground about it fit for an *Academy*, and big enough to lodg a hundred and fifty perſons, wherof twenty or therabout may be attendants, all under the government of one, who ſhall be thought of deſert ſufficient, and ability either to do all, or wiſely to direct and overſee it don. This place ſhould be at once both School and Univerſity, not needing a remove to any other houſe of Scholerſhip, except it be ſom peculiar Colledg of Law, or Phyſick, where they mean to be Practitioners; but as for thoſe general ſtudies which take up all our time from *Lilly* to the commencing, as they term it, Maſter of Art, it ſhould be abſolute. After this pattern, as many Edifices may be converted to this uſe as ſhall be needful in every City throughout this Land, which would tend much to the encreaſe of Learning and Civility every where. This number, leſs or more thus collected, to the convenience of a foot Company, or interchangeably two Troops of Cavalry, ſhould divide thir days work into three parts as it lies orderly. Thir Studies, thir Exerciſe, and thir Diet.

For thir Studies. Firſt they ſhould begin with the chief and neceſſary rules of ſom good Grammar, either that now us'd, or any better: and while this is doing, thir ſpeech is to be faſhion'd to a diſtinct and clear pronuntiation, as near as may be to the *Italian*, eſpecially in the Vowels. For we *Engliſhmen* being far Northerly, do not open our mouths in the cold air, wide enough to grace a Southern Tongue; but are obſerv'd by all other Nations to ſpeak exceeding cloſe and inward: ſo that to ſmatter Latin with an Engliſh mouth, is as ill a hearing as Law-French. Next to make them expert in the uſefulleſt points of Grammar, and withal to ſeaſon them and win them early to the love of Vertue and true Labour, e're any flattering ſeducement, or vain principle ſeize them wandering, ſom eaſy and delightful Book of Education would be read to them; wherof the Greeks have ſtore, as *Cebes*, *Plutarch*, and other Socratic Diſcourſes. But in Latin we have none of claſſic authority extant, except the two or three firſt Books of *Quintilian*, and ſome ſelect pieces elſwhere. But here the main skill and groundwork will be, to temper them ſuch Lectures and Explanations upon every opportunity, as may lead and draw them in willing obedience, enflam'd with the ſtudy of Learning, and the admiration of Vertue; ſtir'd up with high hopes of living to be brave Men, and worthy Patriots, dear to God, and famous to all Ages. That they may deſpiſe and ſcorn all thir childiſh and ill-taught qualities, to delight in manly and liberal Exerciſes: which he who hath the Art and proper Eloquence to catch them with, what with mild and effectual perſwaſions, and what with the intimation of ſom fear, if need be, but chiefly by his own example, might in a ſhort ſpace gain them to an incredible diligence and courage: infuſing into thir young breſts ſuch an ingenuous and noble ardor, as would not fail to make many of them renowned and matchleſs men. At the ſame time ſom other hour of the day, might be taught them the rules of Arithmetic, and ſoon after the Elements of Geometry, even playing, as the old manner was. After evening repaſt, till bed-time, thir thoughts would be beſt taken up in the eaſy grounds of Religion, and the ſtory of Scripture. The next ſtep would be to the Authors of *Agriculture*, *Cato*, *Varro*, and *Columella*, for the matter is moſt eaſy; and if the language be difficult, ſo much the better it is not a difficulty above thir years. And here will be an occaſion of inciting and inabling them hereafter to improve the tillage of thir Country, to recover the bad Soil, and to remedy the waſte that is made of good; for this was one of *Hercules's* praiſes. E're half theſe Authors be read (which will ſoon be with plying hard and daily) they cannot chuſe but be maſters of any ordinary proſe. So that it will be then ſeaſonable for them to learn in any modern Author the uſe of the Globes, and all the Maps; firſt with the old names, and then with the new, or they might be then capable to read any compendious method of natural Philoſophy. And at the ſame time might be entring into the Greek tongue, after the ſame manner as was before preſcrib'd in the Latin; wherby the difficulties of Grammar being ſoon overcom, all the Hiſtorical Phyſiology of *Ari-*

*ſtotle* and *Theophraſtus* are open before them, and as I may ſay, under contribution. The like acceſs will be to *Vitruvius*, to *Seneca's* natural queſtions, to *Mela*, *Celſus*, *Pliny*, or *Solinus*. And having thus paſt the principles of *Arithmetic*, *Geometry*, *Aſtronomy*, and *Geography* with a general compact of Phyſics, they may deſcend in *Mathematics* to the inſtrumental ſcience of *Trigonometry*, and from thence to Fortification, Architecture, Enginry, or Navigation. And in natural Philoſophy they may proceed leiſurely from the Hiſtory of Meteors, Minerals, Plants and living Creatures as far as Anatomy. Then alſo in courſe might be read to them out of ſom not tedious Writer the Inſtitution of Phyſic; that they may know the tempers, the humours, the ſeaſons, and how to manage a Crudity: which he who can wiſely and timely do, is not only a great Phyſitian to himſelf and to his friends, but alſo may at ſomtime or other, ſave an Army by this frugal and expenſleſs means only; and not let the healthy and ſtout bodies of young men rot away under him for want of this Diſciplin; which is a great pity, and no leſs a ſhame to the Commander. To ſet forward all theſe proceedings in Nature and Mathematics, what hinders but that they may procure, as oft as ſhall be needful, the helpful experiences of Hunters, Fowlers, Fiſhermen, Shepherds, Gardeners, Apothecaries; and in the other Sciences, Architects, Engineers, Mariners, Anatomiſts; who doubtleſs would be ready, ſom for reward, and ſom to favour ſuch a hopeful Seminary. And this will give them ſuch a real tincture of natural knowledg, as they ſhall never forget, but daily augment with delight. Then alſo thoſe Poets which are now counted moſt hard, will be both facil and pleaſant, *Orpheus*, *Heſiod*, *Theocritus*, *Aratus*, *Nicander*, *Oppian*, *Dionyſius*, and in Latin *Lucretius*, *Manilius*, and the rural part of *Virgil*.

By this time, years and good general precepts will have furniſht them more diſtinctly with that act of reaſon which in *Ethics* is call'd *Proaireſis*: that they may with ſom judgment contemplate upon moral good and evil. Then will be requir'd a ſpecial reinforcement of conſtant and ſound endoctrinating to ſet them right and firm, inſtructing them more amply in the knowledg of Vertue and the hatred of Vice: while thir young and pliant affections are led through all the moral works of *Plato*, *Xenophon*, *Cicero*, *Plutarch*, *Laertius*, and thoſe *Locrian* remnants; but ſtill to be reduc't in thir nightward ſtudies wherwith they cloſe the days work, under the determinate ſentence of *David* or *Salomon*, or the Evanges. and Apoſtolic Scriptures. Being perfect in the knowledg of perſonal duty, they may then begin the ſtudy of Economics. And either now or before this they may have eaſily learnt at any odd hour the *Italian* Tongue. And ſoon after, but with warineſs and good antidote, it would be wholſom enough to let them taſte ſom choice Comedies, Greek, Latin, or *Italian*: Thoſe Tragedies alſo that treat of Houſhold matters, as *Trachinia*, *Alceſtis*, and the like. The next remove muſt be to the ſtudy of *Politics*; to know the beginning, end, and reaſons of Political Societies; that they may not in a dangerous fit of the Common-wealth be ſuch poor, ſhaken, uncertain Reeds of ſuch a tottering Conſcience, as many of our great Counſellers have lately ſhewn themſelves, but ſtedfaſt Pillars of the State. After this they are to dive into the grounds of Law, and legal Juſtice; deliver'd firſt and with beſt warrant by *Moſes*; and as far as human prudence can be truſted, in thoſe extoll'd remains of Grecian Law-givers, *Licurgus*, *Solon*, *Zaleucus*, *Charondas*, and thence to all the Roman *Edicts* and Tables with thir *Juſtinian*; and ſo down to the *Saxon* and common Laws of *England*, and the Statutes. Sundaies alſo and every evening may be now underſtandingly ſpent in the higheſt matters of *Theology*, and Church-Hiſtory antient and modern: and e're this time the Hebrew Tongue at a ſet hour might have been gain'd, that the Scriptures may be now read in thir own original; wherto it would be no impoſſibility to add the *Chaldee*, and the Syrian Dialect. When all theſe emploiments are well conquer'd, then will the choice Hiſtories, *Heroic Poems*, and *Attic* Tragedies of ſtatelieſt and moſt regal Argument, with all the famous Political Orations, offer themſelves; which if they were not only read, but ſom of them got by memory, and ſolemnly pronounc't with right accent and grace, as might be taught, would endue them even with the ſpirit and vigour of *Demoſthenes* or *Cicero*, *Euripides*, or *Sophocles*. And now laſtly will be the time to read with them thoſe organic Arts which inable men to diſcourſe and write perſpicuouſly, elegantly, and according to the fitted ſtile of lofty, mean, or lowly. Logic therfore ſo much as is uſeful, is to be referr'd to this due place with all her well coucht Heads and Topics, until it be time to open her contracted palm into a graceful and ornate Rhetoric taught out of the rule of *Plato*, *Ariſtotle*, *Phalereus*, *Cicero*, *Hermogenes*, *Longinus*. To which Poetry would be made ſubſequent, or indeed rather precedent, as being leſs ſuttle and fine, but more ſimple, ſenſuous, and paſſionate. I mean not here the proſody of a verſe, which they could not but have hit on before among the rudiments of Grammar; but that ſublime Art which in *Ariſtotles Poetics*, in *Horace*, and the *Italian* Commentaries of *Caſtlevetro*, *Taſſo*, *Mazzoni*, and others, teaches what the Laws are of a true *Epic* Poem, what of a *Dramatic*, what of a *Lyric*, what Decorum is, which is the grand maſter-piece to obſerve. This would make them ſoon perceive what deſpicable Creatures our common Rimers and Play-writers be, and ſhew them what religious, what glorious and magnificent uſe might be made of Poetry both in divine and human things. From hence, and not till now will be the right ſeaſon of forming them to be able Writers and Compoſers in every excellent matter, when they ſhall be thus fraught with an univerſal inſight into things. Or whether they be to ſpeak in Parlament or Councel, honour and attention would be waiting on thir lips. There would then alſo appear in Pulpits other viſages, other geſtures, and ſtuff otherwiſe wrought then what we now ſit under, oftimes to as great a trial of our patience as any other that they preach to us. Theſe are the Studies wherin our noble and our gentle Youth ought to beſtow thir time in a diſciplinary way from twelve to one and twenty; unleſs they rely more upon thir anceſtors dead, then upon themſelves living. In which methodical courſe it is ſo ſuppos'd they muſt proceed by the ſteddy pace of Learning onward, as at convenient times for memories ſake to retire back into the middle ward, and ſomtimes into the rear of what they have been taught, until they have confirm'd, and ſolidly united the whole body of their perfeted knowledg, like the laſt embattelling of a Roman Legion. Now will be worth the ſeeing, what Exerciſes and Recreations may beſt agree, and becom theſe Studies.

### *Thir Exerciſe.*

The courſe of Study hitherto briefly deſcrib'd, is what I can gueſs by reading likeſt to thoſe antient and famous Schools of *Pythagoras*, *Plato*, *Iſocrates*, *Ariſtotle* and ſuch others, out of which were bred ſuch a number of renowned Philoſophers, Orators, Hiſtorians, Poets and Princes all over *Greece*, *Italy* and *Aſia*, beſides the flouriſhing Studies of *Cyrene* and *Alexandria*. But herein it ſhall exceed them, and ſupply a defect as great as that which *Plato* noted in the Commonwealth of *Sparta*; wheras that City train'd up thir Youth moſt for War, and theſe in thir Academies and *Lycæum*, all for the Gown, this inſtitution of breeding which I here delineate ſhall be equally good both for Peace and War. Therfore about an hour and half ere they eat at Noon ſhould be allow'd them for exerciſe, and due reſt afterwards; but the time for this may be enlarg'd at pleaſure, according as thir riſing in the morning ſhall be early. The Exerciſe which I commend firſt is the exact uſe of thir Weapon, to guard, and to ſtrike ſafely with edg or point; this will keep them healthy, nimble, ſtrong, and well in breath, is alſo the likelieſt means to make them grow large and tall, and to inſpire them with a gallant and fearleſs Courage, which being temper'd with ſeaſonable Lectures and Precepts to them of true Fortitude and Patience, will turn into a native and heroic Valour, and make them hate the cowardiſe of doing wrong. They muſt be alſo practis'd in all the Locks and Gripes of Wreſtling, wherin Engliſhmen were wont to excel, as need may often be in fight to tug or grapple, and to cloſe. And this perhaps will be enough, wherin to prove and heat thir ſingle ſtrength. The interim of unſweating themſelves regularly, and convenient reſt before meat, may both with profit and delight be taken up in recreating and compoſing thir travail'd ſpirits with the ſolemn and divine harmonies of Muſic heard or learnt; either while the skilful *Organiſt* plies his grave and fancied deſcant in lofty Fugues, or the whole Symphony with artful and unimaginable touches adorn and grace the well-ſtudied chords of ſome choice Compoſer; ſomtimes the Lute, or ſoft Organ ſtop waiting on elegant Voices either to religious, martial or civil Ditties, which, if wiſe Men and Prophets be not extreamly out, have a great power over Diſpoſitions and Manners to ſmooth and make them gentle from ruſtic harſhneſs and diſtemper'd paſſions. The like alſo would not be unexpedient after Meat to aſſiſt and cheriſh Nature in her firſt concoction, and ſend thir minds back to ſtudy in good tune and ſatisfaction. Where having follow'd it cloſe under vigilant eyes, till about two hours before ſupper, they are by a ſudden alarm or watch word to be call'd out to thir military motions, under skie or covert, according to the ſeaſon, as was the Roman wont, firſt on foot, then as thir age permits, on horſe-back, to all the Art of Cavalry; that having in ſport, but with much exactneſs and daily muſter, ſerv'd out the rudiments of thir Souldierſhip in all the skill of embattelling, marching, encamping, fortifying, beſieging, and battering, with all the helps of antient and modern Stratagems, *Tactics*, and warlike Maxims, they may as it were out of a long War com forth renowned and perfect Commanders in the ſervice of thir Country. They would not then, if they were truſted with fair and hopeful Armies, ſuffer them for want of juſt and wiſe diſciplin to ſhed away from about them like ſick Feathers, though they be never ſo oft ſuppli'd: they would not ſuffer thir empty and unrecrutible Colonels of twenty men in a Company to quaff out, or convey into ſecret hoards, the wages of a deluſive liſt, and a miſerable remnant: yet in the mean while to be over-maſter'd with a ſcore or two of drunkards, the only ſouldiery left about them, or elſe to comply with all rapines and violences. No certainly, if they knew ought of that knowledg that belongs to good men or good Governours, they would not ſuffer theſe things. But to return to our own Inſtitute, beſides theſe conſtant exerciſes at home, there is another opportunity of gaining experience to be won from pleaſure it ſelf abroad; in thoſe vernal ſeaſons of the year, when the air is calm and pleaſant, it were an injury and ſullenneſs againſt nature not to go out and ſee her riches, and partake in her rejoicing with Heaven and Earth. I ſhould not therfore be a perſwader to them of ſtudying much then, after two or three year that they have well laid thir grounds, but to ride out in companies with prudent and ſtaid Guides to all the quarters of the Land; learning and obſerving all places of ſtrength, all commodities of building and of ſoil, for Towns and Tillage, Harbours and Ports for Trade. Somtimes taking Sea as far as to our Navy, to learn there alſo what they can in the practical knowledg of Sailing and of Sea-fight. Theſe ways would try all thir peculiar gifts of Nature, and if there were any ſecret excellence among them would fetch it out, and give it fair opportunities to advance it ſelf by, which could not but mightily redound to the good of this Nation, and bring into faſhion again thoſe old admired Vertues and Excellencies with far more advantage now in this purity of Chriſtian knowledg. Nor ſhall we then need the *Monſieurs* of *Paris* to take our hopeful Youth into thir ſlight and prodigal cuſtodies, and ſend them over back again transform'd into Mimics, Apes, and Kicſhoes. But if they deſire to ſee other Countries at three or four and twenty years of age, not to learn Principles, but to enlarge Experience, and make wiſe obſervation, they will by that time be ſuch as ſhall deſerve the regard and honour of all men where they paſs, and the ſociety and friendſhip of thoſe in all places who are beſt and moſt eminent. And perhaps then other Nations will be glad to viſit us for thir breeding, or elſe to imitate us in thir own Country.

Now laſtly for thir Diet, there cannot be much to ſay, ſave only that it would be beſt in the ſame Houſe; for much time elſe would be loſt abroad, and many ill habits got; and that it ſhould be plain, healthful, and moderate, I ſuppoſe is out of controverſie. Thus Mr. *Hartlib*, you have a general view in writing, as your deſire was, of that which at ſeveral times I had diſcours'd with you concerning the beſt and nobleſt way of Education; not beginning, as ſom have done, from the Cradle, which yet might be worth many conſiderations, if brevity had not been my ſcope: many other circumſtances alſo I could have mention'd, but this to ſuch as have the worth in them to make trial, for light and direction may be enough. Only I believe that this is not a Bow for every man to ſhoot in that counts himſelf a Teacher; but will require ſinews almoſt equal to thoſe which *Homer* gave *Ulyſſes*: yet I am withal perſwaded that it may prove much more eaſy in the aſſay then it now ſeems at diſtance, and much more illuſtrious; howbeit not more difficult then I imagin, and that imagination preſents me with nothing but very happy, and very poſſible according to beſt wiſhes, if God have ſo decreed, and this Age have ſpirit and capacity enough to apprehend.

# ACCEDENCE
Commenc't
# GRAMMAR,
Supply'd with ſufficient
# RULES

For the uſe of ſuch as, Younger or Elder, are deſirous, without more trouble then needs, to attain the *Latin Tongue*; the elder ſort eſpecially, with little teaching, and thir own induſtry.

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## To the READER.

I*T hath bin long a general complaint, not without cauſe, in the bringing up of Youth, and ſtill is, that the tenth part of man's life, ordinarily extended, is taken up in learning, and that very ſcarcely, the* Latin Tongue. *Which tardy proficience may be attributed to ſeveral cauſes: In particular, the making two Labours of one, by learning firſt the* Accedence, *then the* Grammar *in Latin, e're the Language of thoſe Rules be underſtood. The only remedy of this, was to join both Books into one, and in the* Engliſh Tongue; *wherby the long way is much abbreviated, and the labour of underſtanding much more eaſy: A work ſuppos'd not to have been don formerly; or if don, not without ſuch difference here in brevity and alteration, as may be found of moment. That of* Grammar, *touching Letters and Syllables, is omitted, as learnt before, and little different from the* Engliſh *Spelling-book; eſpecially ſince few will be perſwaded to pronounce* Latin *otherwiſe then thir own* Engliſh. *What will not com under Rule, by reaſon of the much variety in Declenſion, Gender, or Conſtruction, is alſo here omitted, leſt the courſe and clearneſs of method be clog'd with Catalogues inſtead of Rules, or too much interruption between Rule and Rule: Which* Linaker, *ſetting down the various Idioms of many Verbs, was forc't to do by Alphabet; and therfore, though very learned, not thought fit to be read in Schools. But in ſuch words, a* Dictionary *ſtor'd with good* Autorities *will be found the readieſt guide. Of figurate Conſtruction what is uſeful is digeſted into ſeveral Rules of* Syntaxis: *and* Proſodie, *after this* Grammar *well learnt, will not need to be Engliſht for him who hath a mind to read it. Account might be now giv'n what addition or alteration from other Grammars hath bin here made, and for what reaſon. But he who would be ſhort in teaching, muſt not be long in prefacing: The Book it ſelf follows, and will declare ſufficiently to them who can diſcern.*

# ACCEDENCE
## Commenc't
# GRAMMAR.

Latin Grammar is the Art of right underſtanding, ſpeaking, or writing Latin, obſerv'd from them who have ſpoken or written it beſt.

*Grammar* hath two Parts: right-wording, uſually call'd *Etymologie*; and right-joyning of words, or *Syntaxis*.

*Etymologie*, or right-wording, teacheth what belongs to every ſingle word or part of Speech.

### Of Latin *SPEECH*
Are eight General Parts:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Noun*<br>*Pronoun*<br>*Verb*<br>*Participle* | Declin'd. | *Adverb*<br>*Conjunction*<br>*Prepoſition*<br>*Interjection* | Undeclin'd. |

Declin'd are thoſe words which have divers endings; as *homo* a man, *hominis* of a man; *Amo* I love, *amas* thou loveſt. *Undeclin'd* are thoſe words which have but one ending, as *bene* well, *cum* when, *tum* then.

Nouns, Pronouns, and Participles, are declin'd with Gender, Number, and Caſe; Verbs, as hereafter in the verb.

### Of Genders.

Genders are three, the Maſculin, Feminin, and Neuter. The Maſculin may be declin'd with this Article *Hic*, as *hic Vir* a Man, the Feminin with this Article *Hæc*, as *hæc Mulier* a Woman; the Neuter with this Article *Hoc*, as *hoc Saxum* a Stone.

Of the Maſculin are generally all Nouns belonging to the Male kind, as alſo the Names of Rivers, Months and Winds.

Of the Feminin, all Nouns belonging to the Female kind, as alſo the names of Countries, Cities, Trees, ſom few of the two latter excepted: Of Cities, as *Agragas* and *Sulmo*, Maſculin; *Argos*, *Tibur*, *Præneſte*, and ſuch as end in *um*, Neuter; *Anxur* both. Of *Trees*, *Oleaſter* and *Spinus*, Maſculin; but *Oleaſter* is read alſo Feminin, *Cic.* verr. 4. *Acer*, *ſiler*, *ſuber*, *thus*, *robur*, Neuter.

And of the Neuter are all Nouns, not being proper Names, ending in *um*, and many others.

Som Nouns are of two Genders, as *hic* or *hæc dies* a day; and all ſuch as may be ſpoken both of Male and Female, as *hic* or *hæc Parens* a Father or Mother: ſom be of three, as *hic hæc* and *hoc Felix* happy.

### Of Numbers.

Words declin'd have two Numbers, the Singular and the Plural. The ſingular ſpeaketh but of one, as *Lapis* a Stone. The plural of more then one, as *lapides* ſtones; yet ſomtimes but of one, as *Athenæ* the City *Athens*, *Literæ* an Epiſtle, *ædes ædium* a Houſe.

Note that ſom Nouns have no ſingular, and ſom no plural, as the nature of thir ſignification requires. Som are of one Gender in the ſingular; of another, or of two Genders in the plural, as reading will beſt teach.

### Of Caſes.

Nouns, Pronouns, and Participles are declin'd with ſix endings, which are called Caſes, both in the ſingular and plural number. The Nominative, Genitive, Dative, Accuſative, Vocative, and Ablative.

The *Nominative* is the firſt Caſe, and properly nameth the thing, as *Liber* a Book.

The *Genitive* is engliſht with this Sign *of*, as *Libri* of a Book.

The *Dative* with this Sign *to*, or *for*, as *Libro* to or for a Book.

The *Accuſative* hath no ſign.

The *Vocative* calleth or ſpeaketh to, as *O Liber* O Book, and is commonly like the Nominative.

But in the Neuter Gender the Nominative, Accuſative, and Vocative, are like in both Numbers, and in the *Plural* end always in *a*.

The *Ablative* is engliſht with theſe Signs, *in*, *with*, *of*, *for*, *from*, *by*, and ſuch like, as *De Libro* of or from the Book, *pro Libro* for the Book; and the Ablative Plural is always like the Dative.

Note, that ſom Nouns have but one ending throughout all Caſes, as *Frugi*, *nequam*, *nihil*; and all words of number from three to a hundred, as *quatuor* four, *quinque* five, *&c.*

Som have but one, ſom two, ſom three Caſes only, in the Singular or Plural, as uſe will beſt teach.

## Of a Noun.

A Noun is the name of a thing, as *Manus* a Hand, *Domus* a Houſe, *Bonus* Good, *Pulcher* Fair.

Nouns be Subſtantives or Adjectives.

A Noun Subſtantive is underſtood by it ſelf, as *homo* a man, *domus* a houſe.

An Adjective, to be well underſtood, requireth a Subſtantive to be join'd with it, as *bonus* good, *parvus* little, which cannot be well underſtood unleſs ſomthing good or little be either nam'd, as *bonus vir* a good man, *parvus puer* a little boy; or by uſe underſtood, as *honeſtum* an honeſt thing, *boni* good men.

## The Declining of Subſtantives.

NOuns Subſtantives have five Declenſions or forms of ending thir Caſes, chiefly diſtinguiſht by the different ending of thir Genitive Singular.

## The firſt Declenſion.

THe firſt is when the Genitive and Dative ſingular end in *æ*, *&c.* as in the Example following.

| Singular. | Plural. |
|---|---|
| No. Vo. Abl. *muſa* | Nom. Voc. *muſæ* |
| Gen. Dat. *muſæ* | Gen. *muſarum* |
| Acc. *muſam* | Dat. Abl. *muſis.* |
| | Acc. *muſas* |

[illegible] one word *familia* joyn'd with *pater*, *mater*, *filius*, or *filia*, endeth the Genitive in *as*, as *pater familias*, but ſomtimes *familiæ*. *Dea*, *mula*, *equa*, *liberta*, make the Dative and Ablative plural in *abus*; *filia* and *nata* in *is* or *abus*.

The firſt Declenſion endeth always in *a*, unleſs in ſom words deriv'd of the Greek: and is always of the Feminin Gender, except in names attributed to men, according to the general Rule, or to Stars, as *Cometa*, *Planeta*.

Nouns, and eſpecially proper Names derived of the Greek, have here three endings, *as*, *es*, *e*, and are declin'd in ſom of thir Caſes after the Greek form. *Æneas*, acc. *Ænean*, voc. *Ænea*; *Anchiſes*, acc. *Anchiſen*, voc. *Anchiſe* or *Anchiſa*, abl. *Anchiſe*. *Penelope*, *Penelopes*, *Penelope*, *Penelopen*. voc. abl. *Penelope*. Somtimes following the Latin, as *Marſya*, *Philoctetа*, for *as* and *es*; *Philoctetam*, *Eriphylam*, for *an* and *en*. Cic.

## The ſecond Declenſion.

THe ſecond is when the Genitive Singular endeth in *i*, the Dative in *o*, *&c.*

| Sing. | Plur. |
|---|---|
| Nom. Voc. *Liber* | Nom. Voc. *Libri* |
| Gen. *libri* | Gen. *librorum* |
| Dat. Abl. *libro* | Dat. Abl. *libris* |
| Acc. *librum* | Acc. *libros.* |

Note that when the Nominative endeth in *us*, the Vocative ſhall end in *e*, as *Dominus ô Domine*, except *Deus ô Deus*. And theſe following, *Agnus*, *lucus*, *vulgus*, *populus*, *chorus*, *fluvius*, *e* or *us*.

When the Nominative endeth in *ius*, if it be the proper name of a man, the Vocative ſhall end in *i*, as *Georgius ô Georgi*; hereto add *filius ô fili*, and *genius ô geni*.

All Nouns of the Second Declenſion are of the Maſculin or Neuter Gender; of the Maſculin, ſuch as end in *ir*, *or*, or *us*, except ſom few, *humus*, *domus*, *alvus*, and others deriv'd of the Greek, as *methodus*, *antidotus*, and the like, which are of the Feminin, and ſom of them ſomtimes alſo Maſculin, as *atomus*, *phaſelus*; to which add *ficus* the name of a diſeaſe, *groſſus*, *pampinus*, and *rubus*.

Thoſe of the Neuter, except *virus*, *pelagus*, and *vulgus* (which laſt is ſomtimes Maſculin) end all in *um*, and are declin'd as followeth:

| Sing. | Plur. |
|---|---|
| No. Ac. vo. *Studium* | No. Ac. Voc. *Studia* |
| Gen. *ſtudii* | Gen. *ſtudiorum* |
| Dat. Abl. *ſtudio* | Dat. Abl. *ſtudiis.* |

Som Nouns in this Declenſion are of the firſt Example Singular, of the ſecond Plural, as *Pergamus* the City *Troy*, Plur. *Hac Pergama*; and ſom names of hills, as *Mænalus*, *Iſmarus*, *hac Iſmara*; ſo alſo *Tartarus*, and the Lake *Avernus*; others are of both, as *ſibilus*, *jocus*, *locus*, *hi loci*, or *hac loca*. Som are of the ſecond example Singular, of the firſt Plural, as *Argos*, *Cælum*, Plur. *hi Cæli*; others of both, as *Raſtrum*, *Capiſtrum*, *Filum*, *Frænum*; Plur. *fræni* or *fræna*. *Nundinum*, & *Epulum*, are of the firſt Declenſion Plural, *Nundina*, *Epula*; *Balneum* of both, *balnea* or *balnea*.

Greek proper names have here three endings, *os*, *on*, and *us* long from a Greek Dipthong. *Hæc Delos*, *hanc Delon*. *Hoc Ilion*. The reſt regular, *Hic panthus*, *ô panthu*, Virg.

## The third Declenſion.

THe third is when the Genitive ſingular endeth in *is*, the Dative in *i*, the Accuſative in *em*, and ſomtimes in *im*, the Ablative in *e*, and ſomtimes in *i*; the Nom. Acc. Voc. Plural in *es*, the Genitive in *um*, and ſomtimes in *ium*, &c.

| Sing. | Plur. |
|---|---|
| No.Gen. Vo. *Panis* | Nom. Ac. Vo. *panes* |
| Dat. *pani* | Gen. *panum* |
| Acc. *panem* | Dat. Abl. *panibus*. |
| Abl. *pane*. | |

| Sing. | Plur. |
|---|---|
| Nom. Voc. *Parens* | No. Ac. vo. *parentes* |
| Gen. *parentis* | Gen. *parentum* |
| Dat. *parenti* | Dat. Ab. *parentibus*. |
| Ac. *parentem* | |
| Abl. *parente*. | |

This third Declenſion, with many endings, hath all Genders, beſt known by dividing all Nouns hereto belonging into ſuch as either increaſe one ſyllable long or ſhort in the Genitive, or increaſe not at all.

Such as increaſe not in the Genitive are generally Feminin, as *Nubes nubis*, *Caro carnis*.

Except ſuch as end in *er*, as *hic venter ventris*, and theſe in *is* following, *natalis*, *aqualis*, *lienis*, *orbis*, *callis*, *caulis*, *collis*, *follis*, *menſis*, *enſis*, *fuſtis*, *funis*, *panis*, *penis*, *crinis*, *ignis*, *caſſis*, *faſcis*, *torris*, *piſcis*, *unguis*, *vermis*, *vectis*, *poſtis*, *axis*, and the compounds of *aſſis*, as *centuſſis*.

But *Canalis*, *finis*, *clunis*, *reſtis*, *ſentis*, *amnis*, *corbis*, *linter*, *torquis*, *anguis*, *hic* or *hæc*: To theſe add *vepres*.

Such as end in *e* are Neuters, as *mare*, *rete*, and two Greek in *es*, as *hippomanes*, *cacoëthes*.

### *Nouns encreaſing long.*

Nouns encreaſing one ſyllable long in the Genitive are generally Feminin, as *hæc pietas pietatis*, *virtus virtutis*.

Except ſuch as end in *ans* Maſculin, as *dodrans*, *quadrans*, *ſextans*; in *ens*, as *oriens*, *torrens*, *bidens*, a pick-ax.

In *or*, moſt commonly deriv'd of Verbs, as *pallor*, *clamor*; in *o*, not thence deriv'd, as *ternio*, *ſenio*, *ſermo*, *temo*, and the like.

And theſe of one ſyllable, *ſal*, *ſol*, *ren*, *ſplen*, *as*, *bes*, *pes*, *mos*, *flos*, *ros*, *dens*, *mons*, *pons*, *fons*, *grex*.

And words deriv'd from the Greek in *en*, as *lichen*; in *er*, as *crater*; in *as*, as *adamas*; in *es*, as *lebes*; to theſe, *hydrops*, *thorax*, *phœnix*.

But *ſcrobs*, *rudens*, *ſtirps*, the body or root of a tree, and *calx* a heel, *hic* or *hæc*.

Neuter, theſe of one ſyllable, *mel*, *fel*, *lac*, *far*, *ver*; *cor*, *as*, *vas vaſis*, *os oſſis*, *os oris*, *rus*, *thus*, *jus*, *crus*, *pus*. And of more ſyllables in *al* and *ar*, as *capital*, *laquear*, but *halec hoc* or *hæc*.

### *Nouns encreaſing ſhort.*

Nouns encreaſing ſhort in the Genitive are generally Maſculin, as *hic ſanguis ſanguinis*, *lapis lapidis*.

Except, Feminin all words of many ſyllables ending in *do* or *go*, as *dulcedo*, *compago*; *arbor*, *hyems*, *cuſpis*, *pecus pecudis*: Theſe in *ex*, *forfex*, *carex*, *tomex*, *ſupellex*: In *ix*, *appendix*, *hiſtrix*, *coxendix*, *filix*; Greek Nouns in *as* and *is*, as *lampas*, *iaſpis*: To theſe add *chlamys*, *bacchar*, *ſyndon*, *icon*.

But *margo*, *cinis*, *pulvis*, *adeps*, *forceps*, *pumex*, *ramex*, *imbrex*, *obex*, *ſilex*, *cortex*, *onix* and *ſardonix*, *hic* or *hæc*.

Neuters are all ending in *a*, as *problema*; in *en*, except *hic pecten*; in *ar*, as *jubar*; in *er* theſe, *verber*, *iter*, *uber*, *cadaver*, *zinziber*, *laſer*, *cicer*, *ſiſer*, *piper*, *papaver*; ſomtimes in *ur*, except *hic furfur*, in *us*, as *onus*, in *ut*, as *caput*; to theſe *marmor*, *æquor*, *ador*.

Greek proper names here end in *as*, *an*, *is*, and *ens*, and may be declin'd ſom wholly after the Greek for[illegible] as *Pallas*, *pallados*, *palladi*, *pallada*; o[illegible]rs in ſom Caſes, as *Atlas*, acc. *Atlanta*, voc. *Atla*. *Garamas*, plur. *garamantes*, acc. *garamantas*. *Pan*, *panos*, *pana*. *Phyllis*, *phyllidos*, voc. *phylli*, plur. *Phyllides*, acc. *phyllidas*. *Tethys*, *tethyos*, acc. *tethyn*, voc. *tethy*. *Neapolis*, *neapolios*, acc. *neapolin*. *Paris*, *paridos* or *parios*, acc. *parida* or *parin*. *Orpheus*, *orpheos*, *orphei*, *orphea*, *orpheu*. But Names in *eus* borrow ſomtimes thir Genitive of the Second Declenſion, as *Erechtheus*, *erechthei*. Cic. *Achilles* or *Achilleus*, *Achillei*; and ſomtimes thir Accuſative in *on* or *um*, as *Orpheus Orpheon*, *Theſeus Theſeum*, *Perſeus Perſeum*, which ſomtimes is formd after Greek words of the firſt Declenſion Latin, *Perſeus* or *Perſes*, *Perſæ Perſæ Perſen Perſæ Perſa*.

### The fourth Declenſion.

THe fourth is when the Genitive Singular endeth in *us*, the Dative Singular in *ui*, and ſomtimes in *u*, Plural in *ibus*, and ſomtimes in *ubus*.

| Sing. | Plur. |
|---|---|
| No. Ge. Vo. *Senſus* | No. Ac. Vo. *Senſus* |
| Dat. *ſenſui* | Gen. *ſenſuum* |
| Acc. *ſenſum* | Dat. Abl. *ſenſibus.* |
| Abl. *ſenſu.* | |

The fourth Declenſion hath two endings, *us* and *u*; *us* generally Maſculin, except ſom few, as *hæc manus*, *ficus*, the fruit of a tree, *acus*, *porticus*, *tribus*; but *penus* and *ſpecus hic* or *hæc*. *V* of the Neuter, as *gelu*, *genu*, *veru*; but in the Singular moſt part defective.

Proper Names in *os* and *o* long, pertaining to the fourth Declenſion Greek, may belong beſt to the fourth in Latin, as *Androgeos*, Gen. *Androgeo*, Ac. *Androgeon*; Hic *Athos*, hunc *Atho*, Virg. Hæc *Sappho*, Gen. *Sapphus*, Acc. *Sappho*. Better Authors follow the Latin form, as *Dido Didonis Didonem*. But *Jeſus Jeſu Jeſu Jeſum Jeſu Jeſu*.

### The fifth Declenſion.

THe fifth is when the Genitive and Dative Singular end in *ei*, &c.

| Sing. | Plur. |
|---|---|
| Nom. Voc. *Res* | No. Acc. Voc. *res* |
| Gen. Dat. *rei* | Gen. *rerum* |
| Acc. *rem* | Dat. Abl. *rebus.* |
| Abl. *re* | |

All Nouns of the fifth Declenſion are of the Feminin Gender, except *dies hic* or *hæc*, and his Compound *meridies hic* only.

Som Nouns are of more Declenſions then one, as *vas vaſis* of the third in the Singular, of the ſecond in the Plural *vaſa vaſorum*. *Colus*, *laurus*, and ſom others, of the ſecond and fourth. *Saturnalia*, *ſaturnalium* or *ſaturnaliorum*, *ſaturnalibus*, and ſuch other names of feaſts. *Poëmata poëmatum*, *poematis* or *poëmatibus*, of the ſecond and third Plural. *Plebs* of the third and fifth, *plebis* or *plebei*.

### The Declining of Adjectives.

A Noun Adjective is declin'd with three Terminations, or with three Articles.

An Adjective of three terminations is declin'd like the firſt and ſecond Declenſion of Subſtantives joyn'd together after this manner.

| Sing. | Plur. |
|---|---|
| Nom. *bonus bona bonum* | Nom. Vo. *boni bonæ bona* |
| Gen. *boni bonæ boni* | Gen. *bonorum bonarum bonorum* |
| Dat. *bono bonæ bono* | Dat. Abl. *bonis* |
| Ac. *bonum bonam bonum* | Ac. *bonos bonas bona.* |
| Voc. *bone bona bonum* | |
| Abl. *bono bona bono* | |

In like manner thoſe in *er* and *ur*, as *ſacer ſacra ſacrum*, *ſatur ſatura ſaturum*; but *unus*, *totus*, *ſolus*, *alius*, *alter*, *ullus*, *uter*, with thir compounds *Neuter*, *uterque*, and the like, make thir Genitive Singular in *ius*, the Dative in *i*, as *Unus una unum*, Gen. *unius*, Dat. *uni*, in all the reſt like *bonus*, ſave that *alius* maketh in the Neuter Gender *aliud*, and in the Dative *alii*, and ſomtimes in the Genitive.

*Ambo* and *duo* be thus declin'd in the plural only.

Nom. Voc. *Ambo ambæ ambo*
Gen. *amborum ambarum amborum.*
Dat. Abl. *ambobus ambabus ambobus*
Acc. *ambos* or *ambo*, *ambas ambo.*

Adjectives of three Articles have in the Nominative either one ending, as *hic*, *hæc*, *& hoc felix*; or two, as *hic & hæc triſtis & hoc triſte*; and are declin'd like the third Declenſion of Subſtantives, as followeth.

| Sing. | Plur. |
|---|---|
| Nom. *hic hæc & hoc Felix.* | Nom. *hi & hæ felices, & hæc felicia* |
| Gen. *felicis* | Gen. *felicium* |
| Dat. *felici* | Dat. Abl. *felicibus* |
| Acc. *hunc & hanc felicem, & hoc felix* | Acc. *hos & has felices & hæc felicia* |
| Voc. *ô felix* | Voc. *ô felices, & ô felicia.* |
| Abl. *felice* or *felici* | |

| Sing. | Plur. |
|---|---|
| No. *hic & hæc triſtis & hoc triſte* | Nom. *hi & hæ triſtes & hæc triſtia* |
| Gen. *triſtis* | Gen. *triſtium* |
| Dat. Abl. *triſti* | Dat. Abl. *triſtibus* |
| Ac. *hunc & hanc triſtem, & hoc triſte* | Ac. *hos & has triſtes, & hæc triſtia* |
| Voc. *ô triſtis & ô triſte* | Voc. *ô triſtes, & ô triſtia.* |

There be alſo another ſort which have in the Nominative Caſe three Terminations and three Articles, as *hic acer*, *hic & hæc acris*, *hoc acre*. In like manner be declined *equeſter*, *volucer*, and ſom few others, being in all other caſes like the Examples beforegoing.

## Compariſons of Nouns.

ADjectives, whoſe ſignification may increaſe or be diminiſht, may form Compariſon, wherof there be two degrees above the poſitive word it ſelf, The Comparative, and Superlative.

The Poſitive ſignifieth the thing it ſelf without comparing, as *durus* hard.

The Comparative exceedeth his Poſitive in ſignification, compar'd with ſom other, as *durior* harder; and is form'd of the firſt Caſe of his Poſitive that endeth in *i*, by putting therto *or* and *us*, as of *duri*, *hic & hac durior*, *& hoc durius:* of *dulci*, *dulcior*, *dulcius*.

The Superlative exceedeth his Poſitive in the higheſt degree, as *duriſſimus* hardeſt; and it is form'd of the firſt Caſe of his Poſitive that endeth in *is*, by putting therto *ſimus*, as of *duris duriſſimus*, *dulcis dulciſſimus*.

If the Poſitive end in *er*, the Superlative is form'd of the nominative caſe by putting to *rimus*, as *pulcher pulcherrimus*. Like to theſe are *vetus veterrimus*, *maturus maturimus*; but *dexter dexterrimus*, and *ſiniſter*, *ſiniſterior*, *ſiniſterrimus*.

All theſe Nouns ending in *lis* make the Superlative by changing *is* into *limus*, as *humilis*, *ſimilis*, *facilis*, *gracilis*, *agilis*, *docilis docillimus*.

All other Nouns ending in *lis* do follow the general Rule, as *utilis utiliſſimus*.

Of theſe Poſitives following are form'd a different ſort of Superlatives; of *ſuperus*, *ſupremus* and *ſummus*; *inferus*, *infimus* and *imus*; *exterus*, *extimus* and *extremus*; *poſterus poſtremus*.

Som of theſe want the Poſitive, and are form'd from Adverbs; of *intra*, *interior intimus*, *ultra ulterior ultimus*, *citra citerior citimus*, *pridem prior primus*, *prope propior proximus*.

Others from Poſitives without Caſe, as *nequam*, *nequior*, *nequiſſimus*.

Som alſo from no Poſitive, as *ocior ociſſimus*. Some want the Comparative, as *novus noviſſimus*, *inclytus inclytiſſimus*.

Som the Superlative, as *ſenex ſenior*, *juvenis junior*, *adoleſcens adoleſcentior*.

Som ending in *us*, frame thir Comparative as if they ended in *ens*, *benevolus*, *maledicus*, *magnificus magnificentior magnificentiſſimus*.

Theſe following are without Rule, *Bonus melior optimus*, *Malus pejor peſſimus*, *Magnus major maximus*, *Parvus minor minimus*; *Multus plurimus*, *multa plurima*, *multum plus plurimum*.

If a Vowel come before *us*, it is compared with *magis* and *maximè*, as *pius*, *magis pius*, *maximè pius*; *idoneus*, *magis* and *maximè idoneus*. Yet ſom of theſe follow the general Rule, as *Aſſiduus aſſiduiſſimus*, *ſtrenuus ſtrenuior*, *exiguus exiguiſſimus*, *tenuis tenuior tenuiſſimus*.

## Of a Pronoun.

A Pronoun is a part of Speech that ſtandeth for a Noun Subſtantive, either at preſent or before ſpoken of, as *ille*, he or that, *hic* this, *qui* who.

There be ten Pronouns, *Ego*, *tu*, *ſui*, *ille*, *ipſe*, *iſte*, *hic*, *is*, *qui* and *quis*, beſides thir Compounds, *egomet*, *tute*, *hicce*, *idem*, *quiſnam*, *aliquis*, and ſuch others. The reſt ſo call'd, as *meus*, *tuus*, *ſuus*, *noſter*, *veſter*, *noſtras*, *veſtras*, *cujus* and *cujas*, are not Pronouns, but Adjectives thence deriv'd.

Of *Pronouns* ſuch as ſhew the thing preſent are called *Demonſtratives*, as *ego*, *tu*, *hic*; and ſuch as refer to a thing antecedent, or ſpoken of before, are called Relatives, as *qui* who or which.

*Quis*, and often *qui*, becauſe they ask a queſtion, are called Interrogatives, with thir Compounds *ecquis*, *numquis*.

### *Declenſions of Pronouns are three.*

*Ego*, *tu*, *ſui*, be of the firſt Declenſion, and be thus delin'd.

| Sing. | Plur. |
|---|---|
| Nom. *Ego* | Nom. Acc. *Nos* |
| Gen. *mei* | Gen. *noſtrum* or *noſtri* |
| Dat. *mihi* | Dat. Abl. *nobis* |
| Acc. Abl. *me* | Voc. *caret.* |
| Voc. *caret.* | |

| Sing. | Plur. |
|---|---|
| Nom. Voc. *Tu* | Nom. Acc. Voc. *vos* |
| Gen. *tui* | Gen. *veſtrum* or *veſtri* |
| Dat. *tibi* | Dat. Abl. *vobis.* |
| Acc. Abl. *te* | |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Sing. | Nom. Voc. *caret* | Dat. *ſibi* |
| Plur. | Gen. *ſui* | Acc. Abl. *ſe.* |

From theſe three be deriv'd *meus*, *tuus*, *ſuus*, *noſter*, *veſter*, *noſtras*, *veſtras*, (which are called Poſſeſſives) wherof the former five be declin'd like Adjectives of three Terminations, except that *meus* in the Vocative Caſe maketh *mi*, *mea*, *meum*; *Noſtras*, *Veſtras*, with three Articles, as *hic & hæc noſtras*, *& hoc noſtras* or *noſtrate*, *veſtrate*. In other Caſes according to rule.

Theſe three, *ille*, *iſte*, *ipſe*, be of the ſecond Declenſion, making thir Genitive ſingular in *ius*, thir Dative in *i*; and the former two be declin'd like the Adjective *alius*, and the third like *unus* before ſpoken of.

Sing. Nom. *ille illa illud*, Gen. *illius*, Dat. *illi*.
Nom. *iſte iſta iſtud*, Gen. *iſtius*, Dat. *iſti*.
Nom. *ipſe ipſa ipſum*, Gen. *ipſius*, Dat. *ipſi*.

Theſe four, *hic*, *is*, *qui* and *quis*, be of the third Declenſion. making thir Genitive ſingular in *jus*, with j conſonant, and be declin'd after this manner.

| Sing. | Plur. |
|---|---|
| Nom. *hic hæc hoc* | Nom. *hi hæ hæc* |
| Gen. *hujus* | Gen. *horum harum horum* |
| Dat. *huic* | Dat. Abl. *his* |
| Acc. *hunc hanc hoc* | Acc. *hos has hæc* |
| Voc. *caret.* | Voc. *caret.* |
| Abl. *hoc hac hoc* | |

Of *iſte* and *hic* is compounded *iſtic*, *iſtæc*, *iſtoc* or *iſtuc*. Acc. *iſtunc*, *iſtanc*, *iſtoc* or *iſtuc*. Abl. *iſtoc*, *iſtac*, *iſtoc*. Plu. *iſtæc* only.

| Sing. | Plur. |
|---|---|
| Nom. *is ea id* | Nom. *ii eæ ea* |
| Gen. *ejus* | Gen. *eorum earum eorum* |
| Dat. *ei* | Dat. Abl. *iis* or *eis* |
| Acc. *eum eam id* | Acc. *eos eas ea* |
| Voc. *caret* | Voc. *caret.* |
| Abl. *eo ea eo* | |

| Sing. | Plur. |
|---|---|
| Nom. *qui quæ quod* | Nom. *qui quæ quæ* |
| Gen. *cujus* | Gen. *quorum quarum quorum* |
| Dat. *cui* | Dat. Abl. *quibus* or (*queis* |
| Acc. *quem quam quod* | Acc. *quos quas quæ* |
| Voc. *caret* | Voc. *caret.* |
| Abl. *quo qua quo* or *qui* | |

In like manner *quivis*, *quilibet*, and *quicunque* the Compounds.

Sing. Nom. *quis*, *qua* or *quæ*, *quid*, Gen. *&c.* like *qui*. So *quiſquam*, *quiſnam*, Compounds.

Of *Quis* are made theſe Pronoun Adjectives, *cujus cuja cujum*, whoſe; and *hic* & *hæc cujas* and *hoc cujate*, of what Nation.

*Quiſquis* is defective, and thus declin'd,

| No. | Ac. | Ab. |
|---|---|---|
| *Quiſquis*<br>*Quicquid* | *Quicquid* | *Quoquo*<br>*Quaqua*<br>*Quoquo* |

## Of a Verb.

A Verb is a part of ſpeech, that betokeneth *being*, as *ſum* I am, or *doing*, as *laudo* I praiſe; and is declin'd with Mood, Tenſe, Number and Perſon.

### *Moods.*

THere be four Moods which expreſs the *manner of doing*; the Indicative, the Imperative, the Potential or Subjunctive, and the Infinitive.

The Indicative Mood *ſheweth* or *declareth*, as *laudo* I praiſe.

The Imperative *biddeth* or *exhorteth* as *lauda* praiſe thou.

The Potential or Subjunctive is engliſht with theſe Signs, *may*, *can*, *might*, *would*, *could*, *ſhould*: Or without them as the Indicative, if a Conjunction go before or follow; as *laudem*, I may or can praiſe. *Cum laudarem* when I praiſed. *Caviſſem*, *ſi prævidiſſem*, I had beward if I had foreſeen.

The Infinitive is engliſht with this ſign *to*, as *laudare* to praiſe.

### *Tenſes.*

THere be three Tenſes which expreſs the *time of doing*: The Preſent, the Preterit or paſt, and the Future.

The Preſent Tenſe ſpeaketh of the time that *now is*, as *laudo* I praiſe.

The Preterit ſpeaketh of the time *paſt*, and is diſtinguiſht by three degrees: the Preterimperfect, the Preterperfect, and the Preterpluperfect.

The Preterimperfect ſpeaketh of the time *not perfectly paſt*, as *laudabam* I praiſed or did praiſe.

The Preterperfect ſpeaketh of the time *perfectly paſt*, as *laudavi* I have praiſed.

The Preterpluperfect ſpeaketh of the time *more then perfectly paſt*, as *laudaveram* I had praiſed.

The Future Tenſe ſpeaketh of the time *to come*, as *laudabo* I ſhall or will praiſe.

### *Perſons.*

THrough all Moods, except the Infinitive, there be three Perſons in both Numbers, as, Sing. *Laudo* I praiſe, *laudas* thou praiſeſt, *laudat* he praiſeth; Plur. *Laudamus* we praiſe, *laudatis* ye praiſe, *laudant* they praiſe. Except ſom Verbs which are declin'd or form'd in the Third Perſon only, and have before them this ſign, *it*, as *Tædet* it irketh, *oportet* it behoveth, and are called Imperſonals.

The Verb which betokeneth *being*, is properly the Verb *ſum* only, which is therſore call'd a Verb Subſtantive, and formed after this manner.

### Indicative.

*Preſ. ſing.* *I am.*
Sum, es, eſt, *Plur.* ſumus, eſtis, ſunt.

*Pret. imp.* *I was.*
Eram, eras, erat, *Pl.* eramus, eratis, erant.

| | |
|---|---|
| | *I have been.* |
| *Pret. perfect* | Fui, fuiſti, fuit, *Plur.* fuimus, fuiſtis, fuerunt *or* fuere. |
| | *I had been.* |
| *Pret. plup.* | Fueram, fueras, fuerat, *Pl.* fueramus, fueratis, fuerant. |
| | *I ſhall or will be.* |
| *Future.* | Ero, eris, erit, *Pl.* erimus, eritis, erunt. |

### Imperative.

| | *Be thou,* | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Sing.* | Sis,es, eſto. | Sit, eſto. | *Plur.* | Simus, | Sitis,eſte, eſtote. | Sint, ſunto |

### Potential.

| | |
|---|---|
| | *I may* or *can be.* |
| *Pref. ſing.* | Sim, ſis ſit, *Pl.* ſimus, ſitis, ſint. |
| | *I might or could be.* |
| *Preter-imperf.* | Eſſem *or* forem, es,et, *Pl.* eſſemus, eſſetis, eſſent *or* forent. |
| | *I might or could have been.* |
| *Preter-perfect.* | Fuerim, ris, rit, *Pl.* rimus, ritis, rint. |
| | *If I had been.* |
| *Preterplup. with a conjunction* Si. | Fuiſſem, es, et, *Pl.* emus, etis, ent. |
| | *If I ſhall be* or *ſhall have been.* |
| *Future.* Si | Fuero, ris, rit, *Pl.* rimus, ritis, rint. |

### Infinitive.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Pref.* and *preter-imperf.* | Eſſe, *to be.* | *Preter-perfect, & pret. pluper.* | Fuiſſe, *to have* or *had been.* |
| *Future* | Fore, *to be hereafter.* | | |

In like manner are form'd the Compounds; *Abſum, adſum, deſum, obſum, præſum, proſum, poſſum*; but *poſſum* ſomthing varies after this manner.

Indicat. Preſ. Sing. *Poſſum, potes, poteſt*, Plur. *poſſumus, poteſtis, poſſunt*. The other are regular, *poteram, potui, potueram, potero.*

Imperative *it wants.*

Potent. Preſ. *Poſſim,* &c. Preterimperfect, *Poſſem.*

Infin. *Preſ. Poſſe.* Preterit. *Potuiſſe.*

### *Voices.*

IN Verbs that betoken *doing* are two Voices, the *Active* and the *Paſſive.*

The Active ſignifieth to do, and always endeth in *o*, as *doceo* I teach.

The Paſſive ſignifieth *what is done to one by another*, and always endeth in *or*, as *doceor* I am taught.

From theſe are to be excepted two ſorts of Verbs. The firſt are called *Neuters*, and cannot take *or* in the paſſive, as *curro* I run, *ſedeo* I ſit; yet ſignifie ſomtimes paſſively, as *vapulo* I am beaten.

The ſecond are call'd *Deponents*, and ſignifie actively, as *loquor* I ſpeak; or Neuters, as *glorior* I boaſt: but are form'd like Paſſives.

### *Conjugations.*

VErbs both Active and Paſſive have four Conjugations, or forms of declining, known and diſtinguiſht by thir Infinitive Mood active, which always endeth in *re.*

In the firſt Conjugation, after *a* long, as *laudare* to praiſe.

In the ſecond, after *e* long, as *habere* to have.

In the third, after *e* ſhort, as *legere* to read.

In the fourth, after *i* long, as *audire* to hear.

In theſe four Conjugations, Verbs are declin'd or form'd by Mood, Tenſe, Number and Perſon, after theſe Examples.

### Indicative Mood.

*Preſent Tenſe.*

| Singular. | | | Plural. | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *I praiſe.* | *Thou praiſeſt.* | *He praiſeth* | *We praiſe.* | *Ye praiſe.* | *They praiſe.* |
| Laudo, | laudas, | laudat, | laudamus, | laudatis, | laudant |
| Habeo, | habes, | habet, | habemus, | habetis, | habent. |
| Lego, | legis, | legit, | legimus, | legitis, | legunt. |
| Audio, | audis, | audit, | audimus, | auditis, | audiunt. |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | | *I prais'd* or *did praiſe.* |
| *Preter-imperfect tenſ. ſing.* | Laudabam,<br>Habebam,<br>Legebam,<br>Audiebam, | bas, bat, *Plur.* bamus, batis, bant. |
| | | *I have prais'd.* |
| *Preter-perfect tenſ. ſing.* | Laudavi<br>Habui<br>Legi<br>Audivi | iſti, it, *Plur.* imus, iſtis, erunt *or* ere. |
| | | *I had prais'd.* |
| *Preter-pluperfect tenſe ſing.* | Laudaveram<br>Habueram<br>Legeram<br>Audiveram | ras, rat, *Plur.* ramus, ratis, rant. |
| | | *I ſhall* or *will praiſe.* |
| *Future tenſ. ſing.* | Laudabo<br>Habebo | bis, bit, *Plur.* bimus, bitis, bunt. |
| | Legam<br>Audiam | es, et, *Plur.* emus, etis, ent. |

### Imperative Mood.

| | *Praiſe thou.* | *Let him praiſe.* | *Let us praiſe.* | *Praiſe ye.* | *Let them praiſe.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Preſ. Sing.* | Lauda, laudato. | Laudet laudato. | *Pl.* laudemus. | Laudate, laudatote. | Laudent, laudanto. |
| | Habe, habeto. | Habeat habeto. | *Pl.* habeamus, | Habete, habetote. | Habeant, habento. |
| | Lege, legito. | Legat legito. | *Pl.* legamus. | Legite, legitote. | Legant, legunto. |
| | Audi, audito. | Audiat audito. | *Pl.* audiamus. | Audite, auditote. | Audiant, audiunto. |

Potential

## Potential Mood.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *Preſent tenſe ſing.* | Laudem, | laudes, laudet, *Pl.* laudemus, laudetis, laudent. |
| | Habeam,<br>Legam,<br>Audiam, | as, at, *Pl.* amus, atis, ant. |

*I might* or *could praiſe.*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *Preterimperfect tenſ. ſing.* | Laudarem,<br>Haberem,<br>Legerem,<br>Audirem, | res, ret, *Plur.* remus, retis, rent. |

*I might* or *could have prais'd.*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *Preterperfect tenſe ſing.* | Laudaverim,<br>Habuerim,<br>Legerim,<br>Audiverim, | ris, rit, *Pl.* rimus, ritis, rint. |

*If I had prais'd.*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *Preterplu. ſing. with a Conjunction,* Si. | Laudaviſſem,<br>Habuiſſem,<br>Legiſſem,<br>Audiviſſem, | ſes, ſet, *Pl.* ſemus, ſetis, ſent. |

*If I ſhall praiſe,* or *ſhall have prais'd.*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *Future tenſe ſing.* Si | Laudavero,<br>Habuero,<br>Legero,<br>Audivero, | ris, rit, *Pl.* rimus, ritis, rint. |

## Infinitive Mood.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Preſent* and *Preterimperfect tenſe.* | Laudare,<br>Habere,<br>Legere,<br>Audire, | *To* | *Praiſe.*<br>*Have.*<br>*Read.*<br>*Hear.* |
| *Preterperfect & Preterpluperfect tenſe.* | Laudaviſſe,<br>Habuiſſe,<br>Legiſſe,<br>Audiviſſe, | *To have or had* | *Praiſed.*<br>*Had.*<br>*Read.*<br>*Heard.* |

## *Verbs of the third Conjugation irregular in ſome Tenſes of the Active Voice.*

### Indicative Mood

*Preſent Tenſe ſingular.*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Volo, vis, vult, | *Plur.* | Volumus, vultis, volunt. |
| Nolo, ——— | | Nolumus, ——nolunt. |
| *The reſt is want* | | *ing in this Tenſe.* |
| Malo, mavis, mavult | | Malumus, mavultis, malunt. |

| | |
|---|---|
| *Preterit.* | Volui.<br>Nolui.<br>Malui. |

*Volo* and *Malo* want the Imperative Mood.

### Imperative.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Sing.* | Noli,<br>Nolito. | *Plur.* | Nolite,<br>Nolitote. |

### Potential.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *Preſent tenſ. ſing.* | Velim,<br>Nolim,<br>Malim, | is, it, *Plur.* imus, itis, int. |
| *Preterimperfect tenſ. ſing.* | Vellem,<br>Nollem,<br>Mallem, | es, et, *Pl.* emus, etis, ent. |

### Infinitive.

| | |
|---|---|
| *Preſent.* | Velle,<br>Nolle,<br>Malle. |

Indicat. Preſ. *Edo, edis* or *es, edit* or *eſt*; Plur. *Editis* or *eſtis.*

Imper. *Ede* or *es, edita* or *eſto. Edat, edito* or *eſto.* Plur. *Edite eſte, editote eſtote.*

Poten. Preterimperfect Tenſe, *Ederem* or *eſſem.*

Infinit. *Edere* or *eſſe.*

## *Verbs of the fourth Conjugation irregular, in ſome Tenſes* Active.

Eo, and *queo* with his Compound *Nequeo,* make *eunt* and *queunt* in the Plural Indicative preſent, and in thir Preterimperfect *ibam* and *quibam,* thir Future *ibo* and *quibo.*

Imperat. *I, ito. Eat, ito.* Plur. *Eamus, ite, itote. Eant, eunto.*

Potent. *Eam. Irem.* &c.

## *The forming of the Paſſive Voice.*

### Indicative.

*I am praiſed.*

| *Preſ. Sing.* | *Plur.* |
|---|---|
| Laudor, aris *or* are, atur, | amur, amini, antur. |
| Habeor, eris *or* ere, etur, | emur, emini, entur, |
| Legor, eris *or* ere, itur, | imur, imini, untur. |
| Audior, iris *or* ire, itur, | imur, imini, iuntur. |

*I was prais'd,*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *Preterimperfect tenſ. ſing.* | Laudabar,<br>Habebar,<br>Legebar,<br>Audiebar, | baris *or* bare, batur, *Plur.* bamur, bamini, bantur. |

Note that the *Paſſive Voice* hath no Preterperfect, nor the Tenſes deriv'd from thence in any Mood.

*I ſhall* or *will be prais'd.*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *Future tenſ. ſing.* | Laudabor,<br>Habebor, | beris *or* bere, bitur, *Plur.* bimur, bimini, buntur. |
| | Legar,<br>Audiar, | eris *or* ere, etur, *Pl.* emur, emini, entur. |

### Imperative.

*Preſent Singular.*

| *Be thou prais'd.* | *Let him be prais'd.* | *Let us be prais'd.* | *Be ye prais'd.* | *Let them be prais'd.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Laudare, laudator. | laudetur, laudator. | *P.* laudemur. | laudamini, laudaminor. | laudentur, laudantor. |
| Habere, habetor. | habeatur, habetor. | *P.* habeamur. | habemini, habeminor. | habeantur, habentor. |
| Legere, legitor. | legatur, legitor. | *Pl.* legamur. | legimini, legiminor. | legantur, leguntor. |
| Audire, auditor. | audiatur, auditor. | *P.* audiamur. | audimini, audiminor. | audiantur, audiuntor. |

### Potential.

*I may* or *can be praiſ'd.*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | Lauder, | eris *or* ere, etur, *Plur.* emur, emini, entur. |
| *Preſent ſing.* | Habear,<br>Legar,<br>Audiar, | aris *or* are, atur, *Plu.* amur, amini, antur. |

*I might* or *ſhould be praiſ'd.*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *Preterimperfect ſing.* | Laudarer,<br>Haberer,<br>Legerer,<br>Audirer, | reris *or* rere, retur, *Plu.* remur, remini, rentur. |

### Infinitive.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Preſent & Preterimperfect.* | Laudari<br>Haberi<br>Legi<br>Audiri | *To be* | *Praiſ'd.*<br>*Had.*<br>*Read.*<br>*Heard.* |

### *Verbs irregular in ſome Tenſes Paſſive.*

EDor, *editor*, or *eſtur*: The reſt is Regular.

The Verb *Fio*, is partly of the Third, and partly of the Fourth Conjugation, and hath only the Infinitive of the Paſſive Form.

Indicat. Preſ. Sing. *Fio*, *fis*, *fit*, Plur. *fimus fitis*, *fiunt*. Preterimperfect, *Fiebam*. Preterperfect *it wants*. Future *Fiam*, &c.

Imperat. *Fi*, *fito*. Plur. *fite*, *fitote*. *Fiant*, *fiunto*.

Potent. Preſ. *Fiam*, &c. Preterimperfect. *Fierem*.

Infinit. *Fieri*.

Alſo this Verb *Fero*, is contracted or ſhort'n'd in ſome Tenſes, both Active and Paſſive, as *Fers*, *fert*, for *feris*, *ferit*, &c.

Indicat. Preſ. Sing. *Fero*, *fers*, *fert*, Plur. — *fertis*, — Preterperfect. *Tuli*.

Imperat, *Fer ferto*, &c. Plur. *Ferte fertote*.

Potent. Preterimperfect, *Ferrem*, &c.

Infinit. *Ferre*.

*Paſſive.*

Indicat. Preſ. Sing. *Feror*, *ferris* or *ferre*, *fertur*, &c.

Imperat. Sing. *Ferre*, *fertor*, &c.

Potent. Preterimperfect, *Ferrer*.

Infinit. *Ferri*.

### *Of Gerunds and Supines.*

THere be alſo belonging to the Infinitive Mood of all Verbs certain Voices called Gerunds and Supines, both of the Active and Paſſive ſignification.

The firſt Gerund endeth in *di*, as *Laudandi* of praiſing or of being praiſ'd. The ſecond in *do*, as *Laudando* in praiſing or in being praiſ'd. The third in *dum*, as *Laudandum* to praiſe or to be praiſ'd.

Note that in the two latter Conjugations, the Gerunds end ſomtimes in *undi*, *do*, *dum*, as *dicendi* or *dicundi*: But from *Eo* alwayes *eundi*, except in the Compound *Ambiendi*.

Supines are two. The firſt ſignifieth Actively, as *laudatum* to praiſe; the latter Paſſively, as *laudatu* to be praiſed. Note that moſt Neuters of the ſecond Conjugation, and *volo*, *nolo*, *malo*, with many other Verbs, have no Supine.

### *Verbs of the four Conjugations irregular in the Preterperfect Tenſe or Supines.*

VErbs of the firſt Conjugation form thir Preterperfect Tenſe in *avi*, Supine in *atum*, as *Laudo laudavi laudatum*.

Except

*Poto potavi potatum* or *potum*; *neco necavi necatum* or *nectum*.

*Domo*, *tono*, *ſono*, *crepo*, *veto*, *cubo*, form *ui*, *itum*, as *cubui cubitum*; but *ſecui ſectum*, *fricui frictum*, *mico micui*: yet ſome of theſe are found Regular in the Preterperfect Tenſe or Supine, eſpecially compounded, as *increpavit*, *diſcrepavit*, *dimicavit*, *ſonatum*, *dimicatum*, *intonatum*, *infricatum*, and the like.

*Plico* and his Compounds form *ui* or *avi*, as *explicui explicavi*, *explicitum* or *explicatum*; except *ſupplico*, and ſuch as are compounded with a Noun, as *Duplico Multiplico* in *avi* only.

But *Lavo lavi lautum lotum* or *lavatum*, *juvo juvi*, *adjuvo adjuvi adjutum*.

*Do dedi datum*, *Sto ſteti ſtatum*, in the Compounds, *ſtiti*, *ſtitum* and ſomtimes *ſtatum*, as *Preſto preſtiti preſtitum* and *preſtatum*.

VErbs of the ſecond Conjugation form thir Preterperfect Tenſe in *ui*, thir Supine in *itum*, as *habeo habui habitum*.

Some are Regular in thir Preterperfect Tenſe, but not in thir Supines, as *doceo docui doctum*, *miſceo miſcui miſtum*, *teneo tenui tentum*, *torreo torrui toſtum*, *cenſeo cenſui cenſum*, *pateo patui paſſum*, *careo carui caſſum* and *caritum*.

Others are Irregular both in Preterperfect Tenſe and Supines, as *Jubeo juſſi juſſum, ſorbeo ſorbui ſorpſi ſorptum, mulceo mulſi mulſum, luceo luxi.*

*Deo* in *di*, as *ſedeo ſedi ſeſſum, video vidi viſum, prandeo prandi pranſum.* And ſome in *ſi*, as *ſuadeo ſuaſi ſuaſum, rideo riſi riſum, ardeo arſi arſum.* Four double thir firſt Letters, as *Pendeo pependi penſum, mordeo momordi morſum, ſpondeo ſpopondi ſponſum, tondeo totondi tonſum*, but not in thir Compounds, as *dependi depenſum.*

*Geo* in *ſi*, and ſome in *xi*, as *urgeo urſi, mulgeo mulſi mulxi mulctum, augeo auxi auctum, indulgeo indulſi indultum, frigeo frixi, lugeo luxi.*

*Ieo leo* and *neo nevi, vieo vievi vietum:* But *Cieo cievi citum, deleo delevi deletum, fleo flevi fletum, compleo complevi completum*; as alſo the Compounds of *Oleo*, except *redoleo* and *ſuboleo*; but *adolevi adultum*, *neo nevi netum*, but *maneo manſi, torqueo torſi tortum, hæreo hæſi.*

*Veo* in *vi*, as *ferveo fervi*, but *deferveo deferbui, conniveo connivi* and *connixi, movi motum, vovi votum, cavi cautum, favi fautum.*

THe third Conjugation formeth the Preterperfect Tenſe, by changing *O* of the Preſent Tenſe into *I*; the Supine without certain Rule, as *lego legi lectum, bibo bibi bibitum, lambo lambi, ſcabo ſcabi, ico ici ictum, mando mandi manſum, pando pandi paſſum, edo edi eſum* or *eſtum*, in like manner *comedo*, the other compounds *eſum* only; *rudo rudi, ſallo ſalli ſalſum, pſallo pſalli, emo emi emptum, viſo viſi viſum, verto verti verſum, ſolvo ſolvi ſolutum, volvo volvi volutum, exuo exui exutum*, but *ruo rui ruitum*, in compound *rutum*, as *derui derutum*; *ingruo, metuo metui.*

Others are irregular both in Preterperfect Tenſe and Supine.

In *bo*, *ſcribo ſcripſi ſcriptum*, *nubo nupſi nuptum, cumbo cubui cubitum.*

In *co*, *vinco vici victum, dico dixi dictum*, in like manner *duco, parco peperci* and *parſi parſum* and *parcitum.*

In *do*, theſe three loſe *n*, *findo fidi fiſſum, ſcindo ſcidi ſciſſum, fundo fudi fuſum.* Theſe following, *vado, rado, lædo, ludo, divido, trudo, claudo, plaudo, rodo, ſi* and *ſum*, as *roſi roſum*, but *cedo ceſſi ceſſum.* The reſt double thir firſt Letter in the Preterperfect Tenſe, but not compounded, as *tundo tutudi tunſum, contundo contudi contuſum*, and ſo in other Compounds. *Pendo pependi penſum, dependo dependi, tendo tetendi tenſum* and *tentum, contendo contendi, pedo pepedi peditum, cado cecidi caſum, occido, recido recidi recaſum.* The other Compounds have no Supine. *Cædo cecidi cæſum, occido occidi occiſum.* To theſe add all the compounds of *do* in this Conjugation, *addo, credo, edo, dedo, reddo, perdo, abdo, obdo, condo, indo, trado, prodo, vendo vendidi venditum*, except the double Compound, *obſcondo obſcondi.*

In *go*, *ago egi actum, dego degi, ſatago ſategi, frango fregi fractum, pango* to joyn *pegi pactum, pango* to ſing *panxi, ango anxi, jungo junxi junctum*; but theſe five, *Fingo mingo pingo ſtringo ringo* loſe *n* in thir Supines, as *finxi fictum, ningo ninxi, figo fixi fixum, rego rexi rectum*; *diligo, negligo, intelligo, lexi lectum, ſpargo ſparſi ſparſum.* Theſe double thir firſt Letter, *tango tetigi tactum*, but not in his Compounds, as *contingo contigi, pargo* to bargain *pepigi pactum, pungo* and *repungo pupugi* and *punxi punctum*, the other Compounds *punxi* only.

*Ho* in *xi*, *traho traxi tractum, veho vexi vectum.*

In *lo*, *vello velli* and *vulſi vulſum, colo colui cultum*; *excello, precello, cellui celſum*; *alo alui alitum altum.* The reſt, not compounded, double thir firſt Letter, *Fallo fefelli falſum, refello refelli, pello pepuli pulſum, compello compuli, cello ceculi, percello perculi perculſi perculſum.*

In *mo*, *vomo vomui vomitum, tremo tremui, premo preſſi preſſum, como, premo, demo, ſumo*, after the ſame manner, as *ſumpſi, ſumptum.*

In *No*, *ſino ſivi ſitum, ſterno ſtravi ſtratum, ſperno ſprevi ſpretum, lino levi lini* and *livi litum. cerno crevi cretum, temno tempſi, contemno contempſi contemptum, gigno genui genitum, pono poſui poſitum, cano cecini cantum, concino concinui concentum.*

In *Po*, *rumpo rupi ruptum, ſcalpo ſcalpſi ſcalptum*, the reſt in *ui*, as *ſtrepo ſtrepui ſtrepitum.*

In *quo*, *linquo liqui, relinquo reliqui relictum, coquo coxi coctum.*

In *Ro*, *verro verri* and *verſi verſum, ſero* to ſow *ſevi ſatum*, in compound, *ſitum*, as *inſero inſitum*; *ſelo* of another ſignification moſt us'd in his compounds, *Aſſero, conſero, deſero, exero, ſerui, ſertum, uro uſſi uſtum, gero geſſi geſtum, quæro quæſivi quæſitum, tero trivi tritum, curro, excurro, præcurro, cucurri curſum*, the other compounds double not, *as concurro concurri.*

In *So*, *accerſo*, *arceſſo*, *inceſſo*, *laceſſo*, *ivi itum*, *capeſſo* both *i* and *ivi*, *pinſo pinſui piſtum* and *pinſitum*.

In *ſco*, *paſco pavi paſtum*; *compeſco*, *diſpeſco*, *ui*; *poſco popoſci*, *diſco didici*, *quiniſco quexi*, *noſco novi notum*, but *agnoſco agnitum*, *cognoſco cognitum*.

In *to*, *ſiſto ſtiti ſtatum*, *flecto flexi flexum*, *pecto pexui pexi pexum* and *pectitum*, *necto nexui nexi nexum*, *plecto plexi plexum*, *ſterto ſtertui*, *meto meſſui meſſum*, *mitto miſi miſſum*, *peto petivi petitum*.

In *vo*, *vivo vixi victum*.

In *xo*, *texo texui textum*, *nexo nexui nexum*.

In *cio*, *facio feci factum*, *jacio jeci jactum*, *lacio lexi lectum*, *ſpecio ſpexi ſpectum*, with thir Compounds, but *elicio elicui elicitum*.

In *dio*, *fodio fodi foſſum*.

In *gio*, *fugio fugi fugitum*.

In *pio*, *capio cepi captum*, *rapio rapui raptum*, *cupio cupivi cupitum*, *ſapio ſapui ſapivi ſapitum*.

In *rio*, *pario peperi partum*.

In *tio*, *quatio quaſſi quaſſum*, *concutio concuſſi concuſſum*.

In *uo*, *pluo plui pluvi plutum*, *ſtruo ſtruxi ſtructum*, *fluo fluxi fluxum*.

THe fourth Conjugation formeth the Preterperfect Tenſe in *ivi*, the Supine in *itum*.

Except, *Venio veni ventum*, *comperio*, *reperio*, *reperi repertum*, *cambio campſi campſum*, *ſepio ſepſi ſeptum*, *ſarcio ſarſi ſartum*, *fulceo fulſi fultum*, *ſentio ſenſi ſenſum*, *haurio hauſi hauſtum*, *ſancio ſanxi ſanctum ſancitum*, *vincio vinxi vinctum*, *ſalio ſalui ſaltum*, in Compound *ſultum*, as *deſilio deſilui deſultum*, *amicio amicui amictum*, *aperio*, *operio perui pertum*, *veneo venivi venum*, *ſingultivi ſingultum*, *ſepelivi ſepultum*.

### Of Verbs Compounded.

THeſe Verbs Compounded change *a* into *e* throughout, *Damno*, *lacto*, *ſacro*, *fallo*, *arceo*, *tracto*, *partio*, *farcio*, *carpo*, *patro*, *ſcando*, *ſpargo*, as *conſpergo conſperſi conſperſum*.

Theſe following change thir firſt Vowel into *i*, and ſom of them thir Supines into *e*, *habeo*, *lateo*, *ſalio*, *ſtatuo*, *cado*, *lædo*, *cano*, *quæro*, *cædo*, *tango*, *egeo*, *teneo*, *taceo*, *ſapio*, *rapio*, *placeo*, *diſpliceo*, *diſplicui diſplicitum*; except *complaceo perplaceo poſthabeo*.

*Scalpo*, *calco*, *ſalto*, change *a* into *u*, as *exculpo*; *claudo quatio lavo* loſe *a* as *excludo*, *excutio*, *eluo*.

Theſe following change thir firſt Vowel into *i*, but not in the Preterperfect Tenſe, and ſomtimes *a* into *e* in the Supine, *emo*, *ſedeo*, *rego*, *frango*, *capio*, *jacio*, *lacio*, *ſpecio*, *premo*, as *comprimo compreſſi compreſſum*, *conjicio conjeci conjectum*, *pango* in two only, *compingo*, *impingo*: *Ago*, in all but *perago*, *ſatago*, *circumago*, *dego* and *cogo coegi*: *Facio* with a Prepoſition only, not in other Compounds, as *inficio*, *olfacio*: *Lego* in theſe only, *diligo*, *eligo*, *intelligo*, *negligo*, *ſeligo*, in the reſt not, as *prælego*, add to theſe *ſuperſedeo*.

### Of Verbs Defective.

VErbs called Inceptives ending in *ſco*, borrow thir Preterperfect Tenſe from the Verb wherof they are deriv'd, as *tepeſco tepui* from *tepeo*, *ingemiſco ingemui* from *ingemo*; as alſo theſe Verbs, *cerno* to ſee, *vidi* from *video*, *ſido ſedi* from *ſedeo*, *fero tuli* from *tulo* out of uſe, in the Supine *latum*, *tollo ſuſtuli ſublatum* from *ſuffero*.

Theſe want the Preterperfect Tenſe.

Verbs ending in *aſco*, as *pueraſco*; in *iſco*, as *fatiſco*; in *urio*, except *parturio*, *eſurio*: theſe alſo, *vergo*, *ambigo*, *ferio*, *furo*, *polleo*, *nideo*, have no Preterperfect Tenſe.

Contrary, theſe four, *Odi*, *cœpi*, *novi*, *memini*, are found in the Preterperfect Tenſe only, and the Tenſes thence deriv'd, as *odi*, *oderam*, *oderim*, *odiſſem*, *odero*, *odiſſe*, except *memini*, which hath *memento mementote* in the Imperative.

Others are defective both in Tenſe and Perſon, as *Aio*, *ais*, *ait*, Plur. *aiunt*. The Preterimperfect *aiebam* is intire. Imperative, *ai*. Potential, *aias*, *aiat*, Plur. *aiamus*, *aiant*.

*Auſim* for *auſus ſim*, *auſis*, *auſit*, Plur. *auſint*.

*Salveo*, *ſalvebis*, *ſalve ſalveto*, *ſalvete ſalvetote*, *ſalvere*.

*Ave aveto*, *avete avetote*.

*Faxo*, *faxis*, *faxit*, *faxint*.

*Quæſo*, Plur. *quæſumus*.

*Infit*, *infiunt*.

*Inquio* or *inquam*, *inquis inquit*, Plur. *inquiunt*. *Inquibat*, Cic. Topic. *inquiſti*, *inquit*. Future, *inquies*, *inquiet*, Imperat. *Inque inquito*. Potent. *Inquiat*.

*Dor* the firſt Perſon Paſſive of *do*, and *for* before *farris* or *farre* in the Indicative, are not read, nor *der* or *fer* in the Potential.

## *Of a Participle.*

A Participle is a part of Speech, partaking with the Verb from whence it is deriv'd in Voice, Tenſe, and Signification, and with a Noun Adjective in manner of Declining.

Participles are either of the Active or Paſſive Voice.

Of the *Active* Two. One of the Preſent Tenſe ending in *ans*, or *ens*, as *laudans* praiſing, *habens*, *legens*, *audiens*, and is declin'd like *fælix*, as *hic hæc* & *hoc habens*, Gen. *habentis*, Dat. *habenti*, &c. *Docens docentis*, &c. But from *eo*, *euns*, and in the compounds *iens euntis*, except *ambiens ambientis.* Note that ſome Verbs otherwiſe defective, have this Participle, as *a ens*, *inquiens*.

The other of the Future Tenſe is moſt commonly form'd of the firſt Supine, by changing *m* into *rus*, as of *laudatum laudaturus* to praiſe or about to praiſe, *habiturus*, *lecturus*, *auditurus* ; but ſom are not regularly form'd, as of *ſectum ſecaturus*, of *jutum juvaturus*, *ſonitum ſonaturus*, *partum pariturus*, *argutum arguiturus*, and ſuch like ; of *ſum*, *futurus:* This, as alſo the other two Participles following are declin'd like *bonus*.

This Participle, with the Verb *Sum*, affordeth a ſecond Future in the Active Voice, as *laudaturus ſum*, *es*, *eſt*, &c. as alſo the Future of the Infinitive, as *laudaturum eſſe* to praiſe hereafter, *futurum eſſe*, &c.

Participles of the Paſſive Voice are alſo two, one of the Preterperfect tenſe, another of the Future.

A Participle of the Preterperfect Tenſe, is form'd of the latter Supine, by putting thereto *s*, as of *laudatu laudatus* prais'd, of *habitu habitus*, *lectu lectus*, *auditu auditus*.

This Participle joyn'd with the Verb *Sum*, ſupplieth the want of a Preterperfect and Preterpluperfect Tenſe in the Indicative Mood paſſive, and both them and the Future of the Potential ; as alſo the Preterperfect and Preterpluperfect of the Infinitive, and with *ire* or *fore* the Future ; as *laudatus ſum* or *fui* I have been prais'd, *Plur. laudati ſumus* or *fuimus* we have been prais'd, *laudatus eram* or *fueram*, &c. Potential, *laudatus ſum* or *fuerim*, *laudatus eſſem* or *fuiſſem*, *laudatus ero* or *fuero.* Infinit. *laudatum eſſe* or *fuiſſe* to have or had been prais'd ; *laudatum ire* or *fore* to be prais'd hereafter.

Nor only Paſſives, but ſom Actives alſo or Neuters, beſides thir own Preterperfect tenſe borrow another from this Participle ; *Cæno Cænavi* and *Cænatus ſum*, *Juravi* and *Juratus*, *Potavi* and *Potus ſum*, *Titubavi* and *titubatus*, *Careo carui caſſus ſum*, *Prandeo prandi* and *pranſus*, *Pateo patui* and *paſſus ſum*, *Placeo placui placitus*, *Sueſco ſuevi ſuetus ſum*, *Libet libuit* and *libitum eſt*, *Licet licuit licitum*, *Pudet puduit puditum*, *Piget piguit pigitum*, *Tædet tæduit pertaſum eſt*, and this Deponent *Mereor merui* and *meritus ſum*.

Theſe Neuters following, like Paſſives, have no other Preterperfect Tenſe, but by this Participle, *Gaudeo gaviſus ſum*, *fido fiſus*, *audeo auſus*, *fio factus*, *ſoleo ſolitus ſum.*

Theſe Deponents alſo form this Participle from Supines irregular ; *Labor lapſus*, *patior paſſus*, *perpetior perpeſſus*, *fateor faſſus*, *confiteor*, *diffiteor diffeſſus*, *gradior greſſus*, *ingredior ingreſſus*, *fatiſcor feſſus*, *metior menſus*, *utor uſus*, *ordior* to ſpin *orditus*, to begin *orſus*, *nitor niſus* and *nixus*, *ulciſcor ultus*, *iraſcor iratus*, *reor ratus*, *obliviſcor oblitus*; *fruor fructus* or *fruitus*, *miſereor miſertus*, *tuor* and *tueor tuitus*, *loquor locutus*, *ſequor ſecutus*, *experior expertus*, *paciſcor pactus*, *nanciſcor nactus*, *apiſcor aptus*, *adipiſcor adeptus*, *queror queſtus*, *proficiſcor profectus*, *expergiſcor experrectus*, *comminiſcor commentus*, *naſcor natus*, *morior mortuus*, *orior ortus ſum.*

A Participle of the Future Paſſive is form'd of the Gerund in *dum*, by changing *m* into *s*, as of *laudandum laudandus* to be prais'd, of *habendum habendus*, &c. And likewiſe of this Participle with the Verb *Sum*, may be form'd the ſame Tenſes in the Paſſive, which were form'd with the Participle of the Preterperfect Tenſe, as *laudandus ſum* or *fui*, &c.

Infinit. *Laudandum eſſe* or *fore.*

Of Verbs Deponent com Participles both of the Active and Paſſive form, as *loquor loquens locutus locuturus loquendus* ; wherof the Participle of the Preter Tenſe ſignifieth ſomtimes both Actively and Paſſively, as *dignatus*, *teſtatus*, *meditatus*, and the like.

## *Of an Adverb.*

AN Adverb is a part of Speech joyn'd with ſome other to explain its ſignification, as *valdè probus* very honeſt, *benè eſt* it is well, *valdè doctus* very learned, *benè mane* early in the morning.

Of Adverbs, ſom be of *Time*, as *hodiè* to day, *cras* to morrow, &c.

Som be of *Place*, as *Ubi* where, *ibi* there, &c. And of many other ſorts needleſs to be here ſet down.

Certain Adverbs alſo are compar'd, as *Doctè* learnedly, *doctiùs doctiſſimè*, *fortiter fortiùs fortiſſimè*, *ſæpe ſæpius ſæpiſſime*, and the like.

### *Of a Conjunction.*

A Conjunction is a part of Speech that joyneth Words and Sentences together.

Of Conjunctions ſome be Copulatives, as *&* and, *quoque* alſo, *nec* neither.

Som be disjunctive, as *aut* or.

Som be Cauſal, as *nam* for, *quia* becauſe, and many ſuch like.

Adverbs when they govern Mood and Tenſe, and joyn Sentences together, as *cum*, *ubi*, *poſtquam*, and the like, are rather to be call'd Conjunctions.

### *Of a Prepoſition.*

A Prepoſition is a part of Speech moſt commonly, either ſet before Nouns in Appoſition, as *ad patrem*, or joyn'd with any other words in Compoſition, as *indoctus*.

Theſe ſix, *di*, *dis*, *re*, *ſe*, *am*, *con*, are not read but in Compoſition.

As Adverbs having Caſes after them, may be call'd Prepoſitions, ſo Prepoſitions having none, may be counted Adverbs.

### *Of an Interjection.*

AN Interjection is a part of Speech, expreſſing ſom paſſion of the mind.

Som be of ſorrow, as *heu*, *hei*.

Som be of marvelling, as *papæ*.

Som of diſdaining, as *vah*.

Som of praiſing, as *euge*.

Som of exclaiming, as *ô*, *proh*, and ſuch like.

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## *Figures of Speech.*

WOrds are ſomtimes encreaſt or diminiſht by a Letter or Syllable in the beginning, middle or ending, which are call'd *Figures of Speech*.

### *Encreaſt*

In the beginning, as *Gnatus* for *Natus*, *Tetuli* for *tuli*. *Protheſis*.

In the middle, as *Rettulit* for *Retulit*, *Cinctutus* for *Cinctus*. *Epentheſis*.

In the end, as *Dicier* for *dici*. *Paragoge*.

### *Diminiſht.*

In the beginning, as *Ruit* for *Eruit*. *Apheriſis*.

In the middle, as *Audiit* for *Audivit*, *Dixti* for *dixiſti*, *Lamna* for *lamina*. *Syncope*.

In the end, as *Conſili* for *conſilii*; *ſcin* for *ſciſne*. *Apocope*.

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## The ſecond Part of Grammar, commonly called *Syntaxis*, or *Construction*.

HItherto the Eight Parts of Speech Declin'd and Undeclin'd have been ſpoken of ſingle, and each one by it ſelf: Now followeth *Syntaxis* or *Conſtruction*, which is the right joyning of theſe parts together in a Sentence.

Conſtruction conſiſteth either in the agreement of Words together in Number, Gender, Caſe, and Perſon, which is call'd Concord; or the governing of one the other in ſuch Caſe or Mood as is to follow.

### *Of the Concords.*

THere be *Three* Concords or Agreements.

The *Firſt* is of the Adjective with his Subſtantive.

The *Second* is of the Verb with his Nominative Caſe.

The *Third* is of the Relative with his Antecedent.

An Adjective (under which is comprehended both Pronoun and Participle) with his Subſtantive or Subſtantives, a Verb with his Nominative Caſe or Caſes, and a Relative with his Antecedent or Antecedents, agree all in number, and the two latter in perſon alſo: as *Amicus certus*. *Viri docti*. *Preceptor prælegit, vos vero negligitis*. Xenophon & Plato *fuere equales*. *Vir ſapit, qui pauca loquitur*. *Pater & Praceptor veniunt*. Yea though the Conjunction be disjunctive, as *Quos neque deſidia neque luxuria vitiaverant*. Celſus. *Pater & Præceptor, quos quæritis*. But if a Verb ſingular follow many Nominatives, it muſt be applyed to each of them apart, as *Niſi foro & curia officium ac verecundia ſua conſtiterit*. Val. Max.

An Adjective with his Subſtantive, and a Relative with his Antecedent agree in Gender and Caſe; but the Relative not in caſe always, being ofttimes govern'd by other conſtructions: as *Amicus certus in re incerta cernitur. Liber quem dediſti mihi.*

And if it be a Participle ſerving the Infinitive Mood future, it oft-times agrees not with the Subſtantive neither in Gender nor in Number, as *Hanc ſibi rem præſidio ſperat futurum.* Cic. *Audierat non datum ire filio Uxorem.* Terent. *Omnia potius actum iri puto quam de provinciis.* Cic.

But when a Verb cometh between two Nominative Caſes not of the ſame number, or a Relative between two Subſtantives not of the ſame Gender, the Verb in Number, and the Relative in Gender may agree with either of them; as *Amantium iræ amoris integratio eſt. Quid enim niſi vota ſuperſunt. Tuentur illum globum qui terra dicitur. Animal plenum rationis, quem vocamus hominem. Lutetia eſt quam nos Pariſios dicimus.*

And if the Nominative Caſes be of ſeveral perſons, or the Subſtantives and Antecedents of ſeveral Genders, the Verb ſhall agree with the ſecond perſon before the third, and with the firſt before either; and ſo ſhall the Adjective or Relative in thir Gender; as *Ego & tu ſumus in tuto. Tu & Pater periclitamini. Pater & Mater mortui ſunt. Frater & Soror quos vidiſti.*

But in things that have not life, an Adjective or Relative of the Neuter Gender, may agree with Subſtantives or Antecedents, Maſculin or Feminin, or both together; as *Arcus & calami ſunt bona. Arcus & calami quæ fregiſti. Pulcritudinem, conſtantiam, ordinem in Conſiliis factiſque conſervanda putat.* Cic. Off. 1. *Ira & ægritudo permiſta ſunt.* Sal.

Note that the Infinitive Mood, or any part of a Sentence may be inſtead of a Nominative Caſe to the Verb, or of a Subſtantive to the Adjective, or of an Antecedent to the Relative, and then the Adjective or Relative ſhall be of the Neuter Gender: And if there be more parts of a Sentence then one, the Verb ſhall be in the plural number; *Diluculo ſurgere ſaluberrimum eſt. Virtutem ſequi, vita eſt honeſtiſſima. Audito proconſulem in Ciliciam tendere. In tempore veni, quod omnium rerum eſt primum. Tu multum dormis & ſæpe potas, quæ duo ſunt corpori inimica.*

Somtimes alſo an Adverb is put for the Nominative Caſe to a Verb, and for a Subſtantive to an Adjective; as *Partim ſignorum ſunt combuſta. Propè centies & vicies erogatum eſt.* Cic. verr. 4.

Somtimes alſo agreement, whether it be in Gender or Number, is grounded on the ſenſe, not on the words; as *Illum ſenium* for *illum ſenem. Iſte ſcelus* for *iſte ſceleſtus.* Ter. *Tranſtulit in Eunuchum ſuam,* meaning *Comœdiam.* Ter. *Pars magna obligati,* meaning *Homines.* Liv. *Impliciti laqueis nudus uterque* for *Ambo.* Ov. *Alter in alterius jactantes lumina vultus.* Ovid. that is, *Alter & alter. Inſperanti ipſa refers te nobis,* for *mihi.* Catul. *Diſce omnes.* Virg. Æn. 2. for *tu quiſquis es. Dua importuna prodigia, quos egeſtas tribuno plebis conſtrictos addixerat.* Cic. pro Seſt. *Pars merſi tenuere ratem. Rhemus cum fratre Quirino jura dabant.* Virg. that is, *Rhemus & frater Quirinus. Divellimur inde Iphitus & Pelias mecum.* Virg.

## *Conſtruction of Subſtantives.*

Hitherto of Concord or Agreement; the other part followeth, which is *Governing*, wherby one part of Speech is govern'd by another, that is to ſay, is put in ſuch Caſe or Mood as the word that governeth or goeth before in conſtruction requireth.

When two Subſtantives com together, betokening divers things, wherof the former may be an Adjective in the Neuter Gender taken for a Subſtantive, the latter (which alſo may be a Pronoun) ſhall be in the Genitive Caſe; as *Facundia Ciceronis. Amator ſtudiorum. Ferimur per opaca locorum. Corruptus vanis rerum.* Hor. *Deſiderium tui Pater ejus.*

Somtimes the former Subſtantive, as this word *Officium* or *Mos*, is underſtood; as *Oratoris eſt*, It is the part of an Orator. *Extrema eſt dementia*, It is the manner of extream madneſs. *Ignavi eſt*, It is the quality of a ſlothful man. *Ubi ad Dianæ veneris*; *Templum* is underſtood. *Juſtitiæne prius mirer belline laborum.* Virg. Underſtand *Cauſâ*. *Neque illi ſepoſui Ciceris, neque longæ invidit avenæ.* Hor. Supply *partem.*

But if both the Suſtantives be ſpoken of one thing, which is call'd appoſition, they ſhall be both of the ſame Caſe; as *Pater meus vir, amat me puerum.*

Words that ſignifie Quality, following the Subſtantive wherof they are ſpoken, may be put in the Genitive or Ablative Caſe; as *Puer bonæ indolis*, or *bonâ indole.* Som have a Genitive only; as *Ingentis Rex nominis.* Liv. *De-*

*cem annorum puer. Hujuſmodi pax. Hujus generis animal.* But *genus* is ſomtimes in the Accuſative: as *Si hoc genus rebus non proficitur.* Varr. *de re ruſt.* And the cauſe or manner of a thing in the Ablative only; as *Sum tibi natura parens, preceptor conſiliis.*

*Opus* and *Uſus* when they ſignifie Need, require an Ablative; as *Opus eſt mihi tuo judicio. Viginti minis uſus eſt filio.* But *Opus* is ſomtimes taken for an Adjective undeclin'd, and ſignifieth Needful: as *Dux nobis & Author opus eſt. Alia quæ opus ſunt para.*

### *Conſtruction of Adjectives, governing a Genitive.*

ADjectives that ſignifie Deſire, Knowledg, Ignorance, Remembrance, Forgetfulneſs, and ſuch like; as alſo certain others deriv'd from Verbs, and ending in *ax*, require a Genitive; as *Cupidus auri. Peritus belli. Ignarus omnium. Memor præteriti. Reus furti. Tenax propoſiti. Tempus edax rerum.*

Adjectives call'd Nouns Partitive, becauſe they ſignifie part of ſom whole quantity or number, govern the word that ſignifieth the thing parted or divided, in the Genitive; as *Aliquis noſtrum. Primus omnium. Aurium mollior eſt ſiniſtra. Oratorum eloquentiſſimus.* And oft in the Neuter Gender; as *Multum lucri. Id negotii. Hoc noctis.* Somtimes, though ſeldom, a word ſignifying the whole, is read in the ſame Caſe with the Partitive, as *Habet duos gladios quibus altero te occiſurum minatur, altero villicum,* Plaut. For *Quorum altero. Magnum opus habeo in manibus; quod jampridem ad hunc ipſum (me autem dicebat) quædam inſtitui.* Cic. Acad. 1. *Quod quædam* for *cujus quædam.*

### *A Dative.*

ADjectives that betoken Profit or Diſprofit, Likeneſs or Unlikeneſs, Fitneſs, Pleaſure, Submitting, or belonging to any thing, require a Dative; as *Labor eſt utilis corpori. Equalis Hectori. Idoneus bello. Jucundus omnibus. Parenti ſupplex. Mihi proprium.*

But ſuch as betoken Profit or Diſprofit have ſomtimes an Accuſative with a Prepoſition; as *Homo ad nullam partem utilis.* Cic. *Inter ſe æquales.*

And ſom Adjectives ſignifying Likeneſs, Unlikeneſs, or Relation, may have a Genitive. *Par hujus. Ejus culpæ affines. Domini ſimilis es. Commune animantium eſt conjunctionis appetitus. Alienum dignitatis ejus.* Cic. Fin. 1. *Fuit hoc quondam proprium populi Romani longè a domo bellare.* But *propior* and *proximus* admit ſomtimes an Accuſative; as *proximus Pompeium ſedebam.* Cic.

### *An Accuſative.*

NOuns of Meaſure are put after Adjectives of like ſignification in the Accuſative, and ſomtimes in the Ablative; as *Turris alta centum pedes. Arbor lata tres digitos. Liber craſſus tres pollices,* or *tribus pollicibus.* Somtimes in the Genitive; as *Areas latas pedum denûm facito.*

All words expreſſing part or parts of a thing, may be put in the Accuſative, or ſomtimes in the Ablative; as *Saucius frontem* or *fronte. Excepto quòd non ſimul eſſes cætera latus.* Hor. *Nuda pedem.* Ov. *Os humeroſque deo ſimilis.* Virg. Somtimes in the Genitive: as *Dubius mentis.*

### *An Ablative.*

ADjectives of the Comparative degree engliſht with this ſign *then* or *by*, as alſo *Dignus, Indignus, Præditus, Contentus,* and theſe words of Price, *Carus, vilis,* require an Ablative; as *Frigidior glacie. Multo doctior. Uno pede altior. Dignus honore. Virtute præditus. Sorte ſua contentus. Aſſe charum.*

But of Comparatives, *plus, amplius,* and *minus,* may govern a Genitive, alſo a Nomnative, or an Accuſative; as *Plus quinquaginta hominum. Amplius duorum millium. Ne plus tertia pars eximatur mellis.* Varro. *Paulo plus quingentos paſſus. Ut ex ſua cujuſque parte ne minus dimidium ad fratrem perveniret.* Cic. Verr. 4. And *Dignus, Indignus,* have ſomtimes a Genitive after them; as *Militia eſt operis altera digna tui. Indignus avorum.* Virg.

Adjectives betokening Plenty or Want, will have an Ablative, and ſomtimes a Genitive; as *Vacuus ira,* or *iræ. Nulla Epiſtola inanis re aliqua. Ditiſſimus agri. Stultorum plena ſunt omnia. Integer vitæ, ſceleriſque purus. Expers omnium. Vobis immunibus hujus eſſe mali dabitur.*

Words alſo betokening the cauſe, or form, or manner of a thing, are put after Adjectives in the Ablative Caſe; as *Pallidus ira. Trepidus morte futura. Nomine Grammaticus, re Barbarus.*

Of

## Of Pronouns.

PRonouns differ not in Conſtruction from Nouns, except that Poſſeſſives, *Meus, tuus, ſuus, noſter, veſter*, by a certain manner of ſpeech, are ſomtimes joyn'd to a Subſtantive, which governs thir Primitive underſtood with a Noun or Participle in a Genitive Caſe; as *Dico mea unius opera rempublicam eſſe liberatam*, Cic. for *Mei unius opera*. In like manner *Noſtra, duorum, trium, paucorum, omnium virtute*, for *noſtrum duorum, &c. Meum ſolius peccatum*, Cic. *Ex tuo ipſius animo*, For *Tui ipſius*. *Ex ſua cujuſque parte*, Id. Verr. 2. *Ne tua quidem recentia proximi Prætoris veſtigia perſequi poterat*. Cic. verr. 4. *Si meas preſentis preces non putas profuiſſe*, id. Pro Planc. *Noſtros vidiſti flentis ocellos*. Ovid.

Alſo a Relative, as *qui* or *is*, ſomtimes anſwers to an Antecedent Noun or Pronoun Primitive underſtood in the Poſſeſſive; as *Omnes laudare fortunas meas qui filium haberem tali ingenio præditum*. Terent.

## Conſtruction of Verbs.

VErbs for the moſt part govern either one caſe after them, or more then one in a different manner of Conſtruction.

## *Of the Verb Subſtantive* Sum, *and ſuch like, with a Nominative, and other oblique Caſes.*

VErbs that ſignifie Being, as *Sum, exiſto, fio*; and certain Paſſives, as *dicor, vocor, ſalutor, appellor, habeor, exiſtimor, videor*; alſo Verbs of motion or reſt, as *incedo, diſcedo, ſedeo*, with ſuch like, will have a Nominative Caſe after them, as they have before them, becauſe both Caſes belong to the ſame perſon or thing, and the latter is rather in appoſition with the former, then govern'd by the Verb; as *Temperantia eſt virtus. Horatius ſalutatur Poeta. Aſt ego quæ divum incedo regina*.

And if *eſt* be an Imperſonal, it may ſomtimes govern a Genitive, as *Uſus Poetæ, ut moris eſt, licentia*. Phædrus l. 4. *Negavit moris eſſe Græcorum ut &c.* Cic. Verr. 2.

But if the following Noun be of another perſon, or not directly ſpoken of the former, both after *Sum* and all his Compounds, except *poſſum*, it ſhall be put in the Dative; as *Eſt mihi domi pater. Multa petentibus deſunt multa*.

And if a thing be ſpoken of, relating to the perſon, it may be alſo in the Dative; as *Sum tibi præſidio. Hæc res eſt mihi voluptati. Quorum alteri Capitoni cognomen fuit*. Cic. *Paſtori nomen Fauſtulo fuiſſe ferunt*. Liv.

## Of Verbs Tranſitives with an Accuſative, and the Exceptions therto belonging.

VErbs Active or Deponent, call'd Tranſitive, becauſe thir action paſſeth forth on ſom perſon or thing, will have an Accuſative after them of the perſon or thing to whom the action is don; as *Amo te. Vitium fuge. Deum venerare. Uſus promptos facit. Juvat me. Oportet te*.

Alſo Verbs call'd Neuters, may have an Accuſative of thir own ſignification; as *Duram ſervit ſervitutem. Longam ire viam. Endymionis ſomnum dormis. Paſtillos Ruſillus olet. Nec vox hominem ſonat. Cum Glaucum ſaltaſſet*. Paterc. *Agit letum convivam*. Horat. *Hoc me latet*.

But theſe Verbs, though Tranſitive, *Miſereor* and *Miſereſco*, paſs into a Genitive; as *Miſerere mei*. Somtimes into a Dative: *Huic miſereor*. Sen. *Dilige bonos, miſereſce malis*. Boet.

*Reminiſcor, Obliviſcor, Recordor*, and *Memini*, ſomtimes alſo require a Genitive; as *Data fidei reminiſcitur. Memini tui. Obliviſcor carminis*. Somtime retain the Accuſative; as *Recordor pueritiam. Omnia quæ curant ſenes meminerunt*. Plaut.

Theſe Imperſonals alſo, *intereſt* and *refert*, ſignifying to concern, require a Genitive, except in theſe Ablatives Feminine, *Mea, tua, ſua, noſtra, veſtra, cuja*. And the meaſure of concernment is often added in theſe Genitives, *magni, parvi, tanti, quanti*, with thir Compounds; as *Intereſt omnium rectè agere. Tua refert teipſum noſſe. Veſtra parvi intereſt*.

But Verbs of Profiting or Diſprofiting, Believing, Pleaſing, Obeying, Oppoſing, or being angry with, paſs into a Dative; as *non potes mihi commodare nec incommodare. Placeo omnibus. Crede mihi. Nimium ne crede colori. Pareo parentibus. Tibi repugno. Adoleſcenti nihil eſt quod ſuccenſeat*. But of the firſt and third ſort, *Juvo*, *adjuvo*, *lædo*, *offendo*, retain an Accuſative.

Laſtly, theſe Tranſitives, *fungor*, *fruor*, *utor*, *potior*, and Verbs betokening want, paſs direct into an Ablative, *Fungitur officio*. *Aliena frui inſania*, *Utere ſorte tua*. But *fungor*, *fruor*, *utor*, had antiently an Accuſative. Verbs of want, and *potior*, may have alſo a Genitive. *Pecuniæ indiget*. *Quaſi tu hujus indigeas patris*. *Potior Urbe*, or *Urbis*.

Somtimes a phraſe of the ſame ſignification with a ſingle Verb, may have the Caſe of the Verb after it; as *id operam do*, that is to ſay, *id ago*. *Idne eſtis authores mihi?* for *id ſuadetis*. *Quid me vobis tactio eſt?* for *tangitis*. Plaut. *Quid tibi hanc curatio eſt rem?* Id.

### *The Accuſative with a Genitive.*

Hitherto of Tranſitives governing thir Accuſative, or other Caſe, in ſingle and direct Conſtruction: Now of ſuch as may have after them more Caſes then one in Conſtruction direct and oblique, that is to ſay, with an Accuſative, a Genitive, Dative, other Accuſative, or Ablative.

Verbs of eſteeming, buying or ſelling, beſides thir Accuſative, will have a Genitive betokening the value of price, *flocci*, *nihili*, *pili*, *hujus*, and the like after Verbs of eſteeming: *Tanti*, *quanti*, *pluris*, *minoris*, and ſuch like, put without a Subſtantive, after Verbs of buying or ſelling; as *Non hujus te æſtimo*. *Ego illum flocci pendo*. *Æqui boni hoc facio* or *conſulo*. *Quanti mercatus es hunc equum?* *Pluris quam vellem*.

But the word of Value is ſomtimes in the Ablative; as *Parvi* or *parvo æſtimas probitatem*. And the word of Price moſt uſually; as *Teruncio eum non emerim*. And particularly in theſe Adjectives, *Vili*, *paulo*, *minimo*, *magno*, *nimio*, *plurimo*, *dimidio*, *duplo*, put without a Subſtantive, as *Vili vendo triticum*. *Redimite captum quàm queas minimo*. And ſomtimes *minore* for *minoris*. *Nam a Cælio propinqui minore centeſſimis nummum movere non poſſunt*. Cic. Att. l. 1. But Verbs Neuter or Paſſive have only the oblique Caſes after them; as *Tanti eris aliis*, *quanti tibi fueris*. *Pudor parvi penditur*. Which is alſo to be obſerv'd in the following Rules.

And this Neuter *Valeo* governeth the word of value in the Accuſative; as *Denarii dicti quod denos æris valebant*. Varr.

Verbs of admoniſhing, accuſing, condemning, acquitting, will have, beſides thir Accuſative, a Genitive of the Crime, or Penaltie, or Thing; as *Admonuit me errati*. *Accuſas me furti?* *Vatem ſceleris damnat*. *Furem dupli condemnavit*. And ſomtimes an Ablative with a Prepoſition, or without; as *Condemnabo eodem ego te crimine*. *Accuſas furti, an ſtupri, an utroque?* *De repetundis accuſavit*, or *damnavit*. Cic.

Alſo theſe Imperſonals, *penitet*, *tædet*, *miſeret*, *miſereſcit*, *pudet*, *piget*, to thir Accuſative will have a Genitive, either of the perſon, or of the thing; as *Noſtri noſmet penitet*. *Urbis me tædet*. *Miſeret me tui*. *Pudet me negligentiæ*.

### *An Accuſative with a Dative.*

Verbs of giving or reſtoring, promiſing or paying, commanding or ſhewing, truſting or threatning, add to thir Accuſative a Dative of the perſon; as *Fortuna multis nimium dedit*. *Hæc tibi promitto*. *Æs alienum mihi numeravit*. *Frumentum imperat civitatibus*. *Quid & cui dicas, videto*. *Hoc tibi ſuadeo*. *Tibi* or *ad te ſcribo*. *Pecuniam omnem tibi credo*. *Utrique mortem minatus eſt*.

To theſe add Verbs Active compounded with theſe Prepoſitions, *præ*, *ad*, *ab*, *con*, *de*, *ex*, *ante*, *ſub*, *poſt*, *ob*, *in* and *inter*; as *Præcipio hoc tibi*. *Admovit urbi exercitum*. *Collegæ ſuo imperium abrogavit*. *Sic parvis componere magna ſolebam*.

Neuters have a Dative only; as *Meis majoribus virtute præluxi*. But ſome compounded with *præ* and *ante* may have an Accuſative; as *Præſtat ingenio alius alium*. *Multos anteit ſapientia*. Others with a Prepoſition; as *Quæ ad ventris victum conducunt*. *In hæc ſtudia incumbite*. Cic.

Alſo all Verbs Active, betokning acquiſition, likening or relation, commonly engliſht with *to* or *for*, have to thir Accuſative a Dative of the perſon; as *Magnam laudem ſibi peperit*. *Huic habeo non tibi*. *Se illis æquarunt*. *Expedi mihi hoc negotium*: but *mihi*, *tibi*, *ſibi*, ſomtimes are added for Elegance, the ſenſe not requiring; as *Suo hunc ſibi jugulat gladio*. Terent. Neuters a Dative only; as *Non omnibus dormio*. *Libet mihi*. *Tibi licet*.

Somtimes a Verb Tranſitive will have to his Accuſative a double Dative, one of the perſon, another of the thing;

as *Do tibi veſtem pignori. Verto hoc tibi vitio. Hoc tu tibi laudi ducis.*

### *A double Accuſative.*

VErbs of asking, teaching, arraying, and concealing, will have two Accuſatives, one of the perſon, another of the thing; as *Rogo te pecuniam. Doceo te literas. Quod te jamdudum hortor. Induit ſe calceos. Hoc me celabas.*

And being Paſſives, they retain one Accuſative of the thing, as *Sumtumque recingitur anguem.* Ovid. Met. 4. *Induitur togam.* Mart.

But Verbs of arraying ſomtimes change the one Acuſative into an Ablative or Dative; as *Induo te tunica*, or *tibi tunicam. Inſtravit equum penula*, or *equo penulam.*

### *An Accuſative with an Ablative.*

VErbs Tranſitive may have to thir Accuſative an ablative of the inſtrument or cauſe, matter, or manner of doing; and Neuters the Ablative only; as *Ferit eum gladio. Taceo metu. Malis gaudet alienis. Summa eloquentia cauſam egit. Capitolium ſaxo quadrato ſubſtructum eſt. Tuo conſilio nitor. Veſcor pane. Affluis opibus. Amore abundas.* Somtimes with a Prepoſition of the manner; as *Summa cum humanitate me tractavit.*

Verbs of endowing, imparting, depriving, diſcharging, filling, emptying, and the like, will have an Ablative, and ſomtimes a Genitive; as *Dono te hoc annulo. Plurima ſalute te impertit. Aliquem familiarem ſuo ſermone participavit. Paternum ſervum ſui participavit conſilii. Interdico tibi aqua & igni. Libero te hoc metu. Implentur veteris Bacchi.*

Alſo Verbs of comparing or exceeding, will have an Ablative of the exceſs; as *Præfero hunc multis gradibus. Magno intervallo eum ſuperat.*

After all manner of Verbs, the word ſignifying any part of a thing, may be put in the Genitive, Accuſative, or Ablative; as *Abſurdè facis qui angas te animi. Pendet animi. Diſcrucior animi. Deſipit mentis. Candet dentes. Rubet capillos. Ægrotat animo, magis quàm corpore.*

### *Nouns of Time and Place after Verbs.*

NOuns betokening part of time, be put after Verbs in the Ablative, and ſomtimes in the Accuſative; as *Nocte vigilas, luce dormis. Nullam partem noctis requieſcit.* Cic. *Abhinc triennium ex Andro commigravit.* Ter. *Reſpondit triduo illum, ad ſummum quatriduo periturum.* Cic. Or if continuance of time, in the Accuſative, ſomtimes in the Ablative; as *Sexaginta annos natus. Hyemem totam ſtertis. Imperium deponere maluerunt, quam id tenere punctum temporis contra Religionem.* Cic. *Imperavit triennio, & decem menſibus.* *Suet.* Somtimes with a Prepoſition; as *Ferè in diebus paucis, quibus hæc acta ſunt.* Ter. Rarely with a Genitive; as *Temporis anguſti manſit concordia diſcors.* Lucan.

Alſo Nouns betokening ſpace between places are put in the Accuſative, and ſomtimes in the Ablative; as *Pedem hinc ne diſceſſeris. Abeſt ab Urbe quingentis millibus paſſuum. Terra marique gentibus imperavit.*

Nouns that ſignify Place, and alſo proper Names of greater places, as Countries, be put after Verbs of moving or remaining, with a Prepoſition, ſignifying *to*, *from*, *in*, or *by*, in ſuch caſe as the Prepoſition requireth; as *Proficiſcor ab Urbe. Vivit in Anglia. Veni per Galliam in Italiam.*

But if it be the proper name of a leſſer Place, as of a City, Town, or leſſer Iſland, or any of theſe four, *Humus, Domus, Militia, Bellum*, with theſe ſigns, *on*, *in*, or *at* before them, being of the firſt or ſecond Declenſion, and ſingular number, they ſhall be put in the Genitive; if of the third Declenſion, or plural Number, or this word *rus*, in the Dative or Ablative; as *Vixit Romæ, Londini. Ea habitabat Rhodi. Conon plurimum Cypri vixit.* Cor. Nep. *Procumbit humi bos. Domi bellique ſimul viximus. Militavit Carthagini or Carthagine. Studuit Athenis. Ruri* or *rure educatus eſt.*

If the Verb of moving be to a place, it ſhall be put in the Accuſative; as *Eo Romam, Domum, Rus.* If from a place, in the Ablative; as *Diſceſſit Londino. Abiit Domo. Rure eſt Reverſus.*

Somtimes with a Prepoſition; as *A Brundiſio profectus eſt.* Cic. Manil. *Ut ab Athenis in Bœotiam irem.* Sulpit. apud Cic. Fam. l. 4. *Cum te profectum ab domo ſcirem.* Liv. l. 8.

### *Conſtruction of Paſſives.*

A Verb Paſſive will have after it an Ablative of the doer, with the prepoſition *a* or *ab* before it, ſomtimes without, and more often a Dative: as

*Virgilius legitur a me. Fortes creantur fortibus.* Hor. *Tibi fama petatur.* And Neutropaſſives, as *Vapulo, veneo, liceo, exulo, fio,* may have the ſame Conſtruction; as *Ab hoſte venire.*

Somtimes an Accuſative of the thing is found after a Paſſive; as *Coronari Olympia.* Hor. Epiſt. 1. *Cyclopa movetur.* Hor. for *ſaltat* or *egit. Purgor bilem.* Id.

## *Conſtruction of Gerunds and Supines.*

GErunds and Supines will have ſuch caſes as the Verb from whence they com; as *Otium ſcribendi literas. Eo auditum Poetas. Ad conſulendum tibi.*

A Gerund in *di* is commonly govern'd both of Subſtantives and Adjectives in manner of a Genitive; as *Cauſa videndi. Amor habendi. Cupidus viſendi. Certus eundi.* And ſomtimes governeth a Genitive Plural; as *illorum videndi gratia.* Ter.

Gerunds in *do* are us'd after Verbs in manner of an Ablative, according to former Rules, with or without a Prepoſition; as *Defeſſus ſum ambulando. A diſcendo facile deterretur. Cæſar dando, ſublevando, ignoſcendo, gloriam adeptus eſt. In apparando conſumunt diem.*

A Gerund in *dum* is us'd in manner of an Accuſative after Prepoſitions governing that caſe; as *Ad capiendum hoſtes. Ante domandum ingentes tollent animos.* Virg. *Ob redimendum captivos. Inter cœnandum.*

Gerunds in ſignification are ofttimes us'd as Participles in *dus*; *Tuorum conſiliorum reprimendorum cauſa.* Cic. *Orationem Latinam legendis noſtris efficies pleniorem.* Cic. *Ad accuſandos homines præmio ducitur.*

A Gerund in *dum* join'd with the Imperſonal *eſt*, and implying ſome neceſſity or duty to do a thing, may have both the Active and Paſſive Conſtruction of the Verb from whence it is deriv'd; as *Utendum eſt ætate.* Ov. *Pacem Trojano a rege petendum.* Virg. *Iterandum eadem iſta mihi.* Cic. *Serviendum eſt mihi amicis. Plura dixi quam dicendum fuit.* Cic. pro Seſt.

## *Conſtruction of Verb with Verb.*

WHen two Verbs com together without a Nominative Caſe between them, the latter ſhall be in the Infinitive Mood; as *Cupio diſcere.* Or in the firſt Supine after Verbs of moving; as *Eo cubitum, ſpectatum.* Or in the latter with an Adjective; as *Turpe eſt dictu. Facile factu, opus ſcitu.*

But if a Caſe com between, not govern'd of the former Verb, it ſhall always be an Accuſative before the Infinitive Mood; as *Te rediiſſe incolumem gaudeo. Malo me divitem eſſe, quam haberi.*

And this Infinitive *eſſe*, will have always after it an Accuſative, or the ſame Caſe which the former Verb governs; as *Expedit bonos eſſe vobis. Quo mihi commiſſo, non licet eſſe piam.* But this Accuſative agreeth with another underſtood before the Infinitive; as *Expedit vobis vos eſſe bonos. Natura beatis omnibus eſſe dedit. Nobis non licet eſſe tam diſertis.* The ſame Conſtruction may be us'd after other Infinitives Neuter or Paſſive like to *eſſe* in ſignification; as *Maximo tibi poſtea & civi, & duci evadere contigit.* Val. Max. l. 6.

Somtimes a Noun Adjective or Subſtantive governs an Infinitive; as *audax omnia perpeti. Dignus amari. Conſilium ceperunt ex oppido profugere.* Cæſ. *Minari diviſoribus ratio non erat.* Cic. verr. 1.

Somtimes the Infinitive is put abſolute for the Preterimperfect or Preterperfect Tenſe; as *Ego illud ſedulo negare factum.* Ter. *Galba autem multas ſimilitudines afferre.* Cic. *Ille contra hæc omnia ruere, agere vitam.* Ter.

## *Conſtruction of Participles.*

PArticiples govern ſuch Caſes as the Verb from whence they com, according to thir Active or Paſſive ſignification; as *Fruiturus amicis. Nunquam audita mihi. Diligendus ab omnibus. Sate ſanguine divûm. Telamone creatus. Corpore mortali cretus.* Lucret. *Nate deâ. Edite regibus. Lævo ſuſpenſi loculos tabulaſque lacerto.* Hor. *Cenſus equeſtrem ſummam.* Id. *Abeundum eſt mihi. Venus orta mari. Exoſus Bella.* Virg. *Exoſus diis.* Gell. *Arma Peroſus.* Ovid. But *Pertaſus* hath an Acuſative otherwiſe then the Verb; as *Pertaſus Ignaviam. Semet ipſe pertaſus. Suet.* To theſe add participal Adjectives ending in *bilis* of the Paſſive Sigfication, and requiring like caſe after them; as *Nulli penetrabilis aſtro lucus erat.*

Participles chang'd into Adjectives have thir Conſtruction by the Rules of Adjectives; as *Appetens vini. Fugitans litium. Fidens animi.*

*An*

## *An Ablative put abſolute.*

TWo Nouns together, or a Noun and Pronoun with a Participle, expreſt or underſtood, put abſolutely, that is to ſay, neither governing nor governed of a Verb, ſhall be put in the Ablative; as *Authore Senatu bellum geritur. Me duce vinces. Cæſare veniente hoſtes fugerunt. Sublato clamore prælium committitur.*

## *Conſtruction of Adverbs.*

EN and *ecce* will have a Nominative, or an Accuſative, and ſomtimes with a Dative; as *En Priamus. Ecce tibi ſtatus noſter. En habitum. Ecce autem alterum.*

Adverbs of quantity, time, and place require a Genitive; as *Satis loquentiæ, ſapientiæ parum ſatis.* Alſo compounded with a Verb; as *Is rerum ſuarum ſatagit. Tunc temporis ubique gentium. Eo impudentiæ proceſſit. Quoad ejus fieri poterit.*

To theſe add *Ergo* ſignifying the cauſe; as *Illius ergo.* Virg. *Virtutis ergo. Fugæ atque formidinis ergo non abiturus.* Liv.

Others will have ſuch caſe as the Nouns from whence they come; as *Minime gentium. Optime omnium. Venit obviam illi. Canit ſimiliter huic. Albanum, ſive Falernum te magis oppoſitis delectat.* Hor.

Adverbs are join'd in a Sentence to ſeveral Moods of Verbs.

Of Time, *Vbi, poſtquam, cum* or *quum*, to an Indicative or Subjunctive; as *Hæc ubi dicta dedit. Vbi nos laverimus. Poſtquam exceſſit ex Ephebis. Cum faciam vitula.* Virg. *Cum canerem reges.* Id.

*Donec* while, to an Indicative. *Donec eris felix. Donec* until, to an Indicative or Subjunctive; *Cogere donec oves juſſit.* Virg. *Donec ea aqua decocta ſit.* Colum.

*Dum* while, to an Indicative. *Dum apperatur Virgo. Dum* until, to an Indicative or Subjunctive; as *Dum redeo. Tertia dum Latio regnantem viderit æſtas. Dum* for *dummodo* ſo as, or ſo that, to a Subjunctive; *Dum proſim tibi.*

*Quoad* while, to an Indicative. *Quoad expectas contubernalem. Quoad* until to a Subjunctive. *Omnia integra ſervabo, quoad exercitus huc mittatur.*

*Simulac, ſimulatque* to an Indicative or Subjunctive; as *Simulac belli patiens erat, ſimulatque adoleverit ætas.*

*Vt* as, to the ſame Moods. *Vt ſalutabis, ita reſalutaberis. Vt ſementem feceris, ita & metes.* Hor. *Vt* ſo ſoon as, to an Indicative only: as *Vt ventum eſt in Vrbem.*

*Quaſi, tanquam, perinde, ac ſi,* to a Subjunctive only; as *Quaſi non norimus nos inter nos. Tanquam feceris ipſe aliquid.*

*Ne* of forbidding, to an Imperative or Subjunctive; as *Ne ſævi. Ne metuas.*

Certain Adverbs of quantity, quality, or cauſe; as *Quam, quoties, cur, quare,* &c. Thence alſo *qui, quis, quantus, qualis,* and the like, coming in a ſentence after the principal Verb, govern the Verb following in a Subjunctive; as *Videte quam valde malitia ſua confidat.* Cic. *Quid eſt cur tu in iſto loco ſedeas?* Cic. pro Cluent. *Subſideo mihi diligentiam comparavi quæ quanta ſit intelligi non poteſt, niſi,* &c. Cic. pro Quint. *Nam quid hoc iniquius dici poteſt. Quam me qui caput alterius fortunaſq; defendam, Priore loco diſcere.* Ibid. *Nullum eſt Officium tam ſanctum atq; ſolenne, quod non avaritia violare ſoleat.* Ibid. *Non me fallit, ſi conſulamini quid ſitis reſponſuri.* Ibid. *Dici vix poteſt quam multa ſint quæ reſpondeatis ante fieri oportere.* Ibid. *Docui quo die hunc ſibi promiſiſſe dicat, eo die ne Romæ quidem eum fuiſſe.* Ibid. *Conturbatus diſcedit neq; mirum cui hæc optio tam miſera daretur.* Ibid. *Narrat quo in loco viderit Quintium.* Ibid. *Recte majores eum qui ſocium fefelliſſet in virorum bonorum numero non putarunt haberi oportere.* Cic. pro Roſc. Am. *Quæ concurſatio percontantium quid Prætor edixiſſet, ubi cænaret, quid enuntiaſſet.* Cic. Agrar. 1.

## *Of Conjunctions.*

COnjunctions Copulative and Disjunctive, and theſe four, *Quam, niſi, præterquam, an,* couple like caſes; as *Socrates docuit Xenophontem & Platonem. Aut dies eſt, aut nox. Neſcio albus an ater ſit. Eſt minor natu quàm tu. Nemini placet præterquam ſibi.*

Except when ſom particular conſtruction requireth otherwiſe; as *Studui Romæ & Athenis. Emi fundum centum nummis & pluris. Accuſas furti, an ſtupri, an utroque?*

They alſo couple for the moſt part like Moods and Tenſes, as *Recto ſtat corpore, deſpicitque terras.* But not always like Tenſes; as *Niſi me lactaſſes, & vana ſpe produceres. Et habetur, & referetur tibi a me gratia.*

Of other Conjunctions, ſom govern an Indicative, ſom a Subjunctive, according to thir ſeveral Significations.

*Etſi, tametſi, etiamſi, quanquam* an Indicative; *quamvis* and *licet* moſt commonly a Subjunctive; as *Etſi nihil novi afferebatur. Quanquam animus meminiſſe horret. Quamvis Elyſios miretur Græcia campos. Ipſe licet venias.*

*Ni, niſi, ſi, ſiquidem, quod quia poſtquam, poſteaquam, antequam, priuſquam* an Indicative or Subjunctive; as *Niſi vi mavis eripi. Ni faciat. Caſtigo te, non quòd odeo habeam, ſed quòd amem. Antequam dicam. Si* for *quamvis* a Subjunctive only. *Redeam? Non ſi me obſecret.*

*Si* alſo conditional may ſomtimes govern both Verbs of the ſentence in a Subjunctive; as *Reſpiraro ſi te videro.* Cic. ad Attic.

*Quando, quandoquidem, quoniam* an Indicative; as *Dicite quandoquidem in molli conſedimus herba. Quoniam convenimus ambo.*

*Cum*, ſeeing that, a Subjunctive; as *Cum ſis officiis Gradive virilibus aptus.*

*Ne, an, num,* of doubting, a Subjunctive; as *Nihil refert, feceriſne, an perſuaſeris. Viſam num redierit.*

Interrogatives alſo of diſdain or reproach underſtood, govern a Subjunctive; as *tantum dem, quantum ille popoſcerit?* Cic. verr. 4. *Sylvam tu Scantiam vendas?* Cic. Agrar. *Hunc tu non ames?* Cic. ad Attic. *Furem aliquem aut rapacem accuſaris? Vitanda ſemper erit omnis avaritiæ ſuſpicio.* Cic. ver. 4. Somtimes an Infinitive; as *Mene incepto deſiſtere victam?* Virg.

*Ut* that, leſt not, or although, a Subjunctive; as *Te oro, ut redeat jam in viam. Metuo ut ſubſtet hoſpes. Ut omnia contingant quæ volo.*

## *Of Prepoſitions.*

OF Prepoſitions, ſom will have an Accuſative after them, ſom an Ablative, ſom both, according to thir different ſignification.

An Accuſative theſe following, *Ad, apud, ante, adverſus adverſum, cis citra, circum circa, circiter, contra, erga, extra, inter, intra, infra, juxta, ob, ponè, per, propè, propter, poſt, penes, præter, ſecundum, ſupra, ſecùs, trans, ultra, uſque, verſus;* But *verſus* is moſt commonly ſet after the caſe it governs, as *Londinum verſus.*

And for an Accuſative after *ad*, a Dative ſomtimes is uſ'd in Poets; as *It clamor cœlo.* Virg. *Cœlo ſi gloria tollit Æneadum.* Sil. for *ad cœlum.*

An Ablative theſe, *A, ab, abs, abſque, cum, coram, de, e, ex, pro, præ, palam, ſine, tenus,* which laſt is alſo put after his Caſe, being moſt uſually a Genitive, if it be plural; as *Capulo tenus. Aurium tenus.*

Theſe, both Caſes, *In, ſub, ſuper, ſubter, clam, procul.*

*In*, ſignifying *to, towards, into,* or *againſt*, requires an Accuſative; as *Piſces emptos obolo in cœnam ſeni. Animus in Teucros benignus. Verſa eſt in cineres Troja. In te committere tantum quid Troes potuere?* Laſtly, when it ſignifies *future time*, or *for*; as *Bellum in trigeſimum diem indixerunt. Deſignati conſules in annum ſequentem. Alii pretia faciunt in ſingula capita canum.* Var. Otherwiſe *in* will have an Ablative; as *In Urbe. In Terris.*

*Sub*, when it ſignifies *to*, or *in time, about*, or *a little before*, requires an Accuſative; as *Sub umbram properemus. Sub id tempus. Sub noctem.* Otherwiſe an Ablative. *Sub pedibus. Sub umbra.*

*Super* ſignifying *beyond*, or *preſent time*, an Accuſative; as *Super Garamantas & Indos. Super cœnam.* Suet. at ſupper time. *Of* or *concerning*, an Ablative; as *Multa ſuper Priamo rogitans. Super hac re.*

*Super, over* or *upon*, may have either caſe; as *Super ripas Tiberis effuſus. Sæva ſedens ſuper arma. Fronde ſuper viridi.*

So alſo may *ſubter*; as *pugnatum eſt ſuper ſubterque terras. Subter denſa teſtudine.* Virg. *Clam patrem* or *patre. Procul muros.* Liv. *Patria procul.*

Prepoſitions in compoſition govern the ſame caſes as before in appoſition. *Adibo hominem. Detrudunt naves ſcopulo.* And the Prepoſition is ſomtimes repeated; as *Detrahere de tua fama nunquam cogitavi.* And ſomtimes underſtood, governeth his uſual caſe; as *Habeo te loco parentis. Apparuit humana ſpecie. Cumis erant oriundi.* Liv. *Liberis parentibus oriundus.* Colum. *Mutat quadrata rotundis.* Hor. *Pridie Compitalia. Pridie nonas* or *calendas. Poſtridie Idus. Poſtridie ludos.* Before which Accuſatives *ante* or *poſt* is to be underſtood, *Filii id ætatis.* Cic. *Hoc noctis.* Liv. Underſtand *Secundum.* Or refer to part of time. *Omnia Mercurio ſimilis.* Virg. Underſtand *per.*

## *Of Interjections.*

CErtain Interjections have ſeveral Caſes after them. *O*, a Nominative, Accuſative or Vocative; as *O feſtus dies hominis. O ego lævus.* Hor. *O fortunatos. O formoſe puer.*

Others a Nominative, or an Accuſative; as *Heu priſca fides! Heu ſtirpem inviſam! Proh ſancte Jupiter! Proh deum atque hominum fidem! Hem tibi Davum!*

Yea, though the Interjection be underſtood; as *Me miſerum! Me cœcum, qui hæc ante non viderim!*

Others will have a Dative; as *Hei mihi. Væ miſero mihi.* Terent.

*FINIS.*

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# DEFENSIO
## Pro Populo Anglicano,
## Contra *Claudii Anonymi*, aliàs *Salmaſii*, Defenſionem REGIAM.

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# PRÆFATIO.

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# Joannis Miltoni
# OPERA
## OMNIA LATINA.

VIZ.

I. Defenſio pro Populo Anglicano, contra Claudii Salmaſii Defenſionem Regiam.

II. Defenſio ſecunda pro Populo Anglicano, contra Alexandrum Morum Eccleſiaſten.

III. Defenſio pro ſe, cui adjungitur Joannis Philippi Reſponſio ad Apologiam Anonymi cujuſdam Tenebrionis pro Rege & Populo Anglicano Infantiſſimam.

IV. Literæ Senatus Anglicani, nec non Cromwelli, &c. nomine ac juſſu conſcriptæ.

V. Artis Logicæ Inſtitutio ad Petri Rami methodum concinnata.

VI. Epiſtolarum Familiarium liber unus, quibus acceſſerunt ejuſdem, jam olim in Collegio adoleſcentis, Proluſiones quædam oratoriæ.

Nunc primùm junctim edita.

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AMSTELODAMI,
Anno M. DC. XC. VIII.

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Quod quidem munus ut ſuſciperem, tametſi ſummi in republica noſtrá viri ſuâ authoritate perfecerunt, mihíque hoc negotium datum eſſe voluerunt, ut quæ illi, Deo ductore, magnâ cum gloria geſſere, ea, quod certè proximum eſt, contra invidiam & obtrectationem, quas in res ferrum & apparatus belli nihil poteſt, alio genere armorum defenderem; quorum ego quidem judicium magno mihi ornamento eſſe exiſtimo, me ſcilicet eorum ſuffragiis eum eſſe præ cæteris, qui hanc patriæ meæ fortiſſimis liberatoribus haud pœnitendam operam navarem, quin & ipſe ab ineunte adoleſcentiâ iis eram ſtudiis incenſus, quæ me ad optima quæque ſi minùs facienda, at certè laudanda incitatum ferebant. His tamen diffiſus adminiculis ad divinam opem recurro: Deúmque opt. max. donorum omnium largitorem invoco, ut quàm proſperè quámque piè noſtri illi ad libertatem clariſſimi duces regios faſtus, & dominatum impotentem acie fregerunt, dein memorabili tandem ſupplicio extinxerunt, quámque facili negotio nuper unus de multis ipſum regem veluti ab inferis reſurgentem, ínque illo libro poſt mortem edito novis argutiis, & verborum lenociniis populo ſe venditantem redarguit atque ſummovit, tam ego feliciter támque verè declamatoris hujus exotici petulantiam & mendacia refellam atque diſcutiam. Qui alienigena cùm ſit, & quamvis id millies neget, Grammaticus, non eâ ſtipe contentus quam hoc nomine meretur, magnus ardelio eſſe maluit; non reipublicæ ſolùm immiſcere ſe auſus, ſed alienæ: cum neque modeſtiam, neque judicium, neque aliud quicquam afferat, quod oporteret ſanè tantum arbitrum, præter arrogantiam & Grammaticam. Et ſanè hæc quæ jam Latinè utcunque ſcripſit, ſi inter Anglos, & noſtro Sermone protuliſſet, vix eſſet, credo, qui de reſponſo laborandum eſſe judicaret; ſed partim trita, & refutationibus jam crebris exploſa negligeret, partim tyrannica & fœda, viliſſimo quovis mancipio vix ferenda, quamvis alioqui regias ſecutus ipſe partes, averſaretur. Nunc cùm inter exteros, & noſtrarum rerum penitùs ignaros grandi paginâ turgeſcat, ſunt illi quidem qui res noſtras perperàm intelligunt, edocendi; hic ſuo more ( quandoquidem tanta maledicendi aliis libidine fertur ) ſuo inquam more ac modo erit tractandus. Quod ſiquis miretùr fortè, cur ergò tam diu intactum & ovantem, noſtróque omnium ſilentio inflatum volitare paſſi ſimus, de aliis ſanè neſcio, de me audacter poſſum dicere, non mihi verba aut argumenta, quibus cauſam tuerer tam bonam, diu quærenda aut inveſtiganda fuiſſe, ſi otium & valetudinem ( quæ quidem ſcribendi laborem ferre poſſit ) nactus eſſem. Quâ cum adhuc etiam tenui admodum utar, carptim hæc cogor, & interciſis penè ſingulis horis vix attingere, quæ continenti ſtylo atque ſtudio perſequi debuiſſem. Unde hoc ſi minùs dabitur, cives meos præſtantiſſimos, patriæ conſervatores digno laudum præconio celebrare, quorum immortalia facinora jam toto orbe claruerunt, defendere tamen, & ab hujus importuni literatoris inſolentiâ, & profeſſoriæ Linguæ intemperiis vindicare haud mihi difficile futurum ſpero. Peſſimè enim vel naturâ vel legibus comparatum foret ſi arguta ſervitus, libertas muta eſſet; & haberent tyranni qui pro ſe dicerent, non haberent qui tyrannos debellare poſſunt: Miſerum eſſet, ſi hæc ipſa ratio, quo utimur Dei munere, non multo plura ad homines conſervandos, liberandos, & quantum natura fert, inter ſe æquandos, quàm ad opprimendos & ſub unius imperio malè perdendos argumenta ſuppeditaret. Cauſam itaque pulcherrimam hac certâ fiduciâ læti aggrediamur; illinc fraudem, fallaciam, ignorantiam, atque barbariem; hinc lucem, veritatem, rationem, & ſeculorum omnium optimorum ſtudia, atque doctrinam nobiſcum ſtare.

Agè nunc jam, ſatis præfati, quoniam cum criticis res eſt, tam culti voluminis titulum imprimis videamus quid aït, *Defenſio Regia pro Carolo* I. *ad Carolum* II. Magnum ſanè præſtas, O quiſquis es! patrem defendis ad filium; mirum ni cauſam obtineas. Verùm ego te falſo aliàs ſub nomine, nunc ſub nullo latitantem, Salmaſi, ad alia voco ſubſellia, ad alios judices, ubi tu illud euge & ſophôs, quod in palæſtra tuâ literaria captare miſerè ſoles, fortaſſe non audies. Sed cur ad regem filium defenſio hæc regia? Non opus eſt tortore, confitentem habemus reum. *Sumptibus* inquit *Regiis*: O te venalem oratorem & ſumptuoſum! Siccine defenſionem pro Carolo Patre, tuâ ſententiâ, rege optimo, ad Carolum Filium Regem pauperrimum noluiſti niſi ſumptibus regiis? Sed veterator etiam haud irridiculus eſſe voluiſti, qui *regiam defenſionem* dixeris; non enim ampliùs tua quam vendidiſti, ſed legitimè jam *regia defenſio* eſt; centenis nimirum Jacobæis emta, ingenti pretio ab egentiſſimo Rege. Non enim ignota

nota loquimur; novimus qui illos aureos domum attulit tuam, qui crumenam illam teſſellis vitreis variatam, novimus qui te avaras manus porrigentem vidit, in ſpeciem quidem ut Sacellanum Regis miſſum cum munere, re verâ ut ipſum munus amplectere; & unâ tantùm mercede acceptâ totum penè regis ærarium exinanires. Sed eccum ipſum, crepant fores, prodit hiſtrio in proſcenium.

Date operam & cum ſilentio animadvertite,
Ut pernoſcatis quid ſibi Eunuchus velit.

Nam quicquideſt, præter ſolitum cothurnatus incedit. *Horribilis nuper nuntius aures noſtras atroci vulnere, ſed magis mentes perculit, de parricidio apud Anglos in perſonâ regis ſacrilegorum hominum nefariâ conſpiratione admiſſo.* Profectò nuntius iſte horribilis aut gladium multo longiorem eo quem ſtrinxit Petrus habuerit oportet, aut aures iſtæ auritiſſimæ fuerint, quas tam longinquo vulnere perculerit: nam aures non ſtolidas ne offendiſſe quidem potuit. Ecqua enim vobis fit injuria, ecquis veſtrûm læditur, ſi nos hoſtes & perduelles noſtros, ſive plebeïos, ſive nobiles, ſive reges morte multamus? At iſta mitte, Salmaſi, quæ ad te nihil attinent: ego enim de te etiam *horribilem* habeo quem apportem *nuntium*; quíque omnium Grammaticorum & Criticorum aures, modò teretes habent & doctas, atrociori vulnere ſi non perculerit, mirabor; *de parricidio* apud Hollandos *in perſona* Ariſtarchi, *nefariâ* Salmaſii audaciâ *admiſſo*: te magnum ſcilicet Criticum *ſumptibus regiis* conductum, ut defenſionem Regiam ſcriberes, non ſolùm putidiſſimo exordio, præficarum funebribus nugis & næniis ſimillimo nullius, non fatui, mentem miſeratione permoviſſe, ſed primâ ſtatim clauſulâ riſum penè legentibus multiplici barbariſmo concitâſſe. Quid enim, quæſo, eſt *parricidium in perſona Regis admittere?* quid *in perſona Regis?* Quæ unquam latinitas ſic locuta eſt? niſi aliquem nobis forte Pſeudophilippum narras, qui perſonam Regis indutus, neſcio quid parricidii apud Anglos patraverit; quod verbum verius opinione tua ex ore tibi excidiſſe puto. Tyrannus enim, quaſi hiſtrionalis quidam Rex, larva tantùm & perſona Regis, non verus rex eſt. Cæterùm ob hujuſmodi noxas Gallicolatinas, quibus paſſim ſcates, non tam mihi, neque enim eſt otium, quàm ipſis tuis Grammatiſtis pœnas dabis; quibus ego te deridendum & vapulandum propino. Hoc multo atrocius; quod à ſummis magiſtratibus noſtris de rege ſtatutum eſt, id *ſacrilegorum hominum nefariâ conſpiratione* admiſſum aïs. Túne furcifer potentiſſimi nuper regni, nunc reipub. eo potentioris acta & conſulta ſic nominas? quorum de factis ne Rex quidem ullus ut quicquam gravius pronunciaret, aut ſcriptum ederet, adduci adhuc potuit. Meritò itaque ampliſſimi Ordines Hollandiæ, liberatorum olim patriæ vera progenies, defenſionem hanc tyrannicam, populorum omnium libertati peſtilentiſſimam edicto ſuo tenebris damnârunt; cujus & ipſum authorem omnis libera Civitas ſuis prohibere finibus, aut ejicere deberet: eáque præcipuè quæ tam ingratum támque tetrum reipub. hoſtem ſuo ſtipendio alit; cujus ille reipub. haud ſecùs atque noſtræ, fundamenta ipſa atque cauſas oppugnat; necnon utramque unâ & eâdem operâ labefactare & ſubruere conatur; præſtantiſſimóſque illic Libertatis Vindices noſtrorum ſub nomine maledictis proſcindit. Reputate jam vobiſcum Illuſtriſſimi Fœderatorum Ordines, & cum animis veſtris cogitate, quis hunc regiæ poteſtatis aſſertorem ad ſcribendum impulerit, quis nuper apud vos regiè ſe gerere incœperit, quæ conſilia, qui conatus, quæ turbæ denique per Hollandiam ſecutæ ſint, quæ nunc eſſent, quàm vobis parata ſervitus, novúſque dominus erat, atque illa veſtra tot annorum armis atque laboribus vindicata libertas, quàm propè extincta apud vos nunc foret, niſi opportuniſſimâ nuper temerarii juvenis morte reſpirâſſet. Sed pergit iſte noſter ampullari, & mirabiles tragœdias fingere, *Quoſcunque infandus hic* parricidialis nimirum barbariſmi Salmaſiani *rumor attigit, haud ſecùs ac ſi fulmine afflati eſſent, derepente his arrectaque horrore coma & vox faucibus hæſit.* Quod nunc primitùs auditum diſcant Phyſici, comas fulmine arrectas. Verùm quis hoc neſcit, viles & imbelles animos, magni cujuſpiam facinoris vel rumore obſtupeſcere; quódque priùs fuerunt, tum ſe maximè ſtipites indicare. Alii *lacrymas non tenuerunt*, mulierculæ credo aulicæ, aut ſiqui his molliores; inter quos & ipſe Salmaſius novâ quâdam metamorphôſi Salmacis factus eſt; & fonte hoc ſuo lacrymarum fictitio, & nocte parato viriles animos emollire conatur. Moneo itaque, & cavere jubeo

*———— infamis ne quem malè fortibus undis*
*Salmacis enervet, — ne vir cùm venerit, exeat indè*
*Semivir, & tactis ſubitò molleſcat in undis.*

*Fortiùs verò* inquit *animati* (nam fortes puto & animoſos ne nominare quidem niſi putidè poteſt) tantâ *indignationis flammâ exarſerunt, ut vix ſe caperent.* Furioſos illos non flocci facimus; verâ fortitudine ſuíque compote iſtos minaces pellere, & in fugam vertere conſuevimus. *Nemo certè non diras imprecatus eſt tanti ſceleris authoribus.* Vox tamen, ut tu modò aïebas, *fauſibus hæſit*; atque hæſiſſet utinam in hunc uſque diem, ſi de noſtris duntaxat perfugis hoc vis intelligi, quod nos etiam pro comperto habemus, nihil illis frequentius in ore eſſe, quàm diras & imprecationes omnibus bonis abominandas quidem, non tamen metuendas. De aliis credibile vix eſt, cum ſupplicii de rege ſumti fama illuc perveniſſet, repertum in libero præſertim populo fuiſſe ullum, tam ad ſervitutem natum, qui nos dicto læderet, aut factum noſtrum crimini daret; immo potius omnes bonos omnia bona dixiſſe; quinetiam Deo gratias egiſſe, qui exemplum juſtitiæ tam illuſtre & excelſum ediderit, quódque cæteris regibus tam ſalutari documento eſſe poſſit. Iſtos itaque *feros ac ferreos cædem*, neſcio cujus *miſerabilem, ac mirabilem* plorantes, cum ſuo tinnulo oratore, *poſt regium in orbe nomen natum notúmque*, frigidiſſimo, etiam atque etiam plorare jubemus. At quis interim è ludo ferè puer, aut è cœnobio quovis fraterculus caſum hunc regis non multo diſertiùs, immo Latiniùs hoc oratore regio declamitâſſet? Verùm ego ineptior ſim, ſi infantiam hujus & deliramenta hunc in modum toto volumine accuratè perſequar; quod tamen libens facerem (quoniam ſuperbiâ & faſtidio, ut ferunt, ſupra modum turget) ni mole tantùm libri inconcinnâ atque inconditâ ſe protegeret, & veluti miles ille Terentianus poſt principia lateret: callido ſanè conſilio, ut defeſſus ſingula notando etiam acerrimus quiſque, tædio priùs conficeretur, quàm omnia redargueret. Nunc ejus quoddam ſpecimen dare hac veluti proluſione duntaxat volui; & cordatis lectoribus à principio ſtatim deguſtandum hominem præbere, ut in hac paginæ unius promulſide experiamur quàm lautè nos & luculenter cæteris ferculis excepturus ſit; quantas ineptias atque infantias toto opere congeſſerit, qui tam denſas, ubi minimè decuit, in ipſa fronte collocavit. Exinde multa garrientem, & ſcombris concionantem facilè prætereo; ad noſtras autem res quod attinet, haud dubitamus quin ea, quæ authoritate Parlamenti ſcripta publicè & declarata ſunt, apud omnes bonos & prudentes exteros plus ponderis habitura ſint, quàm unius impudentiſſimi homuncionis calumniæ, & mendacia; qui ab exulibus noſtris, patriæ hoſtibus, prætio conductus, quolibet eorum dictante quibus operam ſuam locaverat, aut rumuſculum ſpargente, falſiſſima quæque corradere, & in chartam conjicere non dubitavit. Utque planè intelligant omnes quàm non illi religio ſit quidlibet ſcribere, verum an falſum, pium & impium, haud alius mihi teſtis adhibendus erit, quàm ipſe Salmaſius. Scribit is in *Apparatu contra primatum Papæ, maximas eſſe cauſas cur Eccleſia redire ab epiſcopatu debeat ad Apoſtolicam* Presbyterorum *inſtitutionem; longè majus ex epiſcopatu introductum in eccleſiam eſſe malum, quàm illa ſchiſmata quæ priùs metuebantur: Peſtem illam quæ ex eo eccleſias invaſit, totum eccleſiæ corpus miſerabili tyrannide peſſundediſſe; immo ipſos reges ac principes ſub jugum miſiſſe; Majoram in eccleſiam utilitatem redundaturam Hierarchiâ totâ extinctâ, quàm ſolo capite Papâ*, p. 169. *Poſſe epiſcopatum cum Papatu tolli cum ſummo bono eccleſiæ; ſublato epiſcopatu ruere ipſum Papatum, ſuper illo utpote fundatum*, p. 171. *Cur removeri debeat, in illis regnis quæ jam Papatui renunciârunt proprias habere cauſas. Cur ibi epiſcopatus retineatur ſe non videre; non integram videri reformationem quæ hac in parte imperfecta ſit; nihil afferri poſſe rationis aut cauſæ probabilis cur ſublato Papatu retineri debeat aut poſſit epiſcopatus*, p. 197. Hæc & multò plura cùm ante annos quatuor ſcripſerit, tantâ nunc vanitate & impudentiâ eſt, ut Parlamentum Angliæ graviter incuſare hoc loco audeat, quòd epiſcopatum *non ſolùm ſenatu ejiciendum, ſed etiam penitùs abjiciendum cenſuerint.* Quid? quòd ipſum etiam epiſcopatum ſuadet atque defendit, iiſdem uſus argumentis & rationibus, quas libro illo priore magno impetu confutaverat; *neceſſarios* nempe *fuiſſe epiſcopos, & omnino retinendos, ne mille peſtiferæ ſectæ & hæreſes in Anglia pullularent.* O vafrum & verſipellem! adeóne te etiam in ſacris non puduit deſultorem agere, propè dixeram, eccleſiam prodere; cujus tu ideò ſanctiſſima inſtituta tanto ſtrepitu aſſeruiſſe videris, ut quoties tibi commodum eſſet, eo majore cum infamia ea ipſa ludificari atque ſubvertere poſſes. Neminem hoc latet, cum regni Ordines, Eccleſiæ noſtræ, ad exemplum cæterarum, reformandæ ſtudio flagrantes, epiſcopatum funditùs tollere ſtatuiſſent, primò regem interceſſiſſe, dein bellum nobis eâ potiſſimùm cauſâ intuliſſe; quòd ipſi tandem in perniciem vertit. I nunc & te defenſorem regium eſſe gloriare, qui ut regem gnaviter defendas, ſuſceptam à temetipſo eccleſiæ cauſam nunc palàm prodis atque oppugnas: cujus graviſſima quidem cenſurâ eſſes notandus. De forma autem reipub. noſtræ, quoniam tu Profeſſor triobolaris & extraneus remotis capſulis atque ſcriniis tuis nugarum refertiſſimis, quas meliùs in ordinem redigere poteras, in aliena repub. ſatagere & odioſus eſſe mavis, ſic breviter tibi, vel cuivis potiùs te prudentiori reſpondeo; eam formam eſſe quam noſtra tempora atque diſſidia ferunt; non qualis optanda eſſet, ſed qualem obſtinata improborum civium diſcordia eſſe patitur. Quæ autem Reſpub. factionibus laborat, atque armis ſe tuetur, ſi ſanæ & integræ tantùm partis rationem habet, cæteros ſive plebeios ſive optimates præterit aut excludit, ſatis profectò æqua eſt; quamvìs regem & proceres, ſuis ipſa malis edocta, ampliùs nolit. *Concilium* autem illud *ſupremum* quòd inſectaris, atque etiam *Concilii Præſidem*, næ tu ridiculus es; Concilium enim illud, quod ſomnias, non eſt ſupremum, ſed Parlamenti authoritate ad certum duntaxat tempus conſtitutum, quadraginta virorum ex ſuo ferè numero, quorum quilibet cæterorum ſuffragiis præſes eſſe poteſt. Semper autem hoc uſitatiſſimum fuit, ut Parlamentum, qui noſter Senatus eſt, delectos ex ſuorum numero pauciores, quoties viſum erat, conſtituerit: iis unum in locum ubivis conveniendi, & veluti minoris cujuſdam habendi Senatûs poteſtas delata eſt. Iiſdem res ſæpe graviſſimæ, quo celeriùs & majori cum ſilentio tranſigerentur, commiſſæ atque creditæ; Claſſis, exercitus, ærarii cura aut procuratio, quævis denique pacis aut belli munia. Hoc ſive concilium nominetur, ſive quid aliud, verbo fortè novum, re antiquum eſt; & ſine quo nulla omninò Reſpub. rectè adminiſtrari poteſt. De regis autem ſupplicio, & rerum apud nos converſione mitte vociferari, mitte virus illud tuum acerbitatis evomere; donec iſta *quâ lege*, *quo jure*, *quo judicio* facta ſint, te licèt repugnante, ſingulis capitibus oſtendam, & pedem conferam. Si tamen inſtas *quo jure*, *quâ lege*, eâ, inquam, lege quam Deus ipſe & natura ſanxit, ut omnia quæ Reipub. ſalutaria eſſent, legitima & juſta haberentur. Sic olim ſapientes tui ſimilibus reſponderunt. *Leges per tot annos ratas refixiſſe* nos criminaris; bonáſne an malas non dicis, nec ſi diceres audiendus eſſes, nam noſtræ leges Ole quid ad te? Utinam plures refixiſſent tum leges tum leguleios; rectiùs ſanè & rei Chriſtianæ & populo conſuluiſſent. Frendes quòd *hac*, *Manii*, *terra filii*, *vix domi nobiles*, *vix ſuis noti licere ſibi crediderint*. Meminiſſes quæ te non ſolùm libri ſacri, ſed etiam Lyricus doceat.

——Valet ima ſummis
Mutare, & inſignem attenuat Deus
Obſcura promens —

Sic etiam habeto; eorum quos tu vix nobiles eſſe aïs, alios nulli veſtrarum partium vel generis nobilitate cedere; alios ex ſe natos per induſtriam atque virtutem ad veram nobilitatem iter affectare, & cum nobiliſſimis quibuſque poſſe conferri; ſe autem malle *filios terra* dici, modò ſuæ, & domi ſtrenuè facere, quam ſine terrâ & lare fumos vendendo, quod tu facis, homo nihili & ſtramineus eques, in aliena terra dominorum nutu & ſtipendio famem tolerare: ab iſta, mihi crede, peregrinatione ad agnatos potiùs & gentiles deducendus, niſi hoc unum ſaperes, quòd frivolas quaſdam prælectiones & nugamenta ſcis tantâ mercede apud exteros effutire. Reprehendis quòd magiſtratus noſtri *colluviem omnium Sectarum recipiant*; quid ni recipiant? quos eccleſiæ eſt è coetu fidelium ejicere, non magiſtratuum è civitate pellere; ſiquidem in leges civiles non peccant. Primò homines ut tutò ac liberè ſine vi atque injuriis vitam agerent, convenere in civitatem; ut ſanctè & religioſè, in Eccleſiam; illa leges, hæc diſciplinam habet ſuam, planè diverſam: Hinc toto orbe Chriſtiano per tot annos bellum ex bello feritur, quòd Magiſtratus & Eccleſia inter

ter ſe officia confundunt. Quapropter & Papiſticam minimè toleramus; neque enim eam tam eſſe religionem intelligimus, quàm obtentu religionis tyrannidem pontificiam civilis potentiæ ſpoliis ornatam, quæ contra ipſum Chriſti inſtitutum ad ſe rapuit. *Independentes*, quales à te ſolo finguntur, nulli apud nos unquam viſi; præter eos duntaxat qui cùm claſſes & ſynodos ſupra Eccleſiam quamque ſingularem eſſe non agnoſcant, eas omnes velut Hierarchiæ particulas quaſdam, aut certè truncum ipſum, eradicandas eſſe tecum ſentiunt. Hinc nomen Independentium apud Vulgus obtinuit. Quod reſtat video te id agere, ut regum omnium & Monarcharum non invidiam ſolùm, ſed etiam bellum atrociſſimum in nos concites. Olim Rex Mithridates, quamvìs cauſâ diſſimili, omnes reges in Romanos concitabat, eadem propè calumniatus; Romanis conſilium eſſe, omnia regna ſubvertere, iis nulla humana neque divina obſtare, à principio nihil niſi partum armis habuiſſe, latrones, regnorum maximè hoſtes. Hæc Mithridates regi Arſaci: Te verò in iſta tua exedra infantiſſimè rhetoricantem quæ fiducia provexit, ut ad bellum hortando, & licèt nolis videri, *claſſicum canendo*, ullum vel inter pueros regem commovere te poſſe animum induceres, iſto præſertim ore tam exili & rancidulo, ut ne mures quidem Homericos, te buccinatore, bellum unquam ranunculis illaturos fuiſſe credam? Tantum abeſt ut metuam quid tu belli nobis aut periculi, homo ignaviſſime, apud exteros reges iſtâ tua rabidâ & inſulſâ ſimul facundiâ conflare poſſis: qui ad illos, acſi *regum capita quaſi pilas habeamus, de coronis quaſi trocho ludamus, ſceptra imperialia non plures faciamus quàm bacula morionum capitata*, luſoriè ſanè nos defers. At tu interea, ſtultiſſimum caput, morionis ipſe baculo digniſſimus es, qui reges ac principes tam puerilibus argumentis ad bellum ſuaderi putes. Omnes deinde populos inclamas, dicto audientes tuo, ſat ſcio, minimè futuros. Hibernorum etiam conſceleratam illam ac barbaram colluviem regiis partibus in auxilium vocas. Quod unicum indicio eſſe poteſt quàm ſceleſtus ſis & væcors, quàm omnes penè mortales impietate, audaciâ, & furore ſuperes, qui devotæ gentis fidem atque opem implorare non dubitas, cujus ab impiâ ſocietate tot civium innocentiſſimorum ſanguine perfuſâ etiam rex ipſe aut abhorruit ſemper, aut abhorrere ſe ſimulavit. Et quam ille perfidiam, quam ille crudelitatem occultare, quantum potuit, atque ab ſe longè amovere ſummo ſtudio contendit, eam tu, bipedum nequiſſime, quo minùs ultrò atque palam ſuſcipias, neque Deum neque homines vereris. Agedum; Hibernis igitur fautoribus ac ſociis ad defenſionem regis jam te accinge. Caves imprimis quod cauto mehercule opus erat, nequis te Tullio fortaſſe aut Demoſtheni omnem eloquentiæ laudem præreptum ire ſuſpicaretur; & prædicis, *oratorio more non tibi agendum videri*. Næ tu haud ſtultè ſapis; id quod non potes, non videtur tibi eſſe agendum; oratoriè autem ut tu ageres quis, qui te ſatìs novit, unquam exſpectavit? qui nihil elaboratè, nihil diſtinctè, nihil quod ſapiat, in lucem emittere aut ſoles aut potes; ſed veluti Criſpinus alter, aut Tzetzes ille græculus, modò ut multum ſcribas, quàm rectè non laboras; neque ſi labores, valeas. *Agetur*, inquis, *hæc cauſa toto orbe audiente, & quaſi ad judicandum ſedente*. Id adeò nobis pergratum eſt, ut adverſarium non cerebroſum & imperitum, qualis tu es, ſed cordatum & intelligentem dari jam nobis optemus. Perorans planè tragicus es, immo Ajax ipſe Lorarius: *Horum ego injuſtitiam, impietatem, perfidiam, crudelitatem, proclamabo cœlo & terræ, ipſóſque authores convictos poſteris tradam, reóſque peragam*. O Floſculos! Túne igitur ſine ſale, ſine genio proclamator & rabula, bonis authoribus divexandis tantùm aut tranſcribendis natus, quicquam de tuo quod vivat producere te putas poſſe? quem unà cum ſcriptis tuis futiliſſimis abreptum ætas, mihi crede, proxima oblivioni mandabit. Niſi ſi defenſio hæc regia ſuo fortaſſe reſponſo aliquid debitura eſt, ſi neglecta jam pridem & conſopita, in manus iterum ſumatur. Idque ego ab Illuſtriſſimis Hollandiæ Ordinibus peterem, ut eam è fiſco protinus dimiſſam, neque enim Theſaurus eſt, pervagari, quò velit, ſinant. Si enim quâ vanitate, inſcitiâ, falſitate referta ſit, planum omnibus fecero, quò latiùs excurrit, eo arctiùs, meâ quidem ſententiâ, ſupprimitur. Jam nos quemadmodum *reos peragat*, videamus.

# CAP. I.

QUoniam tibi vano homini & ventoſo multum hinc forſitan ſuperbiæ, Salmaſi, multum ſpiritûs acceſſit, magnæ ſcilicet Britanniæ regem fidei defenſorem eſſe, te verò regis, ego quidem & illum regi titulum, & hunc tibi jure pari ac merito concedam: Cum ſanè rex fidem, tu regem ſic defenderis, ut cauſam uterque ſuam evertiſſe potiùs videatur. Quod cum paſſim infrà, tum hoc primo capite oſtendam. Dixeras tu quidem præfationis paginâ duodecimâ, *Ornari pigmentis rhetoricis tam bonam & juſtam cauſam non debere: Nam ſimpliciter rem, ut geſta eſt, narrare, regem defendere eſt.* Quando igitur toto hoc capite in quo narrationem illam ſimplicem futuram pollicitus eras, neque rem ſimpliciter, ut geſta eſt, narras, neque non pigmentis, quantum in eo genere conſequi potes rhetoricis ornas, profectò vel tuo judicio ſi ſtandum eſſet, cauſa regia neque bona neque juſta erit. Quanquam hoc cave tibi ſumas quod dat nemo, poſſe te quicquam rhetoricè narrare; qui neque oratoris, neque hiſtorici, immò ne cauſſidici quidem partes narrando ſuſtinere potes; ſed quaſi circulator quiſpiam, arte circumforaneâ, magnam de te in procemio, velut in poſterum diem, exſpectationem concitabas; non tam ut rem promiſſam tum demùm narrares, quàm ut pigmenta illa miſera, & ampullas fuco refertas lectoribus quàm plurimis divenderes. Nam *de facto dicturus tot novitatum monſtris te circundari ac terreri ſentis, ut quid primum exequaris, quid deinde, quid poſtremò, neſcias.* Hoccine eſt ſimpliciter narrare? Dicam quod res eſt, tot tuorum ipſe mendaciorum monſtris, primùm terreri te ſentis, deinde tot nugis, tot ineptiis leviſſimum illud caput non *circundari* ſolùm, ſed circumagi, *ut quid primum, quid deinde, quid poſtremò* dicendum ullo tempore ſit, non modò nunc *neſcias*, ſed nunquam antea non neſciveris. *Inter difficultates quæ occurrunt ad exprimendam tam incredibilis flagitii immanitatem hoc unum facile dictu ſuppetit, quod iterum iterúmque repeti debet,* nempe *ſolem ipſum atrocius factum nunquam adſpexiſſe alterum.* Multa ſol aſpexit, bone magiſter, quæ Bernardus non vidit. Solem autem iterum atque iterum repetas licebit, id tu quidem prudenter feceris, quod non noſtra flagitia, ſed defenſionis tuæ frigus vehementiſſimè poſtulabit. *Regum*, inquis, *origo cum ſole novo cœpit.* Dii te, Damaſippe, deæque ſolſtitio donent, quo te calfacias, qui ne pedem ſine *ſole*; nequis fortaſſe te umbraticum doctorem eſſe dicat. At hercle etiam in tenebris es, qui jus patrium à regio non diſtinguis: Et cùm reges Patriæ Patres nominaveris, eâ ſtatim metaphorâ perſuaſiſſe credis, ut quicquid de patre non negaverim, id continuò de rege verum eſſe concedam. Pater & rex diverſiſſima ſunt. Pater nos genuit; at non rex nos, ſed nos regem creavimus. Patrem natura dedit populo, regem ipſe populus dedit ſibi; non ergò propter regem populus, ſed propter populum rex eſt; ferimus patrem, moroſum etiam & durum, ferimus & regem; ſed ne patrem quidem ferimus tyrannum. Pater ſi filium interficit, capite pœnas dabit: Cur non item rex eâdem juſtiſſimâ lege tenebitur, ſi populum, id eſt filios ſuos, perdiderit, præſertim cum pater, ut ne pater ſit, efficere non poſſit, rex facilè poſſit, ut neque pater ſit neque rex. Quod ſi *de facti qualitate*, quod ais, *indè* eſtimandum eſt, tibi dico, peregrine, & rebus noſtris alieniſſime, teſtis oculatus & indigena tibi dico; nos regem neque *bonum*, neque *juſtum*, neque *clementem*, neque *religioſum*, neque *pium*, neque *pacificum*, ſed hoſtem prope decennalem; nec parentem patriæ, ſed vaſtatorem *de medio ſuſtuliſſe. Solet hoc fieri*, ſateris, inficias enim ire non audes, *ſed non à reformatis, regi reformato.* Siquidem reformatus is dici poteſt, qui ſcriptis ad Papam literis, Sanctiſſimum appellaverat Patrem, qui Papiſtis æquior ſemper quàm Orthodoxis fuit. Talis cùm fuerit, ne ſuæ quidem familiæ primus à reformatis eſt *de medio* ſublatus. Quid? ejus avia Maria nonne à reformatis exuto regno ſolum vertere coacta eſt, ſupplicio demùm capitis affecta, ne Scotis quidem reformatis ægrè ferentibus? Immo ſi operam contuliſſe dicam, haud mentiar. In tantâ autem regum *reformatorum* paucitate, nihil hujuſmodi accidiſſe, ut eorum aliquis morte plecteretur, non eſt quod miremur. Licere autem regem nequam, ſive tyrannum regno pellere, vel ſupplicio quovis, prout meritus erit, punire (etiam ſummorum ſententiâ Theologorum, qui ipſi reformandæ eccleſiæ authores fuere) aude tu modò negare. Concedis quàm plurimos reges non ſiccâ morte periiſſe, hunc *gladio*, illum *veneno*, alium ſqualore *carceris*, aut *laqueo*. Omnium tamen hoc tibi miſerrimum videtur, & monſtri quiddam ſimile, regem in judicium adduci, *cauſam capitis dicere coactum, condemnatum, ſecuri percuſſum*. Dic mihi, homo inſipientiſſime, annon humanius, annon æquius, annon ad leges omnium civitatum accomodatius eſt, cujuſcunque criminis reum in judicio ſiſtere, ſuî defendendi copiam facere, lege condemnatum ad mortem haud immeritam ducere, ità ut damnato vel pœnitendi, vel ſe colligendi ſpatium detur, quàm ſtatim ut prehenſus eſt, indictâ cauſa pecudis in modum mactare? Quotuſquiſque eſt reorum qui ſi optio detur, non illo potiùs quàm hoc modo puniri ſe maluerit? Quæ ratio igitur animadvertendi in civem moderatior eſt habita, cur non eadem in regem quoque moderatior, & vel ipſi regi acceptior fuiſſe exiſtimanda eſt? Tu ſecretò, & ſine arbitris extinctum regem malebas, vel ut exempli tam boni ſalubritate omnis memoria careret, vel ut facti tam præclari conſcientia defugiſſe lucem, aut leges atque ipſam juſtitiam minimè ſibi amicam habuiſſe videretur. Exaggeras deinde rem, quòd neque per tumultum aut factionem optimatium, aut rebellium furorem, ſive militum ſive populi; non odio, non metu, non ſtudio dominandi, non cæco animi impetu, ſed conſilio & ratione meditatum diu facinus peregerint. O meritò quidem te ex juriſconſulto Grammaticum! qui ab accidentibus cauſæ, ut loquuntur, quæ per ſe nihil valent, vituperationes inſtituis, cum nondum docueris illud facinus in vitio an in laude ponendum ſit? Jam vide quàm in te facilè incurram. Si pulchrum & decorum fuit, eò magis laudandi quod nullis affectibus occupati, ſolius honeſtatis causâ fecerint; ſi arduum & grave, quòd non cæco impetu, ſed conſilio & ratione. Quanquam ego hæc divino potiùs inſtinctu geſta eſſe crediderim; quoties memoriâ repeto; quàm inopinato animorum ardore, quanto conſenſu totius exercitus, cui magna pars populi ſe adjunxerat, ab omnibus penè regni provinciis unâ voce regem ipſum ſuorum omnium malorum authorem ad ſupplicium depoſcebat. Quicquid erat, ſive magiſtratum ſive populum ſpectes, nulli unquam excelſiore animo, &, quod etiam adverſarii fatentur, ſedatiore, tam egregium facinus & vel heroïcis ætatibus dignum aggreſſi ſunt: Quo non leges tantùm & judicia, dehinc mortalibus ex æquo reſtituta, ſed ipſam juſtitiam nobilitarunt, ſéque ipsâ illuſtriorem dehinc, ſéque ipsâ majorem poſt hoc inſigne judicium reddidere. Jam tertiam prope hujus capitis paginam exantlavimus, nec tamen illa ſimplex narratio, quam promiſit, uſquam apparet. Queritur nos docere, *quoties rex moleſtè & odiosè regnat, impunè poſſe regno exui*: *Ab hac*, inquit, *doctrina inducti, ſi mille rebus meliorem regem habuiſſent, non ei vitam conſervâſſent.* Spectate hominis acumen; nam iſtuc aveo ex te ſcire, quo pacto hoc ſequitur, niſi tu nobis conceſſeris, noſtro rege mille rebus meliorem moleſtè & odiosè regnare; unde in eum deductus es locum, ut hunc quem defendis, iis regibus qui moleſtè & odiosè regnant mille rebus deteriorem facias; id eſt tyrannorum omnium fortaſſe immaniſſimum. Macti eſtote reges tam ſtrenuo defenſore. Nunc narrare incipit. *Torſerunt eum variis crucibus.* Dic quibus. *De carcere in carcerem traduxerunt.* Nec injuriâ, quippe ex tyranno hoſtem bello captum. *Cuſtodiis ſapè mutatis:* Ne ipſæ mutarent fidem. *Libertatis interdum ſpe oſtensâ, interdum & reſtitutionis per pactionem.* Vide quàm non antea meditatum nobis fuerit, quàm non *tempora & modos* diu captavimus regis abdicandi. Quas res ab eo tum propemodùm victore multo antè poſtulavimus, quæ niſi concederentur, nulla libertas, nulla ſalus populo ſperanda erat, eaſdem à captivo ſuppliciter, haud ſemel, immò ter & amplius petivimus; toties repulſam accepimus. Cum nulla de rege ſpes reliqua eſſet, fit Parlamenti conſultum illud nobile, nequa deinceps ad regem poſtulata mitterentur; non ex quo is tyrannus eſſe, ſed ex quo inſanabilis eſſe coepit. Poſtea tamen quidam ex Senatorum numero nova ſibi conſilia capientes, & idoneum tempus nacti, conditiones iterum regi ferendas decernunt; pari ſanè ſcelere atq; dementiâ ac Romanus olim Senatus, reclamante Marco Tullio & cum eo bonis omnibus, legatos decrevit ad Antonium: pari etiam eventu, niſi Deo immortali viſum aliter fuiſſet, illos in ſervitutem tradere, nos in libertatem vindicare. Nam cùm rex nihilo plus quàm antea conceſſiſſet, quod ad firmam pacem & compoſitionem reverâ ſpectaret, illi tamen ſatisfactum ſibi à Rege eſſe ſtatuunt. Pars itaque ſanior, cùm ſe rémque publicam prodi videret, fidem fortiſſimi, & ſemper reipub. fidiſſimi exercitûs implorat. In quo mihi quidem hoc ſolum occurrit quod nolim dicere, noſtras legiones rectiora ſenſiſſe quàm patres conſcriptos: Et ſalutem reipub. armis attuliſſe, quam illi ſuis ſuffragiis propè damnaverant. Multa deinde flebiliter narrat, verùm tam inſcitè, ut luctum emendicare, non commovere videatur. Dolet, quód *eo modo, quo nullus unquam, rex ſupplicium capitis paſſus ſit :* Cùm ſæpius affirmaverit, nullum unquam regem ſupplicium capitis omnino eſſe paſſum. Túne, fatue, modum cum modo conferre ſoles, ubi factum cum facto quod conferas non habes? *Supplicium,* inquit, *capitis paſſus eſt, ut latro, ut ſicarius, ut parricida, ut proditor, ut tyrannus.* Hoccine eſt regem defendere, an ſententiam de rege ferre, eâ ſanè quæ à nobis lata eſt, multò ſeveriorem? Quis te tam ſubitò pellexit ut nobiſcum pronuntiares? Queritur *perſonatos carnifices regi caput amputâſſe.* Quid hoc homine facias? queſtus eſt ſuprà *de parricidio in perſona regis admiſſo,* nunc in perſona carnificis admiſſum queritur. Quid reliqua percurram, partim falſiſſima, partim frivola *de pugnis* & *calcibus* militum gregariorum, & licentiâ *ſpectandi cadaveris quatuor ſolidis taxatâ,* quæ frigidiſſimi literatoris inſcitiam & puſillitatem animi clamitant; legentem certè neminem pilo triſtiorem reddere poſſunt: Satius mehercule fuiſſet Carolo filio, quemvis ex eo balatronum grege conduxiſſe, qui ad coronam in triviis elegidia cantant, quàm oratorem hunc, luctificabilem dicam, an perridiculum deplorando patris infortunio adhibuiſſe; tam inſipidum & inſulſum, ut ne ex lacrymis quidem ejus mica ſalis exiguiſſima poſſit exprimi. Narrare jam deſiit; & quid deinde agat, dictu ſanè difficile eſt; adeò lutulentus & enormis fluit; nunc fremit, nunc oſcitat, nullum quidlibet garriendi modum ſibi ſtatuit, vel decies eadem repetendi, quæ ne ſemel quidem dicta non ſordeſcerent. Et certè neſcio, an blateronis cujuſpiam extemporales quælibet nugæ, quas ille uno pede ſtans verſiculis fortè effuderit, non digniores multo ſint quæ chartâ illinantur; adeò indigniſſimas eſſe reor quibus ſeriò reſpondeatur. Prætereo quòd regem *religionis protectorem* laudat, qui eccleſiæ bellum intulit, ut epiſcopos religionis hoſtes & tyrannos in eccleſia retineret. *Puritatem autem religionis* quî potuit is conſervare, ab impuriſſimis epiſcoporum traditionibus & cæremoniis ipſe ſub jugum miſſus? *Sectarum* verò, quibus tu *ſacrilegos ſuos cœtus tenendi licentiam* aïs *dari,* quam ipſa Hollandia non dat, errores velim enumeres: Interim nemo te magis ſacrilegus, qui perpetuò maledicendi peſſimam omnium licentiam tibi ſumis. *Non poterant gravius rempubl. lædere quàm ejus dominum tollendo.* Diſce verna, diſce maſtigia, niſi dominum tollis, tollis rempublicam: Privata res eſt, non publica quæ dominum habet. *At paſtores facinus eorum abominantes cum ſumma injuſtitiâ perſequuntur.* Paſtores illos nequis fortè neſciat quales ſint, breviter dicam; iidem ſunt qui regi reſiſtendum armis eſſe, & verbo & ſcriptis docuerunt; qui omnes tanquam Merozum indeſinenter execrari non deſtiterunt, quotquot huic bello aut arma, aut pecuniam, aut vires non ſuppeditâſſent; quod illi non contra regem, ſed contra tyrannum Saule quovis aut Achabo, immo Nerone ipſo Neroniorem ſuſceptum eſſe in concionibus ſacris vaticinabantur. Sublatis epiſcopis & ſacerdotibus quos Plurialiſtarum & non reſidentium nomine inſectari vehementiſſimè ſolebant, in eorum ampliſſima ſacerdotia, hic bina, ille trina, quàm ocyſſimè irruebant: Unde ſuos greges quàm turpiter negligant paſtores iſti meritò egregii nemo non videt. Nullus pudor, nulla numinis reverentia dementes cupiditate & furiatos cohibere potuit, donec peſſimo eccleſiæ publico eâdem ipſi infamiâ flagrarent, quam paulò antè ſacerdotibus inuſſerant. Nunc quòd avaritia eorum nondum ſatiata eſt, quòd, inquies ambitione animus turbas concire, pacem odiſſe conſuevit, in Magiſtratus qui nunc ſunt, id quod priùs in regem fecerant, ſeditioſè concionari non deſinunt; regem ſcilicet pium crudeliter ſublatum; quem modò ipſi diris omnibus devotum, omni authoritate regiâ ſpoliandum, & bello ſacro perſequendum, in manus Parlamento, quaſi divinitùs, tradiderant; ſectas ſcilicet non exſtirpari, quod certè à magiſtratibus poſtulare perabſurdum eſt, qui avaritiam & ambitionem, quæ duæ in eccleſia hæreſes pernicioſiſſimæ ſunt, ex ipſorum ordine paſtorum ac tribu, nullo adhuc modo aut ratione exſtirpare valuerunt. Quas illi ſectas apud nos inſectantur, obſcuras eſſe ſcio, quas ipſi ſequuntur, famoſas, & eccleſiæ Dei longè pericoloſiores; quarum principes Simon ille Magus & Diotrephes fuere. Hos tamen, nequiſſimi cùm ſint, adeò non perſequimur, ut factioſis, & res novas quotidie molientibus nimiùm indulgeamus. Offendit jam te Gallum & errabundum, quod Angli *ſuis moloſſis,* quæ tua canina facundia eſt, *ferociores,* nullam *legitimi ſucceſſoris & heredis* regni, nullam *natu minimi,* nullam *reginæ Bohemiæ* rationem habuerint. Tute reſpondebis tibi, non ego. *Ubi reipub. forma mutatur ex monarchicâ in aliam, non datur ſucceſſio inter differentis regiminis curatores.*

Apparat. de primatu. *Minima*, inquis, *regni unius pars* hæc omnia *per tria regna* effecit: & digni quidem, ſi hoc verum eſſet, quibus in cæteros imperium ſit, viris in fœminas. *Iſti ſunt qui regimen regni antiquum in alium qui à pluribus tyrannis teneatur, mutare præſumpſerunt*; rectè quidem illi & feliciter, quos tu reprehendere non potes, quin ſimul fœdiſſimè barbarus & ſolœcus ſis, non moribus ſolùm, ſed ſyntaxi etiam, grammaticorum opprobrium. *Angli maculam hanc nunquam deleverint.* Immò tu, licèt omnium literatorum litura ipſe ſis, & verè macula, Anglorum tamen famam & ſempiternam gloriam nunquam valueris commaculare. Qui tantâ animi magnitudine, quantâ omni memoriâ vix audita eſt, non hoſtes tantùm armatos, ſed hoſtiles intùs, id eſt ſuperſtitioſas vulgi opiniones eluctati atque ſupergreſſi, Liberatorum cognomen poſthac per omnes gentes in commune ſibi pepererunt: populariter id auſi, quod apud alias nationes heroïcæ tantùm virtutis eſſe exiſtimatur. *Reformati & antiqui chriſtiani* quid hac in parte fecerint, aut facturi eſſent, tum reſpondebimus, cùm de jure tecum ſuo loco agetur; ne tuo vitio laboremus, qui gerrones omnes & Battos loquacitate vincis. Quæris quid ſis in noſtra causâ *Jeſuitis* reſponſurus. Tuas res age transfuga, pudeat te facinorum tuorum, quando eccleſiam tuî pudet; qui primatum Papæ, & epiſcopos tam jactanter modò & ferociter adortus, nunc epiſcoporum aſſecla factus es. Fateris *aliquos reformatorum*, quos non nominas (ego tamen nominabo, quoniam tu eos *Jeſuitis longè pejores eſſe* aïs, Lutherum nempe, Zuinglium, Calvinum, Bucerum, Paræum cum aliis multis) docuiſſe, *amovendum eſſe* tyrannum: *Quis autem ſit tyrannus ad judicium ſapientium & doctorum ſe retuliſſe? Iſti vero qui? an ſapientes, an docti, an virtute nobiles, an nobilitate illuſtres.* Liceat, quæſo, populo, qui ſervitutis jugum in cervicibus grave ſentit, tam ſapienti eſſe, tam docto, támque nobili, ut ſciat quid tyranno ſuo faciendum ſit, etiamſi neque exteros, neque grammaticos ſciſcitatum mittat. Tyrannum autem fuiſſe hunc non Angliæ ſolùm & Scotiæ Parlamenta cùm verbis tum factis diſertiſſimis declaraverunt, ſed totus ferè utriuſque regni populus aſſentitus eſt; donec epiſcoporum technis & fraudibus in duas poſtea factiones diſceſſit. Quid ſi Deus, quemadmodum eos qui lucis evangelicæ participes fiant, ità eos qui decreta ejus in reges hujus mundi potentiſſimos exequantur, non multos ſapientes aut doctos, non multos potentes, non multos nobiles eſſe voluit? Ut per eos qui non ſunt aboleret eos qui ſunt; ut ne glorietur caro coram eo. Tu quis es qui oblatras? An doctus? Qui ſpicilegia, qui lexica & gloſſaria ad ſenectutem uſque triviſſe potiùs videris, quàm authores bonos cum judicio aut fructu perlegiſſe? Unde nîl præter codices, & varias lectiones, & luxatum & mendoſum, crepas; doctrinæ ſolidioris ne guttulam quidem hauſiſſe te oſtendis. An tu ſapiens? Qui de minutiis minutiſſimis rixari & mendicorum bella gerere ſoles, qui nunc aſtronomis, nunc medicis in ſua arte credendis imperitus ipſe & rudis convitia dicis; qui, ſiquis tibi voculæ unius aut literulæ in exemplari quovis abs te reſtitutæ gloriolam præripere conaretur, igni & aquâ, ſi poſſes, illi interdiceres? Et tamen ſtomacharis, & tamen ringeris, quòd omnes te Grammaticum appellant. Hamondum nuper regis hujus Sacellanum imprimis dilectiſſimum in libro quodam nugatorio nebulonem palàm appellas, quòd is te grammaticum appellaviſſet: Idem, credo, eſſes ipſi regi convitium facturus, & defenſionem hanc totam retractaturus, ſi Sacellani ſui de te judicium approbâſſe audiviſſes. Jam vide quàm te Anglorum unus, quos tu *fanaticos, indoctos, obſcuros, improbos* vocitare audes, contemnam & ludibrio habeam (nam nationem ipſam Anglicanam de te quicquam publicè cogitare curculiunculo, indigniſſimum eſſet) qui ſursùm, deorsùm, quoquoversùm verſatus & volutatus, nihil niſi grammaticus es: Immo ac ſi deo cuilibet votum ipſo Mida ſtultius nuncupâſſes, quicquid attrectas, niſi cùm ſolœciſmos facis, Grammatica eſt. Quiſquis igitur *de fæce illa plebis*, quam tu exagitas (illos enim verè optimates noſtros, quorum ſapientiam, virtutem, & nobilitatem facta inclyta ſatis teſtantur, non ſic dehoneſtabo, ut te illis, aut tibi illos componere velim) quiſquis, inquam, de fæce illa plebis hoc tantummodò ſibi perſuaſerit, non eſſe ſe regibus natum, ſed deo & patriæ, multò ſanè te doctior, multò ſapientior, multo probior, & ad omnem vitam utilior exiſtimandus erit. Nam doctus ille ſine literis, tu literatus ſine doctrina; qui tot linguas calles, tot volumina percurris, tot ſcribis, & tamen pecus es.

# CAP. II.

QUod argumentum pro ſe *indubitatum* eſſe, ſuperiore capite perorans dixerat Salmaſius, *rem ità ſe habere ut creditur, cùm omnes unanimiter idem de eâ ſentiant*; quod tamen is *de facto* falſiſſimè affirmabat, id ego nunc, de jure regio diſceptaturus, potero in ipſum veriſſimè affirmare. Cùm enim regem definiat, *cujus ſuprema eſt in regno poteſtas, nulli alii niſi deo obnoxia, cui quod libet licet, qui legibus ſolutus eſt*, ſiquidem id definiri dicendum eſt, quod infinitum in terris ponitur, evincam ego contrà, non meis tantùm, ſed vel ipſius teſtimoniis, & rationibus, nullam gentem aut populum, qui quidem ullo numero ſit, nam omnem penetrare barbariem neceſſe non eſt; nullam, inquam, gentem iſtiuſmodi jura aut poteſtatem regi conceſſiſſe, *ut legibus ſolutus eſſet, ut quod libet liceret, ut omnes judicaret, à nemine judicaretur*; nec verò ullum cujuſcunque gentis tam ſervili ingenio exſtitiſſe puto, præter unum Salmaſium, qui tyrannorum immania quæque flagitia regum jura eſſe aſſeverârit. Eorum plerique apud nos, qui regi maximè favebant, ab hac tam turpi ſententiâ ſemper abhorruere, quinetiam ipſe, nondum pretio corruptus, his de rebus longè aliter ſenſiſſe aliis jampridem ſcriptis facilè deprehenditur. Adeò ut hæc non ab homine libero in libera civitate, nedùm in Repub. nobiliſſimâ, & Batavorum Academiâ celeberrimâ, ſed in ergaſtulo quovis aut cataſtâ, tam ſervili vernilitate ſcripta eſſe videantur. Etenim, ſi quicquid regi libet, id jure regio licitum erit, quod teterrimus ille Antoninus Caracalla ab Juliâ novercâ per inceſtum edoctus non ſtatim auſus eſt credere, nemo profectò eſt aut unquam fuit, qui tyrannus dici debeat. Cùm enim divina omnia atque humana jura violavit, nihilo tamen minùs rex, jure regio inſons erit. Quid enim peccavit homo æquiſſimus? Jure ſuo uſus eſt in ſuos. Nihil rex tam horrendum, tam crudele, támque furioſum committere in ſuos poteſt, quod præter jus regium fieri quiſpiam poſſit queri aut expoſtulare. Hoc tu *jus regium à jure gentium, vel potiùs naturali originem habere* ſtatuis, bellua? Quid enim hominem te dicam, qui in omne hominum genus, adeò iniquus & inhumanus es? quíque omnem gentem humanam deo ſimillimam ſic deprimere atque projicere conaris, ut quos nunc ſuperſtitio, nunc ſcelus aut ignavia quorundam, aut denique perfidia tam feros atque immites dominos gentibus impoſuit, eos à natura matre mitiſſimâ comparatos atque impoſitos eſſe doceas? Quâ tu nefariâ doctrinâ multo jam ferociores factos, non ſolùm ad proterendos omnes mortales, & poſthac miſeriorem in modum conculcandos immittis, ſed jure naturali, jure regio, ipſis etiam populi legibus in populum armare, quo nihil ſimul ſtultius & ſceleratius eſſe poteſt, contendis. Dignus profectò qui contra atque olim Dionyſius ex grammatico tyrannus ipſe ſis; non quo tibi in alium quemvis detur illa regia licentia malè faciendi, ſed illa altera malè pereundi: Quâ ſolâ, ut incluſus ille Capreis Tiberius, à temetipſo perditus quotidie te ſentias perire. Verùm jus illud regium paulò accuratiùs quale ſit conſideremus. *Sic Oriens totus*, inquis, *judicavit ſic Occidens.* Non reponam tibi quod Ariſtoteles & Marcus Cicero, authores, ſi qui alii, cordatiſſimi, ille in Politicis, hic in oratione de Provinciis ſcripſit, Gentes Aſiaticas facilè ſervitutem pati, Judæos autem & Syros ſervituti natos fuiſſe. Fateor paucos ferè libertatem velle, aut eâ poſſe uti, ſolos nempe ſapientes, & magnanimos; pars longè maxima juſtos dominos mavult, ſed tamen juſtos; injuſtos & intolerabiles ferendi neque Deus unquam univerſò generi humano tam infenſus fuit, neque ullus unquam populus tam ab omni ſpe & conſilio derelictus, ut neceſſitatem hanc atque legem omnium duriſſimam in ſe atque in ſuos liberos ultro ſtatueret. Profers imprimis *verba regis in Eccleſiaſte ſapientiâ clari.* Nos itaque ad legem Dei provocamus, de rege poſteriùs videbimus; cujus exinde ſententiam rectiùs intelligemus. Audiatur ipſe Deus, Deut. 17. *Cùm ingreſſus fueris in terram, quam Jehova Deus dat tibi, & dices ſtatuam ſuper me Regem ſicut omnes gentes quæ ſunt circa me:* Quod ego omnes velim etiam atque etiam animadvertant, teſte hìc ipſo Deo, penes populos omnes ac nationes arbitrium ſemper fuiſſe, vel eâ, quæ placeret, formâ reipub. utendi, vel hanc in aliam mutandi: De Hebræis diſertè hoc dicit Deus, de reliquis haud abnuit: deinde formam reipub. monarchiâ perfectiorem, ut ſunt res humanæ, ſuíque populi magis ex uſu deo viſam eſſe: Cum hanc ipſe formam inſtituerit; monarchiam non niſi ſerò petentibus,

bus, ídque ægrè concederet. Sin regem planè vellent, ut oſtenderet Deus id ſe liberum Populo reliquiſſe, ab uno an à pluribus reſpub. adminiſtraretur, modò juſtè, regi etiam futuro leges conſtituit, quibus cautum erat, ut *ne multiplicet ſibi equos, ne uxores, ne divitias*; ut intelligeret nihil ſibi in alios licere, qui nihil de ſe ſtatuere extra legem potuit. Juſſus itaque eſt *omnia legis illius præcepta*, etiam ſuâ manu perſcribere; perſcripta *obſervare*; *ne efferatur animus ejus præ fratribus ſuis*. Ex quo perſpicuum eſt, regem æquè ac populum iſtis legibus aſtrictum fuiſſe. In hanc ferme ſententiam ſcripſit Joſephus, legum ſuæ gentis interpres idoneus, in ſuâ repub. verſatiſſimus, mille aliis tenebrionibus Rabbinis anteponendus. Antiquat. lib. 4. Αριστοκρατία μὲν οὖν κράτιστον, &c. *Optimum eſt*, inquit, *optimatum regimen*; *nec vos alium reipub. ſtatum requiratis*; *ſatis enim eſt Deum habere præſidem. Attamen ſi tanta vos regis cupido ceperit, plus legibus & Deo tribuat is quàm ſuæ ſapientiæ*; *prohibeatur autem, ſi potentior fieri ſtudet, quam rebus veſtris expedit.* Hæc & plura Joſephus in iſtum Deuteronomii locum. Alter Philo Judæus, gravis authòr, Joſephi coætaneus, legis Moſaïcæ ſtudioſiſſimus, in quam univerſam diffuſâ commentatione ſcripſit, cum in libro de creatione Principis hoc caput legis interpretatur, non alio pacto regem legibus ſolvit, atque hoſtis quilibet ſolutus legibus dici poſſit, τοὺς ἐπὶ λύμῃ καὶ ζημίᾳ τῶν ὑπηκόων, &c. *qui*, inquit, *ad perniciem & detrimentum populi magnam ſibi acquirunt potentiam, non reges ſed hoſtes appellandi ſunt*; *ea facientes, quæ hoſtes nullâ pace reconciliandi faciunt*; *nam qui per ſpeciem gubernandi faciunt injuriam, apertis hoſtibus pejores ſunt*; *hos enim facile eſt propulſare, illorum autem malitia haud facile detegitur.* Detecti igitur quid obſtat quo minùs hoſtium loco habendi ſint? Sic libro ſecundo Allegoriarum Legis, *rex & tyrannus contraria ſunt*; & deinde *rex non imperat tantùm, ſed paret.* Vera ſunt iſta, dicet aliquis; regem oportet quidem leges, ut qui maximè, obſervare; verùm ſi ſecùs fecerit, quâ lege puniendus? eâdem, inquam, lege quâ cæteri; exceptiones enim nullas reperio. Sed nec de Sacerdotibus, ſed nec de infimis quidem magiſtratibus puniendis lex ulla ſcribitur; qui omnes, cùm de iis puniendis nulla lex ſcripta ſit, pari certè jure & ratione poſſent impunitatem ſcelerum omnium ſibi vendicare; quam tamen neque eorum quiſquam vendicavit, neque ullum iis arbitror idcirco eſſe daturum. Hactenus ex ipſa Dei lege didicimus regem legibus obtemperare debuiſſe; nec ſe præ cæteris efferre, qui etiam fratres ejus ſunt. Nunc an quid aliud Eccleſiaſtes moneat videamus. Cap. 8. ver. 1, &c. *Mandatum regis obſerva*; *vel propter juramentum Dei, ne perturbatè à facie ejus abito, ne perſiſtito in re malâ, nam quicquid volet faciet. Ubi verbum regis, ibi dominatio, & quis dicat ei quid facis?* Satis conſtat Eccleſiaſten hoc in loco non ſynedrio magno, non ſenatui, ſed privato cuique præcepta dare. Jubet mandata ſua obſervare, vel propter juramentum Dei; at quis jurat regi, niſi rex viciſſim in leges divinas atque patrias juratus ſit? Sic Reubenitæ & Gaditæ obedientiam ſuam Jehoſuæ pollicentur, Joſ. 1. *Ut dicto audientes Moſi fuimus, ità erimus tibi, modò ut Deus tecum ſit, quemadmodum fuit cum Moſe.* Conditionem vides expreſſam; Alioquin ipſum audi Eccleſiaſten, cap. 9. *Verba ſapientum ſubmiſſâ potiùs audienda eſſe, quam clamorem dominantis inter ſtolidos.* Quid porrò monet? *Ne perſiſtito in re malâ, nam quicquid volet faciet*, in malos nimirum faciet authoritate legum armatus, nam leniter aut ſeverè agere, prout volet, poteſt. Nihil hìc tyrannicum ſonat, nihil quod vir bonus extimeſcat. *Ubi verbum regis ibi dominatio, & quis dicat ei quid facis?* Et tamen legimus qui regi dixerit non ſolùm quid feciſti, ſed etiam ſtultè feciſti, 1 Sam. 13. At Samuel extraordinarius. Tuum tibi regero, licèt infrà dictum pag. 49. *quid*, inquis, *extraordinarium in Saule & Davide?* itidem ego, quid, inquam, in Samuele? Propheta fuit: ſunt & illi hodie, qui ejus exemplo faciunt; ex voluntate enim Dei vel *expreſſâ* vel *tacitâ* agunt: quod etiam ipſe infrà concedis, pag. 50. Prudenter igitur Eccleſiaſtes hoc in loco monet privatos, ne cum rege contendant: nam etiam cum divite, cum potenti quovis, ut plurimùm, damnoſa contentio eſt. Quid ergò? an optimates, an omnes reliqui magiſtratus, an populus univerſus quoties delirare libet regi, ne hiſcere quidem audebunt? an ſtolido, impio, furenti, bonis omnibus perniciem machinanti non obſtabunt, non obviam ibunt, ne divina omnia atque humana pervertere occupet, ne rapinis, ne incendiis, ne cædibus per omnes regni fines graſſetur ita *legibus ſolutus, ut quod libet liceat?* O de Cappadocis eques cataſtis! quem omnis libera natio (ſi unquam poſt hoc in natione libera pedem ponere audebis) aut in ultimas terras veluti portentum exportandum ejicere, aut ſervitutis candidatum dedere in piſtrinum debebit, eâ lege atque omine, ut ſi te inde exemerit, ipſa ſub aliquo tyranno, eóque ſtultiſſimo, pro te molat.. Quid enim poterit dici, aut ab aliis dictum peti tam truculentum, aut ridiculum, quod in te non cadat? Perge modò: *Iſraëlitæ regem à Deo petentes eodem jure ſe ab eo gubernari velle dixerunt, quo omnes aliæ nationes, quæ hoc regimine uterentur. At Orientis reges ſummo jure, & poteſtatē non circumſcriptâ regnabant, teſte Virgilio.*

> *—— Regem non ſic Ægyptus & ingens*
> *Lydia, nec populi Parthorum, & Medus Hydaſpes*
> *Obſervant.——*

Primùm quid noſtrâ refert qualem ſibi regem Iſraëlitæ voluerint, præſertim Deo irato, non ſolùm quòd regem vellent ad exemplum gentium, & non ſuæ legis, ſed planè quòd vellent regem? Deinde regem injuſtum, aut legibus ſolutum petiviſſe credibile non eſt, qui Samuëlis filios legibus obſtrictos ferre non potuerunt, & ab eorum tantùm avaritia ad regem confugerunt. Poſtremò quod ex Virgilio recitas, non probat reges Orientis *abſolutâ poteſtate* regnâſſe; Apes enim illæ Virgilianæ, quæ vel Ægyptiis & Medis obſervantiores regum ſunt, teſte tamen eodem Poëta —— *Magnis agitant ſub legibus ævum.* —— Non ergò ſub regibus omni lege ſolutis. At vide quàm tibi minimè velim malè; cum plerique te nebulonem eſſe judicent, oſtendam te perſonam tantùm nebulonis mutuam ſumpſiſſe. In Apparatu ad primatum Papæ doctores quoſdam Tridentinos exemplo Apium uſos aïs, ut monarchiam Papæ probarent: ab his tu pari malitiâ hoc mutuum cepiſti. Quod illis itaque reſpondiſti cùm probus eſſes, jam factus nebulo tute reſpondebis tibi, tuáque tibi manu perſonam nebulonis detrahes. *Apium reſpub. eſt; atque ità Phyſici appellant: Regem habent, ſed innocuum; ductor eſt potiùs quàm tyrannus, non verberat, non vellicat, non necat apes ſubditas.* Minimè igitur mirum, ſi ità obſervant. Iſtas mehercule apes mala ave tibi tactio erat; Tridentinæ enim licèt ſint, fucum te eſſe indicant. Ariſtoteles autem, rerum politicarum ſcriptor diligentiſſimus, monarchiæ genus Aſiaticæ, quod & barbaricum vocat, κατὰ νόμον, id eſt, ſecundùm legem fuiſſe affirmat. Pol. 3. immo cum monarchiæ quinque ſpecies enumeret, quatuor ſecundùm legem, & ſuffragante populo fuiſſe ſcribit, tyrannicas autem, quòd iis tanta poteſtas, volente licèt populo, data erat; regnùm verò Laconicum maximè regnum videri, quòd non omnia penès regem erant. Quinta, quam is παμβασιλειαν vocat, & ad quam ſolam id refert quod tu regum omnium jus eſſe ſcribis, ut ad libitum regnent, ubinam gentium, aut quo tempore unquam obtinuerit non dicit: nec aliam ob cauſſam feciſſe mentionem ejus videtur, quàm ut abſurdam, injuſtam, & maximè tyrannicam eſſe demonſtraret. Samuelem aïs, cùm eos ab eligendo rege deterreret, *jus illis regium* expoſuiſſe. Unde hauſtum, à lege Dei? at illa lex jus regium, ut vidimus, longe aliud exhibuit: an ab ipſo Deo per Samuelem loquente? at improbavit, vituperavit, vitio dedit: non igitur jus regium divinitùs datum, ſed morem regnandi praviſſimum, ſuperbiâ regum & dominandi libidine arreptum expoſuit propheta; nec quid debebant reges, ſed quid volebant facere; rationem enim regis populo indicavit, ſicut antea rationem ſacerdotum Eliadarum eodem verbo (quod tu p. 33. Hebraïco etiam ſolœciſmo משפת vocas) ſuprà indicaverat. C. 2. *ratio ſacerdotum iſtorum cum populo hæc erat, v.* 13. impia videlicet, odioſa, & tyrannica: ratio itaque illa nequaquam jus erat ſed injuria. Sic etiam patres antiqui hunc locum expoſuerunt; unus mihi erit multorum inſtar, Sulpitius Severus, Hieronymi æqualis, eíque charus, & Auguſtini judicio vir doctrinâ & ſapientiâ pollens. Is in hiſtoria ſacra Samuelem aït dominationem regiam, & ſuperba imperia populo exponere. Sanè jus regium non eſt dominatio & ſuperbia; ſed jus atque imperium regium, teſte Salluſtio, conſervandæ libertatis atque augendæ reipub. cauſſâ datum, in ſuperbiam dominationémque ſe convertit. Idem Theologi omnes Orthodoxi, idem juriſconſulti, idem rabbini plerique, ut ex Sichardo didiciſſe potuiſti, de explicatione hujus loci ſentiunt; ne Rabbinorum enim quiſquam jus regis abſolutum iſto loco tractari dixit. Ipſe infrà cap. 5. pag. 106. *non Alexandrinum Clementem ſolùm, ſed omnes hic* quereris *errare*, te unum ex omnibus rem acu tetigiſſe: Jam verò cujus vel impudentiæ eſt vel ſocordiæ, contra

tra omnes, præſertim orthodoxos, mores regum ab ipſo Deo damnatiſſimos in jus regium convertere; & honeſtâ juris præſcriptione defendere: cum jus tamen illud in rapinis, injuriis, violentiis, contumeliis ſæpiùs conſiſtere fatearis. An quiſquam ſic *ſui juris* unquam fuit, ut rapere, agere, proſternere, permiſcere omnia ſibi liceret? an Latini, quod affirmas, hæc *ſuo jure ab aliquo fieri unquam dixerunt?* Dixerat apud Salluſtium C. Memmius tribunus Plebis, in ſuperbiam & impunita flagitia nobilitatis invectus, *impune qualibet facere, id eſt, regem eſſe*; Arriſit hoc tibi, & ſtatim in lucro ponis, nequicquam ſanè, ſi paulùm evigilaveris. An jus hic regium aſſeruit? annon plebis ignaviam potiùs increpuit, quæ nobiles impunè dominari ſineret, eóſque mores regios jam rurſus pateretur, quos jure ſuo majores illorum cum rege ipſo finibus expulerant. Marcum Tullium ſaltem conſuluiſſes; is te & Salluſtium, & Samuelem etiam rectiùs interpretari docuiſſet. Qui pro C. Rabirio *nemo*, inquit, *noſtrûm ignorat conſuetudinem regiam; regum ſunt hæc imperia, animadverte & dicto pare*; aliáque hujuſmodi ex Poëtis ibidem recitat, quæ non jus, ſed *conſuetudinem regiam* vocat, eáque legere & ſpectare nos aït debere, non *ut delectemur ſolùm, ſed ut cavere etiam & effugere diſcamus.* Vides quàm te malè multaverit Salluſtius, quem tyrannis inimiciſſimum, juris tyrannici patronum attuliſſe te putabas. Nutare, mihi crede, & ſuum ſibi occaſum accelerare jus regium videtur, dum ruentis in modum tenuiſſima quæque ſic arripit, ſéque ſuſtinere iis teſtibus atque exemplis conatur, quæ tardiùs fortaſſe alioqui ruiturum vehementiùs proturbant. *Summum*, inquis, *jus ſumma injuria eſt, id in regibus maximè locum habet qui cùm ſummo jure utuntur, ea faciunt in quibus Samuel dicit jus regis eſſe poſitum.* Miſerum jus; quod tu jam ad extrema perductus, niſi per ſummam injuriam defendere ulteriùs non potes! Summum jus id dicitur, cùm quis formulas legum ſectatur, ſingulis penè literis immoratur, æquitatem non ſervat; aut ſcriptum jus callidè nimis & malitioſè interpretatur, ex quo illud proverbium Cicero ortum eſſe aït. Cùm autem jus omne de fonte juſtitiæ manare certum ſit, impius ſis neceſſe eſt, qui *regem injuſtum eſſe, iniquum, violentum, raptorem eſſe, & quales eſſe ſolebant* qui peſſimi erant, jus regis eſſe dicis, ídque *prophetam populo inſinuâſſe.* Quod enim jus ſummum aut remiſſum, ſcriptum aut non ſcriptum ad maleficia perpetranda eſſe poteſt? Id ne tibi de aliis concedere, de rege pernegare in mentem veniat, habeo quem tibi opponam, & puto regem, qui iſtiuſmodi jus regium & ſibi & Deo inviſum eſſe profitetur: Pſal. 94. *an conſociaretur tibi ſolium ærumnarum, formantis moleſtiam per ſtatutum.* Noli igitur Deo hanc atrociſſimam injuriam facere, quaſi is regum pravitates & nefaria facinora jus eſſe regium doceret, qui etiam hoc nomine ſocietatem cum improbis regibus ſe deteſtari docet, quòd moleſtiam & ærumnas omnes populo juris regii titulo creare ſoleant. Noli Prophetam Dei falſò inſimulare; quem, tu dum juris regii iſto loco doctorem habere putas, non verum nobis affers Samuelem; ſed, ut venefica illa, inanem umbram evocas; quamvis & illum ab inferis Samuelem non adeò mendacem fuiſſe credam, quin illud quod tu jus regium vocas, impotentiam potiùs tyrannicam dicturus fuiſſet. Jus datum ſceleri legimus, túque *licentia jure conceſſa reges minùs bonos uti conſueviſſe* aïs. At jus hoc ad perniciem humani generis abs te introductum non eſſe à Deo datum probavimus; reſtat ut ſit à Diabolo; quod infrà clariùs liquebit. *Hac*, inquis, *licentia dat poſſe, ſi velis*; & authorem hujus juris habere Ciceronem præ te fers. Nunquam ægrè facio ut teſtimonia tua recitem, tuis enim ipſe teſtibus conficere te ſoles. Audi igitur verba Ciceronis in quartâ Philipp. *Qua cauſa juſtior eſt belli gerendi, quàm ſervitutis depulſio? in qua etiamſi non ſit moleſtus dominus, tamen eſt miſerrimum poſſe ſi velit*, poſſe vi ſcilicet; nam de jure ſi loqueretur, repugnantia diceret, & ex juſta belli cauſa injuſtam faceret. Non eſt igitur jus regium quod tu deſcribis, ſed injuria, ſed vis, & violentia regum. Tranſis ab regia licentiâ ad privatam: *licet privato mentiri, licet ingrato eſſe.* Licet & regibus; quid inde efficis? licebit ergò regibus impunè rapere, occidere, ſtuprare? Quid intereſt ad injuriæ gravitatem rex an latro, an aliunde hoſtis populum occidat, diripiat, in ſervitutem agat? eodem certè jure, & hunc & illum humanæ ſocietatis inimicum, & peſtem propulſare, atque ulciſci debemus; immo regem eò juſtius quòd is tot beneficiis & honoribus noſtris auctus commiſſam ſibi ſub juramento publicam ſalutem prodat. Concedis poſtremò *leges dari à Moſe, ſecundùm quas rex ille quandoque eligendus imperare debebat, quamvis diverſas ab illo jure quod Samuel propoſuit.*

*propoſuit.* Quod cum aſſertione tua dupliciter pugnat; cùm enim regem legibus omnino ſolutum poſueris, nunc obſtrictum dicis: dein jus juri contrarium ponis Moſis & Samuëlis, quod eſt abſurdum. At *ſervi*, inquit Propheta, *vos eritis regi.* Ut ſervos fuiſſe non abnuerim, non jure tamen regio ſervi fuerunt, ſed regum fortaſſe plurimorum uſurpatione & injuſtitiâ. Illam enim petitionem obſtinatam non jure regio, ſed ſuo merito in pænam illis ceſſuram Propheta præmonuit. At verò ſi regi legibus ſoluto quicquid libet licuerit, profectò rex longè plus quàm dominus erit, populus infra omnium ſervorum infimos plus quàm infimus. Servus enim vel alienigena legem Dei vindicem injurioſum in dominum habebat; populus univerſus, libera nimirum gens. vindicem in terris neminem, nullam legem habebit, quò læſus, afflictus & ſpoliatus confugiat: à ſervitute regum Ægyptiorum ideo liberatus, ut uni ex fratribus ſuis duriore ſi libeat ſervitute opprimendus traderetur. Quod cum neque divinæ legi nec rationi conſentaneum ſit, dubium nemini eſſe poteſt, quin Propheta mores enarraverit, non jus regum; neque mores prorſus regum omnium, ſed plurimorum. Deſcendis ad rabbinos, duoſque adducis eâdem, quâ priùs, infelicitate: nam caput illud de rege in quo R. Joſes jus regium aiebat contineri, Deuteronomii eſſe, non Samuëlis manifeſtum eſt. Samuëlis enim ad terrorem duntaxat populo injiciendum pertinere rectiſſimè quidem & contra te dixit R. Judas. Pernicioſum enim eſt id jus nominari atque doceri quod injuſtitia planè eſt, niſi abuſivè forſitan jus nominetur. Quo etiam pertinet verſus 18. *Et exclamabitis die illa propter regem veſtrum, ſed non exaudiet vos Jehovah*; obſtinatos nimirum iſta pœna manebat, qui regem nolente Deo dari ſibi voluerunt. Quanquam iſta verba non prohibent, quo minus & vota & quidvis aliud tentare potuerint. Si enim clamare ad Deum contra regem populo licebat, licebat procul dubio omnem etiam aliam inire rationem honeſtam ſeſe a tyrannide expediendi. Quis enim quovis malò cum premitur, ſic ad Deum clamat ut cætera omnia quæ officii ſunt ſui negligat, ad otioſas tantùm preces devolutus? Verum utcunque ſit, quid hoc ad jus regium, quid ad jus noſtrum? qui regem nec invito Deo unquam petivimus, nec ipſo dante accepimus, ſed jure gentium uſi, nec jubente Deo nec vetante, noſtris legibus conſtituimus. Quæ cùm ità ſe habeant, non video quamobrem nobis laudi atque virtuti tribuendum non ſit, regem abjeciſſe; quandoquidem Iſraëlitis crimini eſt datum regem petiſſe. Quod etiam res ipſa comprobavit; nos enim qui regem, cùm haberemus, deprecati ſumus, tandem exauditos Deus liberavit; illos, qui cùm non haberent, à Deo efflagitabant, ſervire juſſit; donec Babylone redeuntes ad priſtinum reipub. ſtatum reverſi ſunt. Ludum Talmudicum deinde aperis; quin & hoc ſiniſtro augurio tentatum. Dum enim regem non judicari cupis oſtendere, oſtendis ex Codice Sanhedrim *regem nec judicari nec judicare*; quod cum petitione iſtius populi pugnat, qui ideo regem petebant, ut judicaret: id fruſtrà reſarcire ſtudes; intelligi nempe id de regibus Poſt-babylonicis debere. At ecce tibi Maimonides, qui *hanc inter reges Iſraëlitas & Judæos differentiam ponit: Davidis enim poſteros judicare & judicari*; Iſraëliticis neutrum concedit. Occurris tibi, tecum enim litigas, aut cum Rabbinis tuis; meam rem agis. Hoc *primis in regibus locum non habuiſſe*, quia dictum eſt V. 17. *vos eritis ei ſervi:* conſuetudine ſcilicet, non jure; aut ſi jure, pœnas petendi regis, quamvìs non ſub hoc fortè vel ſub illo, at ſub pleriſque luebant, quod nos non attingit. Tibi verò adverſario opus non eſt, adeò ſemper tibi adverſaris. Narras enim pro me, ut primò Ariſtobulus, pòſt Jannæus cognomento Alexander, jus illud regium, non à ſynedrio juris cuſtode, & interprete acceperint, ſed paulatim ſibi aſſumpſerint, & ſenatu renitente uſurpaverint: quorum in gratiam bella illa fabula de primoribus ſynedrii *à Gabriele exanimatis* adinventa eſt, júſque hoc magnificum, quo niti maximè videris, *regem* ſcilicet *non judicari*, ex illa fabula pluſquam anili, utpote rabbinicâ, conflatum eſſe fateris. Reges autem Hebræorum *judicari poſſe, atque etiam ad verbera damnari* fuſè docet Sichardus ex libris Rabbinicis, cui tu hæc omnia debes, & tamen obſtrepere non erubeſcis. Quin immo legimus ipſum Saulem cum filio Jonathane ſortis judicium atque etiam capitale ſubiiſſe, ſuóque ipſum edicto paruiſſe. Uzzias quoque à ſacerdotibus templo deturbatus, lepræ judicio, tanquam unus è populo, ſe ſubmiſit, réxque eſſe deſiit. Quid ſi templo excedere, quid ſi magiſtratu abire, & ſeorſim habitare noluiſſet, jus illud regium legibus ſolutum ſibi aſſeruiſſet, an paſſuros fuiſſe cenſes Judæos, & ſacerdotes templum contaminari, leges violari, populum univerſum contagione periclitari? In leproſum ergò regem vigebunt leges, in tyrannum nihil poterunt? Ecquis tam demens, aut ſtultus eſt, ut exiſtimet, cùm rex morboſus nè populum contagione lædat, cautum atque proviſum legibus ſit, ſi rex impius, iniquus, crudelis populum diripiat, excruciet, occidat, rempub. funditùs evertat, nullum his malis longè gravioribus remedium legibus repertum eſſe? Verùm *exemplum ullius regis afferri non poteſt, qui judicium capitis ſubierit in jus vocatus.* Ad illud Sichardus haud abſurdè reſpondet, perinde eſſe, ac ſi quis ad hunc modum diſſereret. Cæſar nunquam citatus eſt coram Electore; ergò ſi Palatinus diem Cæſari dixerit, non tenetur Cæſar in judicio reſpondere. Cùm tamen doceat Bulla aurea Carolum quartum ſe & ſucceſſores ſuos huic cognitioni ſubjeciſſe. Quid in corrupto populi ſtatu regibus adeò indultum fuiſſe miramur, ubi tot privati aut opibus ſuis aut gratiâ impunitatem vel graviſſimorum ſcelerum aſſequuntur? Illud autem ἀνυπεύθυνον, id eſt, *à nemine pendere, nulli mortalium rationem reddere,* quod tu regiæ Majeſtatis maximè proprium eſſe ais, Ariſtoteles Polit. 4. c. 10. maximè tyrannicum, & in libera natione minimè ferendum eſſe affirmat. Tu vero Antonium tyrannum immaniſſimum, Romanæ reipub. everſorem, idoneum ſanè authorem producis, non eſſe juſtum repoſci à Rege factorum ſuorum rationem; & tamen Herodem cædis reum ad cauſam dicendam in Parthos proficiſcens accerſivit ad ſe Antonius: & animadverſurus etiam in regem fuiſſe creditur, niſi rex eum auro corrupiſſet. Ita ab eodem fonte profluxit regiæ poteſtatis Antoniana aſſertio, & tua *regia defenſio.* At non ſine ratione, inquis, *nam reges ab alio non habent quod regnant, ſed ſoli deo acceptum referunt.* Dic ſodes quinam? Nam iſtiuſmodi reges exſtitiſſe unquam, nego. Primus enim Saul, niſi populus refragante etiam deo regem voluiſſet, nunquam rex fuiſſet; & quamvis rex renuntiatus eſſet Miſpæ, vixit tamen penè privatus, armentum patris ſecutus; donec Gilgale rex à populo ſecundùm creatus eſt. Quid David? quamvis unctus à Deo, nonne iterum unctus eſt ab Judæis Chebrone, deinde ab omnibus Hebræis, pacto tamen prius fœdere? 2 Sam. 5. 1 Chron. 11. fœdus autem obligat reges, & intra certos fines continet. Sedit Salomon, inquis, *ſuper ſolium Domini & cunctis placuit,* 1 Paralip. 29. ergo & placuiſſe populo aliquid erat. Conſtituit Jehoiadas regem Joaſum, fœdus tamen eodem tempore pepigit inter regem & populum. 2 Reg. 11. Hos reges, necnon & reliquos Davidis poſteros & à deo & à populo conſtitutos fateor; cæteros omnes, ubicunque gentium, à populo tantùm conſtitutos eſſe affirmo; tu oſtende conſtitutos eſſe a deo; niſi eâ ſolum ratione quâ omnia cùm maxima tùm minima à deo fieri & conſtitui dicuntur. Solium itaque Davidis peculiari quodam jure ſolium Jehovæ dicitur; ſolium aliorum regum non alio, atque cætera omnia, Jehovæ ſunt. Quod tu ex eodem capite didiciſſe potuiſti, v. 11, 12. *tua ſunt omnia in cælo & in terra, tuum eſt, Jehova, regnum; Divitiæ & gloria à facie tua ſunt, vis & potentia,* &c. Diciturque hoc toties, non ut intumeſcant reges, ſed ut moneantur, quamvis deos ſe eſſe putent, deum tamen ſupra ſe eſſe, cui debent omnia. Unde illa Eſſenorum & Poetarum doctrina, reges *non ſine deo, & ab Jove eſſe* facile intelligitur; omnes enim homines à deo itidem ſumus, deique genus. Jus igitur hoc univerſum dei, non tollit jus populi; quo minùs omnes cæteri reges, non à deo nominati, regnum ſuum ſoli populo acceptum referant; cui propterea rationem reddere tenentur. Quod, quanquam Vulgus aſſentari regibus ſolet, ipſi tamen reges ſive boni, ut Homericus ille Sarpedon, ſive mali, ut illi apud Lyricum tyranni, agnoſcunt.

γλαῦκε τίν δὴ νῶι τετιμήμεθα μάλιστα, &c.

Glauce cur nos maximo honore afficimur
In Lycia, omnes autem nos tanquam deos intuentur.

Ipſe ſibi reſpondet; quia virtute cæteris prælucemus: Quare fortiter pugnemus, inquit, ne Lycii nobis ignaviam objiciant: Quâ voce & honores regios à populo acceptos, & bellicæ adminiſtrationis rationem populo reddendam eſſe innuit. Mali autem reges, ut metum populo incutiant, deum imperii regii authorem palàm prædicant: Tacitis autem votis nullum numen præter Fortunam venerantur. Juxta illud Horatii:

Te Dacus aſper, te profugi Scythæ,
Regúmque matres barbarorum, &
Purpurei metuunt tyranni;
Injurioſo ne pede proruas
Stantem columnam, neu populus frequens
Ad arma ceſſantes, ad arma
Concitet, imperiúmque frangat.

Si ergò reges hodie per deum regnant, etiam populi per deum in libertatem ſe vindicant, quandoquidem omnia à deo & per deum fiunt. Utrumque etiam æquè teſtatur Scriptura, & reges per eum regnare, & per eum ſolio dejici; cùm tamen id utrumque longè ſæpius à populo fieri perſpiciamus, quàm à deo. Jus itaque populi pariter ac regis, quicquid eſt, à deo eſt. Populus ubicunque ſine deo manifeſto regem creavit, poteſt eodem jure ſuo regem rejicere. Tyrannum ſanè tollere quàm conſtituere divinius eſt; plúſque dei cernitur in populo quoties injuſtum abdicat regem, quàm in rege qui innocentem opprimit populum. Immo reges noxios deo authore judicat populus: Hoc enim ipſo honore dilectos ſuos decoravit deus, Pſal. 149. ut Chriſtum regem ſuum laudibus celebrantes gentium reges, quales ſub evangelio ſunt omnes tyranni, *vinculis coërcerent*, *inque eos jus ſcriptum exercerent*, qui jure omni ſcripto atque legibus ſolutos ſe eſſe gloriantur. Ne quis tam ſtolidè, ne quis tam impiè credat tanti eſſe apud deum reges, ferè mortalium ignaviſſimos, ut eorum nutu orbis terrarum totus pendeat & gubernetur; eorum ut gratiâ, præque illis, divinum, ut ita dicam, hominum genus eodem quo bruta & viliſſima quæque animalia loco atque numero habendum ſit. Agè nunc, ne nihil enim agas, M. Aurelium, quaſi tyrannis faventem, in medium profers; at ſatius tibi fuit Marcum Aurelium non attigiſſe. Ille an deum de principibus ſolum judicare dixerit neſcio. Xiphilinus certè quem citas de αὐταρχία loquitur; περὶ αὐταρχίας ὁ θεὸς μόνος κρίνειν δύναται. Ἀυταρχίαν autem monarchiæ ſynonymum illic eſſe non aſſentior; eóque minùs quo ſæpius præcedentia lego; nam quî cohæreat, aut quid ſibi velit aliena illa ſententia ſubito inſititia, qui legerit miretur; præſertim cùm Marcus Aurelius Imperatorum optimus, non aliter cum populo egerit, ut Capitolinus tradit, quàm eſt actum ſub civitate liberâ; jus autem populi quin ſupremum tunc fuerit nemo dubitat. Idem Thraſeam, Helvidium, Catonem, Dionem, Brutum tyrannicidas omnes, aut iſtam gloriam æmulantes coluiſſe, ſibique reipublicæ formam propoſuiſſe in qua æquis legibus, pariſque jure omnia adminiſtrarentur, in primo libro de vita ſua profitetur: In quarto, non ſe, ſed legem, dominum eſſe. Agnovit etiam omnia Senatûs populíque eſſe: Nos, inquit, adeò nihil proprium habemus, ut in veſtris ædibus habitemus. Hæc Xiphilinus. Tantum abfuit ut quicquam jure regio ſibi arrogaret. Moriens, filium ſuum regnaturum eâ lege Romanis commendavit, ſi dignus eſſet: Jus itaque illud regnandi abſolutum atque fictitium, tanquam à deo per manus traditum, illam denique αὐταρχίαν, præ ſe non tulit. *Plena* tamen *omnia Græcorum & Latinorum monumenta eſſe* aïs: At nuſquam viſa; *plena Judæorum*, & tamen addis *Judæos in pleriſque regiæ poteſtati minùs æquos fuiſſe*: Immò Græcos & Latinos multo minùs Tyrannis equos & reperiſti & reperies; multo minus Judæos, ſi liber ille Samuelis in quo is 1 Sam. 10. jus regni deſcripſerat, exſtaret; quem librum Doctores Hebræorum à regibus diſcerptum aut combuſtum eſſe tradiderunt, quo impuniùs tyrannidem in ſuos exercerent. Circumſpice jam numquid captare poſſis: Occurrit tibi rex David poſtremò torquendus, Pſal. 17. *à facie tuâ judicium meum prodeat*: Ergo, inquit Barnachmoni, *nullus judicat regem niſi deus*. Et tamen ſimilius veri videtur, Davidem hæc ſcripſiſſe, cùm à Saule vexatus, ne Jonathanis quidem judicium, quamvìs jam tum unctus à deo, detrectabat; *ſi eſt in me iniquitas, tu me affice morte*, inquit, 1 Sam. 20. deinde ut quivis alius ab hominibus falsò accuſatus, ad judicium dei provocat; id ſequentia declarant, *tui oculi vident quæ recta ſunt*, *cùm exploraveris cor meum*, &c. Quid hoc ad judicium regium, aut forenſe? Sanè jus regium illi maximè labefactant atque deſtruunt, qui fundamentis tam fallacibus niti, atque exædificari produnt. En tritum illud tandem, & aulicorum noſtratium argumentum palmarium. *Tibi ſoli peccavi*, Pſal. 51. 6. quaſi verò rex David in moerore & lacrymis poenitentiam agens, ſordidatus & ſqualidus in terra jacens, miſericordiam à deo ſuppliciter petens, quicquam de jure regio cogitaverit hæc loquutus; cùm ſe vix jure mancipii dignum eſſe arbitraretur. An omnem dei populum, fratres ſuos uſque adeò præ ſe contempſit, ut cædibus, adulteriis, rapinis peccare in eos non ſe poſſe cenſeret? Abſit à rege tam ſancto tanta ſuperbia, támque fœda ignoratio vel ſui vel proximi. *Tibi* igitur *ſoli peccavi* procul dubio intelligendum eſt, tibi præcipuè. Utcunque ſit, profectò verba pſallentis, & ſententiæ affectibus plenæ haudquaquam ſunt ad jus explicandum accommodatæ, aut eò trahendæ. At *non eſt in jus vocatus, nec coram ſynedrio cauſam capitis dixit.* Eſto; quî enim potuit id reſciri, quod adeò ſine arbitris, & ſecretò peractum fuit, ut per aliquot fortaſſe annos (cujuſmodi aulæ arcana ſunt) vix unus aut alter conſcius fuiſſe videatur? 2 Sam. 12. *Tu hoc clàm feciſti.* Deinde quid ſi in privatis etiam puniendis ceſſaret ſynedrium? An quis inde puniendos non eſſe argumentabitur? Sed ratio obſcura non eſt; ipſe ſe condemnaverat, v. 5. *Reus capitis vir ille qui fecit hoc*; cui ſtatim ſubjicit propheta, *tu vir ille es*; prophetæ etiam judicio capitis reus. Veruntamen deus pro ſuo jure atque in Davidem eximiâ clementiâ. & peccato abſolvit regem, & ipſa mortis ſententiâ, quam is in ſemetipſum pronuntiaverat, v. 13. *Non es moriturus.* Nunc in advocatum neſcio quem ſanguinarium debaccharis, & in eo totus es ut perorationem ejus refellas: De qua ipſe viderit; ego quod propoſitum mihi eſt, id ago ut quàm pauciſſimis abſolvam. Quædam tamen præterire non poſſum; primum; inſignes repugnantias tuas: Qui p. 30. hæc habes; *Iſraëlita non deprecantur injuſtum regem, violentum, raptorem, & quales eſſe ſolerent qui peſſimi.* At p. 42. Advocatum vellicas quòd Iſraëlitas tyrannum petîſſe arguerat. *An de fumo* inquis *in flammam ire præcipites maluerunt, id eſt ſævitiam peſſimorum tyrannorum experiri potiùs quàm judices malos pati quibus jam aſſueverant.* Illic Hebræos maluiſſe aïs tyrannos quàm judices, hìc judices maluiſſe quàm tyrannos; & *nihil minùs quàm tyrannum voluiſſe.* De tuo igitur reſpondebit tibi Advocatus, juxta enim te omnis rex jure regio tyrannus eſt. Quod ſequitur bene habet, *authoritatem in populo maximam tunc fuiſſe, quòd judices repudiârunt, regem optârunt.* Memineris, cùm hoc ego à te repoſcam. Negas *deum iratum Iſraëlitis regem tanquam tyrannum aut pœnam attribuiſſe, ſed ut rem ſalutarem & bonam.* Quod tamen facilè refellitur. Cur enim exclamarent propter regem illum quem elegerant, niſi quòd res mala erat imperium regium; non quidem per ſe, ſed quòd plerunque, ſicut Propheta hic monet, in ſuperbiam & dominationem ſe convertit? Si adhuc non ſatisfacio, agnoſce jam tua, ſyngrapham agnoſce tuam & erubeſce. Apparat. ad primatum, *Iratus deus regem illis dedit offenſus eorum peccatis, quòd deum habere regem renuiſſent. Ita Eccleſia quaſi in pœnam ejus delicti, quòd à puro dei cultu deſciverat, in unius mortalis monarchæ pluſquam regium dominatum data eſt.* Tua igitur ſimilitudo ſi ſibi conſtat, aut dedit deus regem Iſraëlitis in pœnam, & tanquam rem malam, aut dedit Papam eccleſiæ in bonum & tanquam rem bonam. Quid hoc homine levius, quid inſanius? Quis huic in re minimâ fidem habeat, qui tantis in rebus quid aſſerat, & mox neget, nihil penſi habet? Affirmas p. 29. *regem legibus ſolutum eſſe apud omnes Gentes, ſic Oriens judicavit, ſic Occidens.* At p. 43. *omnes reges Orientis* κατὰ νόμον, *& legitimos fuiſſe; immò Ægypti reges in maximis minimíſque rebus legibus obſtrictos,* cùm initio capitis hoc te probaturum pollicitus ſis, omnes reges *ſolutos legibus* eſſe, *leges dare, non accipere.* Equidem non iraſcor tibi; aut enim inſanis, aut ſtas à nobis. Hoc certè oppugnare eſt, non defendere, hoc regem eſt ludos facere. Sin minùs, Catullianum profectò illud in te aptiſſimè quadrat, ſed inverſum; nam quantò quis unquam optimus poëta fuit, tantò tu peſſimus omnium patronus. Certè niſi ſtupor ille quo Advocatum eſſe *demerſum* aïs, te potiùs obcæcavit, jam tute *obbrutuiſſe* te ſenties. Nunc *omnibus quoque gentium regibus leges datas fuiſſe* fateris; *non tamen ut iis tenerentur, judiciorum metu & pœna capitis.* Quod nequedum ex ſcripturâ, neque ex ullo authore fide digno oſtendiſti. Tu igitur paucis accipe: leges civiles iis dare qui legibus non tenentur, ſtultum & ridiculum eſt; omnes alios punire, uni duntaxat omnium ſcelerum impunitatem dare, cùm lex neminem excipiat, iniquiſſimum eſt. Quæ duo in ſapientes legum latores minimè cadunt, multò minùs in deum. Ut omnes autem videant te nullo modo ex Hebræorum ſcriptis id probare, quod probandum hoc capite ſuſceperas, eſſe ex magiſtris tuâ ſponte confiteris, *qui negant alium ſuis majoribus regem agnoſcendum fuiſſe præter Deum, datum autem in pœnam fuiſſe.* Quorum ego in ſententiam pedibus eo. Non decet enim, neque dignum eſt regem eſſe, niſi qui cæteris omnibus longè antecellit; ubi multi ſunt æquales, ut ſunt in omni civitate plurimi, imperium ex æquo atque per vices dandum eſſe arbitror: æquali, aut plerunque deteriori, ac ſæpiſſime ſtulto ſervire omnes, quis non indigniſſimum putet? Nec *ad commendationem regalis imperii* plus *facit*, quòd Chriſtus à regibus originem duxit, quàm facit ad peſſimorum regum commendationem, Chriſtum eos habuiſſe nepotem. *Rex eſt Meſſias*: agnoſcimus, gaudemus, & quàm citiſſimè veniat oramus; dignus enim eſt, nec ei quiſquam ſimilis aut ſecundus; interim regia gubernatio commiſſa indignis & immerentibus, ut plerumque fieri ſolet, plus mali quàm boni attuliſſe humano generi rectè exiſtimatur. Nec continuò ſequitur omnes reges tyrannos eſſe. Verùm ita eſto: do tibi hoc, nè me nimis tenacem putes; utere tu jam dato. *Hæc duo ſequuntur*, inquis, *Deus ipſe rex fuerit tyrannorum dicendus, & quidem tyrannus ipſe maximus.* Horum alterum ſi non ſequitur, ſequitur profectò illud quod toto libro tuo ſemper ferè ſequitur, te non ſcripturæ ſolùm, ſed tibimet perpetuò contradicere, ut qui proxima periodo ſuprà dixeras, *unum Deum regem eſſe omnium rerum, quas & ipſe creavit.* Creavit autem & tyrannos & Dæmonas; eorum itaque rex vel tuâ ipſius ſententiâ. In alterum deſpuimus, & blaſphemum illud tibi os obturatum volumus, qui Deum affirmes tyrannum eſſe maximum, ſi tyrannorum, quod ipſe ſæpius dicis, Rex & Dominus dicatur. Sed nec rem regiam multò plus adjuvas, dum oſtendis, Moſen etiam cum *ſumma poteſtate regem fuiſſe.* Nam fuerit ſanè, vel quivis alius, dummodò is ſit qui res noſtras, quemadmodum Moſes, *ad Deum referre* poſſit. Exod. 18. 19. Verùm neque Moſi, quamquam is Dei quaſi ſodalis fuit, licuit in Dei populo quicquid libuit facere. Quid enim ille? *Venit ad me hic populus*, inquit, *ad conſulendum Deum*; non ergo ad mandata Moſis accipienda. Tum ſuſcipit Jethro, *eſto tu pro hoc populo erga deum, & commonefacias eos de legibus dei.* Et Moſes, Deut. 4. 5. *docui vos ſtatuta & judicia, quemadmodum præcepit mihi Deus.* Unde *fidelis* dicitur *in totâ domo dei.* Num. 12. Rex itaque Jehova tum populi fuit; Moſes veluti interpres tantùm Jehovæ regis. Impium igitur & ſacrilegium te eſſe oportet, qui ſummam hanc poteſtatem à Deo ad hominem injuſſus auſis transferre, quam ipſe Moſes non ſummam ſed vicariam tantùm & intermediam ſub præſenti numine obtinuit. Accedit etiam cumulus ad improbitatem tuam, quòd Moſen hic ſummâ poteſtate regem fuiſſe dicas; cùm in apparatu ad primatum, p. 230. *Eum in commune cum LXX ſenioribus populum rexiſſe, & primum populi non dominum fuiſſe* dixeris. Si igitur rex fuit, ut erat certè, & regum optimus, ídque ſicut ipſe aïs, cum *poteſtate planè ſummâ & regia*, nec tamen dominus, neque ſolus populum regebat, vel te authore, neceſſariò ſequitur reges, quamvis ſummâ poteſtate præditos, jure tamen regio atque ſummo, non eſſe dominos, neque ſolos populum regere debere; quantò minùs ad libitum ſuum? Jam verò quâ impudentiâ Dei mandatum ementiris, *de rege ſtatim atque ingreſſi eſſent terram ſanctam ſibi conſtituendo.* Deut. 17. ſupprimis enim veteratoriè quod præcedit, *ſi dixeris, ſtatuam ſuper me regem*; túque memento quid à te jam repoſcam; cùm dixeris p. 42. *liberrimâ tunc poteſtate populus erat præditus.* Nunc iterum fanaticus an profanus eſſe velis, ipſe videris. *Deus*, inquis, *cùm tanto ante determinaverit regium regimen inſtituendum tanquam optimum populi illius regendi ſtatum, quomodo hæc conciliabuntur? Propheta repugnavit, Deus ſic egit cum propheta, ut quaſi nollet.* Videt ſe illaqueatum, videt ſe impeditum: Jam attendite quanta cum malitiâ adverſùs prophetam, impietate adverſùs Deum, expedire ſe quærat: *cogitandum in his eſt*, inquit, *Samuelem eſſe cujus filii populum tunc judicabant, eos populus repudiabat ob corrupta judicia; Samuel igitur noluit filios ſuos à populo rejici; Deus ut gratificaretur propheta ſuo, innuit non valdè ſibi placere, quod populus deſideraret.* Dic uno verbo improbe, quod per ambages dicis; Samuel populo fucum fecit, Samueli Deus. Non advocatus ergò, ſed tu *ceritus* ille & *lymphaticus* es, qui modò ut regem honores, nîl Deum revereris. Iſne tibi Samuel videtur, qui ſaluti aut charitati patriæ filiorum avaritiam & ambitionem præpoſuerit, qui populo recta & ſalutaria petenti, tam callido conſilio, támque vafro illuſerit, falſo pro veris docuerit? Iſne tibi Deus, qui in re tam turpi cuivis gratificaretur, aut cum populo ſimulatè ageret? Aut ergò jus regium non erat quod Propheta populo expoſuit, aut jus illud, teſte Deo & prophetâ, malum, moleſtum, violentum, inutile, ſumptuoſum reipub. erat; aut denique, quod nefas eſt dicere, & Deus & Propheta populo verba dare voluerunt. Paſſim enim teſtatur Deus valdè ſibi diſplicuiſſe quòd regem petîſſent. Ver. 7. *Non te ſed me ſpreverunt, ne regnem ſuper ipſos, ſecundùm illa facta quibus dereliquerunt me & co-*

*luerunt deos alienos*: acſi ſpecies quædam idololatriæ videretur regem petere, qui adorari ſe, & honores propè divinos tribui ſibi poſtulat. Sanè qui ſupra omnes leges terrenum ſibi dominum imponit, propè eſt ut ſibi Deum ſtatuat alienum; Deum utique haud ſæpe rationabilem, ſed profligatâ ſæpiùs ratione brutum, & belluinum. Sic 1 Sam. 10, 19. *Vos ſpreviſtis Deum veſtrum qui ipſe ſervat vos ab omnibus malis, & anguſtiis veſtris, cùm dixiſtis ei, regem præpones nobis.* & cap. 12.12. Vos regem petîſtis, *cùm Jehova ſit rex veſter.* & ver. 17, *Videte malum veſtrum magnum eſſe coram Jehova petendo vobis regem.* Et conemptim Hoſea de rege, 13.10, 11. *Ubi rex tuus, ubinam eſt? ſervet te jam in civitatibus tuis. Ubi vindices tui? quoniam dixiſti, da mihi regem & proceres: dedi tibi regem in ira mea.* Hinc Gideon ille Heros rege major, *Non dominabor in vos, neque filius meus in vos dominabitur, ſed dominabitur in vos Jehova*, Jud. 8. planè ac ſi ſimul docuiſſet, non hominis eſſe dominari in homines, ſed ſolius Dei. Hinc Hebræorum rempublicam, in qua Deus principatum ſolus tenuit, θεοκρατίαν vocat Joſephus contra Apionem Grammaticum Ægyptium & maledicum tui ſimilem. Populus denique reſipiſcens apud Iſaiam 26. 13. calamitoſum hoc ſibi fuiſſe queritur, quòd alios præter Deum Dominos habuerat. Indicio ſunt hæc omnia regem irato Deo Iſraëlitis fuiſſe datum. In hiſtoria tyranni Abimelechi quis eſt cui non riſum moveas? de quo dicitur, cum is partim ſaxo à muliere, partim armigeri gladio interfectus fuerit, *reddidit Deus malum Abimelechi. Hac*, inquis, *hiſtoria potentiſſimè adſtruit Deum ſolum regum judicem eſſe & vindicem*: immo tyrannorum, nebulonum, nothorum, ſi hoc valebit: quicunque per fas aut nefas tyrannidem occupaverit, is jus regium ſtatim in populum adeptus erit, pœnas effugit, confeſtim arma magiſtratui de manibus fluent, muſſare deinceps populus non audebit. Verúm quid ſi magnus aliquis latro hoc modo in bello periiſſet, an Deus ergo ſolus latronum vindex? Quid ſi carnificis manu lege damnatus, an ideo minus illi Deus malum reddidiſſet? Ne judices quidem eorum unquam legiſti lege poſtulatos; tamen *in optimatum ſtatu vel principem, ſi quid committat, poſſe ac debere judicari*, ultrò fateris *pag.* 47. cur non item tyrannus in regno? quia Deus reddidit malum Abimelechi. Ac reddidit quoque mulier illa, reddidit etiam armiger, in quos ille ambos jus regium habere præ ſe tulit. Quid ſi reddidiſſet magiſtratus, annon is idcircò Dei gladium gerit, ut malum malis reddat? Ab hoc *potentiſſimo* de morte Abimelechi argumento ad verborum contumelias more ſuo ſe convertit; nil niſi *cœnum* & *lutum* ore funditat; cum eorum quæ promiſit ſe probaturum, nihil vel ex ſacris libris, vel ex rabbinicis probaverit. Nam neque regem legibus ſolutum eſſe, nec cur puniri, ſi delinquat ſolus mortalium non debeat, quicquam oſtendit. Immo ſuis ipſe teſtibus ſe induit, & ſententiam ſuæ contrariam eſſe veriorem ſuomet ipſe opere demonſtrat. Cúmque argumentis parùm proficiat, criminationibus atrociſſimis omnium in nos odium excitare conatur, quaſi rege optimo & innocentiſſimo crudeliter ſublato. *An Solomon*, inquit, *melior rex Carolo primo fuit?* Sunt, ut verum fatear, qui patrem ejus Jacobum cum Solomone comparare non dubitârunt, & natalibus quidem anteferre. Solomon Davidis filius; is primò Saulis muſicus erat; Jacobus Darlii comitis filius, qui Davidem muſicum, reginæ uxoris thalamos nocte ingreſſum, cum oſtio peſſulum obdidiſſe deprehendit, haud multò pòſt interfecit, ut narrat Buchananus. Natalibus ergo illuſtrior Jacobus, & ſecundus Solomon ſæpe dictus, quamvis Davidis muſici filius an fuerit, dubium ſit. At Carolum conferre cum Solomone quî tibi in mentem venire potuerit non video. Quem enim tu Carolum tot laudibus tollis, ejus pervicaciam, avaritiam, crudelitatem, & ſævum in omnes pios atque bonos dominatum, ejus bella, incendia, rapinas, & miſerorum civium cædes innumeras, dum hæc ſcribo, Carolus ipſe filius in illa publicæ pœnitentiæ ſedeculâ apud Scotos coram populo confitetur atque deplorat: immò tuum illud regium jus ejurat. Verùm ſi parallelis tantopere delectaris, Carolum cum Solomone conferamus. Solomon à meritiſſimo *fratris* ſupplicio *regnum auſpicatus eſt*: Carolus à patris funere; non dico à nece, quamvis indicia veneni omnia in corpore patris mortui conſpecta ſint; iſta enim ſuſpicio in Bucchingamio conſtitit; quem tamen Carolus, & regis interfectorem & ſui patris, non ſolùm in comitiis omni culpa exemit, ſed ne omninò res ea Senatus cognitioni ſubjiceretur, comitia diſſolvit. Solomon *graviſſimis tributis populum preſſit*: at ille in templum Dei, & ædificia publica impendit, Carolus in luxum. Solomon à plurimis uxoribus ad Idolorum cultum pellectus eſt, hic ab unâ. Pellectus in fraudem Solomon, pellexiſſe alios non legitur; hic alios, non ſolum uberrimis corruptæ Eccleſiæ præmiis pellexit, ſed etiam edictis & canonibus eccleſiaſticis coëgit, ut inviſa reformatis omnibus altaria ſtatuerent, & pictos in pariete crucifixos altaribus imminentes adorarent. At non eſt ideo *Solomon à populo capitis damnatus.* Nec inde, inquam, ſequitur damnari à populo non debuiſſe; multa enim incidere potuerunt, cur id tum expedire populo non videretur. Populus certè quid ſui juris eſſet haud multò pòſt & verbis & factis patefecit: cùm Solomonis filium decem tribus expulerunt; & niſi maturè ſe in fugam conjeciſſet, etiam lapidibus regem tantummodò minacem obruituros fuiſſe credibile eſt,

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## CAP. III.

CUm ſatis jam diſputatum atque concluſum ſit, reges Moſaicos ex præſcripto Dei omnibus obſtrictos legibus pariter cum populo fuiſſe, nullas legum exceptiones perſcriptas inveniri, ut reges *quod vellent impunè poſſent*, aut ut *à populo puniri ne poſſint*, *Deum* proinde *vindictam de his tribunali ſuo reſervaſſe* falſiſſimum eſſe, ſine authore, ſine ratione dictum; videamus an id ſuadeat Evangelium, quod diſſuaſit lex, non imperavit: videamus an Evangelium, divinum illud libertatis præconium, nos in ſervitutem addicat regibus & tyrannis, quorum ab impotenti imperiò etiam ſervitutis cujuſdam magiſtra lex vetus populum Dei liberavit. Primum argumentum ducis à perſonâ Chriſti, quem quis neſcit non privati ſolùm, ſed etiam ſervi perſonam ideo ſumpſiſſe, ut nos liberi eſſemus. Neque hoc de interna tantùm libertate intelligendum eſt, non de civili; quàm enim aliena ſunt iſta quæ Maria, mater Chriſti, ejus in adventu cecinit, *ſuperbos diſſipavit cogitatione cordis ipſorum, detraxit dynaſtas è thronis, humiles evexit,* ſi adventus ejus tyrannos potius in ſolio ſtabiliret Chriſtianos omnes eorum ſæviſſimo imperio ſubjiceret. Ipſe ſub tyrannis naſcendo, ſerviendo, patiendo, omnem honeſtam libertatem nobis acquiſivit: ut poſſe ſervitutem, ſi neceſſe eſt, æquo animo pati, ſic poſſe ad libertatem honeſtè aſpirare non abſtulit Chriſtus, ſed majorem in modum dedit. Hinc Paulus, 1 Cor. 7. non de evangelica ſolùm, ſed de civili libertate ſic ſtatuit. *Servus vocatus es? ne ſit tibi curæ; ſin autem potes liber fieri, potiùs utere; pretio empti eſtis, ne eſtote ſervi hominum.* Fruſtra igitur ab exemplo Chriſti ad ſervitutem nos hortaris, qui ſuæ ſervitutis pretio libertatem nobis etiam civilem confirmavit. Et formam quidem ſervi noſtrâ vice ſuſcepit, animum vero liberatoris nunquam non retinuit: unde jus regium quid ſit, longè aliter docuiſſe oſtendam, atque tu doces; qui non regii, ſed tyrannici juris, idque in republicâ novus profeſſor, ſi qua gens tyrannum ſive hæreditarium, ſive adventitium, ſive fortuitum ſortita erit, eam non ſolùm neceſſitate, ſed etiam religione ſervam eſſe ſtatuis. Tuis autem, ut ſoleo, in te utar teſtimoniis. Interrogavit Petrum Chriſtus, cùm ab eo coactores quidam Galilæi didrachma exigebant, Mat. 17. à quibus acciperent reges terræ tributa ſive cenſum, à filiis ſuis, an ab alienis? reſpondet ei Petrus, ab alienis. Ergo, inquit Chriſtus, *liberi ſunt filii; ſed ne offendamus illos, da iis pro me & pro te.* Variè hic locus interpretes exercet, cuinam perſolverentur hæc didrachma, alii ſacerdotibus in ſanctuarium, alii Cæſari: ego quidem Herodi perſoluta, interverſo Sanctuarii reditu, ſentio fuiſſe. Varia enim ab Herode & filiis ejus exacta tributa, ab Agrippa tandem remiſſa narrat Joſephus. Hoc autem tributum per ſe exiguum, multis aliis adjunctum, grave erat: gravia autem fuerint oportet de quibus hic Chriſtus loquitur, alioqui, in republica etiam, pauperes capite cenſi fuerunt. Hinc itaque Chriſtus Herodis injuſtitiam arguendi, cujus ſub ditione erat, occaſionem cepit. Qui, cum cæteri reges terræ (ſiquidem patriæ parentes dici ſe cupiant) non filiis, id eſt civibus ſuis, ſed alienis, bello nempe ſubactis, graviora tributa imperare ſoleant, hic contra non alienos, ſed filios opprimeret. Utcunque ſit, ſive filios hìc, cives regum proprios, ſive filios Dei, id eſt fideles & in univerſum chriſtianos intelligi concedas, ut intelligit Auguſtinus, certiſſimum eſt, ſi filius fuit Petrus, & proinde liber, nos etiam authore Chriſto liberos eſſe; vel ut cives, vel ut chriſtianos: non eſſe ergo juris regii à filiis & liberis tributa graviora exigere. Teſtatur enim Chriſtus perſolviſſe ſe, non quod deberet, ſed ne illos offendendo qui exigebant, negotium ſibi privatus exhiberet : Cum officium ac munus longiſſimè diverſum in illo vitæ ſuæ curriculo explendum ſibi eſſet. Dum igitur negat Chriſtus jus regium eſſe, graviora vectigalia liberis imponere, certè ſpoliare, diripere, occidere, excruciare proprios cives, & præſertim Chriſtianos, jus eſſe regium multo evidentiùs negat. Hunc in modum de jure regio cum & aliàs diſputaſſe videatur, venire in ſuſpicionem quibuſdam cœpit, non ſe tyrannorum licentiam pro jure regio habere. Non enim de nihilo erat quòd Phariſæi interrogatione hujuſmodi animum ejus tentarent, quòd de jure regio percontaturi, eum neminem curare, non reſpicere perſonam hominum dixerint ; neque de nihilo, quòd is propoſita ſibi iſtiuſmodi quæſtione iraſceretur, Mat. 22. An te quiſpiam ſi inſidiosè aggredi; ſi loquentem captare vellet, ſi elicere ex te quod fraudi futurum tibi ſit, de jure regio ſub rege interrogaret? An tu cuipiam de iſtoc interroganti iraſcerere? Non opinor. Vel hinc ergo perſpicias, non id eum de jure regio ſenſiſſe quod regibus gratum erat. Idem ex reſponſo ejus apertiſſimè colligitur, quo ille percontatores amandare à ſe potiùs quàm docere videtur. Poſcit numiſma censûs ; *cujus*, inquit, *imago iſta eſt? Cæſaris. Reddite ergo Cæſari quæ ſunt Cæſaris, quæ dei ſunt deo.* Immo quæ populi ſunt populo reddenda eſſe quis neſcit? Reddite omnibus quod debetis, inquit Paulus, Rom. 13. non ergo Cæſari omnia. Libertas noſtra non Cæſaris, verùm ab ipſo Deo natale nobis donum eſt ; eam Cæſari cuivis reddere, quam ab eo non accepimus, turpiſſimum eſſet, & humana origine indigniſſimum. Si enim os hominis, & vultum aſpiciens interrogaret quiſquam, cujus iſta imago eſſet, annon facile quivis reſponderet dei eſſe? Cum igitur dei ſimus, id eſt verè liberi, ob eámque cauſam ſoli deo reddendi, profectò Cæſari nos, id eſt homini, & præſertim injuſto, improbo, tyranno in ſervitutem tradere, ſine piaculo, & quidem maximo ſacrilegio non poſſumus. Interim quæ Cæſaris ſint, quæ dei, in medio relinquit. Quòd ſi idem erat hoc numiſma quod didrachmum illud deo pendi ſolitum, ut certè poſtea ſub Veſpaſiano fuit, tum ſanè controverſiam non minuit Chriſtus, ſed implicavit: Cum impoſſibile ſit deo & Cæſari idem ſimul reddere. At enim oſtendit quæ Cæſaris eſſent; numiſma nempe illud Cæſaris imagine ſignatum. Quid igitur inde lucraris præter denarium vel Cæſari vel tibi? Aut enim Cæſari Chriſtus præter denarium illud nihil dedit, cætera omnia nobis aſſeruit, aut ſi quicquid pecuniæ Cæſaris nomine inſcriptum eſſet, id Cæſari dedit, contrarius jam ſibi, noſtra ferè omnia Cæſari dabit, qui duo modò didrachma regibus non ſe ex debito perſolvere, & ſuo & Petri nomine profeſſus eſt. Ratio denique infirma eſt qua niteris ; non enim principis effigiem habet moneta ut principis eſſe, ſed ut probam ſe eſſe moneat ; útque ſe principis nomine inſignitam ne quis audeat adulterare. Sin autem ad jus regium inſcriptio tantum valeret, reges profectò noſtras omnium facultates, uti eſſent ſuæ, ſola nominis inſcriptione ſtatim perficerent ; aut ſi noſtra omnia jam ſua ſunt, quod tuum dogma eſt, non idcirco Cæſari numiſma illud reddendum erat, quia Cæſaris nomen aut imaginem prætulit, ſed quia Cæſaris jam antea jure erat, nulla licet imagine ſignatum. Ex quo manifeſtum eſt, Chriſtum hoc in loco non tam nos officii noſtri erga reges aut Cæſares ita perplexè atque ambiguè admonere voluiſſe, quàm Phariſæos hypocritas improbitatis & malitiæ arguere. Quid? Rursùs cum ei nuntiarent Phariſæi, Herodem ejus vitæ inſidias parare, an humile aut demiſſum ab eo reſponſum tyranno reddendum tulerunt? Immo *ite*, inquit, *& dicite vulpi illi* ; innuens reges non jure regio ſed vulpino civibus ſuis inſidiari. Atqui *ſub tyranno ſupplicium mortis ſubire ſuſtinuit.* Enimverò quî potuit niſi ſub tyranno? *Supplicium ſub tyranno paſſus eſt* ; ergo ad injuſtiſſima quævis juris regii teſtis & aſſertor: Egregius tu quidem officiorum ratiocinator es. Verùm Chriſtus quamvis noſtri liberandi, non ſub jugum mittendi cauſâ ſervum ſe fecerit, tamen ad hunc modum ſe geſſit; nec juri quicquam regio præter æquum & bonum conceſſit. Nunc ad præcepta ejus hac de re aliquando veniamus. Zebedæi filios maximam in regno Chriſti, quod mox in terris futur[illegible] ſomniabant, dignitatem affectantes, ſic Chriſtus corripuit, ut omnes ſimul Chriſtianos commonefaceret quale jus magiſtratûs & imperii civilis apud eos conſtitui voluerit. *Scitis*, inquit, *principes gentium in eas dominari, & magnates authoritatem exercere in eas, verùm non ita erit inter vos. Sed quicunque volet inter vos magnus fieri, eſto veſter miniſter ; & quicunque volet inter vos primus eſſe, eſto veſter ſervus.* Hæc tu niſi mente captus tecum facere crediſſes? hiſne te argumentis vincere, ut reges noſtros rerum dominos exiſtimemus? Tales in bello hoſtes nobis contingant, qui in caſtra hoſtium (quanquam & armatos vincere ſat ſcimus) uti tu ſoles, cæci atque inermes tanquam in ſuos incidant: Ita ſemper quod tibi maximè adverſatur, id demens veluti firmiſſimum cauſæ tuæ ſubſidium comparare conſueviſti. Petebant Iſraëlitæ regem, *ut habebant omnes iſta gentes:* Diſſuaſit deus multis verbis, quæ Chriſtus hic ſummatim complexus eſt, *ſcitis principes gentium in eas dominari:* Petentibus tamen iis dedit regem Deus, quamvis iratus: Chriſtus, ne peteret omnino Chriſtianus populus, more gentium dominaturum, adhibitâ cautione antevertit; *inter vos non ita erit.* Quid hoc clariùs dici potuit? Non erit inter vos iſta regum ſuperba dominatio, tametſi ſpecioſo titulo Euergetæ & benefici vocentur; ſed qui magnus inter vos fieri vult, quis autem principe major, *eſto veſter miniſter:* Et qui primus ſive *princeps* (Luc. 22.) *eſto veſter ſervus.* Non erravit itaque Advocatus ille quem inſectaris, ſed authorem habuit Chriſtum, ſi regem Chriſtianum populi miniſtrum eſſe dixit, uti eſt certè omnis bonus magiſtratus. Rex autem inter Chriſtianos aut omninò non erit, aut erit ſervus omnium; ſi planè vult eſſe dominus, eſſe ſimul Chriſtianus non poteſt. Quin & Moſes, legis quodammodo ſervilis inſtitutor, non populo ſuperbè dominabatur, ſed onus ipſe populi ferebat; ferebat in ſinu Populum, ut nutricius lactentem. Num. 11. nutritius autem ſervus eſt. Plato non dominos ſed ſervatores & adjutores populi appellandos eſſe magiſtratus docuit; Populum non ſervos, ſed altores magiſtratuum, ut qui alimenta & ſtipendia magiſtratibus etiam regibus præbeant. Eoſdem Ariſtoteles cuſtodes & miniſtros legum vocat, Plato & miniſtros & ſervos. Miniſtros dei Apoſtolus quidem appellat, quod tamen nequaquam obſtat quò minùs ſint & legum & populi; tam leges enim quàm magiſtratus propter populum ſunt. Et tamen hanc tu *Fanaticorum Angliæ Moloſſorum opinionem* eſſe clamitas. Moloſſos eſſe Anglos certè non putarem, niſi quòd tu illos, hybrida, latratu tàm degeneri oblatras; Lupi, ſi diis placet, Sancti Dominus: Lupus nimirum ſanctus queritur Moloſſos eſſe fanaticos. Germanus olim, cujus ille Lupus Trecaſſinus collega fuit, inceſto apud nos regi Vortigerno authoritate ſuâ regnum abrogavit. Sanctus itaque Lupus talem te Lupi non ſancti, ſed famelici, cujuſpiam & latrunculi dominum, illo apud Martialem viperarum domino viliorem, aſpernatur: qui & latrantem ipſe domi, ut ferunt, Lyciſcam habes, quæ tibi miſerè dominatur; cujus partim impulſu etiam ſcripſiſſe hæc diceris; unde mirum non eſt velle te regiam dominationem aliis obtrudere, qui fœmineum ipſe domi dominatum ferre tam ſerviliter aſſueviſti. Sis itaque Lupi Dominus, ſit Lupa tuî domina, ſis Lupus ipſe, ſis Lycanthropus, moloſſis mehercule Anglicanis ludibrium debes. Verùm lupos venari nunc non eſt otium; ſylvis itaque egreſſi, in viam regiam redeamus. Qui contra omnem in eccleſia primatum nuper ſcripſiſti, nunc *Petrum Apoſtolicæ coronæ principem appellas.* Quis tibi authoritate tam fluxâ homunculo fidem habeat? Quid Petrus? *Subjecti eſtote omni humanæ ordinationi propter dominum, ſive regi ut ſupereminenti, ſive præſidibus, ut qui per eum mittantur, ad ultionem quidem facinoroſorum, laudem verò benefacientium; quoniam ita eſt voluntas dei.* Scripſit hæc Petrus non ſolùm privatis, ſed etiam advenis per minorem ferè Aſiam diſperſis, atque diſpalatis; qui in iis ubi degebant locis nullius juris præterquam hoſpitalis capaces erant. An tu incolas, liberos, nobiles, indigenarum conventus, comitia, parlamenta idem in ſua patria, quod ſparſos & peregrinos in aliena decere putas? An idem privatos decere in ſua, quod ſenatores & magiſtratus, ſine quibus ne reges quidem eſſe poſſunt? Fac tamen indigenas fuiſſe, fac non privatos, ſed Senatum ipſum Romanum, cui hæc ſcripta ſunt. Quid inde aſſequeris? Cùm nullum præceptum cui ratio aliqua adjuncta eſt, quenquam ultra illam præcepti rationem obligare aut ſoleat aut poſſit. *Eſtote ſubjecti*, ὑποτάγητε, id eſt, ſi vim verbi ſpectes, ſubordinati, ſeu legitimè ſubjecti, ἡ γὰρ τάξις νόμος, inquit Ariſtoteles, lex eſt ordo. *Subjecti eſtote propter dominum.* Quamobrem? Quia cùm rex, tum præſes conſtituitur à deo ad ultionem facinoroſorum, laudem benefacientium. *Quoniam ita voluntas eſt dei.* Videlicet ut talibus obſequamur, quales hic deſcribuntur; de aliis nullum hic verbum. Vides quam optimè hujus præcepti conſtet ratio; addit. v. 16. *ut liberi*, non ergo ut mancipia. Quid ſi verſâ vice ad crucem & perniciem bonorum, ad impunitatem & laudem & præmia facinoroſorum regnent? An in perpetuum ſubjecti erimus non privati ſolùm, ſed primores, ſed magiſtratus omnes, ipſe denique Senatus? Annon humana ordinatio dicitur? Cur ergò poteſtas humana, ad conſtituendum quod hominibus bonum & ſalubre eſt, valebit ad tollendum quod iiſdem malum & exitioſum eſt, non valebit? Atqui rex ille cui ſubjecti eſſe jubentur, erat Romæ eâ tempeſtate Nero tyrannus; ergo tyrannis etiam ſubjecti eſſe debemus. At inquam, & dubium hoc eſt, Nero an Claudius tunc temporis rerum potiretur, & illi qui ſubjecti eſſe jubentur, advenæ, diſperſi, privati, non conſules, non prætores, non Senatus Romanus erant. Nunc Paulum adeamus (quoniam tu quod nobis de regibus licere non vis, id tibi de Apoſtolis licere autumas, ut principatum Petro modò des, modò eripias) Paulus hæc ad Romanos, c. 13. *Omnis anima poteſtatibus ſupereminentibus ſubjecta eſto, non eſt enim poteſtas niſi à deo, quæ autem ſunt poteſtates à deo ſunt ordinatæ:* Romanis hæc ſcribit, non, ut Petrus, advenis, diſperſis, ſed privatis tamen potiſſimùm & plebeiis; ita etiam ſcribit, ut totam reipub. adminiſtrandæ rationem, originem, finem luculentiſſimè doceat. Quo magis obedientiæ quoque noſtræ vera ac diſtincta ratio, ab omni ſervitute disjuncta eluceret. *Omnis anima*, hoc eſt quiſque homo *ſubjectus eſto.* Quid ſibi Apoſtolus proponat hoc capite ſatis explanavit Chryſoſtomus, ποιεῖ τοῦτο δεικνὺς, &c. *facit hoc*, inquit, *ut oſtendat Chriſtum leges ſuas non ad hoc induxiſſe ut communem politiam everteret, ſed ut in melius ſtatueret.* Non ergo ut Neronem, aut tyrannum quemvis alium ſupra omnem legem & pœnam conſtituendo, crudeliſſimum unius imperium in omnes mortales conſtabiliret. *Utque ſimul doceret ſuperflua & inutilia bella non eſſe ſuſcipienda*, non ergo bella damnat contra tyrannum, hoſtem patriæ inteſtinum, atque adeo periculoſiſſimum ſuſcepta. *Pervulgatus tunc erat hominum ſermo traducens apoſtolos tanquam ſeditioſos, & novatores quaſi omnia ad evertendum leges communes & facerent & dicerent; his nunc ora obſtruit.* Non ergo tyrannorum defenſiones conſcripſerunt apoſtoli, quod tu facis, ſed ea fecerunt, ea docuerunt, quæ ſuſpecta omnibus tyrannis defenſione apud illos potiùs, & interpretatione quadam egebant. Propoſitum Apoſtolo quid fuerit ex Chryſoſtomo vidimus; nunc verba ſcrutemur. *Omnis anima poteſtatibus ſupereminentibus ſubjecta eſto*, quæ tamen iſtæ ſint non ſtatuit: Non enim jura atque inſtituta omnium nationum abolere, unius libidini omnia permittere in animo erat. Certè optimus quiſque imperator authoritatem legum & Senatûs authoritate ſuâ longè ſuperiorem ſemper agnovit. Idem apud omnes nationes non barbaras jus ſemper ſanctiſſimum fuit. Unde Pindarus apud Herodotum, νόμον πάντων βασιλέα, legem omnium regem eſſe dixit; Orpheus in hymnis non mortalium ſolum, ſed immortalium etiam regem appellat.

Ἀθανάτων καλέω καὶ θνητῶν ἁγνὸν ἄνακτα
Οὐράνιον νόμον.————

Reddit rationem. Αὐτὸς γὰρ μοῦνος ζώων οἴηκα κρατύνει. *Lex enim ſola viventium gubernaculum tenet.* Plato in legibus τὸ κρατοῦν ἐν τῇ πόλει, id quod in civitate plurimum debet poſſe, legem eſſe aït. In epiſtolis eam maximè rempub. laudat, ubi lex, & domina & rex hominum, non homines tyranni legum ſunt. Eadem Ariſtotelis ſententia in Politicis, eadem Ciceronis in legibus, ita leges præeſſe magiſtratibus, ut magiſtratus præſunt populo. Cùm itaque ſapientiſſimorum virorum judicio, prudentiſſimarum civitatum inſtitutis lex ſemper poteſtas ſumma atque ſuprema habita ſit, nec evangelii doctrina cum ratione aut cum jure gentium pugnet, is utique poteſtatibus ſupereminentibus veriſſimè ſubjectus erit, qui legibus & magiſtratibus juxta leges Rempub. gubernantibus ex animo paret. Non ergo ſolùm populo ſubjectionem hanc, ſed regibus etiam præcipit; qui ſupra leges nequaquam ſunt. *Non eſt enim poteſtas niſi à deo*; id eſt nulla reipub. forma, nulla homines regendi legitima ratio. Antiquiſſimæ etiam leges ad authorem deum olim referebantur; eſt enim lex, ut Cicero in Philip. 12. nihil aliud niſi recta & à numine deorum tracta ratio, imperans honeſta, prohibens contraria. A deo igitur eſt magiſtratuum inſtitutio, ut eorum adminiſtratione gens humana ſub legibus viveret: hanc autem vel illam adminiſtrationis formam, hos vel illos magiſtratus eligendi optio procul dubio penes liberas hominum nationes ſemper fuit. Hinc Petrus & regem & præſides ἀνθρωπίνην κτίσιν, humanam creationem vocat; & Hoſea, c. 8. *Conſtituunt reges, at non ex me; præficiunt principes quos non agnoſco.* In iſtâ enim ſolâ Hebræorum repub. ubi deum variis modis conſulere poterant, de regis nominatione ad deum referri ex lege oportebat: Cæteræ gentes mandatum à deo nullum iſtiuſmodi accepimus. Aliquando aut ipſa regiminis forma, ſi vitioſa ſit, aut illi qui poteſtatem obtinent, & ab hominibus, & à diabolo ſunt. Luc. 4. *Tibi dabo poteſtatem hanc omnem, nam* *mihi tradita eſt, & cui volo do illam.* Hinc princeps hujus mundi dicitur, & Apocalyp. 13. dedit Beſtiæ Draco potentiam ſuam, & thronum ſuum, & poteſtatem magnam. Propterea neceſſe eſt hîc intelligi non poteſtates quaſcunque, ſed legitimas, prout etiam infra deſcribuntur; neceſſe eſt intelligi poteſtates ipſas, non ſemper eos qui imperium obtinent. Hinc dilucidè Chryſoſtomus, *Quid aïs?* inquit, *omnis ergo princeps à Deo conſtitutus eſt? non dico: non enim de quovis principe, ſed de ipſa re loquitur Apoſtolus; non dicit, non eſt princeps niſi à Deo, ſed non eſt poteſtas.* Hæc Chryſoſtomus. *Quæ autem poteſtates ſunt, à Deo ſunt ordinatæ.* Legitimas ergo vult hîc intelligi Apoſtolus; malum enim & vitium, cùm ataxía ſit, non eſt ut poſſit ordinari, & eſſe ſimul vitioſum. Hoc enim duo ſimul contraria ponit, taxin & ataxían. *Quæ autem ſunt*, ita interpretaris ac ſi diceretur, *quæ nunc ſunt*; quo faciliùs probare poſſis etiam Neroni, qui ut opinaris, tunc *imperavit*, Romanos obtemperare debuiſſe; noſtrâ ſanè bonâ veniâ: quàm enim voles de Anglicanâ repub. male ſentias, in eâ tamen Anglos acquieſcere debere, quoniam *nunc eſt*, & *à Deo ordinatur*, ut Neronis olim imperium, neceſſe habebis concedere. Neque enim Nero minùs quàm Tiberius *artibus matris imperium nihil ad ſe pertinens* occupaverat, ne legitimè partum fuiſſe reſpondeas. Quo ſceleratior & doctrinæ retractator ipſe tuæ, Romanos poteſtati quæ tunc fuit ſubjectos eſſe vis, Anglos poteſtati quæ nunc eſt, ſubjectos eſſe non vis. Verùm nullæ in hoc orbe terrarum res duæ magis è regione adverſæ ſibi ſunt, quàm tu nequiſſimus nequiſſimo ſemper ferè adverſus es tibi. Quid autem facies miſer? acumine hoc tuo regem adoleſcentem planè perdidiſti; ab ipſa enim tua ſententiâ extorquebo ut fatearis, hanc poteſtatem in Anglia, quæ nunc eſt, à Deo ordinatam eſſe; atque omnes proinde Anglos intra ejuſdem reipublicæ fines eidem poteſtati ſubjectos eſſe debere. Attendite igitur Critici, & manus abſtinete, Salmaſii nova hæc emendatio eſt, in epiſtola ad Romanos; non quæ ſunt poteſtates, *ſed quæ nunc exiſtunt* reddi debere adinvenit; ut Neroni tyranno tunc ſcilicet imperanti ſubjectos eſſe omnes oportuiſſe demonſtraret. At, ô bone, ληκύθιον ἀπώλεσας: ut regem modò, ita nunc interpretamentum hoc tam bellum perdidiſti. Quam tu epiſtolam ſub Nerone ſcriptam eſſe aïs, ſub Claudio ſcripta eſt principe ſimplici, & non malo: hoc viri docti certiſſimis argumentis compertum habent; quinquennium etiam Neronis laudatiſſimum fuit, unde argumentum hoc toties inculcatum, quod multis in ore eſt, multis impoſuit, tyranno parendum eſſe, eo quòd Paulus hortatus eſt Romanos ut Neroni eſſent ſubjecti, callidum indocti cujuſpiam commentum eſſe reperitur. *Qui obſiſtit poteſtati*, ſcilicet legitimæ, *Dei ordinationi obſiſtit.* Aſtringit etiam reges præceptum hoc, qui legibus & Senatui obſiſtunt. At verò qui poteſtati vitioſæ, aut poteſtatis non vitioſæ corruptori & everſori obſiſtit, an is Dei ordinationi obſiſtit? ſanus, credo, non dixeris. Tollit omnem dubitationem ſequens verſiculus, de legitima tantùm poteſtate Apoſtolum hic loqui. Definiendo enim explicat, nequis errare, & opiniones hinc ſtolidas occupari poſſit, qui ſint magiſtratus poteſtatis hujus miniſtri, & quam ob cauſam ſubjectos eſſe nos hortetur; *Magiſtratus non ſunt timori bonis operibus, ſed malis, boni à poteſtate hac laudem adipiſcentur; Magiſtratus miniſter eſt Dei noſtro bono datus; non fruſtra gladium gerit, vindex ad iram ei qui malum facit.* Quis negat, quis recuſat, niſi improbus, quin hujuſmodi poteſtati aut poteſtatis adminiſtro libens ſe ſubjiciat? non ſolùm ad vitandam *iram* & offenſionem, aut pœnæ metu, ſed etiam *propter conſcientiam.* Sine magiſtratibus enim, & civili gubernatione, nulla reſpublica, nulla ſocietas humana, nulla vita eſſe poteſt. Quæ autem poteſtas, qui magiſtratus contraria his facit, neque illa neque hic à Deo propriè ordinatus eſt. Unde neque tali vel poteſtati, vel magiſtratui ſubjectio debetur aut præcipitur, neque nos prudenter obſiſtere prohibemur: non enim poteſtati, non magiſtratui obſiſtemus, qui hic optimè depingitur, ſed prædoni, ſed tyranno, ſed hoſti; qui ſi magiſtratus tamen dicendus erit, eò duntaxat quòd habet poteſtatem, quòd ad pœnam noſtram ordinari à Deo videri poteſt, etiam Diabolus hoc modo magiſtratus erit. Sanè unius rei una vera definitio eſt: ſi ergò Paulus hîc magiſtratum definit, quod quidem accuratè facit, eadem definitione, iiſdem verbis tyrannum, rem maximè contrariam, definire non potuit. Unde quem ipſe magiſtratum definivit atque deſcripſit, ei duntaxat ſubjectos nos eſſe voluiſſe, non ejus contrario tyranno certiſſime colligitur. *Propter hoc tributa ſolvitis*; rationem adjungit ad præceptum; unde Chryſoſtomus, *Cur*, inquit, *vectigalia* *regi damus? Annon tanquam nobis proſpicienti, curæ ac tuitionis mercedem ſolventes? atqui nihil illi ſolviſſemus, niſi ab initio utilem nobis talem eſſe præfecturam cognoviſſemus.* Quapropter illud repetam quod ſupra dixi; quandoquidem ſubjectio hæc non ſimpliciter, ſed cum adjunctâ ratione à nobis requiritur, illa profectò ratio quæ adjungitur, ſubjectionis noſtræ vera norma erit: Cum iſta ratione non ſubjecti, rebelles; ſine iſta ratione ſubjecti, ſervi erimus & ſocordes. *At Angli*, inquis, *nihil minùs quàm liberi, quia mali, quia flagitioſi.* Nolo ego Gallorum vitia commemorare, quamvis ſub regibus ſint; neque Anglorum nimis excuſare; dico tamen illa eſſe flagitia, quæ ſub regibus tanquam in Ægypto didicerunt; neque dum in deſerto, licet Dei ſub imperio, dediſcere ſtatim potuerunt. Spes eſt tamen de pleriſque bona, ut ne ſanctiſſimos hic optimóſque viros & veritatis ſtudioſiſſimos collaudare incipiam; quorum apud nos non minorem credo eſſe numerum, quàm ubi tu maximum eſſe exiſtimas. At *jugum Anglis durum imponitur.* Quid ſi illis, qui jugum cæteris civibus imponere ſtudebant? Quid ſi ſuo deinde merito ſubactis? nam cæteri puto non moleſtè ferunt, exhauſto civilibus bellis ærario, ſumptibus propriis ſuam ſe tolerare libertatem. Relabitur jam ad Rabbinos nugivendos. Regem legibus aſtrictum eſſe negat, ex iis tamen probat *læſæ majeſtatis reum eſſe poſſe, ſi jus ſuum patiatur imminui:* aſtrictus itaque & non aſtrictus, reus & non reus rex erit: adeò frequenter enim ſolet repugnare ſibi, ut ipſa Repugnantia huic homini germana atque gemella eſſe videatur. Atqui Deus, inquis, multa regna Nebuchadnezzari in ſervitutem dedit. Fateor at certum tempus dediſſe, Jer. 27. 7. Anglos in ſervitutem Carolo Stuarto ad ſemihorulam dediſſe oſtende; permiſiſſe non negaverim, dediſſe nunquam audivi. Aut ſi Deus in ſervitutem dat populum, quoties tyrannus plus populo poteſt, cur non idem liberare dicendus erit, quoties plus poteſt populus tyranno? An is Deo tyrannidem ſuam, nos Deo libertatem noſtram acceptam non feremus? Non eſt malum in civitate quod Deus non immittat, *Amos* 3. famem, peſtilentiam, ſeditionem, hoſtem; ecquodnam horum civitas ab ſe non totis viribus amolietur? faciet profectò, ſi poſſit, quamvis ab ipſo Deo immiſſa hæc eſſe ſciat; niſi è cœlo ipſe ſecùs juſſerit. Cur non tyrannos pariter amovebit, ſi plus polleat; an ejus unius impotentiam ad commune malum eſſe magis à Deo credemus, quàm potentiam totius civitatis ad commune bonum? Abſit à civitatibus, abſit ab omni cœtu hominum ingeniorum doctrinæ tam ſtupidæ, támque peſtiferæ labes, quæ vitam omnem civilem funditus delet, gentem humanam univerſam propter unum atque alterum tyrannum, ad quadrupedum propè conditionem detrudit: cum illi ſupra omnem legem excelſi par in utrunque genus & pecudum & hominum jus atque imperium obtinebunt. Mitto jam ſtulta illa dilemmata, in quibus ut te jactes, neſcio quem fingis, *poteſtatem illam ſupereminentem de populo velle intelligere*; tametſi affirmare non dubito omnem magiſtratus authoritatem à populo proficiſci. Hinc Cicero pro Flacco, *Illi noſtri ſapientiſſimi, & ſanctiſſimi majores, quæ ſciſceret plebs, quæ populus juberet, juberi vetaríque voluerunt.* Hinc Lucius Craſſus Orator eximius, & Senatûs eo tempore princeps, cujus tum cauſam agebat ad populum. *Nolite*, inquit, *ſinere nos cuiquam ſervire niſi vobis univerſis, quibus & poſſumus & debemus.* Quamvis enim Senatus Populum regeret, populus tamen illam moderandi & regendi ſui poteſtatem ſenatui tradiderat. Unde majeſtatem, populo Romano frequentiùs quàm regibus olim attributam legimus. Idem Marcus Tullius pro Plancio. *Eſt enim conditio liberorum populorum, præcipuéque hujus principis populi & omnium gentium domini, poſſe ſuffragiis vel dare vel detrahere quod velit cuique, noſtrum eſt ferre modicè populi voluntates: honores ſi magni non putemus, non ſervire populo; ſin eos expetamus, non defatigari ſupplicando.* Egóne ut regem populi ſervum dicere metuam, cùm Senatus Romanus tot regum dominus ſervum ſe populi profeſſus ſit? Vera ſunt hæc, inquies, in populari ſtatu; nondum enim lex regia poteſtatem populi in Auguſtum, & ſucceſſores ejus tranſtulerat. Hem tibi ergò Tiberium illum quem tu *tyrannum plus vice ſimplici* fuiſſe aïs, ut revera fuit, is tamen dominus, etiam poſt legem illam regiam, appellatus à quodam, ut tradit Suetonius, denunciavit ne ſe ampliùs contumeliæ causâ nominaret. Audíſne? tyrannus iſte dominus dici contumeliæ ſibi duxit. Idem in Senatu, *Dixi & nunc, & ſæpe aliàs, patres Conſcripti, bonum & ſalutarem principem, quem vos tanta & tam libera poteſtate inſtruxiſtis, Senatui ſervire debere, & univerſis civibus ſæpe, & plerunque etiam ſingulis; neque id dixiſſe me pœnitet; & bonos & æquos & faventes vos ha-*

*bui Dominos, & adhuc habeo.* Nec ſimulata hæc ab eo ſi dixeris, ut erat ſimulandi callidiſſimus, quicquam proficies; quis enim id videri ſe cupit, quod eſſe non debet? Hinc ille mos non Neroni ſolùm, quod ſcribit Tacitus, ſed cæteris etiam imperatoribus fuit, populum in Circo adorandi. De quo Claudianus, VI. *Conſ. Honorii.*

> *O quantum populo ſecreti numinis addit*
> *Imperii præſens ſpecies, quantámque rependit*
> *Majeſtas alterna vicem, cum regia Circi*
> *Connexum gradibus veneratur purpura vulgus,*
> *Conſenſúque cavæ ſublatus in æthera vallis*
> *Plebis adoratæ reboat fragor.*—— ——

Qua adoratione quid aliud Imperatores Romani, niſi univerſam plebem, etiam poſt legem regiam, ſuos eſſe dominos fatebantur? Atque illud eſt quod initio ſtatim ſuſpicatus ſum, te gloſſariis pervolutandis, & tricis quibuſdam laborioſis magnificé divulgandis operam potiùs dediſſe, quàm bonis authoribus attentè & ſtudioſè perlegendis; qui veterum ſcriptorum ſapientia ne leviter quidem imbutus, rem præſtantiſſimorum opinionibus Philoſophorum, & prudentiſſimorum in republica principum dictis celebratiſſimam, novam eſſe prorſus & *Enthuſiaſtarum* tantummodò *deliriis* ſomniatam cenſes. I nunc, Martinum illum ſutorem, & Guilielmum Pellionem quos adeò deſpicis, ignorantiæ collegas & myſtagogos tibi ſume: quanquam erudire te poterunt illi, & illos tibi gryphos diſſolvere ſtolidiſſimos, *An in Democratia ſerviat Populus, cùm ſerviat rex in Monarchia; utrùm totus an pars ejus.* Ita illi, cum tibi Oedipi vice fuerint, tu illis Sphinx in malam rem præceps abeas licebit; alioqui fatuitatum tuarum & ænigmatum finem nullum fore video. Rogas, *Cum reges Apoſtolus nominat, an de populo eos intelligemus.* Pro regibus quidem orandum eſſe Paulus docet, 1 *Tim.* 2. 2. at prius pro populo orandum eſſe docuerat, *v.* 1. Sunt tamen & de regibus, & de populo nonnulli pro quibus orare etiam vetamur. Pro quo non orem, eúmne ex lege non puniam? quid vetat? Atqui *cum hæc ſcriberet Paulus, imperabant vel peſſimi*; hoc etiam falſum eſt, ſcriptam enim ſub Claudio & hanc Epiſtolam fuiſſe certiſſimis argumentis evincit Ludovicus Capellus. De Nerone cum mentionem facit Paulus non regem, ſed *Leonem*, id eſt belluam immanem vocat, cujus ex ore ereptum ſe gaudet, 2 *Tim.* 4. Pro regibus itaque, non pro belluis, *orandum, ut vitam tranquillam & quietam tranſigamus, cum pietate* tamen *omni & honeſtate.* Vides non tam regum hìc quàm tranquillitatis, pietatis, honeſtatis etiam rationem eſſe habendam. Quis autem populus non ſe ſuóſque liberos tuendo (contra tyrannum an contra hoſtem nihil intereſt) vitam *ſollicitam*, *inquietam*, bellicoſam, honeſtam agere, quàm ſub hoſte vel tyranno, non ſolùm æquè ſollicitam & inquietam, ſed turpem etiam, ſervilem & inhoneſtam? Teipſum teſtem adhibebo, non quod tanti ſis, ſed ut perſpiciant omnes quàm ſis duplex, & fraudulentus, & mancipium regis mercenarium. *Quis*, inquis, *non perferre mallet in repub. Ariſtocratica ex optimatum æmulatione diſſenſiones oriri ſolitas, quàm ex uno monarcha, tyrannico more imperare conſueto, certam miſeriam ac perniciem? Populus Romanus prætulit ſtatum illum Reipub. quantumlibet diſcordiis agitatæ jugo Cæſarum intolerabili. Populus qui vitandæ ſeditionis cauſa monarchicum ſtatum præoptavit, ubi expertus eſt levius eſſe malum quod vitare voluit, ad priora ſæpe redire expetit.* Hæc & plura tua verba ſunt in illa de Epiſcopis diſſertatione, ſub Walonis Meſſalini adſcititio nomine editâ, p. 412. contra Petavium Loiolitam, cum ipſe magis Loiolita ſis, & eo de grege peſſimus. Quid hac de re Scriptura ſacra ſtatuerit, & vidimus & omni diligentia inveſtigâſſe non pœnitet: unde quid ſenſerint Patres antiqui per tot ingentia volumina exquirere pretium fortaſſe operæ non erit. Si quid enim afferunt, quod Scriptura non exhibuit, eorum authoritatem, quantacunque ſit, meritò repudiamus. Quod autem ex Irenæo profers, *reges Dei juſſu conſtitui aptos his qui in illo tempore ab iis reguntur*, cum Scripturâ pugnat evidentiſſimè. Cum enim judices ad regendum populum ſuum aptiores regibus eſſe palàm ſignificâſſet Deus, id tamen totum voluntati atque arbitrio populi permiſit, ut aptiorem ſibi ſub optimatibus formam reipub. deteriore ſub regibus, ſi vellent, permutarent. Legimus etiam ſæpe regem malum bono populo datum, & contra, regem bonum populo malo. Virorum itaque ſapientiſſimorum eſt perſpicere quid populo aptiſſimum & utiliſſimum ſit: conſtat enim neque omni populo, neque eidem ſemper eundem reipub. ſtatum convenire, ſed vel hunc vel illum, prout civium virtus & induſtria nunc augeſcit, nunc minuitur. Qui tamen poteſtatem adimit populo eligendi ſibi quam velit reipub. formam, adimit profectò id in quo civilis libertas tota fere conſiſtit. Citas deinde Juſtinum Martyrem Antoninis imperatorum optimis obſequium deferentem; quis non iis tam egregiis & moderatis non detuliſſet? *At quantò, inquis, nos hodie pejores Chriſtiani? Tulerunt illi principem diverſæ religionis.* Privati ſcilicet, & viribus longè inferiores. *Nunc ſanè pontificii regem non ferrent reformatum,* nec *reformati Pontificium.* Facis tu quidem prudenter, ut oſtendas te nec pontificium eſſe, nec reformatum; facis etiam liberaliter; ultrò enim largiris quod nunc non petivimus, omnes hodie Chriſtianos in hoc planè conſentire, quod tu ſolus inſigni audaciâ atque ſcelere oppugnas, Patrum etiam quos laudas diſſimillimus; illi enim pro Chriſtianis ad profanos reges defenſiones conſcribebant, tu pro rege pontificio atque deterrimo contra Chriſtianos & Reformatos. Multa deinde ex Athenagora, multa ex Tertulliano futiliter depromis, quæ ab ipſis Apoſtolis multò clariùs & explanatiùs dicta jam ſunt. Tertullianus autem longiſſimè à te diſſentit, qui regem vis eſſe dominum: Quod tu aut neſciviſti, aut nequiter diſſimulâſti. Is enim Chriſtianus ad Imperatorem Ethnicum in Apologetico auſus eſt ſcribere non oportere imperatorem appellari Dominum. *Auguſtus*, inquit, *imperii formator ne dominum quidem dici ſe volebat, hoc enim Dei eſt Cognomen: Dicam planè imperatorem dominum, ſed quando non cogor ut dominum dei vice dicam: Cæterùm liber ſum illi, Dominus meus deus unus eſt, &c.* Et ibidem *qui pater patriæ eſt, quomodo dominus eſt?* Gratulare nunc tibi de Tertulliano, quem ſanè præſtabat miſſum feciſſe. *At parricidas appellat qui Domitianum interfecerunt.* Rectè appellat; uxoris enim & famulorum inſidiis, à Parthenio, & Stephano interceptarum pecuniarum reo eſt interfectus. Quod ſi Senatus Populúſque Romanus hoſtem judicatum, ut Neronem priùs judicabant, & ad ſupplicium quærebant, more majorum puniviſſent, eos parricidas appellaturum fuiſſe cenſes? Immo ſi appellâſſet, dignus ipſe ſupplicio fuiſſet; uti tu furcâ jam dignus es. Origeni reſponſum idem quadrabit quod Irenæo. Athanaſius reges terræ ad humana tribunalia vocare nefarium eſſe dicit. Quis hoc dixit Athanaſio? Verbum enim dei nullum hic audio. Credam itaq; ego imperatoribus potiùs & regibus de ſe falſum hoc eſſe fatentibus, quàm Athanaſio. Adfers deinde Ambroſium ex proconſule & catechumeno epiſcopum, verba illa Davidis, *tibi ſoli peccavi,* imperitè, ne dicam aſſentatoriè interpretantem. Volebat is omnes alios imperatori ſubjectos eſſe, ut imperatorem ipſe ſubjiceret ſibi. Quàm enim ſuperbè & faſtu plùs quàm pontificio Theodoſium imperatorem Mediolani tractaverit, cædis Theſſalonicenſis reum ipſe judicaverit, ingreſſu eccleſiæ prohibuerit, quàm ſe deinde novitium & rudem evangelicæ doctrinæ oſtenderit, omnibus notum eſt. Imperatorem ad pedes ejus provolutum excedere ſalutatorio juſſit; ſacris tandem reſtitutum, & poſtquam obtuliſſet, altari adſtantem his vocibus extra cancellos exegit: *O imperator, interiora loca tantùm ſacerdotibus ſunt attributa, quæ cæteris contingere non licet.* Doctórne hic Evangelii, an Judaïcorum pontifex rituum fuit? Hic tamen (quæ omnium ferè eccleſiaſticorum artes ſunt) imperatorem cæteris dominum impoſuit, ut imperatoris ipſe dominus eſſet. His itaque verbis Theodoſium tanquam ſibi ſubjectum repulit; *Coæqualium hominum es imperator & conſervorum; unus enim omnium dominus rex & Creator.* Bellè profectò; quam veritatem calliditas & aſſentatio epiſcoporum obſcuravit, eam iracundia unius, & ut molliùs dicam, zelus ineruditus protulit in lucem. Ambroſii imperitiæ tuam ſubjungis ignorantiam aut hæreſin, qui diſertè negas *ſub veteri fœdere remiſſionem peccatorum per ſanguinem Chriſti locum tunc habuiſſe, cum David deo confitebatur ei ſoli ſe peccaviſſe.* p. 68. Orthodoxi, non niſi per ſanguinem agni mactati ab initio mundi, peccata unquam remiſſa fuiſſe credunt; te novum hæreticum cujuſnam diſcipulus ſis neſcio; certè ſummi Theologi diſcipulus ille quem exagitas, à vero non aberravit, cum dixit potuiſſe quemvis è populo pari jure cum Davide deum his verbis inclamâſſe, *tibi ſoli peccavi.* Auguſtinum deinde oſtentas, Clericos Hipponenſes neſcio quos producis; nam Auguſtini quæ ſunt abs te allata nobis non obſunt. Quidni enim fateamur cùm propheta Daniële, deum tempora mutare, regna dare, & regna auferre, per homines tamen. Si regnum deus ſolus Carolo dedit, idem Carolo abſtulit, optimatibus & Populo dedit. Si eâ de causâ præſtandam Carolo obedientiam fuiſſe dicis, eandem nunc magiſtratibus noſtris præſtandam eſſe dicas neceſſe eſt. Nam deum & noſtris etiam magiſtratibus eandem dediſſe poteſtatem quam dat malis regibus *ad caſtiganda populi peccata* ipſe concedis ; noſtros itaque à deo pariter conſtitutos removere à magiſtratu nemo vel tuo judicio niſi deus poteſt. Atque ita, uti ſoles, tuum tibi ipſe mucronem in temet vertis, tuus tibi ipſe ſicarius es ; neque injuriâ, cum eò improbitatis & impudentiæ proceſſeris, eò ſtuporis & inſaniæ, ut quos digito violandos non eſſe tot argumentis probas, eoſdem omnium ſuorum bello perſequendos eſſe idem affirmes. Iſmaëlem Godoliæ Præfecti interfectorem ab Hieronymo parricidam eſſe nominatum aïs, & meritò ; præſidem enim Judææ, virum bonum, ſine ulla cauſa interemit. Idem Hieronymus in Eccleſiaſten, præceptum illud Solomonis *Os regis obſerva*, cum præcepto Pauli concordare dixit ; & laudandus quidem, quod locum iſtum cæteris ſui temporis moderatiùs expoſuit. *Ad inferiora tempora poſt Auguſtinum non deſcendes, ut doctorum ſententiam exquiras.* Ut omnes tamen intelligant faciliùs mentiri te poſſe quàm tacere, ſi quos adhuc haberes tuæ ſententiæ fautores, poſt unam ſtatim periodum non temperas tibi quò minùs ad Hiſpalenſem Iſidorum, Gregorium Turonenſem, Ottonem Frinſingenſem etiam in mediam barbariem deſcendas. Quorum authoritas quàm nullius apud nos pretii ſit ſi modò ſciviſſes, non huc eorum obſcurum teſtimonium per mendacium adduxiſſes. Vultis ſcire cur ad hæc tempora deſcendere non audet, cur abdit ſe, cur ſubitò evaneſcit ? Dicam : Quot ſunt Eccleſiæ reformatæ præſtantiſſimi doctores, tot videt acerrimos ſibi adverſarios fore. Faciat modò periculum, ſentiet quàm facilè reluctantem, omnes in unum vires conferentem, Lutheris, Zuingliis, Calvinis, Buceris, Martyribus, Paræis in aciem eductis fundam atque obruam. Leidenſes etiam tuos tibi opponam, quorum Academia, quorum reſpub. florentiſſima, libertatis olim domicilium, iſti denique literarum humaniorum fontes atque rivi, ſervilem illam æruginem tuam & innatam barbariem eluere non potuerunt. Qui cum Theologum Orthodoxum habeas neminem tibi faventem, quem tuo commodo nominare poſſis, omnium præſidio reformatorum nudatus confugere ad Sorbonam non erubeſcis : Quod tu Collegium doctrinæ pontificiæ addictiſſimum nullius apud Orthodoxos authoritatis eſſe non ignoras. Sorbonæ igitur abſorbendum tam ſceleratum tyrannidis propugnatorem tradimus ; tam vile mancipium, noſtrum eſſe nolumus ; qui *populum univerſum regi ignaviſſimo parem eſſe* negat. Fruſtra id in papam deonerare atque transferre contendis, quod omnes liberæ nationes, omnis religio, omnes Orthodoxi ſibi ſumunt, in ſe ſuſcipiunt. Papa quidem cum epiſcopis ſuis, dum tenuis, & nullarum virium erat tuæ hujus fœdiſſimæ doctrinæ author primus extitit : Iis demùm artibus magnas opes, magnamque potentiam paulatim adeptus, tyrannorum ipſe maximus evaſit. Quos tamen omnes ſibi firmiſſimè devinxit, cum populis, quorum animos jamdiu ſuperſtitione oppreſſos tenuerat, ſuaderet, non poſſe regibus quamlibet peſſimis, niſi ſe fidelitatis ſacramentum ſolvente, imperium abrogari. Verùm tu ſcriptores Orthodoxos devitas, & quæ communis & notiſſima ipſorum ſententia eſt, eam à Papa introductam eſſe cauſatus, veritatem in invidiam rapere conaris. Quod niſi aſtutè faceres, appareret te neque Papanum eſſe neque reformatum, ſed neſcio quem ſemibarbarum Edomæum Herodianum, qui tyrannum quemque immaniſſimum tanquam Meſſiam cœlo demiſſum colas atque adores. *Demonſtrâſſe te* hoc dicis *ex doctrina patrum primorum quatuor ſæculorum, quæ ſola Evangelica & Chriſtiana cenſeri debet.* Periit huic homini pudor ; quàm multa ſunt ab illis dicta atque ſcripta, quæ Chriſtus & Apoſtoli neque docuerunt neque approbârunt ? Quàm multa in quibus reformati omnes à patribus diſſentiunt ? Quid autem ex patribus demonſtraviſti ? *Reges etiam malos à deo conſtitui.* Fac eſſe conſtitutos, ut omnia etiam mala quodammodo à deo conſtituuntur : *Eos proinde deum ſolum habere judicem, ſupra leges eſſe, nullâ lege ſcriptâ, non ſcriptâ, naturali, neque divinâ poſſe reos fieri à ſubditis, neque apud ſubditos ſuos.* Quare ? Certè nulla lex vetat, nulla reges excipit : Ratio, & jus, & fas omne animadverti in omnes qui peccant indiſcriminatim jubet. Neque tu legem ullam ſcriptam, non ſcriptam, naturalem aut divinam protuliſti quæ vetaret. Cur ergò non in reges quoque animadvertendum ? *Quia ſunt etiam mali à Deo conſtituti.* Nebulonem te magis an bardum & caudicem eſſe dicam ? Nequiſſimus ſis oportet qui doctrinam pernicioſiſſimam in vulgus diſſeminare audeas, ſtupidiſſimus qui ratione tam ſtolidâ maximè nitaris. Dixit deus, Iſaiæ 54. *Ego creavi interfectorem ad perdendum* ; ergo interfector ſupra leges eſt ; excute hæc, & pervolve quantum voles, parem utrobique conſequentiam invenies. Nam & Papa etiam eodem modo quo tyrannus à deo eſt conſtitutus, & eccleſiæ in pœnam datus, quod ſupra ex ſcriptis etiam, tuis oſtendimus ; tamen *quia in faſtigium poteſtatis non ferendum tyrannidi non abſimilis primatum ſuum evexit, cùm eum, tum epiſcopos meliori jure tollendos eſſe affirmas quàm fuere conſtituti.* Wal. Meſ. p. 412. Papam & Epiſcopos quamvis ab irato deo conſtitutos ex eccleſiâ tollendos eſſe aïs, quia ſunt tyranni; tyrannos ex repub. tollendos eſſe negas quia ſunt ab irato deo conſtituti. Ineptè prorſus & abſurdè: Cum enim Papa ipſam conſcientiam, quæ ſola regnum ejus eſt, invito quoquam lædere non poſſit, eum qui revera tyrannus eſſe non poteſt, quaſi tyrannum graviſſimum tollendum eſſe clamas; tyrannum autem verum qui vitam & facultates noſtras omnes in poteſtate ſua habet, & ſine quo papa in eccleſiâ tyrannus eſſe nequit, eum in repub. omnino ferendum eſſe contendis. Hæc tua ſibi invicem collata tam imperitum te támque puerilem ſive falſi ſive veri argutatorem produnt, ut levitas tua, inſcitia, temeritas, incogitantia neminem poſthac latere queat. At ratio ſubeſt altera, *rerum vices inverſæ viderentur*, quippe in melius; actum enim eſſet de rebus humanis, ſi quæ res peſſimo loco ſunt, in eodem ſemper ſtarent: in melius inquam; authoritas enim regia ad populum rediret, ab cujus voluntate atque ſuffragiis profecta primò, atque in unum ex ſuo numero derivata erat: poteſtas ab eo qui injuriam intulit, ad eum qui injuriam eſt paſſus æquiſſimâ lege tranſiret; cùm tertius nemo inter homines idoneus eſſe poſſit, alienigenam enim judicare quis ferret? Omnes æquè homines legibus tenerentur, quo nihil juſtius eſſe poteſt: Deus mortalis nemo eſſet; quem qui inter homines conſtituit, non minùs in rempub. ſceleſtus eſt, quàm in Eccleſiam. Tuis iterum in te armis utar. *Maximam hæreſin eſſe* aïs, *quâ creditur unum hominem in loco Chriſti ſedere: Duæ hæ notæ Antichriſtum ſignant, infallibilitas in ſpiritualibus, & omnipotentia in temporalibus*, Apparat. ad Primat. pag. 171. An Reges infallibiles? Cur ergo omnipotentes? Aut ſi hoc ſunt, cur minùs exitiales rebus civilibus quàm Papa ſpiritualibus? An verò deus res civiles prorſus non curat? Si non curat, certè nos curare non prohibet; ſi curat, eandem in republicâ reformationem atque in Eccleſia vult fieri; præſertim ſi infallibilitatem & omnipotentiam attributam homini eaſdem malorum omnium utrinque cauſas eſſe exploratum ſit. Non enim in negotiis civilibus eam patientiam præcepit, ut ſæviſſimum quemlibet tyrannum reſpublica ferret, Eccleſia non ferret; immò contrarium potiùs præcepit: Et Eccleſiæ quidem nulla arma præter patientiam, innocentiam, preces, & diſciplinam evangelicam reliquit; reipublicæ & magiſtratibus ſimul omnibus non patientiam, ſed leges & gladium, injuriarum & violentiæ vindicem, in manus tradidit. Unde hujus hominis perverſum & præpoſterum ingenium aut mirari ſubit aut ridere; qui in Eccleſiâ, Helvidius eſt & Thraſeas & planè tyrannicida; in republicâ, commune omnium tyrannorum mancipium & ſatelles. Cujus ſententia ſi locum habeat, non nos ſolùm rebellavimus, qui regem, ſed reformati etiam omnes qui Papam dominum invitis regibus rejecerunt. Jam diu autem eſt quòd ſuis ipſe telis conciſus jacet. Sic enim homo eſt, modò manus adverſarii ne deſit, ipſe in ſe tela abundè ſuppeditat: Nec quiſquam ad refutandum ſe, aut irridendum commodiores anſas miniſtrat. Deſeſſus etiam cædendo citiùs quis abſcedat, quàm hic terga præbendo?

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## CAP. IV.

MAgnam à regibus iniiſſe te gratiam, omnes principes & terrarum dominos demeruiſſe defenſione hac regiâ te fortè putas, Salmaſi, cùm illi, ſi bona ſua, rémque ſuam ex veritate potiùs quàm ex adulationibus tuis vellent æſtimare, neminem te pejus odiſſe, neminem à ſe longiùs abigere atque arcere debeant. Dum enim regiam poteſtatem ſupra leges in immenſum extollis, admones eâdem operâ omnes ferè populos ſervitutis ſuæ nec opinatæ; eóque vehementiùs impellis ut veternum illum, quo ſe eſſe liberos inaniter ſomniabant, repentè excutiant; moniti abs te quod non putabant, ſervos ſe eſſe regum. Eóque minùs tolerandum ſibi eſſe regium imperium exiſtimabunt, quò magis tu iis perſuaſum reddideris tam infinitam poteſtatem non ſuâ patientiâ creviſſe, ſed ab initio talem atque tantam ipſo jure regio natam fuiſſe. Ita te tuámque hanc defenſionem, ſive populo perſuaſeris, ſive non perſuaſeris, omnibus poſthac regibus funeſtam, exitialem, & execrabilem fore neceſſe erit. Si enim populo perſuaſeris,

ſuaſeris, jus regium omnipotens eſſe, regnum amplius non feret; ſi non perſuaſeris, non feret reges, dominationem tam injuſtam pro jure uſurpantes. Me ſi audiant, quibus integrum hoc eſt, ſéque circumſcribi legibus patiantur, pro incerto, imbecillo, violento imperio quod nunc habent, curarum atque formidinum pleno, firmiſſimum, pacatiſſimum ac diuturnum ſibi conſervabunt. Conſilium hoc ſibi, ſuíſque regnis adeò ſalutiferum ſi propter authorem contempſerint, ſciant non tam eſſe meum, quàm regis olim ſapientiſſimi. Lycurgus enim Spartanorum rex, antiquâ regum ſtirpe oriundus, cùm propinquos videret ſuos Argis & Meſſenæ rerum potitos, regnum quemque ſuum in tyrannidem convertiſſe, ſibique pariter ſuíſque civitatibus exitio fuiſſe, ut patriæ ſimul ſaluti conſuleret, & dignitatem in familia ſua regiam quàm diutiſſimè conſervaret, conſortem imperii ſenatum, & Ephororum poteſtatem in ipſum regem quaſi cenſoriam, firmamentum regno ſuo induxit. Quo facto regnum ſuis nepotibus firmiſſimum in multa ſecula tranſmiſit. Sive, ut alii volunt, Theopompi, qui centum ampliùs annis poſt Lycurgum Lacedæmone regnabat, ea moderatio fuit, ut popularem Ephororum poteſtatem ſuperiorem quàm ſuam conſtitueret, eóque facto gloriatus eſt, ſtabiliviſſe ſe regnum, multoque majus ac diuturnius filiis reliquiſſe; exemplum profectò haud ignobile hodierni reges ad imitandum habuerint, eundem etiam conſilii tutiſſimi authorem egregium. Majorem enim legibus dominum ut perferrent homines hominem omnes unum, nulla lex unquam ſanxit; ne potuit quidem ſancire. Quæ enim lex leges omnes evertit, ipſa lex eſſe non poteſt. Cùm itaque everſorem te, & parricidam legum omnium rejiciant ab ſe leges, exemplis redintegrare certamen, hoc capite, conaris. Faciamus itaque periculum in exemplis: Sæpe enim, quod leges tacent, & tacendo tantùm innuunt, id exempla evidentiùs docent. Ab Judæis auſpicabimur voluntatis divinæ conſultiſſimis; *poſtea ad Chriſtianos* tecum *deſcendemus.* Initium autem altiùs petitum ab eo tempore faciemus, quo Iſraëlitæ regibus quocunque modo ſubjecti, jugum illud ſervile cervicibus dejecerunt. Rex Moabitarum Eglon Iſraëlitas bello ſubegerat; ſedem imperii inter ipſos Hierichunte poſuerat: Numinis contemptor non erat, factâ enim dei mentione, è ſolio ſurrexit: Servierant Iſraëlitæ Egloni annos duodeviginti; non ut hoſti, ſed ut ſuo regi munus miſerant. Hunc tamen dum publicè munerantur ut regem ſuum, interficiunt per inſidias ut hoſtem. Verùm Ehudes qui interfecit, dei monitu id feciſſe creditur. Quid factum hujuſmodi commendare magis potuit? Ad honeſta enim quæque & laudabilia hortari ſolet Deus, non ad injuſta, infida, truculenta. Expreſſum autem dei mandatum habuiſſe nuſquam legimus, *clamârunt filii Iſraëlis ad Jehovam*; clamavimus & nos: Excitavit iis Jehova ſervatorem; excitavit & nobis. Ille ex vicino domeſticus, ex hoſte rex factus erat; noſter ex rege hoſtis; non ergò rex erat; nam neque civis ullo modo eſſe poteſt, qui reipublicæ eſt hoſtis; neque conſul habebatur Antonius, neque Nero imperator, ex quo uterque hoſtis à Senatu eſt judicatus. Quod Cicero quartâ Philippicâ de Antonio clariſſimè docet: *Si Conſul Antonius, Brutus hoſtis; ſi conſervator Reipublicæ Brutus, hoſtis Antonius. Quis illum conſulem niſi latrones putant?* Pari ego jure, quis tyrannum, inquam, regem niſi hoſtes patriæ putant? Fuerit itaque Eglon externus, fuerit Noſter domeſticus nécne, quandoquidem uterque hoſtis, & tyrannus, parùm refert. Si illum Ehudes jure trucidavit, nos noſtrum ſupplicio jure affecimus. Quin & heros ille Sampſon, incuſantibus etiam popularibus ſuis (Jud. 15.) *An neſciebas Philiſthæos dominium habere in nos?* Suis tamen dominis bellum ſolus intulit, neque unum ſed multos ſimul patriæ ſuæ tyrannos ſive dei, ſive propriæ virtutis inſtinctu occidit; conceptis priùs ad deum precibus ut auxilio ſibi eſſet. Non impium ergò ſed pium Sampſoni viſum eſt, dominos, patriæ tyrannos occidere; cum tamen pars major civium ſervitutem non detrectaret. At David, rex & propheta, noluit Saulem interimere *unctum dei.* Non quicquid noluit David, continuò nos obligat ut nolimus; noluit David privatus; id ſtatim nolle ſynedrium, Parlamentum, totum populum neceſſe eſt? Noluit inimicum dolo occidere, nolet ergò Magiſtratus noxium lege punire? Noluit regem occidere, timebit ergò Senatus tyrannum plectere? Religio erat illi unctum dei interficere, an ergò religio erit populo unctum ſuum capitis damnare? Præſertim qui unctionem illam vel ſacram vel civilem totus cruore civium delibutus tam longâ hoſtilitate aboleverat? Equidem reges, vel quos deus per prophetas unxit, vel quos ad certum opus, ſicuti olim Cyrum, nominatim deſtinavit, Iſa. 44. unctos domini agnoſco; cæteros vel populi, vel militum, vel factionis tantummodò ſuæ unctos eſſe arbitror. Verùm ut concedam tibi omnes reges eſſe unctos Domini; eſſe tamen idcirco ſupra leges, non eſſe ob ſcelera quæcunque puniendos, nunquam evinces. Quid enim? & ſibi & privatis quibuſdam interdixit David, ne extenderent manus ſuas in unctum domini. At regibus interdixit ipſe Dominus, Pſal. 105. ne attingerent unctos ſuos, id eſt populum ſuum. Unctionem ſui populi prætulit unctioni, ſiqua erat, regum. An ergò fideles punire, ſi quid contra leges commiſerint, non licebit? Unctum domini ſacerdotem Abiatharem prope erat ut rex Solomon morte multaret; neque illi, quòd unctus domini eſſet, pepercit, ſed quòd patris fuerat amicus. Si ergò ſummum ſacerdotem, ſummum eundem in pleriſque magiſtratum, unctio illa domini & ſacra & civilis eximere ſupplicio non potuit, cur unctio tantùm civilis tyrannum eximeret? At *Saul quoque tyrannus erat, & morte dignus*; eſto: non inde enim ſequetur, dignum, aut idoneum fuiſſe Davidem qui ſine populi authoritate, aut magiſtratuum juſſu Saulem regem quocunque in loco interficeret. Itáne verò Saul tyrannus erat? Utinam diceres; quinimmo dicis; cùm tamen ſuprà dixeris, *cap. 2. pag. 32. Tyrannum non fuiſſe, ſed bonum & electum.* Ecquid cauſæ eſt nunc cur in foro quadruplator aut falſarius quiſpiam ſtigmate notetur, tu eâdem careas ignominiæ notâ? cùm meliori profectò fide ſycophantari ſoleant illi, quàm tu ſcribere, & res vel maximi momenti tractare. Saul igitur, ſi id ex uſu eſt tuo, bonus erat rex, ſin id minùs tibi expedit, repentè non rex bonus, ſed tyrannus erit; quod certè mirum non eſt; dum enim potentiæ tyrannicæ tam impudenter lenocinaris, quid aliud facis quàm ex bonis regibus tyrannos omnes. At verò David quamvis regem ſocerum multis de cauſis, quæ ad nos nihil attinent, interimere nollet, ſui tamen tuendi cauſâ copias comparare, Saulis urbes vel occupare vel inſidere non dubitavit; & Cheilam oppidum contra Saulem etiam præſidio tenuiſſet, niſi oppidanos erga ſe malè animatos cognoviſſet. Quid ſi Saul urbe obſeſſâ, ſcalis muro admotis, primus aſcendere voluiſſet, an cenſes Davidem arma protinus abjecturum, ſuos omnes uncto hoſti proditurum fuiſſe? non exiſtimo. Quidni enim feciſſet quod nos fecimus, qui rationum ſuarum neceſſitate coactus, Philiſthæis patriæ hoſtibus operam prolixè ſuam pollicitus, id fecit contra Saulem quod nos in noſtrum tyrannum credo nunquam feciſſemus. Pudet me, & jam diu pertæſum eſt mendaciorum tuorum; *Inimicis potiùs parcendum quàm amicis*, Anglorum eſſe dogma fingis; *ſéque regi ſuo parcere non debuiſſe, quia amicus erat.* Quis unquam hoc priùs audivit, quàm à te confictum eſſet, hominum mendaciſſime? Verùm ignoſcimus: deerat nempe huic capiti præſtantiſſimum illud & tritiſſimum orationis tuæ pigmentum, jam quintò, & ante finem libri decies ex loculis tuis & myrotheciis expromendum, *moloſſis ſuis ferociores.* Non tam Angli ſuis moloſſis ferociores ſunt, quàm tu cane quovis rabido jejunior, qui ad illam, quam toties evomuiſti, cramben duris ilibus identidem redire ſuſtines. *David* denique *Amalechitam* interfici juſſit, Saulis, ut ſimulavit ipſe, interſectorem; nulla hic neque facti neque perſonarum ſimilitudo. Quòd niſi David ad Philiſthæos defeciſſe, & pars eorum exercitûs fuiſſe viſus, eò diligentiùs omnem à ſe ſuſpicionem maturandæ regi necis amovere ſtuduit, non erat, meo quidem judicio, cur virum illum tam malè exciperet, qui moribundum jam regem & ægrè morientem opportuno vulnere ſe confeciſſe nunciavit. Quod idem factum in Domitiano, qui Epaphroditum ſimiliter capite damnavit, eò quòd Neronem in adipiſcenda morte adjuviſſet, ab omnibus reprehenditur. Novâ deinde audaciâ quem tyrannum modò dixeras, & *malo ſpiritu agitatum*, hunc non jam ſatis habes unctum Domini, ſed *Chriſtum Domini* vocare; adeò tibi vile Chriſti nomen videtur, ut illo tam ſancto nomine vel Dæmoniacum tyrannum impertire non metuas. Venio nunc ad exemplum illud, in quo qui jus populi jure regis antiquius eſſe non videt, cæcus ſit oportet. Mortuo Solomone populus de conſtituendo ejus [illegible]o Sechemi comitia habebat; profectus eſt eò Roboamus candidatus, ne regnum tanquam hæreditatem adire, ne populum liberum tanquam paternos boves poſſidere videretur; proponit populus conditiones regni futuri; ad deliberandum rex triduum ſibi dari poſtulat; conſulit ſeniores; nihil illi de jure regio, ſed ut populum obſequio & pollicitationibus conciliet ſibi ſuadet, penès quem erat, vel illum creare regem vel præterire. Conſulit deinde æquales ſuos, ſecum à pueris educatos; illi Salmaſiano quodam œſtro perciti, nil præter jus regium intonare, ſcuticas & ſcorpiones ut minitetur hortari. Horum ex conſilio

ſilio reſpondit Roboamus populo. Videns itaque totus Iſraël regem *non auſcultâſſe ſibi*, ſuam protinus libertatem & populare jus liberis palàm vocibus teſtatur, *Quæ nobis portio cum Davide? ad tentoria tua Iſraël*; *jam ipſe videris de domo tui David*. Miſſum deinde à rege Adoramum lapidibus obruerunt; exemplum fortaſſe aliquod etiam in regem edituri, niſi maxima celeritate ſe in fugam contuliſſet. Parat ingentem exercitum, quo in ſuam ditionem Iſraëlitas redigeret: prohibet Deus; *ne aſcendite*, inquit, *ne pugnate contra fratres veſtros, filios Iſraëlis, nam à me facta eſt res iſta*. Adverte jam animum; populus antea regem volebat, diſplicuit id Deo; eorum tamen juri noluit intercedere: nunc Populus Roboamum non vult regem, id Deus non ſolùm penès populum eſſe ſinit, ſed regem eo nomine bella moventem vetat ac reprimit: nec ideo rebelles, ſed nihilo minùs fratres eos qui deſciverant appellandos eſſe docet. Collige te nunc jam; ſunt omnes, inquis, reges à Deo, ergo populus vel tyrannis reſiſtere non debet. Viciſſim ego, ſunt, inquam, populi conventus, comitia, ſtudia, ſuffragia, plebiſcita pariter à Deo, teſte hîc ipſo; ergò & rex itidem reſiſtere non debet populo, authore etiam eodem Deo. Quàm enim certum eſt, eſſe hodie reges à Deo, quámque hoc valet ad imperandam populo obedientiam, tam eſt certum eſſe à Deo etiam hodie libera populi concilia, tamq; hoc valet vel ad cogendos in ordinem reges, vel ad rejiciendos; neque magis propterea bellum populo inferre debebunt, quàm debuit Roboamus. Quæris cur ergò non defecerint Iſraëlitæ à Solomone? Quis præter te tam ſtulta interrogaret, cum defeciſſe conſtat impunè à tyranno? In vitia quædam lapſus eſt Solomon; non idcirco ſtatim tyrannus: ſua vitia magnis virtutibus, magnis de repub. meritis compenſabat: fac tyrannum fuiſſe; ſæpe eſt ut populus nolit tyrannum tollere, ſæpe eſt ut non poſſit: ſatis eſt ſuſtuliſſe cum potuerit. At *factum Jeroboami ſemper improbatum fuit & Apoſtaſia ejus deteſtata, ſucceſſores ejus pro rebellibus ſemper habiti*. Apoſtaſiam ejus non à Roboamo, ſed à vero cultu Dei reprehenſam ſæpiùs lego; & ſucceſſores quidem ejus ſæpe reprobos, rebelles nuſquam dictos memini. *Si quid fiat*, inquis, *juri & legibus contrarium, ex eo jus fieri non poteſt*. Quid quæſo tum fiet juri regio? Sic tuus ipſe perpetuò refutator es. *Quotidie*, inquis, *adulteria, homicidia, furta impunè committuntur*. An neſcis nunc te tibi reſpondere quærenti cur toties tyrannis impunè fuerit? *Rebelles fuerunt iſti reges, propheta tamen populum ab eorum ſubjectione non abducebant*. Cur ergò, ſceleſte, & pſeudopropheta, populum Anglicanum à ſuis magiſtratibus, tuo ſint licèt judicio rebelles, abducere conaris? *Allegat*, inquis, *Anglicani latrocinii factio, ſe ad id ſcelus, quod tam nefariè ſuſcepit, neſcio quâ voce cœlitùs miſſâ impulſos fuiſſe*. Primùm delirâſſe te cùm hæc ſcriberes planè video, neque mentis neque latinitatis compotem ſatis fuiſſe: deinde Anglos hoc unquam allegâſſe, de innumeris mendaciis & figmentis tuis eſt unum. Sed pergo exemplis tecum agere; *Libna* Urbs validiſſima ab Joramo rege defecit, quia dereliquerat Deum; defecit ergò rex, non urbs illa, neque defectione iſta notatur; ſed ſi adjectam rationem ſpectes, approbari potiùs videtur. *In exemplum trahi non debent hujuſmodi defectiones*. Cur ergò tantâ vaniloquentiâ pollicitus es, exemplis te nobiſcum toto hoc capite decertaturum, cum exempla ipſe nulla præter meras negationes, quarum nulla vis eſt ad probandum, afferre poſſis: nos quæ certa & ſolida attulimus, negas in exemplum trahi debere? Quis te hoc modo diſputantem non explodat? Provocâſti nos exemplis; exempla protulimus; quid tu ad hæc? tergiverſaris, & diverticula quæris; progredior itaque. Jehu regem à Propheta juſſus occidit, etiam Achaziam ſuum regem legitimum occidendum curavit. Si noluiſſet Deus tyrannum interimi à cive, ſi impium hoc, ſi mali exempli fuiſſet, cur juſſit fieri? ſi juſſit, certè licitum, laudabile, præclarum fuit. Non tamen tyrannum perimi, quia Deus juſſit, idcirco bonum erat & licitum, ſed quia bonum & licitum erat, idcirco Deus juſſit. Jam ſeptem annos regnantem Athaliam Jehoiada ſacerdos regno pellere & trucidare non eſt veritus. *At regnum*, inquis, *non ſibi debitum ſumpſerat*. Annon Tiberius multò poſtea *imperium ad ſe nihil pertinens?* illi tamen, & id genus tyrannis aliis, ex doctrina Chriſti obediendum eſſe ſuprà affirmabas; ridiculum planè eſſet, ſi poteſtatem regiam non ritè adeptum interficere liceret, peſſimè gerentem non liceret. At per leges regnare non potuit utpote fœmina, *conſtitues autem ſuper te regem*, non reginam. Hoc ſi ſic abibit, conſtitues, inquam, ſuper te regem, non tyrannum. Pares ergo jam ſumus. Amaziam regem ignavum & idololatram non conjurati quidam, ſed principes & populus, quod veriſimilius eſt, morte affecerunt: nam fugientem Hieroſolymis, & adjutum à nemine, Lachiſum uſque perſecuti ſunt.

Hoc conſilium iniiſſe dicuntur *ex quo is Deum* deſeruerat, neque ullam ab Azaria filio de morte patris quæſtionem habitam fuiſſe legimus. Multùm rurſus nugaris ex Rabbinis, ut regem Judaïcum ſupra ſynedrium conſtituas; ipſa regis verba Zedechiæ non attendis. Jer. 38. *Non is eſt rex qui poſſit contra vos quicquam.* Sic principes alloquitur; faſſus ſe planè ſuo ſenatu inferiorem; *Fortaſſe,* inquis, *nihil negare illis auſus metu ſeditionis.* At tuum illud *fortaſſe* quanti quæſo eſt, cujus aſſeveratio firmiſſima non eſt pili? quid enim te levius, quid inconſtantius, quid inſtabilius? quoties te varium & verſicolorem, quoties tibimet diſcordem, diſſidentem à temetipſo, & diſcrepantem offendimus? Rurſus comparationes inſtituis Caroli cum bonis Judææ regibus. Davidem imprimis quaſi contemnendum aliquem nominas; *Sume tibi Davidem,* inquis, *adulterii ſimul & homicidii reum; nihil tale in Carolo. Solomon ejus filius qui ſapiens audiit vulgo.* Quis non indignetur maximorum & ſanctiſſimorum virorum nomina ab impuriſſimo nebulone & vappâ hunc in modum jactari? Túne Carolum cum Dávide, regem & prophetam religioſiſſimum cum ſuperſtitioſo & Chriſtianæ doctrinæ vix initiato, ſapientiſſimum cum ſtolido, fortiſſimum cum imbelli, juſtiſſimum cum iniquiſſimo conferre ſuſtinuiſti? Caſtimoniam tu ejus & continentiam laudes, quem cum Duce Bucchingamio flagitiis omnibus coopertum novimus? Secretiora ejus & receſſus perſcrutari quid attinet, qui in Theatro medias mulieres petulantur amplecti, & ſuaviari, qui virginum & matronarum papillas, ne dicam cætera, pertractare in propatulo conſueverat? Te porrò moneo Pſeudoplutarche, ut iſtiuſmodi parallelis ineptiſſimis dehinc ſuperſedeas, ne ego, quæ tacerem alioqui libens de Carolo, neceſſe habeam enuntiare. Contra tyrannos quid tentatum à Populo aut peractum fuerit, & quo jure, per ea tempora quibus ipſe Deus Hebræorum rempub. ſuo nutu ac verbo quaſi præſens regebat, hactenus liquet. Quæ ſequuntur ætates non nos ſua authoritate ducunt, ſed ad majorum ſuorum normam & rationem omnia dirigentes, imitatione ſua noſtram tantummodò confirmant. Cum itaque Deus poſt captivitatem Babylonicam nullum iis de repub. mandatum dediſſet novum, quamvis regia ſoboles extincta non eſſet, ad antiquam & Moſaicam reipub. formam reverterunt. Antiocho Syriæ regi, cui erant vectigales, ejuſque præſidibus, quòd is vetita imperaret, per Maccabæos pontifices reſtiterunt; ſeque armis in libertatem vindicarunt; digniſſimo deinde cuique principatum dederunt: donec Hyrcanus Simonis Judæ Maccabæi fratris filius, expilato Davidis ſepulcro, militem externum alere, & regiam quandam poteſtatem adjicere ſacerdotio cœpit; unde filius ejus Ariſtobulus diadema ſibi primus impoſuit. Nihil in eum populus quamvis tyrannum movit aut molitus eſt; neque mirum, annum tantummodò regnantem. Ipſe etiam morbo graviſſimo correptus, & ſuorum facinorum pœnitentia ductus mortem ſibi optare non deſtitit, donec inter ea vota expiravit. Ejus frater Alexander proximus regnabat. *Contra hunc aïs neminem inſurrexiſſe,* tyrannus cum eſſet. O te ſecurè mendacem! ſi periiſſet Joſephus, reſtaret tantum *Joſippus* tuus, ex quo phariſæorum quædam nullius uſus apophthegmata depromis. Res itaque ſic ſe habet; Alexander, cùm & domi & militiæ rempub. malè adminiſtraret, quamvis magna Piſidarum & Cilicum manu conductitia ſe tutaretur, populum tamen cohibere non potúit, quin ipſum etiam ſacrificantem, utpote indignum eo munere, thyrſis palmeis & citreis penè obrueret; exinde per ſexennium gentis ferè totius gravi bello petitus eſt; in quo Judæorum multa millia cùm occidiſſet, & pacis tandem cupidus interrogaret eos quid vellent à ſe fieri, reſponderunt uno ore omnes, ut moreretur; vix etiam mortuo ſe veniam daturos. Hanc hiſtoriam tibi incommodiſſimam, quoquo modo avertere ut poſſes, fraudi tuæ turpiſſimæ phariſaïcas quaſdam ſententiolas obtendiſti; cùm exemplum hoc aut omnino prætermiſiſſe, aut rem, ſicuti geſta erat, fideliter narraſſe debuiſſes, niſi veterator & lucifugus mendaciis longè plùs quàm cauſæ confideres. Quinetiam Phariſæi illi octingenti, quos in Crucem tolli juſſit, ex eorum numero erant, qui contra ipſum arma ceperant: quíque omnes cùm cæteris unâ voce teſtati ſunt, ſe regem morte affecturos fuiſſe, ſi bello victus in ſuam poteſtatem veniſſet. Poſt maritum Alexandrum Alexandra regnum capeſſit; ut olim Athalia, non legitimè, nam regnare fœminam leges non ſinebant, quod ipſe modò faſſus es, ſed partim vi, extraneorum enim exercitum ducebat; partim gratiâ, nam Phariſæos, qui apud vulgus plurimum poterant, ſibi conciliaverat hac lege, ut nomen imperii penès illam, imperium ipſum penès illos foret. Haud aliter atque apud nos nuper Scoti Presbyteri nomen Regis Carolo conceſſerunt, eâ mercede ut regnum ſibi reſervare poſſent. Poſt

Alexandræ obitum Hyrcanus & Ariſtobulus ejus filii de regno contendunt; hic viribus & induſtriâ potior fratrem natu majorem regno pellit. Pompeio deinde in Syriam à Mithridatico bello divertente, Judæi nactos ſe jam æquiſſimum libertatis ſuæ arbitrum Pompeium rati, legationem pro ſe mittunt; fratribus utriſque regibus renunciant; ad ſervitutem ſe ab iis adductos queruntur; Pompeius Ariſtobulum regno privavit; Hyrcano pontificatum reliquit & principatum more patrio legitimum; exinde Pontifex & Ethnarcha dictus eſt. Iterum ſub Archelao Herodis filio Judæi, miſſis ad Auguſtum Cæſarem quinquaginta legatis, & Herodem mortuum & Archelaum graviter accuſârunt; regnum huic pro ſua virili parte abrogârunt, Cæſarem orant ut Populum Judaïcum ſine regibus eſſe permitteret. Quorum Cæſar precibus aliquantum permotus, non regem eum, ſed Ethnarcam duntaxat conſtituit. Ejus anno decimo rurſus eum Populus per legatos ad Cæſarem tyrannidis accuſat; quibus Cæſar benignè auditis Romam accerſitum, & judicio damnatum Viennam in exilium miſit. Jam mihi velim reſpondeas; qui ſuos reges accuſatos, qui damnatos, qui punitos volebant, annon ipſi, ſi poteſtas facta, ſi optio data ſibi eſſet, annon ipſi, inquam, judicio damnâſſent, ipſi ſupplicio affeciſſent? Jam in Romanos præſides avarè & crudeliter provinciam adminiſtrantes, populum & primores etiam ſæpiùs arma ſumpſiſſe non negas; cauſas more tuo ſtultiſſimas affingis, *nondum jugo erant aſſueti*; ſub Alexandro ſcilicet, Herode, ejúſque filiis. At C. Cæſari, & Petronio *bellum inferre* noluerunt. Prudenter illi quidem, non poterant. Vis ipſorum audire verba, πολεμεῖν μὲν ȣ̓ βȣλόμενοι διὰ τὸ μηδ' ἂν δύνασθαι. Quod ipſi fatentur imbecillitatis eſſe ſuæ, hoc tu hypocrita ad religionem refers: Magno dein molimine prorſus nihil agis, dum ex patribus probas, quod & antea tamen pari oſcitatione feceras, pro regibus orandum eſſe. Nam pro bonis quis negat? pro malis quoad ſpes eſt; pro latronibus etiam & pro hoſtibus; non ut agros depopulentur, aut nos occiſione occidant, ſed ut reſipiſcant. Oramus pro utriſque; illos tamen legibus, hos armis vindicare quis vetat? *Liturgias Ægyptiacas* nîl moror; ſacerdos autem ille qui orabat, uti aïs, ut *Commodus patri ſuccederet*, meo quidem judicio non orabat, ſed Romano imperio peſſima imprecatus eſt. *Fidem*, aïs, *fregiſſe nos, de authoritate & majeſtate regis conſervanda ſolenni conventione non ſemel interpoſita.* Expecto te fuſiùs iſta de re infrà, illic te rurſus conveniam. Redis ad patrum commentationes, de quibus hoc ſummatim accipe; Quicquid illi dixerint, neque ex libris ſacris aut ratione aliqua ſatis idonea confirmaverint perinde mihi erit, ac ſi quis alius è vulgo dixiſſet. Primum adfers Tertullianum, ſcriptorem haud orthodoxum, multis erroribus notatum, ut ſi tecum ſentiret, pro nihilo tamen hoc eſſet. Quid autem ille? damnat tumultus, damnat rebelliones; damnamus & nos, neque hinc ſtatim de jure omni populorum, de privilegiis, & Senatuſconſultis, de poteſtate magiſtratuum omnium cæterorum præterquam unius regis, præjudicatum eſſe volumus: loquuntur iſti de ſeditionibus temere conflatis, & multitudinis inſaniâ, non de magiſtratibus, non de Senatu, aut Parlamento ad legitima arma populum contra tyrannos convocante. Unde Ambroſius quem citas, *Non repugnare, flere, gemere, hæc ſunt munimenta Sacerdotis, & quis eſt qui poteſt vel unus vel inter paucos dicere Imperatori, Lex tua mihi non probatur? non permittitur hoc dicere Sacerdotibus, permittetur Laïcis?* Vides jam planè de quibus hic loquatur, de Sacerdotibus, de Laïcis privatis, non de Magiſtratibus: vides quàm infirma tamen & præpoſtera ratione uſus, diſſenſioni inter Laïcos & Sacerdotes, de legibus etiam civilibus, poſtmodùm futuræ facem prætulit. Sed quoniam primorum Chriſtianorum exemplis urgeri nos maximè, & redargui putas, quòd illi omnibus modis vexati *bellum in Cæſares non moverent*, oſtendam primò non potuiſſe, deinde quoties poterant moviſſe, poſtremò etiamſi, cum poſſent, non moviſſent, non eſſe tamen cæteroqui dignos quorum ex vitâ & moribus, tantis in rebus, exempla ſumamus. Primùm ignorare hoc nemo poteſt, ex quo Romana reſpublica nulla fuit, omnes imperii vires rerúmque ſummam ad unum Cæſarem rediiſſe; omnes legiones ſub uno Cæſare ſtipendia meruiſſe: adeò ut Senatus ad unum omnis, totus ordo Equeſter, plebs univerſa, ſi novis rebus ſtuduiſſet, poterant ſe quidem internecioni objeciſſe, ad libertatem tamen recuperandam nihil prorſus effeciſſent; nam imperatorem ſi forte ſuſtuliſſent, imperium tamen manſiſſet. Jam verò Chriſtiani, innumeri licet, at ſparſi, inermes, plebeii & plerunque infimi, quid potuerunt? quantam eorum multitudinem una legio in officio facile continuiſſet? Quod magni ſæpe duces cum interitu ſuo & veteranorum exercituum deletione incaſſum tentarunt, iſti è plebecula fere homuli poſſe ſe ad exitum perducere ſperarent? cum annis à Chriſto nato prope trecentis, ante Conſtantinum plus minus viginti, imperante Diocletiano, ſola Thebæa legio Chriſtiana eſſet; eóque ipſo nomine à reliquo exercitu in Gallia ad Octodurum oppidum cæſa eſt. *Cum Caſſio, cum Albino, cum Nigro* non conjurârunt: idne illis gratiæ vult apponi Tertullianus, quòd ſanguinem pro infidelibus non profuderunt? Conſtat igitur Chriſtianos ab imperatorum imperio liberare ſe non potuiſſe: cum aliis conjurare non Chriſtianis nequaquam ſibi expediviſſe, quamdiu imperatores Ethnici regnabant. Bellum autem tyrannis poſtea intuliſſe Chriſtianos aut armis ſe defendiſſe, aut tyrannorum facta nefaria ſæpe ultos eſſe nunc oſtendam. Primus omnium Conſtantinus jam Chriſtianus conſortem imperii Licinium Orientalibus Chriſtianis gravem bello ſuſtulit; quo facto illud ſimul declaravit, poſſe a magiſtratu in magiſtratum animadverti; cùm is Licinium pari jure ſecum regnantem ſubditorum ejus cauſâ ſupplicio affecerit, nec Deo ſoli pœnam reliquerit: poterat enim Licinius Conſtantinum, ſi Conſtantinus populum ſibi attributum iis modis oppreſſiſſet, eodem ſupplicio affeciſſe. Poſtquam igitur à Deo ad homines redacta res eſt, quod Licinio Conſtantinus erat, cur non idem Carolo Senatus? Conſtantinum enim milites, Senatum jura conſtituerunt regibus parem, immo ſuperiorem. Conſtantio imperatori Ariano Byzantini, quoad poterant, armis reſtiterunt; miſſum cum militibus Hermogenem, ad pellendum eccleſiâ Paulum orthodoxum epiſcopum, facto impetu repulerunt, & incenſis ædibus, quo ſe receperat, ſemiuſtum & laniatum interfecerunt. Conſtans fratri Conſtantio bellum minatur, ni Paulo & Athanaſio epiſcopis ſedes ſuas reſtituat; vidéſne ut iſtos ſanctiſſimos patres, de epiſcopatu cùm agitur, bellum fraternum in regem ſuum concitare non puduit? Haud multò pòſt Chriſtiani milites, qui tunc temporis quos volebant imperatores creabant, Conſtantem Conſtantini filium diſſolutè & ſuperbè regnantem interfecerunt, tranſlato ad Magnentium imperio. Quid? qui Julianum nondum apoſtatam, ſed pium & ſtrenuum, invito Conſtantio imperatore ſuo imperatorem ſalutârunt, annon ex illis Chriſtianis fuerunt, quos tu exemplo nobis proponis? Quod factum Conſtantius cum ſuis literis ad populum recitatis acriter prohiberet, clamarunt omnes, feciſſe ſe ut Provincialis, & miles, & reipublicæ authoritas decreverat. Iidem bellum Conſtantio indixerunt, & quantum in ſe erat, imperio ac vita ſpoliarunt. Quid Antiocheni, homines apprimè Chriſtiani? orarunt credo pro Juliano jam Apoſtatâ, quem palàm adire, & convitiis proſcindere ſolebant, cujus barbam illudentes promiſſam, funes ex ea conficere jubebant. Cujus morte audita, ſupplicationes, epulas, & lætitiam publicè indixerunt, ejus pro vita & incolumitate preces fudiſſe cenſes? Quid? quòd eundem etiam à Chriſtiano commilitone interfectum eſſe ferunt. Sozomenus certè ſcriptor eccleſiaſticus non negat; immo, ſiquis ita feciſſet, laudat. οὐ γὰρ ἀπεικὸς τινα τῶν τότε στρατευομένων, &c. *Non eſt mirum*, inquit, *aliquem ex militibus hoc ſecum cogitaſſe; non Græcos ſolum, ſed omnes homines ad hanc uſque ætatem tyrannicidas laudare ſolitos eſſe, qui pro omnium libertate mortem oppetere non dubitant; nec temere quis hunc militem reprehendat, dei & religionis cauſâ tam ſtrenuum?* Hæc Sozomenus ejuſdem ætatis ſcriptor, vir bonus & ſanctus; ex quo quid reliqui eâ tempeſtate viri boni hac de re ſenſerint, facilè perſpicimus. Ipſe Ambroſius ab imperatore Valentiniano minore juſſus urbe Mediolano excedere, parere noluit, ſed circumſeptus armato populo ſe atque baſilicam ſuam contra regios præfectos armis defendit; & ſummæ poteſtati reſiſtere, contra quam docuit ipſe, eſt auſus. Conſtantinopoli haud ſemel propter exilium Chryſoſtomi contra Arcadium imperatorem ſeditio maxima commota eſt. In tyrannos igitur quid antiqui Chriſtiani fecerint, non milites ſolùm, ſed populus, ſed ipſi patres, vel reſiſtendo, vel gerendo bellum, vel concitando, uſque ad Auguſtini tempora, quoniam tibi ulteriùs progredi non libet, breviter expoſui. Valentinianum enim Placidiæ filium interfectum à Maximo patricio, ob ſtuprum uxori ejus illatum, taceo: Avitum etiam imperatorem dimiſſis militibus ſuis luxuriâ diffluentem à Senatu Romano confeſtim exutum imperio non memoro; quia annos aliquot poſt Auguſtini obitum iſta acciderunt. Verùm dono tibi hoc omne, tu nihil horum expoſuiſſe me finge, paruerint per omnia ſuis regibus veteres Chriſtiani, quicquam contra tyrannos ne fecerint, aut feciſſe voluerint, non eſſe tamen eos quorum authoritate niti debeamus, aut à quibus exempla petere ſalutariter poſſimus, quod ſupereſt, nunc docebo. Jam diu antè Conſtantinum populus chriſtianus multum de primæva illa ſanctimonia & ſinceritate cùm doctrinæ tum morum deperdiderat. Poſtquam immenſis opibus ditata ab eo eccleſia, honores, dominatum, & potentiam civilem adamare cœpit, ſtatim omnia in præceps ruere. Primò luxus & ſegnities, errorum deinde omnium & vitiorum caterva, veluti ſolutis aliunde carceribus, in eccleſiam immigravit; hinc invidentia, odium, diſcordia paſſim redundabat; tandem haud mitius inter ſe chariſſimo religionis vinculo fratres quàm hoſtes acerrimi diſſidebant; nullus pudor, nulla officii ratio reſtabat; milites, & copiarum præfecti, quoties ipſis viſum erat, nunc imperatores novos creabant, nunc bonos pariter ac malos necabant. Quid Vetranniones & Maximos, quid Eugenios à militibus ad imperium ſubito evectos, quid Gratianum optimum principem, quid Valentinianum minorem non peſſimum, occiſos ab iis commemorem? Militum hæc quidem facinora & caſtrenſium, ſed tamen Chriſtianorum illius ætatis, quam tu maximè evangelicam & imitandam eſſe aïs. Jam ergò de eccleſiaſticis pauca accipe: paſtores & Epiſcopi, & nonnunquam illi, quos admiramur, patres, ſui quiſque gregis ductores, de epiſcopatu non ſecus quàm de tyrannide certabant: nunc per urbem, nunc in ipſa eccleſia, ad ipſum altare ſacerdotes, & Laïci promiſcuè digladiabantur; cædes faciebant, ſtrages utrinque magnas nonnunquam ediderunt. Damaſi & Urſicini, qui cum Ambroſio floruerunt, potes meminiſſe. Longum eſſet Byzantinos, Antiochenos, & Alexandrinos illos tumultus, ſub Cyrillo præſertim, quem tu laudas obedientiæ prædicatorem, duce ac patre; occiſo pæne à monachis, in ullo urbico prælio, Oreſte Theodoſii præfecto. Jam tua quis vel impudentia vel ſupinitate non obſtupeſcat? *Uſque ad Auguſtinum*, inquis, *& infra ejus ætatem, nulla cujuſquam privati aut præfecti, aut plurium conjuratorum extat in hiſtoriis mentio, qui regem ſuum necaverint, aut contra eum armis pugnarint:* nominavi ego ex hiſtoriis notiſſimis & privatos, & proceres, qui non malos tantùm, ſed, vel optimos reges ſuâ manu trucidaverint; totos chriſtianorum exercitus, multos cum iis epiſcopos, qui contra ſuos imperatores pugnaverint. Adſers patres, obedientiam erga regem, multis verbis aut ſuadentes aut oſtentantes; adfero ego partim eoſdem, partim alios patres haud paucioribus factis obedientiam, etiam licitis in rebus, detrectantes, armis ſe contra imperatorem defendentes, alios præſidibus ejus vim & vulnera inferentes, alios, epiſcopatûs competitores, civilibus præliis inter ſe dimicantes; ſcilicet de epiſcopatu chriſtianos cum chriſtianis, cives cum civibus confligere fas erat, de libertate, de liberis & conjugibus, de vita, cum tyranno, nefas. Quem non pœniteat hujuſmodi patrum? Auguſtinum inducis *de poteſtate domini in ſervos, & regis in ſubditos* idem pronunciantem; reſpondeo, iſta ſi dicat Auguſtinus, ea dicere quæ neque Chriſtus neque ejus Apoſtoli unquam dixerunt; cùm eorum tamen ſolâ authoritate rem alioqui apertiſſimè falſam commendare videatur. Quæ ſuperſunt hujus capitis tres vel quatuor paginæ, aut mera eſſe mendacia, aut oſcitationes identidem repetitas, ex iis quæ à nobis reſponſa jam ſunt, per ſe quiſque deprehendet. Nam ad Papam quod attinet, in quem multa gratis peroras, facilè te patior ad ravim uſque declamitare. Quod tamen ad captandos rerum imperitos tam prolixè adſtruis, *regibus ſive juſtis ſive tyrannis ſubjectum fuiſſe omnem chriſtianum, donec poteſtas papæ regali major agnoſci cœpta eſt, & ſubjectos ſacramento fidelitatis liberavit*, id eſſe falſiſſimum plurimis exemplis *& uſque ad Auguſtinum, & infra ejus ætatem* prolatis demonſtravimus. Sed neque illud quod poſtremò dicis, *Zachariam pontificem Gallos juramento fidelitatis abſolviſſe*, multò verius eſſe videtur. Negat Franciſcus Hotomanus, & Gallus, & juriſconſultus, & vir doctiſſimus in Francogallia ſua, *cap.* 13. abdicatum authoritate Papæ Chilpericum, aut regnum Pipino delatum; ſed in magno gentis concilio pro ſua priſtina authoritate tranſactum fuiſſe id omne negotium, ex annalibus Francorum vetuſtiſſimis probat. Solvi deinde illo ſacramento Gallos omnino opus fuiſſe, negant ipſa Gallorum monumenta, negat ipſe papa Zacharias. Monumentis enim Francorum traditur, teſte non ſolùm Hotomano, ſed Girardo hiſtoriarum illius gentis notiſſimo ſcriptore, veteres Francos ut eligendi, ſic abdicandi, ſi videretur, ſuos reges jus ſibi omne antiquitus reſervaſſe; neque aliud ſacramentum regibus, quos creabant, dicere conſueviſſe, quàm ſe illis hoc pacto fidem & officium præſtituros, ſi viciſſim illi quod eodem tempore jurati etiam ſpondent, præſtiterint. Si ergò Reges rempublicam ſibi commiſſam malè gerendo, fidem jusjurandi fregerint priores, nil opus eſt Papâ, ipſi ſua perfidia populum ſacramento ſolverunt. Papa denique Zacharias, quam tu authoritatem ſibi aïs arrogâſſe, eam in epiſtolâ illâ ad Francos ab te citatâ ipſe ſibi derogavit, populo attribuit. *Nam ſi princeps populo, cujus beneficio regnum poſſidet, obnoxius eſt, ſi plebs regem conſtituit, & deſtituere poteſt*, quæ ipſius verba ſunt Papæ, veriſimile non eſt voluiſſe Francos de antiquo jure ſuo, ullo poſtmodùm jurejurando, præjudicium facere; aut unquam ita ſeſe obſtrinxiſſe, quin ſemper ſibi liceret quod majoribus ſuis licuit, reges bonos quidem colere, malos amovere; nec eam præſtare fidem tyrannis, quam bonis regibus ſeſe dare arbitrati ſunt. Tali obſtrictum juramento populum, vel tyrannus ex rege factus, vel ignaviâ corruptus, ſuo ipſe perjurio ſolvit, ſolvit ipſa juſtitia, ſolvit naturæ lex ipſa: Unde pontifex quod ſolveret, etiam ipſius pontificis judicio nihil prorſus erat.

## CAP. V.

QUanquam in ea ſum opinione, Salmaſi, ſempérque fui, legem dei cum lege naturæ optimè conſentire, adeóque, ſi ſatis oſtendi quid divina lege ſit de regibus ſtatutum, quid à populo dei factum & Judaïco & Chriſtiano, oſtendiſſe me eodem tempore eadémque operâ quid legi naturali maximè conſentaneum ſit; tamen quia *confutari nos lege naturæ validiſſimè nunc poſſe* arbitraris, quod ſupervacuum eſſe modò exiſtimabam, id nunc ultrò neceſſarium fatebor; ut contra te hoc capite planum faciam, nihil congruentius naturæ etiam legibus eſſe, quàm tyrannos plecti. Id niſi evincam, non recuſo quin dei quoque legibus puniri non poſſe, è veſtigio tibi concedam. Non eſt conſilium de natura jam, déque origine civilis vitæ longam orationem contexere; iſtud enim argumentum viri diſertiſſimi cùm Græci tum Latini copioſè pertractarunt; ipſe & brevitati, quantum licet, ſtudeo, & huic rei do operam ut non tam ego, qui labori huic parſiſſem libens, ſed tute redarguas, téque ſubvertas. Ab eo igitur quod ipſe ponis, incipiam, & diſputationis hujus futuræ fundamenta jaciam. *Lex*, inquis, *naturæ eſt ratio omnium hominum mentibus inſita, bonum reſpiciens univerſorum populorum, quatenus homines inter ſe ſocietate gaudent. Bonum illud commune non poteſt procurare, niſi etiam, ut ſunt quos regi neceſſe eſt, diſponat quoque qui regere debeant.* Ne ſcilicet ut quiſque fortior eſt, debiliorem opprimat; atque ita quos mutua ſalus ac defenſio unum in locum congregaverat, vis atque injuria diſtrahat, & ad vitam agreſtem redire cogat. Eſtne hoc quod volebas, etſi verboſiús? *Et ipſorum* itaque *numero qui in unum convenère, deligi* aïs *oportuiſſe quoſdam ſapientia aut fortitudine cæteris præſtantes, qui vel vi vel perſuadendo malè morigeros in officio continerent, ſæpe unum id præſtare potuiſſe, cujus excellens ſit virtus & prudentia; interdum plures, qui mutuis conſiliis id faciant. Cæterùm cum unus omnia providere & adminiſtrare non poſſit, neceſſe eſt ut conſilia cum pluribus participet, & in ſocietatem regiminis alios admittat. Ita ſive ad unum revocetur imperium, ſive ad univerſum redeat populum, quia nec omnes ſimul rempub. gubernare poſſunt, nec unus omnia, ideo revera penes plures ſemper regimen conſiſtit.* Et infra. *Ipſa autem regendi ratio ſive per plures, ſive per pauciores, ſive per unum diſpenſetur, æquè naturalis eſt, cum ex naturæ ejuſdem principiis deſcendat, quæ non patitur ita unius ſingularitatem gubernare, ut non alios ſocios imperandi habeat.* Hæc cum ex Ariſtotelis tertio Politicorum decerpſiſſe potueram, malui abs te decerpta tranſcribere, quæ tu Ariſtoteli, ut ignem Jovi Prometheus, ad everſionem monarcharum, & perniciem ipſius tuam ſurripuiſti. Jam enim prolatam à temetipſo naturæ legem excute quantum voles; nullum juri regio, prout tu jus illud explicas, in natura locum, nullum ejus veſtigium prorſus invenies. *Lex*, inquis, *natura cum diſponeret qui regere alios deberent, univerſorum populorum bonum reſpexit.* Non igitur unius, non monarchæ. Eſt itaque rex propter populum: Populus ergò rege potior & ſuperior; ſuperior cum ſit & potior populus, nullum jus regis exiſtere poteſt, quo populum is affligat, aut in ſervitute habeat, inferior ſuperiorem. Jus malè faciendi cum ſit regi nullum, manet jus populi naturâ ſupremum; ut quo jure homines conſilia & vires mutuæ defenſionis gratia, ante reges creatos, primò conſociavere, quo jure ad communem omnium ſalutem, pacem, libertatem conſervandam unum vel plures cæteris præfecerunt, eodem jure quos propter virtutem & prudentiam cæteris præpoſuerant, poſſent eoſdem aut quoſcunque alios rempub. malè gerentes, propter ignaviam, ſtultitiam, improbitatem, perfidiam vel coercere vel abdicare : Cum natura non unius vel paucorum imperium, ſed univerſorum ſalutem reſpexerit ſemper & reſpiciat. Jam verò populus quoſnam delegit ? *Sapientiâ* inquis *aut fortitudine cæteris præſtantes*, nempe qui natura maximè regno idonei viſi ſunt, *cujus excellens virtus, & prudentia præſtare id* muneris *potuit*. Jus igitur ſucceſſionis naturâ nullum, nullus naturâ rex, niſi qui ſapientiâ & fortitudine cæteris omnibus præcellit. Cæteri vel vi, vel factione contra naturam reges ſunt, cum ſervi potiùs eſſe deberent. Dat enim natura ſapientiſſimo cuique in minùs ſapientes imperium, non viro malo in bonos, non ſtolido in ſapientes : His igitur imperium qui abrogant, omnino convenienter naturæ faciunt. Cui fini ſapientiſſimum quemque natura conſtituat regem ex temetipſo audi ; ut vel naturæ vel legibus *malè morigeros in officio contineat*. Continere autem in officio poteſtne is alios, officium qui negligit, aut neſcit, aut pervertit ipſe ſuum ? Cedò jam quodvis naturæ præceptum quo jubeamur inſtituta naturæ ſapientiſſima in rebuſpublicis & civilibus non obſervare, non curare, pro nihilo habere, cum ipſa in rebus naturalibus & inanimatis ne ſuo fine fruſtretur, ſæpiſſimè res magnas atque miras efficere ſoleat. Oſtende ullam vel naturæ vel naturalis juſtitiæ regulam, quâ oporteat reos minores puniri, reges & malorum omnium principes impunitos eſſe, immò inter maxima flagitia coli, adorari, & deo proximos haberi. Concedis *ipſam regendi rationem, ſive per plures, ſive per pauciores, ſive per unum diſpenſetur, æquè naturalem eſſe*. Non eſt ergò rex vel optimatibus vel populi magiſtratibus naturâ ſanctior, quos cùm puniri poſſe ac debere, ſi peccant, ſuprà ſis largitus, idem de regibus, eidem fini ac bono conſtitutis fateare neceſſe eſt. *Non* enim *patitur natura*, inquis, *ita unius ſingularitatem gubernare, ut non alios ſocios imperandi habeat*. Minimè ergò patitur monarcham, minimè unum ita imperare, ut cæteros omnes ſui unius imperii ſervos habeat. Socios autem imperandi qui tribuis regi, *penès quos ſemper regimen conſiſtat*, das eidem collegas, & æquales ; addis qui punire, addis qui abdicare poſſint. Ita, uti ſemper facis, dum poteſtatem regiam, non jam exauges, ſed tantummodò naturâ conſtituis, aboles : Adeò ut nihil putem inauſpicatius accidere regibus potuiſſe, quàm te defenſorem. O infelicem ac miſerum, quæ te mentis caligo in hanc impulit fraudem, ut latentem antehac diu, & quaſi perſonatam improbitatem atque inſcitiam tuam nunc tanto conatu inſciens nudares ipſe, & omnibus patefaceres : Tuoquemet opprobrio operam ipſe tuam locares, tuo ipſe ludibrio tam gnaviter inſervires ? Quæ te ira numinis quáſve pœnas luentem, in lucem & ora hominum evocavit, ut tanto apparatu cauſam teterrimam impudentiſſimè ſimul & ſtolidiſſimè defenderes, atque ita defendendo invitus, perque inſcitiam proderes ? Quis te pejùs perditum vellet, quis miſeriorem, cui jam ſola imprudentia, ſola vecordia ſaluti eſſe poteſt ne ſis miſerrimus, ſi tyrannos quorum cauſam ſuſcepiſti, imperita ac ſtulta defenſione tanto magis inviſos ac deteſtabiles omnibus, contra quam ſperabas, reddideris, quanto iis majorem malefaciendi & impunè dominandi licentiam de induſtriâ attribueris ; eoque plures eorundem hoſtes inconſultò excitaveris ? Sed redeo ad tua tecum diſſidia. Cum tantum in te ſcelus admiſeris, ut tyrannidem naturâ fundare ſtudeas, præ cæteris gubernandi rationibus monarchiam primò laudandam tibi eſſe vidiſti ; id, uti ſoles, incœptare ſine repugnantia nequis. Cum enim modò dixeras, *ipſam regendi rationem ſive per plures ſive per pauciores ſive per unum æque naturalem eſſe*, ſtatim *eam quæ per unum exercetur ex his tribus magis naturalem eſſe* aïs, immò qui etiam recens dixeras, *non patitur natura unius ſingularitatem gubernantis*. Jam tyrannorum necem objice cui voles, qui & monarchas omnes, & monarchiam ipſam tua fatuitate jugulâſti. Verùm quæ ſit melior adminiſtrandi rempub. ratio, per unum an per plures, non eſt nunc diſſerendi locus. Et monarchiam quidem multi celebres viri laudarunt, ſi tamen is qui ſolus regnat, vir omnium optimus, & regno digniſſimus ſit ; id niſi contingat, nihil monarchia procliviùs in eam tyrannidem, quæ peſſima eſt, labitur. Jam quòd ad unius *exemplar dei expreſſam eſſe* dicis, quis potentiam divinæ ſimilem in terris obtinere dignus eſt, niſi qui cæterorum omnium longè præſtantiſſimus, etiam bonitate ac ſapientia eſt deo ſimillimus ; is autem ſolus, meâ quidem ſententiâ, expectatus ille dei filius eſt. Quòd regnum in familiam rurſus contrudis, ut patrifamilias regem aſſimiles, pater certè ſuæ familiæ regnum meretur, quam omnem vel generavit, vel alit : In rege nihil eſt hujuſmodi, ſed planè contrà ſunt omnia. Animalia deinde nobis gregalia, imprimis *aves*, & in iis *apes*, ſiquidem te Phyſiologo aves iſtæ ſunt, imitandas proponis. *Apes regem habent.* Tridentinæ ſcilicet, annon meminiſti? Cæterarum te teſte *reſpub. eſt.* Verùm tu deſine de apibus fatuari, muſarum ſunt, oderunt te ſcarabæum, & ut vides, redarguunt. *Coturnices ſub Ortygometra.* Iſtos onocrotalis tuis tende laqueos; nos tam ſtolido aucupio non capimur. Atqui jam tua res agitur, non noſtra, *Gallus gallinaceus,* inquis, *tam maribus quàm fœminis imperitat.* Qui pote hoc fieri? Cum tu ipſe Gallus, &, ut ferunt, vel nimiùm gallinaceus, non tuæ gallinæ, ſed illa tibi imperitet, & in te regnum exerceat: Si gallinaceus ergò plurium fœminarum rex eſt, tu gallinæ mancipium tuæ, non gallinaceum te, ſed ſtercorarium quendam eſſe Gallum oportet. Pro libris certè nemo te majora edit ſterquilinia, & gallicinio tuo ſtercoreo omnes obtundis; hoc unicum galli gallinacei habes. Jam ego multa hordei grana daturum me tibi promitto, ſi totum hoc vertendo ſterquilinium tuum, vel unam mihi gemmam oſtenderis. Sed quid ego tibi hordeum? qui non hordeum, ut Æſopicus ille, ſimplex & frugi gallus, ſed aurum, ut Plautinus ille nequam, ſcalpturiendo quæſiſti; quamvis exitu adhuc diſpari; tu enim centum Jacobæos aureos inde reperiſti, cum Euclionis ſuſte potiùs, quo miſellus ille Plautinus, obtruncari dignior ſis. Sed pergendum eſt. *Eadem utilitatis & incolumitatis omnium ratio naturalis poſtulat, ut qui ſemel ad gubernandum conſtitutus eſt, conſervetur.* Quis negat, quatenus ejus conſervatio cum incolumitate omnium conſiſtit? Ad perniciem autem omnium conſervari unum, quis non videt alieniſſimum à natura eſſe? At *malum etiam regem conſervari, immo peſſimum* omnino vis, *eò quod non tantum mali civitati procurat malè gubernando, quantum creatur cladium ex ſeditionibus quæ ad eum tollendum ſuſcitantur.* Quid hoc ad jus regum naturale? An, ſi natura me monet, ut latronibus diripiendum me permittam, ut captum me totis facultatibus redimam potiùs, quàm ut dimicare de vitâ cogar, latronum tu inde jus naturale conſtitues? Suadet natura populo, ut tyrannorum violentiæ nonnunquam cedat, cedat temporibus; tu iſtâ populi neceſſitate ac patientiâ jus etiam naturale tyrannorum fundabis? Quod illa jus populo ſui conſervandi cauſâ dedit, tu illam tyranno perdendi populi cauſâ jus idem dediſſe affirmabis? Docet natura ex duobus malis, eligendum eſſe minus; & quandiu neceſſe eſt, tolerandum; an tu hinc tyranno, utpote minori fortaſſe interdum malo, jus impunè malefaciendi exoriri naturale ſtatues? Recordare ſaltem ea quæ jampridem ipſe de Epiſcopis contra Loiolitam ſcripſiſti, à me ſuprà tertio capite recitata, his planè contraria; Illic *ſeditiones, diſſentiones, diſcordias optimatium & populi, longè levius eſſe malum affirmas, quàm ſub uno monarcha tyranno certam miſeriam ac perniciem.* Et vera tu quidem affirmabas; nondum enim inſaniebas, nondum Carolinis Jacobæis delinitus & deauratus in morbum regium incideras. Dicerem fortaſſe, niſi is eſſes qui es, pudeat te tandem prævaricationis tuæ turpiſſimæ; tibi verò dirumpi facilius eſt quàm erubeſcere, qui ut rem faceres, pudorem jam diu amiſiſti. Annon ipſe memineras Romanos florentiſſimam & glorioſiſſimam Rempub. poſt exactos reges habuiſſe? Potuit fieri ut Batavorum oblivirſcerere? Quorum reſpub. Hiſpaniarum rege pulſo poſt bella diutina, feliciter tamen geſta, libertatem fortiter & glorioſè conſequuta eſt, téque grammaticaſtrum Equitem ſtipendio alit ſuo, non ut juventus Batavica te prævaricatore & ſophiſtâ tam nihil ſapere diſcat, ut ad ſervitutem Hiſpanicam redire mallet, quàm paternæ libertatis ac gloriæ hæres eſſe; iſtam doctrinæ peſtem ad Riphæos ultimos, & glacialem oceanum, quo te in malam rem abire par eſt, tecum auferas licebit: Exemplo denique ſunt Angli, qui Carolum tyrannum bello captum, & inſanabilem obtruncârunt. At *inſulam beatam ſub regibus, & luxu affluentem diſcordiis deformârunt.* Immo luxu penè perditam quo tolerantior ſervitutis eſſet, extinctis deinde legibus, & mancipatâ religione, ſervientem liberârunt. En autem Epicteti cum Simplicio editorem, ſtoïcum graviſſimum, cui *luxu affluens inſula* beata eſſe videtur! Ex porticu Zenonis nunquam tale, ſat ſcio, documentum prodiit. Quid refert? An te doctore quicquid libet regibus licebit, tibi ipſi non licebit Lupi domino ex Lupanari tuo, tanquam ex novo quodam lyceo quamcunque libet emittere philoſophiam? Sed reſume nunc quam ſuſcepiſti perſonam. *Nunquam ſub ullo rege tantum cruoris hauſtum eſt, tot familiæ deſolatæ:* Hoc totum Carolo imputandum eſt, non Anglis; qui exercitum Hibernicorum priùs in nos paraverat, omnes Hibernos conjurare contra Anglos ſuo ipſe diplomate juſſerat; per illos ducena circiter millia Anglorum una in provinciâ Ultoniâ occiderat; de reliquis nihil dico: Binos exercitus in exitium Parlamenti Anglicani urbiſque Londini ſollicitaverat; multa alia hoſtiliter

ter fecerat, priuſquam à populo aut magiſtratibus tuendæ Reipub. cauſâ vel unus miles conſcriptus eſſet. Quæ doctrina, quæ lex, quæ unquam religio ſic homines inſtituit, ut otio conſulendum, ut pecuniæ, ut ſanguini, ut vitæ potiùs parcendum eſſe ducerent, quàm hoſti obviam eundum? Nam externo an inteſtino, quid intereſt? Cum interitus reipub. ſive ab hoc, ſive ab illo funeſtus æquè, & acerbus impendeat. Vidit totus Iſrael non poſſe ſe ſine multo ſanguine levitæ uxorem ſtupro enectam ulciſci; an igitur quieſcendum ſibi eſſe duxit, an bello civili quamvis truculentiſſimo ſuperſedendum, an unam igitur mulierculam mori inultam eſt paſſus? Certè ſi natura nos docet quamvis peſſimi regis dominatum potiùs pati, quàm in recuperanda libertate, plurimorum civium ſalutem in diſcrimen adducere, doceret eadem non regem ſolùm perferre, quem tamen ſolum perferendum eſſe contendis, ſed optimatium, ſed paucorum quoque potentiam; latronum etiam nonnunquam & ſervorum rebellantium multitudinem. Non Fulvius aut Rupilius bellum ſervile poſt cæſos exercitus prætorios, non Craſſus in Spartacum poſt deleta conſularium caſtra, non Pompeius ad piraticum bellum exiiſſet. Romani vel ſervis, vel piratis, ne tot civium ſanguis effunderetur, hortante ſcilicet naturâ, ſuccubuiſſent. *Hunc* itaque *ſenſum*, aut hujuſmodi ullum *gentibus impreſſiſſe naturam* nuſquam oſtendis: Et tamen non deſinis malè ominari, & vindictam divinam, quam in te augurem tuique ſimiles avertat Deus, nobis denuntiare; qui nomine tantum regem, re hoſtem acerbiſſimum debito ſupplicio ulti ſumus; & innumerabilem bonorum civium cædem authoris pœna expiavimus. Nunc magis naturalem eſſe monarchiam ex eo probari aïs, quod *plures nationes & nunc & olim regium ſtatum receperint, quàm optimatem & popularem.* Reſpondeo primùm neque deo neque naturâ ſuadente id factum eſſe; deus niſi invitus, populum ſuum ſub regio imperio eſſe noluit; natura quid ſuadeat & recta ratio, non ex pluribus, ſed ex prudentiſſimis nationibus optimè perſpicitur. Græci, Romani, Itali, Carthaginienſes, multique alii ſuopte ingenio vel optimatium vel populi imperium regio prætulerunt; atque hæ quidem nationes cæterarum omnium inſtar ſunt. Hinc Sulpitius Severus, *regium nomen cunctis ferè liberis gentibus ſemper inviſum* fuiſſe tradit. Verùm iſta non jam huc pertinent, nec quæ ſequuntur multa, inani futilitate à te ſæpiùs repetita: Ad illud feſtino, ut quod rationibus firmavi, id exemplis nunc oſtendam, eſſe vel maximè ſecundùm naturam, tyrannos quoquo modo puniri; id omnes gentes, magiſtra ipſa natura, ſæpiùs feciſſe; ex quo impudentia tua prædicanda, & turpiſſima mentiendi licentia omnibus innoteſcere dehinc poterit. Primos omnium inducis Ægyptios; & certè quis te per omnia Ægyptizare non videat? *Apud hos* inquis *nuſquam mentio extat ullius regis à populo per ſeditiones occiſi, nullum bellum illatum, aut quicquam factum à populo quo è ſolio dejiceretur.* Quid ergo Oſiris rex Ægyptiorum fortaſſe primus? Annon à fratre Typhone, & viginti quinque aliis conjuratis interemptus eſt? Quos & magna pars populi ſecuta magnum cum Iſide & Oro, regis conjuge, & filio prælium commiſit? Prætereo Seſoſtrin à fratre per inſidias penè oppreſſum; Chemmin etiam & Cephrenem, quibus populus meritò infenſus, quos vivos non poterat, mortuos ſe diſcerpturum minatus eſt. Qui reges optimos obtruncare ſunt auſi, eóſne putas naturæ lumine, aut religione aliquâ retentos, à peſſimis regibus manus abſtinuiſſe? Qui reges mortuos, & tum demùm innocuos, ſepulcro eruituros ſe minitabantur, ubi etiam pauperculi cujuſque corpus inviolatum eſſe ſolet, vivóſne illi & nocentiſſimos propter naturæ legem punire, ſi modò viribus valerent, vererentur? Affirmares hæc, ſcio, quamlibet abſurda; at enim ego ne affirmare audeas elinguem te reddam. Scito igitur multis ante Cephrenem ſeculis regnâſſe apud Ægyptios Ammoſin, & tyrannum, ut qui maximè, fuiſſe; eum Ægyptii æquo animo pertulerunt. Lætaris; hoc enim eſt quod vis. At reliqua audi vir optime & veraciſſime, Diodori enim verba ſunt quæ recito, μέχρι μὲν τινὸς ἐκαρτέρουν οὐ δυνάμενοι, &c. tolerabant aliquandiu oppreſſi, quia reſiſtere potentioribus nullo modo poterant. Quamprimùm verò Actiſanes Æthiopum rex bellum gerere cum eo cœpit, nacti occaſionem plerique defecerunt, eóque facilè ſubacto, Ægyptus regno Æthiopum acceſſit. Vides hìc Ægyptios, quamprimùm poterant, arma contra tyrannum tuliſſe, copias cum externo rege conjunxiſſe, ut regem ſuum ejúſque poſteros regno privarent, bonum & moderatum regem, qualis erat Actiſanes, maluiſſe externum, quàm tyrannum domeſticum. Iidem Ægyptii conſenſu omnium maximo Aprien tyrannum ſuum, conductitiis copiis præſidentem, duce Amaſi prælio victum ſtrangularunt; Amaſi viro nobili regnum dederunt. Hoc etiam adverte; Amaſis captum regem ad tempus in ipſa regia honeſtè aſſervabat: incuſante demùm populo, injuſtè eum facere qui ſuum & ipſorum hoſtem aleret, tradidit populo regem; qui eum prædicto ſupplicio affecit. Hæc Herodotus & Diodorus. Quid amplius tibi quæris? Ecquem tyrannum cenſes non maluiſſe vitam ſecuri quàm laqueo finire? Poſtea ſub Perſarum imperium *redacti Ægyptii fideles*, inquis, *exſtitere*, quod falſiſſimum eſt; in fide enim Perſarum nunquam permanſere, ſed, quarto poſt anno quàm ſubacti à Cambyſe fuerant, rebellarunt. Domiti deinde à Xerxe, haud multò pòſt ab ejus filio Artaxerxe defecerunt, regem Inarum quendam ſibi adſciverunt. Quo occiſo iterum fidem mutant, & conſtituto rege Tacho Artaxerxi Mnemoni bellum indicunt. Sed neque ſuo regi fidelicres, ablatum patri regnum filio Nectanebo tradunt: donec tandem ab Artaxerxe Ocho in ditionem Perſarum rediguntur. Sub Macedonum etiam imperio, quantum in ſe erat, tyrannos coercendos eſſe factis indicarunt; ſtatuas & imagines Ptolemæi Phyſconis dejecerunt, ipſum mercenario exercitu præpollentem interficere nequiverunt. Alexander ejus filius ob cædem matris concurſu populi in exilium agitur: filium item ejus Alexandrum inſolentiùs dominantem Alexandrinus populus vi abreptum ex regia in gymnaſio publico interfecit: Ptolemæum denique Auleten ob multa flagitia regno expulit. Hæc tam nota cùm non poſſit neſcire vir doctus, non debuerit qui hæc docere profiteatur, qui fidem tantis in rebus haberi ſibi poſtulet, quis non pudendum & indigniſſimum eſſe dicat, hunc, vel tam rudem & indoctum tanta cum infamia bonarum literarum pro doctiſſimo circumſerre ſe tumidum, & ſtipendia regum & civitatum ambire, vel tam improbum & mendacem, non inſigni aliquâ ignominiâ notatum, ex omnium communitate & conſortio tum doctorum tum bonorum exterminari? Poſtquam Ægyptum luſtravimus, ad Æthiopes jam proximos viſamus. Regem à Deo electum, ut credunt, quaſi Deum quendam adorant: quoties tamen eum Sacerdotes damnant, ipſe mortem ſibi conſciſcit. Sic enim, Diodoro teſte, omnes alios maleficos puniunt; non ipſi morte afficiunt, ſed ipſos reos lictore miſſo mori jubent. Ad Aſſyrios deinde & Medos & Perſas regum obſervantiſſimos accedis: *jus illic regium ſumma cum licentia quidlibet faciendi conjunctum fuiſſe* contra omnium Hiſtoricorum fidem affirmas. Narrat imprimis Daniel ut regem Nebuchadnezzarem plus nimio ſuperbientem homines a ſe depulerint, & ad beſtias ablegaverint. Jus eorum non regium, ſed Medorum & Perſarum id eſt populi jus appellatur; quod cùm irrevocabile eſſet, reges etiam obligavit. Darius itaque Medus eripere manibus ſatraparum Danielem, quanquam id maximè agebat, non potuit. *Populi*, inquis, *nefas eſſe tum credebant regem repudiare quòd illo jure abuteretur.* Inter ipſa tamen hæc verba adeò miſerè obtorpes, ut dum iſtorum populorum obedientiam & modeſtiam laudas, ereptum Sardanapalo regnum ab Arbace tuâ ſponte commemores. Eripuit autem is non ſolus, ſed partim à Sacerdotibus juris peritiſſimis, partim à populo adjutus, atque hoc præſertim nomine eripuit, quòd is jure regio, non ad crudelitatem, ſed ad luxuriam tantummodò & mollitiem abuteretur. Percurre Herodotum, Cteſiam, Diodorum, intelliges omninò contrà eſſe quàm dicis, *à Subditis ut plurimùm ea regna deſtructa fuiſſe, non ab externis:* Aſſyrios reges à Medis, Medos à Perſis, utriſque tum *Subditis*, ſublatos fuiſſe. *Cyrum* ipſe *rebellâſſe, & arreptas tyrannides in diverſis imperii locis fateris.* Hoccine eſt jus regium apud Medos & Perſas, & obſervantiam eorum in reges, quod inſtituiſti, aſſerere? Quæ te Anticyra tam delirum ſanare poteſt? *Perſarum reges quali jure regnârint ex Herodoto*, inquis, *liquet. Cambyſes*, cùm ſororem in matrimonio habere cuperet, judices regios conſulit, delectos *ex populo viros*, legum interpretes, ad quos omnia referri ſolebant. Quid illi? negant ſe invenire legem quæ jubeat fratrem ſecum in matrimonium ſororem jungere; aliam tamen inveniſſe, quà liceat Perſarum regi facere quæ libeat. Primùm ſi rex omnia pro ſuo jure poterat, quid alio legum interprete quàm ipſo rege opus erat? ſupervacanei iſti judices ubivis potiùs quàm in regia manſiſſent. Deinde ſi Regi Perſarum quidvis licuit, incredibile eſt id adeò neſciviſſe Cambyſem dominationis cupidiſſimum, ut quid licitum eſſet, judices illos percontaretur. Quid ergo? vel *gratificari* volentes *regi*, ut fateris ipſe, vel à tyranno ſibi metuentes, ut aït Herodotus, facilem quandam ſe reperiſſe legem ſimulant, palpum regi obtrudentes: quod in judicibus & legum peritis hac etiam ætate novum non eſt. At verò *Artabanus Perſa dixit ad Themiſtoclem, nullam legem apud Perſas eſſe meliorem* *illâ quâ ſancitum fuerat, regem eſſe honorandum & adorandum.* Præclarum tu quidem legem de adoratione regum introducis etiam à patribus antiquis damnatam; præclarum etiam legis commendatorem Artabanum, qui ipſe haud multo poſtea ſua manu Xerxem regem ſuum trucidavit. Probos regum defenſores regicidas nobis adfers: ſuſpicor te regibus inſidias quaſdam moliri. Claudianum citas poëtam, Perſarum obedientiæ teſtem. At ego te ad res eorum geſtas & annales revoco, defectionibus Perſarum, Medorum, Bactrianorum, Babyloniorum, etiam cædibus regum refertiſſimos. Proximus tibi author eſt Otanes Perſa, ipſa etiam Smerdis interfector ſui regis, qui cum odio poteſtatis regiæ, injurias & facinora regum exponat, violationes legum, cædes indemnatorum, ſtupra, adulteria, hoc tu jus regium vis appellari, & Samuelis iterum calumniandi in mentem tibi venit. De Homero qui reges eſſe ab Jove cecinit, ſupra reſpondi: Philippo regi jus regium interpretanti tam credam quàm Carolo. Ex Diotogenis deinde Pythagoréi fragmento quædam producis, at quali is de rege dicat taces. Accipe igitur quo ille uſus eſt exordio; ad quod referri quæ ſequuntur cuncta debent. βασιλεὺς κ' εἴη ὁ δικαιότατος, &c. *Rex ille fuerit, qui juſtiſſimus eſt, juſtiſſimus autem, qui maximè legitimus*, nam ſine juſticia nullus *rex eſſe poterit, neque juſtitia ſine lege.* Hæc cum jure tuo regio è regione pugnant. Eadem abs te recitatus Ecphantas philoſophatur. δεῖ δὲ καὶ τ εἰς αὐτὰν καταστάντα, &c. *oportet qui regnum ſuſcipit puriſſimum & luciſſimum naturâ eſſe:* & infra ὁ κατ' ἀρετὰν ἐξάρχων, &c. *ille qui imperat ſecundùm virtutem, nominatur rex, & eſt.* Quem tu igitur regem vocas, Pythagoreorum judicio rex non eſt. Jam tu viciſſim Platonem audi in Epiſtola octava ἀρχὴ γιγνέσθω ὑπεύθυνος βασιλική, &c. *Sit regia poteſtas reddendæ rationi obnoxia; leges dominentur & aliis civibus & ipſis etiam regibus, ſi quid præter leges fecerint.* Addo Ariſtotelem, Polit. 3. ἐν μὲν τοι ὁμοίοις καὶ ἴσοις οὔτε συμφέρον ἐστὶν, &c. *inter ſimiles & æquales neque utile eſt neque juſtum, eſſe unum omnium dominum, neque ubi leges non ſunt, neque ut ipſe lex ſit, neque ubi ſunt leges; neque bonum bonorum, neque non bonum non bonorum dominum eſſe.* Et lib. quinto, *Quem populus non vult, ſtatim is non rex, ſed tyrannus eſt*, c. 10. Hem tibi etiam Xenophontem in Hierone ἀντὶ τοῦ τιμωρεῖν αἱ πόλεις αὐτοῖς, &c. *tantum abeſt ut tyrannorum necem civitates ulciſcantur, ut magnis honoribus afficiant eum, qui tyrannum interfecerit, imagines etiam tyrannicidarum in templis ſtatuunt.* Teſtem occulatum adjiciam Marcum Tullium pro Milone. *Græci homines deorum honores tribuunt iis viris qui tyrannos necaverunt: quæ ego vidi Athenis, quæ aliis in urbibus Græciæ, quas res divinas talibus inſtutas viris, quos cantus, quæ carmina? prope ad immortalitatem, & religionem, & memoriam conſecrantur.* Polybius denique author graviſſimus, Hiſtoriarum ſexto, τότε δὲ ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις ἑπόμενοι, &c. *cum principes*, inquit, *cupiditatibus obſequi cœperunt, tum de regno facta eſt tyrannis, & conſpiratio in caput dominantium inibatur; cujus quidem authores erant non deterrimi civium, ſed generoſiſſimi quique & maximi animi.* Longè plura cùm mihi ſuppeterent, hæc pauca delibavi: obruor enim copiâ. A philoſophis ad Poëtas jam provocas, eò te libentiſſimè ſequimur. *Poteſtatem nullis legibus, nullis judiciis obnoxium in Græcia reges obtinuiſſe vel unus*, inquis, *Æſchylus poteſt docere; qui in tragœdia, Supplices, Regem Argivorum* ἄκριτον πρύτανιν *vocat, non judicabilem rectorem.* Verùm tu ſcito, præcipitem enim te & nullius judicii eſſe, quocunque te vertis, eò magis perſpicio, ſcito, inquam, non quid Poëta, ſed quis apud Poëtam quídque dicat, ſpectandum eſſe: variæ enim perſonæ inducuntur, nunc bonæ, nunc malæ, nunc ſapientes, nunc ſimplices, non ſemper quid Poëtæ videatur, ſed quid cuique maximè conveniat loquentes. Danai filiæ quinquaginta ex Ægypto profugæ ad Argivorum regem ſupplices pervenerant; orant utì ſe contra vim Ægyptiorum claſſe inſequentium defendat; reſpondet rex non poſſe ſe, niſi rem priùs cum populo communicet.

Ἐγὼ δ' ἂν οὐ κραίνοιμ' ὑπόσχεσιν πάρος
Ἀςῶν δὲ πᾶσι τοῖσδε κοινώσας πέρι.

Mulieres peregrinæ & ſupplices incerta populi ſuffragia veritæ, regem denuò blandiùs compellant.

Σύ τοι πόλις, σὺ δὲ τὸ δήμιον,
Πρύτανις ἄκριτος ὤν.

*Tu inſtar urbis es & populi, Prætor injudicatus.*

Rurſus rex. Εἶπον δὲ καὶ πρὶν, οὐκ ἄνευ δήμου τάδε
Πράξαιμ' ἂν οὐδέπερ κρατῶν ——

*Dixi antea, non ſine populo hæc faciam,*
*Ne ſi poſſem quidem.*

De re itaque tota ad populum reſert,

Ἐγὼ δὲ λαοὺς συγκαλῶν ἐγχωρίους
Πείσω τὸ κοινόν.

Populus itaque decernit opem Danai filiabus ferendam; unde illa ſenis Danai lætantis:

Θαρσεῖτε παῖδες, εὖ τὰ τῶν ἐγχωρίων
Δήμου δέδοκται παντελῆ ψηφίσματα.

*Bono eſtote animo filiæ, benè decreverunt*
*Indigenarum, in conventu populari, perfectiſſima ſuffragia.*

Hæc niſi protuliſſem, quàm temere ſtatuiſſet ſciolus iſte de jure regio apud Græcos ex ore mulierum, & peregrinarum, & ſupplicum; cùm & ipſe rex, & ipſa res geſta longè aliud nos doceat. Idem etiam docet Euripidis Oreſtes, qui, mortuo patre, Argivorum ipſe rex, ob cædem matris à populo in judicium vocatus, ipſe cauſam dixit, & ſuffragiis populi capite damnatus eſt. Athenis regiam poteſtatem legibus obnoxiam fuiſſe teſtatur idem Euripides etiam in Supplicibus, ubi hæc Theſeus Athenarum Rex ——

οὐ γὰρ ἄρχεται
Ἑνὸς πρὸς ἀνδρὸς, ἀλλ' ἐλευθέρα πόλις,
Δῆμος δ' ἀνάσσει ——

*non regitur*
*Ab uno viro, ſed eſt libera hæc civitas,*
*Populus autem regnat* ——

Sic ejus filius Demophoon Rex item Athenienſium apud eundem Poëtam in Heraclidis.

Οὐ γὰρ τυραννίδ' ὥστε βαρβάρων ἔχω,
Ἀλλ' ἢν δίκαια δρῶ, δίκαια πείσομαι.

*Non enim iis tyrannicè tanquam barbaris impero,*
*Sed ſi facio juſta quæ ſunt, juſta mihi rependuntur.*

Non aliud thebis jus regium antiquitùs fuiſſe teſtatur Sophocles in Oedipo tyranno, unde & Tireſias & Creon Oedipo ferociter reſponſant, ille,

οὐ γάρ τι σοὶ ζῶ δοῦλος.

*Non ſervus tibi ſum.*

Hic, Κἀμοὶ πόλεως μέτεστι τῆσδ' οὐ σοὶ μόνῳ.

*Eſt & mihi jus in hac civitate non tibi ſolùm.*

Et Æmon Creonti in Antigone.

πόλις γὰρ οὐκ ἔσθ', ἥτις ἀνδρὸς ἔσθ' ἑνός.

*Non eſt civitas, quæ unius eſt viri.*

Jam verò Lacedemoniorum reges in judicium ſæpe adductos, & interdum morte multatos nemo ignorat. Atque hæc quidem antiquum in Græcia jus regium quale fuerit ſatis declarant. Ad Romanos veniamus. Tu ad illud imprimis recurris non Salluſtianum, ſed C. Memmii apud Salluſtium, *impune quidvis facere:* cui ſuprà reſponſum eſt. Salluſtius ipſe diſertis verbis author eſt, *Romanos imperium legitimum, nomen imperii regium habuiſſe*; quod cum *ſe in dominationem convertit*, ut nôſti, expulerunt. Sic M. Tullius in Piſonem, ego Conſulem eſſe putem, qui Senatum eſſe in repub. non putavit? & ſine eo conſilio conſulem numerem, ſine quo Romæ ne reges quidem eſſe potuerunt? Audin' regem Romæ ſine Senatu nihil fuiſſe? *At Romulus, ut libitum Romanis imperitaverat, ut aït Tacitus.* Nondum enim fundata legibus, colluvies potiùs convenarum quam reſpub. erat: omnes olim mortales ſine legibus vivebant, cum reſpublicæ nondum eſſent. Poſt Romulum autem, authore Livio, etſi regem omnes volebant, libertatis dulcedine nondum expertâ: *Populo tamen ſumma poteſtas permiſſa eſt, ut non plus darent juris quam detinerent*; *jus illud* à Cæſaribus *vi ademptum fuiſſe* idem aït. Servius Tullius dolo primùm quaſi Tarquinii Priſci vicarius regnabat; poſtea verò ad populum ipſe retulit, *vellent juberéntne ſe regnare*; tandem ut aït Tacitus, *ſanctor legum fuit queis etiam reges obtemperarent.* Feciſſetne hancce ſibi & poſteris injuriam, ſi ſupra leges priùs fuiſſe jus regium ſenſiſſet? Ultimus illorum regum Tarquinius ſuperbus *morem de omnibus Senatum conſulendi primus ſolvit*; ob hæc & alia flagitia populus L. Tarquinio Regi imperium abrogavit; exulémque eſſe cum conjuge ac liberis juſſit. Hæc fere ex Livio & Cicerone; quibus alios juris regii apud Romanos haud tu interpretes attuleris meliores. Ad dictaturam quod attinet, temporaria tantùm fuit, nunquam adhibita niſi difficillimis reipub. temporibus, & intra ſex menſes deponenda. Jus autem imperatorum quod vocas, non jus illud, ſed vis planè erat; imperium nullo jure præterquàm armis partum. At *Tacitus*, inquis, *qui ſub imperio unius floruit*, ita ſcripſit: *Principi ſummum rerum arbitrium dii dederunt, ſubditis obſequii gloria relicta eſt.* Nec dicis quo loco; tibi conſcius nimirum inſigniter lectoribus impoſuiſſe; quod mihi quidem ſtatim ſuboluit, quamvis locum illum non ſtatim reperi. Non enim Taciti hæc verba ſunt, ſcriptoris boni, & tyrannis adverſiſſimi, ſed apud Tacitum M. Terentii cujuſdam equitis Romani, qui capitis reus, inter alia quæ metu mortis ab eo dicta ſunt, ſic Tiberium adulatur, annalium ſexto: *Tibi ſummum rerum judicium dii dederunt, nobis obſequii gloria relicta eſt.* Hanc tu quaſi Taciti ſententiam profers, qui ſententias tibi commodas non ex piſtrina ſolùm aut tonſtrina, ſed ex ipſa carnificinâ oblatas non reſpueres: ita omnia vel oſtentationis cauſâ, vel imbecillitatis conſcientiâ undecunque corradis. Tacitum ipſum ſi legere maluiſſes, quàm alicubi decerptum negligentiùs tranſcribere, docuiſſet te is, jus illud imperatorum unde ortum ſit. *Poſt Actiacam victoriam, verſo civitatis ſtatu, nihil uſquam priſci aut integri moris*; *omnes exutâ æqualitate juſſa principis aſpectare*; docuiſſet idem annalium tertio, unde tuum omne jus regium; *Poſtquam exui æqualitas, & pro modeſtia ac pudore ambitio & vis incedebat, provenere dominationes, multoſque apud populos æternùm manſere.* Idem ex Dione poteras didiciſſe, ſi innata levitas & inconſtantia tua quicquam te altiùs percipere pateretur. Narrat enim is l. 53. abs te citato, ut partim armis, partim dolo & ſimulatione Octaviani Cæſaris effectum ſit, ut imperatores legibus ſoluti eſſent; dum enim pro concione pollicetur ſe principatu abiturum, legibus & imperiis etiam aliorum obtemperaturum, per cauſam belli in provinciis ſuis gerendi, retentis apud ſe ſemper legionibus, dum ſimulatè renuit imperium, ſenſim invaſit. Non eſt hoc legibus rite ſolutum eſſe, ſed legum vincula, quod gladiator ille Spartacus potuit, vi ſolvere; nomen deinde principis aut imperatoris & αὐτοκράτωρ ſibi arrogare, quaſi Deus aut naturæ lex omnes & homines & leges illi ſubjeciſſet. Vis altiùs paulo juris Cæſarei originem cognoſcere? Marcus Antonius, juſſu Cæſaris, qui armis in rempublicam nefariè ſumptis tum plurimum poterat, Conſul factus, cùm Lupercalia Romæ celebrarentur, ex compoſito, ut videbatur, diadema capiti Cæſaris cum gemitu & plangore populi impoſuit: Aſcribi deinde juſſit in faſtis ad Lupercalia, C. Cæſari Antonium Conſulem, juſſu populi, regnum detuliſſe. Quâ de re Cicero in ſecunda Philippica; *Ideóne L. Tarquinius exactus, Spurius Caſſius, Sp. Melius, M. Manlius necati, ut multis poſt ſeculis à M. Antonio, quod fas non eſt, rex Romæ conſtitueretur?* Tu verò omni malo cruciatu atque infamia ſempiternâ etiam ipſo Antonio dignior es; Quanquam tu hinc noli ſuperbire, non enim te hominem deſpicatiſſimum, ullâ re aliâ quàm ſcelere cum Antonio conferendum putem, qui in hiſce tuis Lupercalibus nefandis non uni tantùm, ſed omnibus tyrannis diadema cunctis legibus ſolutum, nullâ ſolvendum imponere ſtuduiſti. Certè ſi ipſorum Cæſarum oraculo credendum eſt, ſic enim appellant Chriſtiani imperatores Theodoſius & Valens edictum ſuum, cod. l. 1. tit. 14. de authoritate juris, imperatorum pendet authoritas. Majeſtas ergo regnantis, vel ipſorum Cæſarum ſive judicio ſive oraculo, ſubmittenda legibus eſt, de quibus pendet. Hinc adultâ jam poteſtate imperatoriâ ad Trajanum Plinius in Panegyrico; *diverſa ſunt naturâ, dominatio, & principatus. Trajanus regnum ipſum arcet ac ſummovet, ſedémque obtinet principis, ne ſit domino locus.* Et infra, *omnia quæ de aliis principibus à me dicta ſunt, eò pertinent ut oſtendam, quàm longa conſuetudine corruptos, depravatóſque mores principatus parens noſter reformet, & corrigat.* Quod depravatos principatûs mores Plinius, id téne pudet jus regium perpetuò vocitare? Verum hactenùs de jure regio apud Romanos breviter. Quid illi in tyrannos ſuos, ſive reges, ſive Imperatores fecerint, vulgo notum eſt. Tarquinium expulerunt. Sed *quomodo*, inquis, *expulerunt, an in jus vocarunt? Nequaquam; Portas venienti clauſerunt.* Ridiculum caput, quid ni clauderent advolanti cum parte copiarum? quid refert exulare juſſus fuerit an mori, modò pœnas dediſſe conſtat? Ca. Cæſarem tyrannum excellentiſſimi ejus ætatis viri in Senatu interfecerunt; id factum M. Tullius & ipſe vir optimus, & pater patriæ publicè dictus, miris laudibus, cum alibi paſſim, tum in ſecunda Philippica celebravit. Pauca recitabo. *Omnes boni quantum in ipſis fuit, Cæſarem occiderunt; aliis conſilium, aliis animus, aliis occaſio defuit, voluntas nemini.* Et infrà. *Quæ enim res unquam, proh ſancte Jupiter! non modò in hac urbe, ſed in omnibus terris eſt geſta major, quæ glorioſior, quæ commendatior hominum memoria ſempiterna? In hujus me conſilii ſocietatem, tanquam in equum Trojanum, includi cum principibus non recuſo.* Illud Senecæ tragici & ad Græcos referri poteſt, & ad Romanos:

——*Victima haud ulla amplior*
*Poteſt, magiſque opima mactari Jovi*
*Quam rex iniquus* ———

Nam ſi ad Herculem ſpectes, cujus hæc ſententia inducitur, quid ſenſerint illa ætate Græcorum ſummi viri oſtendit: Si ad poetam, qui ſub Nerone floruit (& ſenſum fere ſuum poetæ perſonis optimis affingere ſolent) ſignificabat, & quid ipſe, & quid omnes viri boni, ætate etiam Neronis, faciendum tyranno cenſuerint; quámque pium, quámque diis gratum eſſe duxerint tyrannicidium. Sic optimi quique Romanorum, quantum in ſe erat, Domitianum occiderunt. Palàm hoc profitetur Plinius ſecundus in illo ad Trajanum imperatorem Panegyrico. *Juvabat illidere ſolo ſuperbiſſimos vultus, inſtare ferro, ſævire ſecuribus, ut ſi ſingulos ictus ſanguis dolórque ſequeretur: Nemo tam temperans gaudii, quin inſtar ultionis videretur cernere laceros artus, truncata membra, poſtremò truces horrendaſque imagines abjectas excoctaſque flammis.* Et deinde, *non ſatis amant bonos principes, qui malos ſatis non oderint.* Tum inter flagitia Domitiani ponit, quòd is Epaphroditum Neronis utcunque interfectorem trucidaverit. *An excidit dolori noſtro modò vindicatus Nero, permitteret credo famam vitamque ejus carpi, qui mortem ulciſcebatur?* Planè quaſi ſceleri proximum eſſe judicaret, non interfeciſſe Neronem, ſcelus graviſſimum vindicaſſe interfectum. Ex his manifeſtum eſt, Romanorum præſtantiſſimos quoſque viros non ſolum tyrannos quoquo modo, quoties poterant, occidiſſe, ſed factum illud, ut Græci olim, in maxima laude poſuiſſe: Vivum enim tyrannum quoties judicare non poterant viribus inferiores, mortuum tamen & judicabant, & lege Valeriâ damnabant. Valerius enim Publicola Junii Bruti collega cum videret non poſſe ſtipatos ſuis militibus tyrannos ad judicium perduci, legem tulit qua indemnatum quovis modo occidere liceret; deinde facti rationem reddere. Hinc C. Caligulam, quem Caſſius ferro, omnes votis interfecerunt, Valerius Aſiaticus, vir conſularis cum non adeſſet, ad milites tamen ob necem ejus tumultuantes exclamat, *utinam ego interfeciſſem*; Senatus eodem tempore abolendam Cæſarum memoriam, ac diruenda templa cenſuit; tantum abfuit ut Caſſio iraſceretur; Claudium à militibus imperatorem mox ſalutatum vetant per tribunum plebis principatum capeſſere; vis autem militum vicit. Neronem Senatus hoſtem judicavit, &, ut puniretur more majorum, quærebat; id genus pœnæ erat, ut nudi cervix insereretur furcæ, corpus virgis ad necem cæderetur. Vide quanto mitiùs & moderatiùs Angli cum tyranno egerint ſuo, qui multorum judicio plus ipſo Nerone ſanguinis fundendi author fuerat. Sic Domitianum mortuum Senatus damnavit; quod potuit, imagines ejus coràm detrahi, & ſolo affligi juſſit. Commodus à ſuis interfectus, non vindicatus à Senatu aut Populo, ſed hoſtis judicatus eſt, qui etiam cadaver ejus ad ſupplicium quærebant. Ea de re Senatuſconſultum extat apud Lampridium; *Hoſti patriæ honores detrahantur, Parricida trahatur, in ſpoliario lanietur, hoſtis deorum, carnifex Senatus unco trahatur, &c.* Iidem Didium Julianum imperatorem frequentiſſimo Senatu capitis damnarunt; & miſſo Tribuno, occidi in Palatio juſſerunt. Idem Maximino imperium abrogarunt, hoſtémque judicarunt. Juvat ipſum Senatuſconſultum ex Capitolino recitare. *Conſul retulit; Patres Conſcripti, de Maximinis quid placet?* Reſponſum eſt, *hoſtes, hoſtes, qui eos occiderit pramium merebitur.* Vis ſcire populus Romanus & provinciæ Maximino imperatori an Senatui paruerint? Audi eundem Capitolinum. *Literas mittit Senatus* ad omnes provincias, ut communi ſaluti, libertatíque ſubveniant; quæ auditæ ſunt ab omnibus. Ubique amici, adminiſtratores, duces, tribuni, milites Maximini interfecti ſunt: Paucæ civitates fidem hoſti publico ſervaverunt. Eadem tradit Herodianus. Quid plura de Romanis? Jam apud finitimas nationes quale jus regum illâ ætate fuerit videamus. Apud Gallos rex eorum Ambiorix *ſua ejuſmodi eſſe imperia* fatetur, *ut non minus haberet in ſe juris multitudo, quàm ipſe in multitudinem.* Judicabatur ergo non minùs quam judicabat. Rex item Vercingetorix proditionis inſimulatus eſt à ſuis; tradit hæc Cæſar bellum Gallicum ſcribens. Nec *Germanorum regibus infinita aut libera poteſtas* erat, *de minoribus rebus principes conſultant, de majoribus omnes. Rex aut princeps auditur authoritate ſuadendi magis quàm jubendi poteſtate; ſi diſplicuit ſententia, fremitu aſpernantur.* Hæc Tacitus. Tu vero quod inauditum prorſus eſſe modò exclamabas, nunc ſæpius factum concedis, *quinquaginta* nimirum *Scotorum reges aut expulſos aut incarceratos, aut necatos, quoſdam etiam in publico capitali ſupplicio affectos.* Quod in ipſa Britanniâ factitatum eſt, cur tu, tyrannorum veſpillo, infandum, inauditum eſſe tantâ ejulatione vociferaris? Pergis Judæorum & Chriſtianorum erga tyrannos ſuos religionem extollere, & mendacia ex mendaciis ſerere, quæ jam toties refutavimus. Modò Aſſyriorum & Perſarum obedientiam latè prædicabas, nunc eorum rebelliones enumeras; & quos nunquam rebellaſſe paulò ante dixeras, nunc cur iidem toties rebellaverint multas cauſas affers. Ad narrationem deinde ſumpti de rege ſupplicii tandiu intermiſſam revertis, ut, ſi tunc forte ſatis ſedulò ineptus & ridiculus non eras, nunc eſſes. *Per aula ſua membra ductum* narras. Quid per aulæ membra intelligas ſcire geſtio. Romanorum calamitates ex regno in rempub. verſo recenſes, in quo te tibimet turpiſſimè mentiri ſuprà oſtendimus. Qui ad Loiolitam, *ſeditiones tantùm ſub optimatibus & populo, certam ſub tyranno perniciem eſſe* demonſtrabas, nunc, hominum vaniſſime & corruptiſſime, *ob reges olim ejectos ſeditionum illa mala tanquam ſupplicia illos hauſiſſe* audes dicere? Scilicet quia centum Jacobæis donavit te poſtea rex Carolus, idcirco reges expulſos luent Romani. At malè ceſſit Julii Cæſaris interfectoribus. Sanè ſi cui unquam tyranno, huic parcitum vellem; quamvis enim regnum in repub. violentiùs invadebat, erat tamen regno fortaſſe digniſſimus: Nec ideo quenquàm magis putem interfecti Cæſaris pœnas pependiſſe, quàm deleti Catilinæ Caium Antonium Ciceronis collegam: Quo poſtea de aliis criminibus damnato, ut inquit Cicero pro Flacco, *ſepulchrum Catilinæ floribus ornatum eſt.* Fautores enim Catilinæ tunc exultabant, *juſta Catilinæ tum facta eſſe dictitabant*, ad invidiam cæteris conflandam, qui Catilinam ſuſtulerant. Hæ ſunt improborum artes, quibus viros præſtantiſſimos à ſupplicio tyrannorum, & puniendis etiam ſæpè facinoroſiſſimis deterreant. Dicerem ego contrà, quod facile eſſet, quoties bene ceſſit, & proſperè tyrannorum interfectoribus, ſi quid certi de eventu rerum colligere quis poſſet. Objectas, quòd *regem hæreditarium Angli non illo affecerint ſupplicio, quo tyranni ſolent mactari, ſed eo quo latrones & proditionis rei.* Primùm hæreditas ad maleficiorum impunitatem quid conferat neſcio: Conferre quicquam ut credat ſapiens fieri vix poteſt. Quod tu deinde ad *immanitatem* reſers, in eo lenitas potiùs Anglorum, & moderatio prædicanda erat; qui, cùm tyrannum eſſe, omnes in patriam impietates, latrocinia, proditiones, perduelliones in ſe complectatur, ſatis habebant ſupplicium haud gravius de tyranno ſumere, quàm de ſimplici latrone quovis, aut proditore vulgari ſumere ſolebant. Speras *exorituros eſſe aliquos Harmodios & Thraſybulos, qui, noſtrorum cæde, tyranni manibus parentent.* At tu citius animum deſpondebis, & vitam te dignam, omnibus bonis execrandus, antè ſuſpendio finieris, quàm Harmodios Harmodiorum ſanguine litantes tyranno videas. Tibi enim illud accidere veriſimillimum eſt, déque te tam ſcelerato quis augurari rectiùs poſſit: Alterum eſt impoſſibile. Tyrannorum triginta mentionem facis qui ſub Gallieno rebellarunt. Quid ſi tyrannus tyrannum oppugnat, an omnes ergo qui oppugnant tyrannum, aut tollunt, tyranni erunt ipſi? Haud tu id perſuaſeris, mancipium equeſtre; neque is qui author tibi eſt, Trebellius Pollio, hiſtoricorum propè ignobiliſſimus. *Si qui hoſtes*, inquis, *à Senatu judicati ſunt, factio id fecit, non jus.* Nobis in memoriam revocas quid fecit Imperatores; factio nempe, & vis, & ut planiùs dicam, furor Antonii, non jus fecit, ut contra Senatum populúmque Romanum ipſi priùs rebellarent. *Dedit*, inquis, *pœnas Galba qui contra Neronem inſurrexit.* Dic etiam quas pœnas dedit Veſpaſianus, qui contra Vitellium. *Tantum*, inquis, *abſuit Carolus à Nerone, quantum iſti laniones Anglicani à Senatoribus illius temporis Romanis.* Triſurciſer, à quo laudari vituperium eſt, vituperari laus magna: Paucis modò periodis interpoſitis hac ipſa de re ſcribens, *Senatum ſub imperatoribus togatorum mancipiorum conſeſſum fuiſſe* aïebas, nunc eundem *Senatum* aïs *conſeſſum regum fuiſſe:* Hoc ſi ita eſt, quid obſtat quin reges, te authore, togata mancipia ſint? Beatos hoc laudatore reges! Quo inter homines nihil nequius, inter quadrupedes nihil amentius: Niſi ſi hoc illi peculiare dicam eſſe, quòd nemo literatiùs rudit. Senatum Angliæ Neroni vis eſſe ſimiliorem quàm Senatui Romano: Cogit me cacoëthes hoc tuum ineptiſſimas conglutinandi ſimilitudines, ut corrigam te; & quàm ſimilis Neroni fuerit Carolus, oſtendam. *Nero*, inquis, *matrem ſuam* ferro *necavit*, Carolus & patrem & regem veneno; nam, ut alia omittam indicia, qui Ducem veneficii reum legibus eripuit, fieri non potuit quin ipſe reus quoque fuerit. Nero multa millia Chriſtianorum occidit, Carolus multo plura. Non defuerunt, teſte Suetonio, qui Neronem mortuum laudarent, qui deſiderarent, qui per longum tempus, *vernis æſtiviſque floribus tumulum ejus ornarent*, ejus inimicis omnia mala ominarentur: Non deſunt qui Carolum eâdem inſaniâ deſiderent, & ſummis laudibus extollant, quorum tu, patibularis eques, chorum ducis. *Milites Angli moloſſis ſuis ferociores, novum & inauditum tribunal inſtituerunt.* En acutiſſimum Salmaſii ſive ſymbolum ſive adagium, jam ſexies inculcatum, *Moloſſis ſuis ferociores*; adeſte rhetores, vóſque ludimagiſtri, delibate, ſi ſapitis, floſculum hunc elegantiſſimum, qui tam Salmaſio in deliciis eſt; codicillis veſtris & capſulis mandate copioſiſſimi hominis pigmentum, ne intereat. Adeóne etiam verba tua conſumpſit rabies, ut cuculi in modum eadem identidem occinere cogaris? Quid hoc monſtri eſſe dicam? Rabies, ut fabulantur, vertit Hecubam in canem, te Sancti Lupi dominum vertit in cuculum. Jam novas exordiris repugnantias: Supra *p.* 113. affirmaveras *Principem legibus ſolutum eſſe, non cogentibus* ſolùm, ſed *dirigentibus, nullas eſſe omninò quibus teneatur*; nunc dicturum te aïs *infrà de regum differentia quatenus poteſtate alii minore alii majore in regnando fuerunt.* Vis probare, *reges non potuiſſe judicari, nec damnari à ſubjectis ſuis argumento*, ut ipſe aïs, *firmiſſimo*, revera ſtolidiſſimo; *nihil*, inquis, *aliud inter judices & reges diſcrimen fuit: Atqui Judæi judicum tædio odióque adducti reges poſtulabant.* An quia judices illos magiſtratum malè gerentes judicare & damnare poterant, ideóne putas tædio odióque eorum adductos poſtulâſſe reges quos jura omnia violantes punire, aut in ordinem cogere non poterant? Quis, excepto te uno, tam fatuè ratiocinari ſolet? Aliud igitur quiddam erat cur regem peterent, quàm ut haberent dominum legibus ſuperiorem; de quo nunc divinare nihil attinet: Quicquid erat, haud prudenti conſilio factum & Deus & Propheta ejus teſtatus eſt. Iterum Rabbinis tuis, ex quibus probâſſe te ſuprà aſſerebas regem Judæorum non judicari, nunc litem acerrimam intendis, quòd regem & judicari & verberari poſſe tradiderint: Quod idem planè eſt acſi faterere ementitum te tunc eſſe, quod ex Rabbinis probâſſe dixeras. Eo demùm deſcendis ut de numero equilium Solomonis, quot *is equorum præſepia habuerit*, oblitus regiæ defenſionis, controverſias putidulas concites. Tandem ab agaſone ad equitem redis aretalogum & tautologum, vel potiùs ad id monſtri quod priùs eras, cuculum rabioſum. Quereris enim *poſtremis* hiſce *ſeculis diſciplinæ vigorem laxatum, regulam corruptam*; quòd uni ſcilicet tyranno cunctis legibus ſoluto diſciplinam omnem laxare, mores omnium corrumpere impunè non liceat. Hanc doctrinam *Bruniſtas inter reformatos* introduxiſſe aïs. Ita Lutherus, Calvinus, Zuinglius, Bucerus, & Orthodoxorum quotquot celeberrimi Theologi fuere, tuo judicio Bruniſtæ ſunt. Quo æquiore animo tua maledicta perferunt Angli, cùm in Eccleſiæ doctores præſtantiſſimos, totámque adeò Eccleſiam reformatam, iiſdem propè contumeliis debacchari te audiant.

# CAP. VI.

POſt legem Dei & naturæ agitatam abs te fruſtrà, & peſſimè tractatam, unde nihil præter ignorantiæ ſimul & improbitatis ignominiam retuliſti, quid deindè, in hac cauſa regiâ, præter nugas agere poſſis, non video. Cùm autem omnibus & bonis & doctis viris, huic etiam cauſæ nobiliſſimæ abunde me ſatisfeciſſe ſperem, etiamſi hoc loco finem reſpondendi facerem, tamen ne interea videar aliis varietatem potiùs & acumen tuum, quàm immodicam loquacitatem defugiſſe, quo voles uſque progrediar: Eâ tamen brevitate, ut facilè appareat, me iis omnibus perfunctum, ſi minùs quæ dignitas, at ſaltem quæ neceſſitas cauſæ requirebat, nunc hominum quorumvis expectationi, vel etiam curioſitati morem gerere. *Hinc alius*, inquis, *& major argumentorum mihi ſurget ordo.* An major eo argumentorum ordine quem lex Dei & Naturæ ſuppeditabat? Fer opem, Lucina, parturit Mons Salmaſius; non de nihilo nupſit uxori; fœtum aliquem ingentem exſpectate mortales. *Si is qui rex eſt ac dicitur, poſtulari poſſet apud aliam poteſtatem, eam omnino regia majorem eſſe oporteret, qua autem major ſtatuetur, hanc verè regiam dici & eſſe neceſſe eſſet. Sic enim definienda poteſtas regia: Qua ſumma eſt in repub. & ſingularis, & ſupra quam nulla alia agnoſcitur.* O murem verè montanum, & ridiculum! Succurrite grammatici grammatico laboranti; actum eſt non de lege Dei aut naturæ, ſed de gloſſario. Quid ſi ſic reſponderem tibi? Cedant nomina rebus, non eſt noſtrûm nomini cavere, qui rem ſuſtulimus; curent & alii quibus cordi ſunt reges; nos noſtrâ utimur libertate: Reſponſum ſanè haud iniquum auferres. Verùm ut me per omnia ex æquo & bono tecum agere intelligas, non ex mea ſolùm, ſed ex optimorum olim & prudentiſſimorum virorum ſententiâ reſpondebo, qui & nomen & poteſtatem regiam cum poteſtate legum & populi majore, poſſe optimè conſiſtere judicârunt. Lycurgus imprimis, vir ſapientiâ clariſſimus, cùm vellet maximè poteſtati regiæ conſulere, ut author eſt Plato, nullam aliam ejus conſervandæ rationem invenire potuit, quàm ut Senatûs & Ephororum, id eſt, populi poteſtatem regiâ majorem in ſuâ patriâ conſtitueret. Idem ſenſit Theſeus Euripidéus, qui cum Athenarum rex eſſet, populo tamen Athenienſi in libertatem cum magna ſua gloria vindicato, & poteſtatem popularem extulit ſupra regiam, & regnum nihilo ſecius in illa civitate ſuis poſteris reliquit. Unde Euripides in Supplicibus ita loquentem inducit.

Δῆμον καθέστησ' αὐτὸν εἰς μοναρχίαν
'ἐλευθερώσας τήνδ' ἰσόψηφον πόλιν.

*Populum conſtitui ipſum in Monarchiam,*
*Liberans hanc Urbem æquale jus ſuffragii habentem.*

Et rurſus ad præconem Thebanum.

Πρῶτον μὲν ἤρξω τοῦ λόγου ψευδῶς ξένε
Ζητῶν τύραννον ἐνθάδ'· οὐ γὰρ ἄρχεται
Ἑνὸς πρὸς ἀνδρὸς, ἀλλ' ἐλευθέρα πόλις,
Δῆμος δ' ἀνάσσει.

*Primùm incepiſti orationem falsò hoſpes,*
*Quærens tyrannum hic, non enim regitur*
*Ab uno viro, ſed eſt libera hæc civitas,*
*Populus autem regnat*———

Hæc ille; cùm tamen rex in illa civitate & eſſet & dictus eſſet. Teſtis eſt etiam divinus Plato in epiſtola octava, *Induxit Lycurgus Senatum & Ephororum poteſtatem,* τῆς βασιλικῆς ἀρχῆς σωτήριον, *poteſtati regiæ maximè ſalutarem, quæ hac ratione per tot ſecula magna cum laude conſervata eſt; poſtquam lex domina, rex facta eſt hominum.* Lex autem rex eſſe non poteſt, niſi ſit qui in regem quoque, ſi uſus venerit, lege poſſit agere. Sic temperatam poteſtatem regiam Sicilienſibus commendat, ἐλευθερία γιγνέσθω μετὰ βασιλικῆς ἀρχῆς, &c. *ſit libertas cum regia poteſtate; ſit regia poteſtas* ὑπεύθυνος *reddenda rationi obnoxi*[illegible] *dominetur lex etiam regibus ſiquid præter legem fecerint.* Ariſtoteles denique politicorum Tertio, *In repub. Spartanorum videtur,* inquit, *regnum eſſe maximè, eorum regnorum quæ ſunt ſecundum legem:* Omnes autem regni ſpecies ſecundùm legem fuiſſe aït, præter unam quam vocat παμβασιλείαν, neque talem uſquam extitiſſe meminit. Tale itaque regnum maximè omnium propriè & dici & eſſe regnum ſenſit Ariſtoteles, quale apud Spartanos fuit; talem proinde regem non minùs propriè & dici & eſſe regem, ubi tamen populus ſupra regem erat, negare non potuit. Cùm tot tantique authores & nomen & rem regiam ſuâ fide ſalvam regi præſtiterint, etiam ubi populus penes ſe ſummam poteſtatem, tametſi exercere non ſolet, tamen, quoties opus eſt, obtinet, noli tam anguſto animo ſummæ rerum Grammaticalium, hoc eſt vocabulorum, ſic timere, ut potiùs quàm gloſſarii tui ratio turbetur, aut detrimenti quid capiat, prodere libertatem omnium, & rempub. velis. Scito etiam dehinc, nomina rebus ſervire, non res nominibus; ita plus ſapies, nec *in infinitum,* quod metuis, *ibis. Fruſtra ergo Seneca tria illa genera ſtatuum ita deſcribit.* Fruſtretur Seneca, nos liberiſſimus; & niſi fallor, non ii ſumus quos Flores Senecæ in ſervitutem reducant. Seneca autem, ſi ſummam in uno poteſtatem eſſe dicit, *populi* tamen *eam* dicit *eſſe*, commiſſam videlicet regi ad ſalutem omnium, non ad perniciem; nec mancipio, ſed uſu duntaxat à populo datam. *Non jam ergo per deum reges regnant, ſed per populum.* Quaſi verò deus non ita regat populum, ut cui deus vult, regnum tradat populus; cum in ipſis inſtitutionibus Imperator Juſtinianus palàm agnoſcat, exinde Cæſares regnaſſe, ex quo *lege regiâ populus iis & in eos omne imperium ſuum, & poteſtatem conceſſit.* Sed quouſque iſta recoquemus? Quæ jam toties refutavimus. Rursùs, quod ingenium tuum importunum & agreſte, mores odioſiſſimos indicat, in noſtra repub. quæ ad te nihil pertinet, alienigena & peregrinus curioſum te infers. Accede igitur, ut te tanto ardelione dignum eſt, cum inſigni ſolœciſmo. *Quicquid,* inquis, *illi perditi homines dicunt, ad populum decipiendum pertinent.* * O ſcelerate! hoccine erat, quòd diminutus capite Grammaticus in noſtram rempub. te ingerere cupiebas, ut ſolœciſmis nos tuis & barbariſmis oppleres? Verùm tu dic populum quo modo decepimus? *Forma regiminis quam introduxere non popularis eſt, ſed militaris.* Iſta ſcilicet grex ille perfugarum mercedulâ conductum juſſi te ſcribere: Non tibi igitur, qui ea blatis, quorum nihil intelligis, ſed iis qui te pretio conduxerunt reſpondebitur. Quis *ordinem procerum è Parlamento ejecit? An Populus?* Immo populus; eoque facto ſervitutis jugum à cervicibus ſuis haud ferendum dejecit. Ipſi milites, à quibus hoc factum dicis, non exteri, ſed cives, & magna pars populi fuere; idque cætero fere conſentiente populo & cupiente, nec ſine Parlamenti etiam authoritate fecerunt. *An populus,* inquis, *plebeium ordinem domus inferioris mutilavit, aliis fugando,* &c. Populus inquam; quod enim Senatûs pars potior, id eſt ſanior, fecit, in quo vera populi poteſtas reſidebat, quid ni id populum feciſſe dicam? Quid ſi ſervire, quid ſi vænum rempub. dare, in Senatu plures maluerint, annon id impedire, & libertatem retinere, ſi in manu eſt ſuâ, paucioribus licebit? *At duces hoc fecerunt cum militibus ſuis.* Habenda igitur gratia eſt ducibus, quòd operarios & tabernarios Londinenſes (qui paulo antè, veluti fæx illa Clodiana, ipſam curiam obſederant) ferocientes repulerint, reipub. non defuerint. Tunc idcirco jus Parlamenti primarium ac proprium, ut libertati imprimis populi ſive pace ſive bello proſpiciat, *militarem dominationem* appellabis? Verùm hoc à perduellibus dici, qui tibi iſta dictarunt, non eſt mirum; ſic enim perditiſſima olim Antoniorum factio Senatum Romanum contra hoſtes patriæ ad ſaga euntem, *Caſtra Pompeii* appellare ſolebat. Jam verò fortiſſimo noſtri exercitus ductori Cromuello, quòd is amicorum læto agmine ſtipatus, non ſine favore populi ſecundo, votis etiam bonorum omnium proſequentibus in bellum Hibernicum Deo gratiſſimum proficiſceretur, invidiſſe tuos gaudeo; auditis enim poſtea tot ejus victoriis, jam arbitror eos livore contabuiſſe. Multa prætereo quæ de Romanis militibus prolixè nugaris: quod ſequitur à veritate remotiſſimum eſſe quis non videt? *Populi*, inquis, *poteſtas eſſe deſinit ubi regis eſſe incipit*. Quo tandem jure? cum ſatis conſtet, omnes fere ubique gentium reges ſub certis conditionibus traditum ſibi regnum à populo accipere: quibus ſi rex non ſteterit, cur illa poteſtas, quæ fiduciaria tantùm fuit, ad populum redire non debeat, tam à rege quàm a conſule, vel ab alio quovis magiſtratu, tu velim doceas: nam quòd *ſalutem reipub. id* aïs *poſtulare*, ineptias dicis, cum ſalutis ratio eadem omninò ſit, ſive à rege, ſive ab optimatibus, ſive à triumviris imperio ſibi tradito perperàm utentibus *poteſtas illa ad populum revertatur*, poſſe autem à magiſtratibus quibuſcunque præterquam à rege ſolo ad populum reverti ipſe concedis. Sanè ſi neque regi, neque ullis magiſtratibus imperium in ſe populus mentis compos dederit, niſi tantummodò communis omnium ſalutis cauſâ, nihil poteſt obſtare quo minùs ob cauſas planè contrarias ne interitus omnium ſequatur, haud ſecus regi quàm aliis magiſtratibus, quod dedit imperium adimere poſſit: quid quòd uni etiam faciliùs quàm pluribus ademerit? & poteſtatem in ſe pluſquam fiduciariam cuiquam mortalium tradere ſummæ eſſet inſaniæ: neque credibile eſt ullum ab orbe terrarum condito populum, qui quidem ſuæ ſpontis eſſet, adeò miſerè deſipuiſſe, [illegible] vel omnem prorſus poteſtatem ab ſe alienaret, aut ſuis magiſtratibus concreditam ſine cauſis graviſſimis ad ſe revocaret. Quod ſi diſcordiæ, ſi bella inteſtina inde oriantur, regium certè jus nullum inde oritur illius poteſtatis per vim retinendæ quam populus ſuam ſibi vendicat. Ex quo efficitur, quod ad prudentiam populi, non ad jus regis referendum eſt, quodque nos non negamus, *rectorem non facilè mutandum eſſe*: nunquam ergo aut nulla prorſus de cauſa, nullo modo ſequitur: neque tu adhuc quicquam allegaſti, neque jus ullum regis expromſiſti, quo minùs liceat conſentienti populo, regem haud idoneum regno privare; ſiquidem id, quod etiam in Gallia tua ſæpiùs factum eſt, ſine tumultu ac civili bello fieri poſſit. Cum itaque ſalus populi ſuprema lex ſit, non ſalus tyranni, ac proinde populo in tyrannum, non tyranno in populum prodeſſe debeat, tu, qui tam ſanctam legem, tam auguſtam tuis præſtigiis pervertere es auſus, qui legem inter homines ſupremam, & populo maximè ſalutarem ad tyrannorum duntaxat impunitatem valere voluiſti, tu inquam ſcito, quandoquidem Angli *Enthuſiaſtæ*, & *Enthei*, & *vates* toties tibi ſumus, me vate ſcito, Deum tibi atque homines tanti piaculi ultores imminere: quanquam univerſum genus humanum ſubjicere tyrannis, id eſt, quantum in te fuit, ad beſtias damnare, hoc ipſum ſcelus tam immane ſua partim in te ultio eſt, ſuis de furiis quocunque ſugis terrarum atque oberras, vel citiùs vel ſeriùs inſequetur; & pejore etiam eâ, quam nunc inſanis, inſania agitabit. Venio nunc ad alterum argumentum tuum, prioris haud diſſimile; ſi populo reſumere liceret poteſtatem ſuam, *nihil tum eſſet diſcriminis inter popularem & regalem ſtatum, niſi quòd in hoc ſinguli rectòres conſtituuntur, in illo plures*, quid ſi nihil aliud intereſſet, nunquid inde reſpub. detrimenti caperet? Ecce autem aliæ differentiæ à temet ipſo allatæ, *temporis* nimirum *& ſucceſſionis*; *cum populares magiſtratus annui fere ſint*, reges, niſi quid committant, perpetui; & in eadem plerunque familia. Differant ergo inter ſe aut non differant, de iſtis enim minutiis nihil laboro, in hoc certè conveniunt, quod utrobique populus quoties id intereſt reipub. poteſt quam alteri poteſtatem ſalutis publicæ cauſâ tradiderat, eam ad ſe rurſus nec injuriâ eandem ob cauſam revocare. *At lege regia Romæ ſic appellata, de quâ in Inſtitutis, populus Romanus principi & in eum omne imperium ſuum, & poteſtatem conceſſit.* Nempe vi Cæſarum coactus, qui honeſto legis titulo ſuam tantummodò violentiam ſanxerunt; de quo ſupra, id quod ipſi juriſconſulti in hunc locum non diſſimulant. Quod igitur legitimè, & volente populo conceſſum non eſt, id revocabile quin ſit non dubitamus. Veruntamen rationi maximè conſentaneum eſt, populum Romanum non aliam poteſtatem tranſtuliſſe in principem, atque priùs conceſſerat ſuis magiſtratibus; id eſt imperium legitimum & revocabile, non tyrannicum & abſurdum; quocirca & conſularem, & tribunitiam poteſtatem Cæſares recepere; dictatoriam nemo poſt Julium; populum in Circo adorare etiam ſolebant, ut ex Tacito & Claudiano ſupra meminimus. Verùm ut *multi olim privati ſe in ſervitutem alteri vendiderunt, ſic poteſt populus univerſus.* O equitem ergaſtularium & mangonem, patriæ etiam tuæ æternum opprobrium! quem ſervitutis tam fœdum procuratorem ac lenonem publicum etiam ſervitia infima cujuſvis catastæ abhorrere atque conſpuere deberent! Sanè ſi populus hunc in modum ſe regibus mancipaſſet, poſſent & reges eundem populum alteri cuivis domino mancipare, aut pretio addicere; & tamen conſtat regem ne patrimonium quidem coronæ poſſe alienare. Qui igitur coronæ, quod aïunt, & patrimonii regii uſumfructum ſolùm à populo conceſſum habet, is populi ipſius manceps erit? Non ſi pertuſis auribus utriſque perforatus eques, non ſi gypſatis pedibus curſitares, tam eſſes omnium ſervorum viliſſimus, quam nunc es, hujus tam pudendæ author ſententiæ. Perge pœnas tuorum ſcelerum invitus, quod nunc facis, de temetipſo ſumere. Multa poſtremò de jure belli balbutis, quæ hic locum non habent; nam neque Carolus nos bello vicit, & majores ejus, etſi maximè viciſſent, iſti tamen juri ſæpius renunciaverant; nec verò tam unquam victi fuimus, ut nos in eorum nomen, illi in noſtras leges non viciſſim jurarent; quas cum Carolus inſigniter violaſſet, vel olim victorem, vel nunc regem perjurum priùs ab ipſo laceſſiti armis debellavimus: ex tua autem ſententia *quod armis quæritur, tranſit in ejus dominium qui acquiſivit.* Sis itaque deinceps hac in parte quàm voles verboſus, ſis quod in Solino dudùm fuiſti, exercitator Plinianus, blateronum omnium verboſiſſimus, quicquid exinde argutaris, quicquid turbas, quicquid rabbinicaris, quicquid rauces ad finem uſque hujus capitis, id totum non jam pro rege devicto, ſed pro nobis divinâ ope victoribus contra regem deſudare te ſcias.

## CAP. VII.

PRopter duo incommoda ſanè maxima, & pro tuo pondere graviſſima, poteſtatem populi eſſe regia majorem proximo capite negaſti: quippe, ſi concederes, quærendum regi aliud nomen eſſet, tranſlato in populum regis vocabulo; & partitiones quædam politicæ conturbarentur: quorum alterum vocabularii diſpendium foret, alterum, tuorum crux politicorum. Ad ea ſic à nobis reſponſum eſt, ut primum ſalutis & libertatis noſtræ, deinde etiam nomenclaturæ tuæ & politices habita nonnulla ratio eſſet. Nunc *aliis rationibus evincendum eſſe* aïs, *regem à ſibi ſubjectis judicari non poſſe, quarum hæc erit maximè potens & valida, quòd rex parem in ſuo regno non habeat.* Quid aïs? non habet rex in ſuo regno parem? quid ergo illi regis Franciæ duodecim vetuſtiſſimi Pares; an fabulæ ſunt & nugæ? an fruſtra & ad ludibrium ſic nominati? Cave iſtam viris Galliæ Principibus contumeliam dixeris. Quòd niſi revera ſint regis pares, ut nominantur, vide ne in Franciæ regno potiùs quàm in noſtra repub. quod unicum tuâ intereſt, gloſſario illudatur. Age verò, fac planum, non eſſe regi in regno ſuo parem. *Quia*, inquis, *populus Romanus poſt reges exactos, duos conſtituit Conſules, non unum; ut ſi unus peccaret, coerceri à collega poſſet.* Vix fingi quicquam potuit ineptius: cur igitur unus duntaxat Conſulum faſces apud ſe habuit, non uterque, ſi ad alterutrum coercendum alter datus erat? quid ſi etiam uterque contra rempub. conjuraſſet, an meliore loco res fuiſſet, quàm ſi collegam alteri nullum dediſſent? Conſtat autem & ambos Conſules & Magiſtratus omnes obtemperare Senatui ſemper debuiſſe, quoties id è repub. eſſe, patribus & plebi viſum eſt. Illuſtri exemplo eſſe poterunt Decemviri; qui cùm poteſtate conſulari, & ſumma præditi eſſent, eos tamen omnes ſimul, etiam renitentes, patrum authoritas in ordinem coëgit; Conſules etiam nonnullos, antequam magiſtratum depoſuerant, hoſtes judicatos & contra eos ſumpta arma eſſe legimus: hoſtilia enim facientem, eſſe conſulem nemo putabat. Sic bellum contra Antonium Conſulem Senatus authoritate eſt geſtum: in quo victus pœnas capitis dediſſet, niſi Octavianus Cæſar regnum affectans evertendæ reipub. conſilium cum eo iniiſſet. Jam quòd *hoc primum eſſe* aïs *Majeſtatis regalis, ut imperium penes unicum ſit*, haud minùs lubricum eſt, & à te quidem ipſo ſtatim refellitur: *Judices*, enim *Hebræorum & ſinguli, & toto vitæ ſpatio imperium obtinebant; Scriptura quoque reges eos vocat; & tamen à Synedrio magno judicabantur.*

dicabantur. Ita fit, dum dixiſſe omnia vis videri, ut nihil ſere niſi pugnantia loquaris. Quæro deinde qualem tu ſormam regiminis eſſe dicas, cùm Romanum imperium duo ſimul treſve imperatores habuerunt; an imperatores tibi, id eſt reges, an optimates, an triumviri videntur fuiſſe? An vero dices Romanum imperium ſub Antonino & Vero, ſub Diocleſiano & Maximiano, ſub Conſtantino & Licinio, non unum imperium fuiſſe? Jam iſta tua *ſtatuum tria genera* tuiſmet ipſius argutiis periclitantur, ſi reges iſti non fuere: ſi fuere, non eſt ergo proprium imperii regii, ut penes unicum ſit. *Alter*, inquis, *horum ſi delinquat, poteſt alter de eo referre ad populum vel ad ſenatum, ut accuſetur & condemnetur*. Annon ergo judicat vel populus vel Senatus ad quos alter illi refert? Si quid igitur ipſe tribuis tibi, collegâ opus non erat ad judicandum collegam. Heu te defenſorem, niſi execrabilis potius eſſes, planè miſerandum! undiquaque ictibus adeò opportunum, ut ſi forte per luſum deſtinare quis vellet, quovis te loco punctim ferire, vix eſſe credo ubi temerè poſſit aberrare. *Ridiculum* eſſe ſtatuis, *regem in ſe judices dare velle à quibus capite damnaretur*. Atqui ego non ridiculum, ſed optimum tibi oppono imperatorem Traianum; qui præfectum prætorio Saburanum, cum ei inſigne poteſtatis, uti mos erat, pugionem daret, crebrò ſic monuit. *Accipe hunc gladium pro me, ſi rectè agam; ſin aliter, in me magis, quòd moderatorem omnium vel errare minùs fas ſit.* Hæc Dion & Aurelius Victor. Vides ut judicem in ſe ſtatuerit imperator egregius quamvis non parem. Hoc idem Tiberius per ſimulationem & vaniloquentiam fortaſſe dixiſſet; Traianum autem virum optimum & ſanctiſſimum non id ex animo dixiſſe quod verum, quod jus & fas eſſe ſentiebat, ſceleſtus penè ſit qui arbitretur. Quanto juſtiùs ergo Senatui, cum viribus ſuperior potuerit non parere, planè ex officii ratione paruit; & jure ſuperiorem eſt faſſus. De quo Plinius in Panegyrico. *Senatus ut ſuſciperes quartum Conſulatum & rogavit & juſſit; imperii hoc verbum non adulationis eſſe, obſequio tuo crede:* & paulo pòſt, *hac nempe intentio tua ut libertatem revoces ac reducas.* Quod Traianus de ſe, idem Senatus de Traiano ſenſit, ſuámque authoritatem revera eſſe ſupremam; nam qui imperatorem jubere potuit, potuit eundem & judicare. Sic Marcus Aurelius imperator, cum præfectus Syriæ Caſſius regnum ei eripere conaretur, obtulit ſe in judicium vel Senatui vel Populo Romano; paratus regno cedere ſiquidem iis ita videretur. Jam verò quis rectiùs aut meliùs de jure regio exiſtimare & ſtatuere queat, quàm ex ore ipſo regum optimorum? Profectò jure naturali rex quiſque bonus vel ſenatum vel populum habet ſibi ſemper & parem & ſuperiorem: Tyrannus autem cum naturâ infimus omnium ſit, nemo non illi par atque ſuperior exiſtimandus eſt, quicunque viribus plus valet. Quemadmodum enim à vi olim ad leges duce naturâ deventum eſt, ita, ubi leges pro nihilo habentur, neceſſariò, eadem etiam duce, ad vim eſt redeundum. *Hoc ſentire*, inquit Cicero pro Seſtio, *prudentia eſt; facere, fortitudinis; & ſentire verò & facere, perfectæ cumulataque virtutis.* Maneat hoc igitur in natura, nullis paraſitorum artibus concutiendum, rege ſive bono, ſive malo, vel ſenatum vel populum eſſe ſuperiorem. Quod & ipſe confiteris, cum poteſtatem regiam à populo in regem tranſiiſſe dicis. Quam enim regi poteſtatem dedit, eam natura, ac virtute quadam, vel ut ita dicam virtualiter, etiam cum alteri dederit, tamen in ſe habet. Quæ enim cauſæ naturales iſto modo per eminentiam quandam quidvis efficiunt, plus ſemper ſuæ retinent virtutis quàm impertiunt; nec impertiendo ſe exhauriunt. Vides, quo propius ad naturam accedimus, eò evidentiùs poteſtatem populi ſupra regiam eminere. Illud etiam conſtat, populum, modò id ei liberum ſit, poteſtatem regi ſuam ſimpliciter & mancipio nunquam dare, neque naturâ poſſe dare; ſed tantùm ſalutis & libertatis publicæ cauſâ, quam cum rex procurare deſtiterit, intelligitur populum nihil dediſſe; quia certo fini tantummodò dedit, monente ipſa naturâ; quem finem ſi neque natura neque populus aſſequitur, non erit magis ratum quod dedit, quàm pactum quodvis aut fœdus irritum. His rationibus firmiſſimè probatur ſupetiorem rege eſſe populum; unde argumentum hoc tuum *maximè potens & validum, non poſſe regem judicari quia parem in ſuo regno non habet, nec ſuperiorem*, diluitur. Id enim aſſumis quod nullo modo concedimus. *In populari ſtatu*, inquis, *Magiſtratus à populo poſitus ab eodem ob crimen plecti poteſt; in ſtatu Ariſtocratico optimates, ab iis quos habent collegas, ſed pro monſtro eſt, ut rex in regno ſuo cogatur cauſam capitis dicere.* Quid nunc aliud concludis quàm miſerrimos eſſe omnium & ſtultiſſimos, qui regem ſibi conſtituunt? Sed quamobrem, quæſo, non poterit populus tam regem punire reum, quàm popularem magiſtratum, aut optimates? An putas omnes populos qui ſub regibus vivunt, amore ſervitutis uſque eò deperiiſſe, ut, liberi cum eſſent, ſervire maluerint, ſéque omnes, ſéque totos in unius dominium viri ſæpe mali, ſæpe ſtulti ita tradere, ut contra dominum, ſi ſors ferat, immaniſſimum nullum in legibus, nullum in natura ipſa præſidium ſalutis, aut perfugium ſibi reliquerint? cur ergo regibus primò regnum ineuntibus conditiones ferunt, cur leges etiam dant regnandi, an ut ſperni ſe eò magis atque irrideri paterentur? adeóne populum univerſum ſe abjicere, ſe deſerere, ſibi deeſſe, ſpem omnem in uno homine, eóque fere vaniſſimo, collocare? cur item jurant reges nihil ſe contra legem facturos? ut diſcant nempe miſeri mortales ſuo maximo malo, ſolis licere regibus impunè pejerare. Id quod hæc tua nefanda conſectaria demonſtrant. *Si rex qui eligitur, aliqua vel cum ſacramento promiſerit, quæ niſi promiſiſſet, fortaſſe nec ſumptus eſſet, ſi ſtare nolit conventis, à populo judicari non poteſt. Immò ſi ſubditis ſuis juraverit in electione, ſe ſecundum leges regni juſtitiam adminiſtraturum, & niſi id faciat, eos ſacramento fidelitatis fore ſolutos, & facto ipſo abiturum eſſe poteſtate, à Deo non ab hominibus pœna in fallentem expoſcenda eſt.* Deſcripſi hæc, non ob elegantiam, ſunt enim incultiſſima, nec quod ampliùs refutationis indigeant, etenim ipſa ſe refutant, ſe explodunt, ſe damnant apertiſſimâ falſitate ſua, atque turpitudine; ſed eò feci, ut ob merita tua egregia commendarem te regibus: qui inter officia aulæ tam multa aliquem dignitatis locum, aut munus idoneum tibi proſpiciant: cum enim alii ſint à rationibus, alii à poculis, alii à voluptatibus, tu iis commodiſſimè ſanè eris à perjuriis; tu regiæ non elegantiæ, nam inſcitus nimiùm es, ſed perfidiæ ſummus arbiter eris. Verùm ut ſummam in te ſtultitiam ſummâ improbitate conjunctam eſſe omnes fateantur, expendamus paulo accuratiùs præclara illa, quæ proximè affirmaſti: *Rex*, inquis, *etſi ſubditis juraverit in electione, ſe ſecundum leges regnaturum*, & ni faciat, *eos ſacramento fidelitatis ſolutos fore, & ſe facto ipſo abiturum poteſtate*, abdicari tamen aut puniri ab iis non poterit. Quî minus quæſo rex quàm popularis magiſtratus? quia in eo regimine populus non omnem transfundit poteſtatem ſuam ad magiſtratum. An hic igitur in regem? cui regnum in ſe non diutius tradunt, quàm id benè geſſerit. Tam itaque rex juratus in leges, reus abjici aut puniri poterit, quàm popularis magiſtratus. Nam argumento illo Pancratico omnis in regem tranſlatæ poteſtatis, amplius uti non potes, quod tuis ipſe machinis imprudens arietaſti. Cognoſcite nunc *aliam potentiſſimam & invictam ejus rationem cur ſubditi regem* judicare nequeant, *quia legibus ſolutus eſt, quia leges ſolus rex omnes fert*; quæ cum falſiſſima eſſe jam toties probaverim, hæc etiam invicta tua ratio cum priore ad nihilum recidit. Cæterùm rex ob delicta quævis privata, utpote ſtuprum, adulterium, & ſimilia, ſi raro plectitur, non tam juſtitia quam æquitate id fit, ne plus turbarum ex morte regis, & rerum mutatione populo eveniat, quàm boni ex uno atque altero vindicato. Ex quo verò omnibus gravis & intolerandus eſſe incipit, tum quidem, quoquo poſſunt modo, judicatum vel injudicatum omnes nationes tyrannum occidere fas eſſe ſemper credidere. Unde Marcus Tullius in ſecunda Philippica de Cæſaris interfectoribus. *Hi primi cum gladiis non in regnum appetentem, ſed in regnantem impetum fecerunt: quod cum ipſum factum per ſe præclarum atque divinum eſt, tum eſt poſitum ad imitandum.* Quàm hujus tu diſſimilis! *Homicidium, adulterium, injuria, non hæc crimina regia ſunt, ſed privata.* Euge paraſite, lenones jam omnes & propudia aulica hac voce demeruiſti; O quàm lepidè ſimul & paraſitaris, & eadem operâ lenocinaris! *Rex adulter bene poteſt regnare, & homicida, ideoque vita privari non debet, quia cum vita regno quoque exueretur; at nunquam hoc fuit probatum legibus divinis aut humanis, ut duplex vindicta de uno crimine ſumeretur.* Os impurum & infame! eadem ratione nec populares magiſtratus, nec optimates, ne duplici pœnâ afficerentur, ne judex quidam, aut ſenator flagitioſus pœnas capite ullas perſolvere debebit; cum vita enim & ipſi ſuo magiſtratu privarentur. Ut poteſtatem, ſic majeſtatem etiam populo adimere & in regem conferre ſtudes; vicariam ſi vis & tranſlatitiam, primariam certè non potes, uti nec poteſtatem. *Crimen*, inquis, *majeſtatis non poteſt committere rex adverſus populum ſuum; poteſt autem populus adverſus regem.* Et tamen rex propter populum duntaxat rex eſt, non populus propter regem. Populus igitur univerſus aut pars major plus ſemper rege debet poſſe: negas, & calculos ponis, *plus poteſt quam ſinguli, bini, terni, deni, centeni, milleni, decies milleni.* Eſto. *Plus quam dimidia pars populi.* Non repugno. *Quid ſi alterius dimidiæ pars altera accedat, annon adhuc plus poterit?*

*poterit?* Minimè. Progredere; quid auſers abacum, peritiſſime Logiſta, an progreſſionem Arithmeticam non calles? Vertit rationes, & *annon rex cum optimatibus plus poteſtatis habent*, quærit; iterum nego, Vertumne, ſi pro optimatibus proceres intelligas; quoniam accidere poteſt, ut nemo inter eos optimatis nomine ſit dignus: fit etiam ſæpiùs, ut multo plures de plebe ſint, qui virtute & ſapientiâ proceres antecellant; quibus cum pars populi major vel potior accedit, eos univerſi populi inſtar eſſe haud verear dicere. *At ſi plus quam univerſi non poteſt, ergo rex erit tantum ſingulorum, non omnium univerſim ſumptorum*, rectè; niſi ipſi voluerint. Rationes jam ſubducito; comperies te imperitè ſupputando ſortem perdidiſſe. *Dicunt Angli penes populum jus majeſtatis ex origine & natura reſidere, hoc verò eſt omnium ſtatuum everſionem inducere.* Etiamne Ariſtocratiæ, & Democratiæ? Credibile ſanè narras: Quid ſi etiam Gynæcocratiæ, ſub quo ſtatu ferunt te domi propemodùm vapulare, annon bearent te Angli, O perpuſilli homo animi? Sed hoc fruſtra ſperaveris; æquiſſimè enim eſt comparatum, ut qui tyrannidem foris imponere omnibus cupias, ipſe domi tuæ ſervitutem ſervias turpiſſimam, & minimè virilem. *Doceamus te oportet*, inquis, *quid nomine populi intelligi velimus.* Permulta ſunt, quæ te doceri potiùs oporteret; nam quæ te propiùs attingunt, videris ea penitùs neſcire, & præter literulas nihil unquam didiciſſe, ne percipere quidem potuiſſe. Hoc tamen ſcire te putas, nos populi nomine plebem ſolùm intelligere quòd *optimatum conſeſſum abrogavimus*. At illud eſt ipſum quod demonſtrat nos populi vocabulo omnes ordinis cujuſcunque cives comprehendere; qui unam tantummodo populi curiam ſupremam ſtabilivimus, in qua etiam proceres, ut pars populi, non pro ſeſe quidem ſolis, ut antea, ſed pro iis municipiis, à quibus electi fuerint, ſuffragio ferendi legitimum jus habent. Inveheris deinde in plebem, *cæcam* eam & *brutam*, *regendi artem non habere*, *nil plebe ventoſius*, *vanius*, *levius*, *mobilius*. Conveniunt in te optimè hæc omnia; & de infima quidem plebe ſunt etiam vera, de media non item; quo ex numero prudentiſſimi fere ſunt viri, & rerum peritiſſimi: cæteros hinc luxus & opulentia inde egeſtas & inopia à virtute, & civilis prudentiæ ſtudio plerunque avertit. *Plures* nunc eſſe *modos* aſſeris *regum conſtituendorum qui nihil populo debent hoc nomine*, & imprimis ille *qui regnum habent hæreditarium*. At verò ſervæ ſint iſtæ nationes oportet, & ad ſervitutem natæ, quæ talem agnoſcant dominum, cui ſe ſine aſſenſu ſuo hæreditate obveniſſe credant: pro civibus certè, aut ingenuis & liberis haberi non poſſunt; nec rempub. habere ullam cenſendæ; quinimmò inter facultates & poſſeſſiones quaſi heri ſui, & herilis filii numerandæ ſunt: nam quod ad jus dominii, quid diſtent à ſervitiis & pecoribus non video. Secundò, *qui armis ſibi regnum fecit, populum*, inquis, *non poteſt authorem agnoſcere imperii prolati vel uſurpati.* At nobis non de victore, ſed de ſubacto rege ſermo nunc eſt; quid victor poſſit, aliàs diſputabimus, tu hoc age. Quod autem regi jus patrisfamilias antiquum toties attribuis, ut inde *abſoluta poteſtatis in regibus exemplum* petas, diſſimillimum id eſſe jam ſæpiùs oſtendi: Ariſtoteles etiam ille quem crepas vel initio politicorum, ſi legiſſes, idem te docuiſſet: ubi aït malè eos judicare, qui inter patremfamilias & regem parùm intereſſe exiſtimant; *regnum enim à familia, non numero ſolùm, ſed ſpecie differre.* Poſtquam enim pagi in oppida & urbes crevere, evanuit paulatim jus illud regale familiæ, & agnoſci deſitum eſt. Hinc ſcribit Diodorus l. 1. regna antiquitùs dari non regum filiis, ſed iis quorum maxima in populum beneficia extiterunt. Et Juſtinus, *Principio rerum, gentium, nationúmque imperium penes reges erat; quos ad faſtigium hujus majeſtatis, non ambitio popularis, ſed ſpectata inter bonos moderatio provehebat.* Unde perſpicuum eſt, in ipſo gentium principio, imperium paternum & hæreditarium virtuti, & populari ſtatim juri ceſſiſſe. Quæ origo imperii regii & ratio & cauſa maximè naturalis eſt. Ob eam enim ipſam cauſam primò homines in unum convenere, non ut unus omnes inſultaret, ſed ut quocunque alterum lædente, ne lex deeſſet, neve judex inter homines, quo læſus aut defendatur aut ſaltem vindicetur. Diſperſos olim homines & diſpalatos diſertus aliquis, & ſapiens ad vitam civilem traduxit; tu *hoc maximè conſilio*, inquis, *ut in congregatos imperium haberet.* Nimbrotum fortaſſe intelligis, qui tyrannorum primus fuiſſe dicitur: vel hæc tua ſolius malitia eſt, quæ in illos olim magnos & excelſi animi viros cadere non potuit, tuum ſolius commentum, à nemine, quod ſciam, ante te traditum; cum utilitatem & ſalutem generis humani, non ſua commoda, ſuúmque dominatum reſpexiſſe illos primos urbium conditores, antiquorum omnium monumentis proditum ſit. Unum præterire non poſſum, quo tu veluti emblemate quodam exornare credo cætera hujus capitis voluiſti: ſi *conſulem*, inquis, *in judicium venire oportuiſſet, prinſquam magiſtratu abiſſet, dictator ad hoc creandus fuiſſet*, cum initio dixeris, *ideo collegam ei fuiſſe datum*. Sic tua ſemper inter ſe congruunt, & quid de quaque re dicas, quidve ſcribas, quàm nullius momenti ſit, paginis fere ſingulis declarant. *Sub antiquis regibus Angloſaxonicis plebem*, aïs, *ad comitia regni nunquam vocari ſolitam eſſe.* Si quis noſtrorum hoc affirmaſſet, poſſem eum haud multo negotio erroris arguere; tua iſta peregrina affirmatione res noſtras hallucinante minùs moveor. Et de communi regum jure quæ habuiſti hæc ferè ſunt. Reliqua multa, nam & ſæpiſſimè devius eſſe ſoles, prætermitto, vel quæ fundamento nituntur nullo, vel quæ extra cauſam poſita ſunt: non enim id operam do, ut tibi par eſſe loquacitate videar.

## CAP. VIII.

SI de communi regum jure, Salmaſi, quæ ſentires, ea ſine contumelia cujuſquam protuliſſes, quamvis in hac rerum apud Anglos mutatione, tamen, cum libertate ſcribendi uterere tuâ, neque erat cur quiſquam Anglorum tibi ſuccenſeret, neque in aſſerenda, quam tueris, ſententia minus effeciſſes. Nam ſi hoc & Moſis & Chriſti præceptum eſt *omnes regibus ſuis tam bonis quam malis ſubjici, ſive Hiſpanos, ſive Gallos, ſive Italos, ſive Germanos, ſive Anglos, ſive Scotos*, quod ſupra ( p. 127 ) affirmabas, quid attinebat te exterum & ignotum jura noſtra balbutire, eaque velle nobis è cathedra quaſi ſchedulas tuas, & miſcellanea prælegere, quæ utcunque legibus divinis debere cedere multis antea verbis docueras? Nunc ſatis conſtat non tam tuopte ingenio ad cauſam regiam adjeciſſe te animum, quàm partim pretio, pro ejus, qui te conduxit, copia, maximo, partim ſpe præmii cujuſdam majoris conductum fuiſſe, ut Anglos vicinorum nemini moleſtos, rerum tantummodò ſuarum arbitros libello infami lacerares. Hoc niſi eſſet, quenquámne tanta credibile eſt impudentia eſſe aut inſania, ut longinquus & extraneus immergere ſe gratis in res noſtras, ad partes etiam ſe adjungere non dubitaret? Nam quid tuâ malùm refert quid rerum Angli inter ſe gerant? Quid tibi vis Ole, quid tibi quæris? nihilne domi habes quod ad te pertinet? Utinam eadem haberes quæ habuit ille notiſſimus in epigrammate Olus; & fortaſſe habes; dignus profectò es. An uxor tua ſtimulatrix illa, quæ ut in gratiam exulis Caroli hæc ſcriberes etiam currentem incitaſſe fertur, ampliores forte in Anglia profeſſiones, & honoraria neſcio quæ, redeunte Carolo, ominata tibi eſt? At ſcitote fœmina Virque, non eſſe locum in Anglia neque lupo neque lupi Domino. Unde mirum non eſt te toties in moloſſos noſtros tantum rabiem effudiſſe. Quin redis ad illuſtres illos in Gallia titulos tuos, & imprimis ad ſamelicum illum Lupi dominatum, deinde ad conſiſtorium illud regis Chriſtianiſſimi ſacrum; nimis longo intervallo conſiliarius peregrè abes à patriâ. Verùm illa, quod planè video, neq; te deſiderat neque conſilia tua; ne cum redires quidam paucis ab hinc annis, & culinam Cardinalitiam olfacere & ſectari cœpiſſes: ſapit mehercule, ſapit, teque oberrare ſemivirum Gallum cum uxore viro, & refertiſſimis inaniarum ſcriniis facile ſinit; donec ſtipem ſive equiti grammatiſtæ, ſive illuſtri Hippocritico ſatis largam alicubi gentium inveneris; ſi cui fert animus regi vel civitati, doctorem erraticum & venalem mercede maximâ liceri. Sed eccum tibi licitatorem; vendibilis necne ſis, & quanti, jam ſtatim videbimus. *Pertendunt*, inquis, *Parricidæ, regni Anglicani ſtatum mixtum eſſe, non merè regium.* Pertendit idem ſub Edvardo 6. Smithus noſter, juriſconſultus idem bonus, & politicus, quem fuiſſe parricidam non dices, ejus libri ferè initio, quem de repub. Anglicana ſcripſit; neque id de noſtrâ ſolùm, ſed de omni penè repub. idque ex Ariſtotelis ſententia verum eſſe affirmat; neque aliter ullam rempub. ſtare poſſe. At enim quaſi piaculum eſſe crederes quicquam dicere ſine repugnantiis, ad priores illas & jam tritiſſimas fœdè revolveris. *Nullam gentem* aïs *eſſe nec fuiſſe unquam qua regis appellatione non intellexerit eam poteſtatem qua ſolo deo minor eſt, quæque ſolum Deum judicem haberet*; & tamen paulo poſt fateris, *nomen regis datum vel olim fuiſſe ejuſmodi poteſtatibus & magiſtratibus qui plenum & liberum jus non haberent, ſed à populi nutu dependens*, ut *ſuffetes Car-*

*thaginienſium, judices Hebræorum, reges Lacedæmoniorum*, & poſtremo *Arragonenſium*. Satiſne bellè tibi conſtas? Tum quinque monarchiæ ſpecies ex Ariſtotele recenſes, quarum una tantùm jus illud obtinuit quod tu regibus commune omnibus eſſe dicis. De qua haud ſemel jam dictum eſt, nullum ejus exemplum vel ab Ariſtotele allatum, vel uſquam extitiſſe: quatuor reliquas, & legitimas, & legibus fuiſſe minores dilucidè oſtendit. Primum horum erat regnum Laconicum, & maximè quidem ejus ſententiâ regnum, eorum quatuor quæ legitima erant. Secundum erat barbaricum, hoc ſolo diuturnum quia legitimum, & volente populo: nolente autem, omnis rex continuò non erit rex ſed tyrannus, ſi invito populo regnum retinuerit, eodem teſte Ariſtotele, lib. 5. Idem de tertia regum ſpecie dicendum eſt, quos ille Æſymnetas vocat, electos à populo, & ad certum plerunque tempus, certaſque cauſas, quales ferè apud Romanos fuere Dictatores. Quarta ſpecies eorum eſt, qui Heroicis temporibus regnabant, quibus ob egregia merita regnum ultro à populo delatum erat, ſed legitimum tamen; neque verò hi niſi volente populo regnum tenebant, nec aliâ re magis differre has quatuor regni ſpecies à tyrannide aït, quàm quòd illic volente, hìc invito populo regnetur. Quinta denique regni ſpecies, quæ παμβασιλεία dicitur, & eſt cum ſumma poteſtate, quale tu jus regum omnium eſſe vis, à philoſopho planè damnatur, ut neque utile, neque juſtum, neque naturale, niſi ſit ut populus ferre poſſit iſtiuſmodi regnum, iiſque deferat qui virtute aliis omnibus longè prælucent. Hæc tertio politicorum, cuivis obvia ſunt. Verùm tu, credo, ut vel ſemel ingenioſus & floridus eſſe viderere, *has quinque monarchiæ ſpecies quinque zonis* mundi aſſimilare geſtiebas; *Inter duo extrema potentiæ regalis tres aliæ ſpecies interpoſitæ magis temperatæ videntur, ut inter zonas torridam & frigidam, quæ mediæ jacent.* Feſtivum caput! quam pulchras nobis ſimilitudines ſemper concinnas! Tu igitur, quò regnum *abſolutæ poteſtatis* ipſe damnas, ad zonam frigidam hinc ocyùs amolire; quæ poſt adventum illic tuum plus duplo frigebit: nos interim à te novo Archimede ſphæram illam, quam deſcribis, mirabilem expectamus, in qua duæ ſint extremæ zonæ, una torrida, altera frigida, tres mediæ temperatæ. *Reges*, inquis, *Lacedæmoniorum in vincula conjici fas erat, morte multari fas non erat.* Quare? an quia damnatum capite Agidem lictoris & peregrini milites rei novitate perculſi, regem ducere ad mortem non eſſe fas exiſtimabant? Et populus quidem Spartanus ejus mortem ægrè tulit, non quòd rex capitali ſupplicio affectus fuerit, ſed quòd bonus, & popularis, factione divitum judicio illo circumventus eſſet. Sic itaque Plutarchus, *primus rex Agis ab ephoris eſt morte multatus*; quibus verbis non quid fas, ſed quid factum ſit, tantummodò narrat. Nam qui regem in jus ducere, vel etiam in vincula poſſunt, illos non poſſe eundem ſupplicio ultimo afficere, puerile eſt credere. Accingeris jam tandem ad jus regum Anglicorum. *Rex*, inquis, *in Anglia unus ſemper fuit.* Hoc eo dicis, quia modò dixeras, *rex non eſt niſi unus ſit & unicus.* Quod ſi ita eſt, aliquot ſanè quos credebam Angliæ reges fuiſſe, non erant: nam ut multos omittam Saxonicorum, qui conſortes imperii vel filios vel fratres habuere, conſtat Henricum 2. è ſtirpe Normanica cum filio regnaſſe. *Oſtendant*, inquis, *aliquod regnum ſub unius imperio cui non poteſtas abſoluta adjuncta fuerit, in quibuſdam tamen magis remiſſa, in aliis magis intenta.* Oſtende tu poteſtatem abſolutam remiſſam, aſine; annon abſoluta eſt ſumma? Quomodo ergò ſumma & remiſſa ſimul erit? quoſcunque fateberis reges cum remiſſa poteſtate eſſe eos non eſſe cum abſoluta facilè vincam; inferiores proinde eſſe populo naturâ libero, qui & ſuus ipſe legiſlator eſt, & poteſtatem regiam vel intendere, vel remittere poteſt. Britannia, an tota olim regibus paruerit, incertum: Veriſimilius eſt, prout tempora ferebant, nunc hanc nunc illam reipub. formam adhibuiſſe. Hinc Tacitus, *Britanni olim regibus parebant, nunc per principes factionibus & ſtudiis trahuntur.* Deſerti à Romanis, XL circiter annos ſine regibus fuere: *regnum* itaque *perpetuum*, quod affirmas, antiquitùs non fuit; fuiſſe autem hæreditarium præciſè nego; quod & regum ſeries, & mos creandi eorum demonſtrat: diſertis enim verbis petuntur populi ſuffragia. Poſtquam enim rex conſuetum juramentum dedit, accedens archiepiſcopus ad quatuor partes exſtructi ſuggeſti toties rogat populum univerſum his verbis, *conſentire vultis de habendo ipſum regem?* planè ac ſi Romano more dixiſſet, vultis, jubetis hunc regnare? quod opus non foret, ſi regnum jure eſſet hæreditarium; verùm apud reges uſurpatio pro jure ſæpiſſimè obtinet. Tu Caroli bello toties victi jus regium jure belli fundare adniteris: Guilielmus ſcilicet cognomento *conqueſtor* nos ſubjugavit. At ſciunt qui in noſtra hiſtoria peregrini non ſunt, Anglorum opes uno illo prælio Haſtingenſi non adeò attritas fuiſſe, quin bellum facile inſtaurare potuiſſent. Sed regem accipere, quàm victorem & tyrannum pati malebant. Dant itaque jusjurandum Guilielmo, ſe fidem ei ſervaturos: dat pariter Guilielmus juramentum illis, admotus altari, ſe omnia, quæ par eſt bonum regem, iis eſſe viciſſim præſtiturum. Cum falleret fidem, & rurſus Angli arma caperent, diffiſus ipſe ſuis viribus juravit denuò, tactis Evangeliis, antiquas ſe leges Angliæ obſervaturum. Si poſtea igitur Anglos miſerè afflixit, non id jure belli, ſed jure perjurii fecit. Certum eſt præterea jam multis ab hinc ſeculis victos & victores in unam gentem coaluiſſe; ut jus illud belli, ſi quod unquam fuit, antiquari jam diu neceſſe ſit. Ipſius verba morientis quæ ex libro Cadomenſi fide digniſſimo deſcripta reddimus, omnem dubitationem tollunt. *Neminem*, inquit, *Anglici regni conſtituo hæredem.* Qua voce jus illud belli, ſimúlq; illud hæreditarium, cum ipſo mortuo Guilielmo conclamatum atque ſepultum eſt. Video nunc aliquam te in aula dignitatem, quod prædixi fore, eſſe adeptum, ſummus nimirum aulicæ aſtutiæ quæſtor regius & procurator es factus. Unde hoc quod ſequitur videris ex officio ſcribere, Vir magnifice. *Siquis prædeceſſorum regum factionibus procerum, vel ſeditionibus plebis coactus, aliquid de ſuo jure remiſerit, id non poteſt ſucceſſori obeſſe, quin id iterum ſibi vindicet.* Rectè mones: itaque ſi quo tempore majores noſtri aliquid de jure ſuo per ignaviam amiſere, an id oberit nobis, eorum poſteris? Pro ſe illi quidem ſervitutem ſpondere, ſi vellent, pro nobis certè non poterant; quibus idem ſemper jus erit noſmet liberandi, quod illis erat in ſervitutem ſe cuilibet tradendi. Miraris *quid faciat, ut rex Britannia hodie debeat haberi pro magiſtratu tantùm regni, qui autem alia regna in Chriſtianitate obtinent, plenâ & liberâ poteſtate polleant.* De Scotia remitto te ad Buchananum, de Gallia etiam tua, ubi hoſpes eſſe videris, ad Francogalliam Hotomani, & Girardum Franciæ Hiſtoricum, de cæteris ad alios, quorum nulli quod ſciam Independentes erant: ex quibus de jure regio longè alia poteras didiciſſe, quàm quæ doces. Cùm jure belli tyrannidem regibus Angliæ aſſerere nequiveris, facis jam periculum in jure paraſitico. Edicunt reges ſe regnare *Dei gratiâ:* quid ſi Deos ſe eſſe edixiſſent? te credo flaminem facilè erant habituri: Sic Pontifex Cantuarienſis *Dei providentiâ* archiepiſcopari præ ſe tulit. Túne iſta fatuitate Papam non vis eſſe regem in Eccleſia, ut regem conſtituere pluſquam Papam in repub. poſſis? At in regni ſtatutis appellatur *rex Dominus noſter.* Mirus tu quidem ſtatutorum noſtrorum nomenclator repentè evaſiſti; neſcis tamen multos dici dominos qui non ſunt; neſcis quam iniquum ſit ex titulis honorariis, ne dicam adulatoriis, de jure & veritate rerum ſtatuere. Eodem refer quod *Parlamentum* regis dicitur: nam & frænum regis vocatur; adeóque non magis rex Parlamenti eſt dominus, quàm equus eſt ſui dominus fræni. At *cur non regis Parlamentum, cum ab eo convocetur?* Dicam tibi, quia convocatur etiam ſenatus à Conſule, neque propterea dominus illius concilii erat. Quod itaque rex Parlamentum convocat, id facit pro officio ſuo ac munere quod à populo accepit, ut etiam quos convocat, eos de arduis regni negotiis conſuleret, non de ſuis: aut ſiqua dici ſua poſſunt, de iis poſtremo ſemper loco agi ſolitum erat; ad arbitrium etiam Parlamenti, non ſuum. Nec verò ignorant, quorum id intereſt ſcire, Parlamentum ſive vocatum, ſive non vocatum, bis intra vertentem annum antiquitùs ex lege potuiſſe convenire. At *regis etiam leges nuncupantur.* Sunt iſtæ quidem ad regem phaleræ; rex autem Angliæ legem ferre per ſe poteſt nullam; neque enim ad leges ferendas, ſed ad cuſtodiendas à populo latas conſtitutus erat. Túque hic fateris *congregari* idcirco *Parlamentum ut leges conderet.* Quapropter & lex Terræ vocatur, & lex populi: Unde Ethelſtanus rex in præfatione legum, ubi omnes alloquitur, *vobis*, inquit, *lege veſtrâ* omnia largitus ſum: & in formula juramenti quo reges Angliæ antequam crearentur obſtringere ſe ſolebant, ſic populus à rege ſtipulatur. *Concedis juſtas leges quas vulgus elegerit?* reſpondet rex, *concedo.* Erras etiam tota Anglia, *qui regem quo tempore Parlamentum non habetur, plenè planéque totum regni ſtatum regio jure gubernare* aïs. Nam neque de bello, neque de pace quod magni ſit momenti, quicquam decernere, ne in jure quidem dicundo curiarum decretis intercedere poteſt. Jurant itaque judices nihil ſe in judiciis exercendis niſi ex lege facturos, etiamſi rex ipſe dicto, aut mandato, vel etiam literis proprio annulo obſignatis aliter imperaret. Hinc ſæpius in noſtro jure rex *infans* dicitur; nec ſua jura aut dignitates,

nitates, niſi pueri aut pupilli in modum, poſſidere. Spec. Juſt. c. 4. ſect. 22. hinc etiam illud apud nos crebrò dici ſolitum, *rex non poteſt facere injuriam*: Quod tu hoc modo ſceleratè interpretaris, *non eſt injuria quam facit rex, quia in eo non punitur.* Admirabilem hominis impudentiam & improbitatem vel hoc ſolo interpretamento quis non perſpiciat? *Capitis eſt imperare*, inquis, *non membrorum, rex Parlamenti caput eſt.* Siccine nugarere, ſi cor tibi ſaperet? erras iterum (ſed quis finis errorum eſt tuorum) in quo regis conſiliarios à Parlamenti ordinibus non diſtinguis; nam neque illos quidem omnes, horum verò nullos reliquis non probatos eligere debebat rex; in plebeium autem ordinem ut quenquam eligeret, id ſibi ne ſumebat quidem unquam. Quibus id muneris populus delegabat, per municipia ſinguli ſuffragiis omnium eligebantur; notiſſima loquor, eóque brevior ſum. *Falſum* autem *eſſe* aïs, *quod ſancta Independentiæ cultores aſſerunt, Parlamentum à populo fuiſſe inſtitutum.* Video jam quid ſit cur papatum tanto impetu evertere contendas: alium ipſe papatum in alvo, quod aïunt, geſtas: quid enim aliud uxor uxoris, lupus ex lupa gravidus, niſi aut portentum, aut papatum aliquem novum parturire te oportebat? Certè Papa germanus quaſi jam eſſes, ſanctos & ſanctas pro arbitrio facis; reges etiam omni peccato abſolvis, &, quaſi ſtrato jam hoſte, ejus exuviis opimum te ornas. Verùm quia papa nondum per te planè cecidit, dum libri illius tui *de Primatu*, ſecunda & tertia, & fortaſſe quarta & quinta pars prodierit, qui multos mortales tædio prius enecabit, quàm tu papam eo libro ſubegeris, ſit ſatis interea, quæſo, ad Antipapatum ſaltem aliquem poſſe aſcendere; eſt altera, quam tu, præter illam Independentiam abs te irriſam, ſanctorum in numerum ſerió retuliſti. Tyrannis regia: ſanctæ ergo Tyrannidis regiæ tu Pontifex eris Maximus; & nequid deſit tibi ad Papales titulos, *Servus etiam ſervorum* eris, non Dei, ſed aulæ; quoniam illa Chenaani maledictio adhæſiſſe tibi ad præcordia videtur. *Beſtiam* appellas *populum.* Quid interim es ipſe? Non enim ſacrum illud conſiſtorium, neque ſanctus ille Lupus te dominum ſuum aut populo exemerit aut vulgo; neque effecerit, quin, ſicuti es, teterrima ipſe beſtia ſis. Certè libri ſacri prophetici magnorum regum monarchiam & dominationem immanis Beſtiæ nomine ac ſpecie adumbrare ſolent. *Sub regibus ante Guilielmum*, inquis, *nulla Parlamenti mentio exſtat.* De vocabulo Gallicano altercari non libet: res ſemper fuit: & Saxonicis temporibus *Concilium Sapientum* vocari ſolitum concedis. Sapientes autem tam ſunt plebis, quàm procerum ex numero. At *in ſtatuto Mertonenſi, vigeſimo Hen. 3. comitum & baronum tantùm ſit mentio.* Ita te ſemper nomina decipiunt, qui tantùm in nominibus ætatem omnem contriviſti; nobis enim ſatis conſtat, & quinqueportuum curatores, & decuriones urbicos, nonnunquam & mercatores illo ſeculo baronum nomine appellatos fuiſſe, neque dubium omnino eſt, quin Parlamenti quoſque Senatores quantumvis plebeios, ætas illa jure multò potiore barones nuncupaverit: nam & anno ejuſdem regis 52 tam nobiles, quàm plebeios fuiſſe convocatos, Marlbrigii ſtatutum, ſicut & reliqua fere ſtatuta omnia diſertis verbis teſtantur: quos etiam plebeios, comitatuum magnates Edouardus tertius in præfatione Statuti Stapli, quam perdoctè pro me recitas, vocavit; eos nimirum *qui de ſingulis civitatibus pro toto comitatu venerant*; qui quidem plebeium ordinem conſtituebant, neque erant proceres, aut eſſe poterant: Tradit etiam liber ſtatutis illis vetuſtior, qui inſcribitur, *Modus habendi Parlamenta*, licere regi cum plebe ſola Parlamentum habere, legeſque ferre, quamvis Comites & Epiſcopi non adſint; non itidem licere regi cum comitibus & epiſcopis, ſi plebs non aderit. Hujus rei ratio quoque adjicitur; quia cum nondum Comites aut epiſcopi conſtituti eſſent, reges cum populo tamen Parlamenta, & Concilia peragebant: deinde comites pro ſe tantum veniunt; plebeii pro ſuo quiſque municipio. Ex quo iſte ordo univerſi populi nomine adeſſe intelligitur; eoque nomine & potiorem, & nobiliorem ordine patricio, omnique ex parte anteponendum eſſe. Sed *judicandi poteſtas*, inquis, *penes domum plebeiam nunquam fuit.* Neque penes regem Angliæ fuit unquam: illud tamen memineris, principio omnem poteſtatem a populo fluxiſſe, & etiamnum proficiſci. Quod & Marcus Tullius de lege agraria pulcherrimè oſtendit. *Cum omnes poteſtates, imperia, curationes ab univerſo populo proficiſci convenit, tum eas profectò maximè, qua conſtituuntur ad populi fructum aliquem, & commodum; in quo & univerſi deligant quem populo maximè conſulturum putent, & unuſquiſque ſtudio & ſuffragio ſuo viam ſibi ad beneficium impetrandum munire poſſit.* Vides Parlamentorum veram originem, illis Saxonicis archivis longè vetuſtiorem. Dum in hac luce veritatis & ſapientiæ verſari licebit, fruſtra nobis obſcuriorum ætatum tenebras offundere conaris. Quod non eò dici à me quiſquam exiſtimet, quaſi ego de authoritate & prudentiâ majorum noſtrorum detrahi quicquam velim; qui in legibus bonis ferendis plus ſanè præſtiterunt, quàm vel illa ſecula, vel illorum ingenium & cultus tuliſſe videatur: & quamvis leges rarò non bonas irrogarent, ignorantiæ tamen, & imbecillitatis humanæ ſibi conſcii, hoc veluti fundamentum legum omnium poſteris tradi voluerunt, quod & noſtri Juriſperiti omnes agnoſcunt, ut ſi qua lex aut conſuetudo legi divinæ aut naturali, aut rationi denique repugnaret, ea ne pro lege ſancitâ habeatur. Unde tu, etiamſi edictum fortaſſe aliquod aut ſtatutum in jure noſtro, quo regi tyrannica poteſtas attribuatur, invenire poſſes, id, cùm & divinæ voluntati, & naturæ, & rationi contrarium ſit, intelligito, ex generali & primariâ iſta lege noſtra quam attuli, reſcindi apud nos, & ratum non eſſe; verùm tu jus nullum tale regium apud nos invenies. Cum enim judicandi poteſtas primitùs in ipſo populo fuiſſe conſtet, Anglos autem eam ab ſe in regem nullâ lege regia unquam tranſtuliſſe, neminem enim judicare aut ſolet aut poteſt rex Angliæ, niſi per leges proviſas jam & approbatas: Fleta l. 1. c. 17. ſequitur eandem adhuc integram atque totam in populo ſitam eſſe; nam parium domui aut nunquam traditam, aut recuperari jure poſſe non negabis. At, *regis eſt*, inquis, *de vico municipium*, de eo *civitatem facere*, *ergo illos creat qui conſtituunt domum inferiorem.* At inquam, oppida & municipia regibus antiquiora ſunt; etiam in agris populus eſt populus. Jam Anglicismis tuis magnopere delectamur; **County Court, The Turn, Hundreda**; mira nempe docilitate centenos Jacobæos tuos Anglicè numerare didiciſti.

> *Quis expedivit* Salmaſio ſuam Hundredam,
> Picámque *docuit noſtra verba conari?*
> *Magiſter artis venter*, & Jacobæi
> Centum, exulantis viſcera marſupii regis.
> *Quòd ſi doloſi ſpes refulſerit nummi*,
> Ipſe Antichriſti qui modò primatum Papæ
> Minatus uno eſt diſſipare ſufflatu,
> *Cantabit* ultrò Cardinalitium *melos*.

Longam deinde de comitibus & Baronibus diſſertationem ſubtexis; ut oſtendas regem eſſe eorum omnium creatorem, quod facilè concedimus, eóque nomine regibus plerunque ſerviebant; ideóque ne gentis liberæ deinceps judices eſſent rectè providimus. *Poteſtatem convocandi parlamentum quoties libet, & quando vult diſſolvendi ex omni temporis memoria penes regem eſſe* affirmas. Tibíne igitur balatroni mercenario & peregrino, perfugarum dictata exſcribenti, an diſertis legum noſtrarum verbis fides habenda ſit, infra videbimus. *At*, inquis, *reges Angliæ parlamento majus imperium habuiſſe alio argumento probatur, eoque invincibili; regis poteſtas perpetua eſt & ordinaria, quæ per ſe ſine Parlamento regnum adminiſtrat, Parlamenti extraordinaria eſt authoritas, & ad certas tantum res, nec ſine rege quicquam validi ſtatuere idonea.* Ubinam dicamus vim magnam latere hujus argumenti? an in *ordinaria & perpetuâ?* Atqui minores multi magiſtratus habent poteſtatem ordinariam & perpetuam, quos Irenarchas vocamus; an ſummam ergo habent? ſuprà etiam dixi poteſtatem regi idcirco traditam à populo fuiſſe, ut videret authoritate ſibi commiſſa ne quid contra legem fiat; utque leges cuſtodiret noſtras, non ut nobis imponeret ſuas; regis proinde poteſtatem niſi in regni curiis & per eas, eſſe nullam: immo populi potius ordinaria eſt omnis, qui per duodecim viros de omnibus judicat. Atq; hinc eſt quod interrogatus in curiâ reus, *Cui te permittis judicandum*; reſpondet ſemper ex more atque lege, *Deo & populo*, non deo & regi, aut regis vicario. Parlamenti autem authoritas quæ re & veritate, ſumma populi poteſtas in illum ſenatum collata eſt, ſi extraordinaria eſt dicenda, id tantum propter ejus eminentiam dicitur; alioqui, ut notum eſt, ipſi ordinesappellantur, non extra ordinem ergo; & ſi non actu, quod aïunt virtute tamen perpetuum habent in omnes curias & poteſtates ordinarias jus atque authoritatem; idque ſine rege. Offendunt nunc limatulas, opinor, aures tuas noſtrorum barbaræ locutiones: cujus ego ſi vacaret, aut operæ pretium eſſe, tot barbariſmos hoc uno libro notare poſſem, quot ſi pro merito lueres, profectò omnes puerorum ferulas in te frangi oporteret, nec tot aureos tibi dari, quot illi quondam peſſimo poetæ; colaphos longè plures. *Prodigium eſſe* aïs, *omnibus portentis opinionum monſtroſius, quod fanatici perſonam regis à poteſtate ejus ſejungant.* Equidem dicta ſingulorum non præſtitero: perſonam autem ſi pro homine vis dici, ſeparari à poteſtate ejus nec abſurdè poſſe Chryſoſtomus haud fanaticus docere te potuit; qui præceptum Apoſtoli de poteſtatibus ita explanat, ut poteſtatem ibi & rem, non hominem intelligi aſſerat. Quidni dicam regem, qui contra leges quid facit, id agere ut privatum vel tyrannum, non ut regem legitima poteſtate præditum? Tu ſi uno in homine poſſe plures eſſe perſonas, eaſque ab ipſo homine, ſenſu & cogitatione ſeparabiles non intelligis, & ſenſus communis & latinitatis planè expers es. Sed hoc eò dicis, ut reges peccato omni abſolvas, utque erepto Papæ primatu indutum te eſſe exiſtimemus: *Rex*, inquis, *non poſſe peccare intelligitur, quia peccatum ejus pœna non conſequitur.* Quiſquis ergo non punitur, non peccat; non furtum ſed pœna fecit furem; Salmaſius Grammaticus non facit ſolœciſmos, quia manum ferulæ ſubduxit: poſt everſum à te Papam ſint iſti ſanè Pontificatûs tui canones, vel certè indulgentiæ tuæ, ſive ſanctæ Tyrannidis, ſive ſanctæ Servitutis Pontifex dici mavis. Congeſta extremo capite maledicta tua in *Anglicanæ reipub. & Eccleſiæ ſtatum* prætereo: hoc enim habent tui ſimiles, homo contemptiſſime; ut quidque plurimâ dignum eſt laude, id ſolent per calumniam maximè vituperare. Sed de jure regio apud nos, ſeu potius de jure populi in regem nequid temere affirmaſſe videar, proferre ex ipſis monumentis non gravabor, quamvis pauca quidem de multis, ea tamen quibus liquidò ſatis conſtabit, Anglos ex lege & inſtituto, & more etiam majorum ſuorum, regem nuper judicaviſſe. Poſt Romanorum ex inſula diſceſſum ſui juris Britanni circiter annos 40. ſine regibus fuere; quos primos crearunt, eorum nonnullos, ſupplicio affecere. Britannos eo nomine Gildas, contrà quàm tu facis reprehendit, non quòd regis necavere, ſed quòd injudicatos, vel ut ejus verbis utar, *non pro veri examinatione.* Vortigernus ob inceſtas cum filia nuptias, teſte Nennio hiſtoricorum noſtrorum poſt Gildam antiquiſſimo, damnatur *à beato Germano, & omni concilio Britonum*, ejuſque filio Guorthemiro regnum traditur. Haud multo hæc poſt Auguſtini obitum geſta ſunt: unde vanitas tua facile redarguitur, qui ſupra aſſeruiſti, primum omnium Papam, & nominatim Zachariam docuiſſè, judicari reges poſſe. Circa annum Chriſti 600. Morcantius, qui tunc temporis in Cambria regnabat, propter cædem patrui ab Oudoceo Landaviæ Epiſcopo in exilium damnatur; quamquam is exilii ſententiam latifundiis quibuſdam eccleſiæ donatis redemit. Ad Saxones jam veniamus; quorum jura cum reperiantur facta prætermittam. Saxones Germanis oriundos memineris; qui nec infinitam aut liberam poteſtatem regibus dedere, & de rebus majoribus conſultare omnes ſolebant; ex quibus intelligere eſt, Parlamentum, ſi ſolum nomen excipias, etiam apud Saxonum majores ſumma authoritate viguiſſe. Et ab iis quidem Concilium Sapientum paſſim nominatur; ipſis Ethelberti temporibus, quem *decreta judiciorum juxta exempla Romanorum cum Concilio Sapientum conſtituiſſe* memorat Beda; ſic Edwinus Northanhymbrorum, Inas occidentalium Saxonum rex, *habito cum ſapientibus & ſenioribus concilio*, novas leges promulgavit; alias Aluredus edidit *ex concilio*, item *prudentiſſimorum*; *atque iis*, inquit, *omnibus placuit edici earum obſervationes.* His atque aliis multis hujuſmodi locis luce clarius eſt, delectos etiam ex plebe conciliis maximis interfuiſſe; niſi ſiquis Proceres ſolos ſapientes eſſe arbitratur. Extat etiam apud nos perantiquus legum liber cui titulus *Speculum Juſticiariorum*, in quo traditur primos Saxones, poſt Britanniam ſubactam, cum reges crearent, ab iis jusjurandum exigere conſueviſſe, ſe, ut quemvis alium è populo, legibus ac judiciis ſubjectos fore. cap. 1. ſect. 2. ibidem ait jus eſſe & æquum ut rex ſuos in Parlamento habeat pares qui de injuriis quas vel rex vel regina fecerit, cognoſcerent; regnante Aluredo ſancitum legibus fuiſſe, ut ſingulis annis Parlamentum bis Londini, vel eo ſæpius, ſi opus eſſet, haberetur. Quæ lex cùm peſſimo juris neglectu in deſuetudinem abiiſſet duabus ſub Edovardo 3. ſanctionibus renovata eſt. In alio etiam antiquo manuſcripto, qui Modus Parlamenti inſcribitur, hæc legimus; ſi rex Parlamentum prius dimiſerit, quàm ea omnia tranſigantur quorum cauſa concilium indictum erat, perjurii reus erit; & juramentum illud quod regnum initurus dederat, violaſſe cenſebitur. Quomodo enim, quod juratus eſt, juſtas leges concedit, quas populus elegerit, ſi earum eligendi facultatem petenti populo non dat vel rarius Parlamentum convocando, vel citiùs dimittendo quàm res populi ferunt? Jus autem illud jurandum, quo rex Angliæ ſe obligat, noſtri juriſperiti pro ſanctiſſimâ lege ſemper habuere. Quod autem maximis reipub. periculis remedium inveniri poteſt ( qui ſolas convocandi Parlamenti finis erat ) ſi conventus ille magnus, & auguſtiſſimus ad regis libitum ſtultiſſimi ſæpe & pervicaciſſimi diſſolvetur ? Poſſe à Parlamento abeſſe, proculdubiò minus eſt, quàm Parlamentum diſſolvere: at rex per leges noſtras illo Modorum libro traditis abeſſe à Parlamento niſi planè ægrotaret, neq; potuit, neq; debuit: & ne tum quidem niſi inſpecto ejus corpore à duodecim regni paribus, qui de adverſa regis valetudine teſtimonium perhibere in ſenatu poſſent: ſolêntne ſervi cum domino ſic agere? Contrà verò plebeius ordo ſine quo Parlamentum haberi non poteſt, etiam à rege convocatus potuit non adeſſe, & ſeceſſione factâ, de repub. malè geſtâ cum rege expoſtulare: quod & prædictus liber teſtatur. Verùm quod caput eſt, inter leges Edovardi regis vulgò Confeſſoris, una eſt eximia, quæ de regis officio tractat; cui rex officio ſi deſit, *nomen regis in eo non conſtabit*. Hoc quid eſſet, ne non ſatis intelligeretur, Chilperici Francorum regis exemplum ſubnectit, cui idcircò regnum à Populo abrogatum erat. Puniri autem malum regem ex legis hujus ſententia oportere, ſignificabat ille S. Edovardi gladius cui nomen Curtana erat, quem in regum creatione & pompâ geſtare Comes Palatii ſolebat; *inſignum*, inquit noſter Matthæus Paris, *quòd & regem, ſi oberret, habeat de jure poteſtatem cohibendi:* gladio autem nemo fere niſi capite punitur. Hanc legem, cum aliis boni illius Edovardi, Guilielmus ipſe conquæſtor anno regni quarto ratam habuit: & frequentiſſimo Anglorum Concilio prope Verulamium religioſiſſimè juratus confirmavit: quo facto non ſolùm jus omne belli, ſi quod in nos habuit, ipſe extinxit, ſed etiam hujus legis judicio atque ſententiæ ſe ſubjecit. Ejus etiam filius Henricus cùm in omnes Edovardi leges, tùm in hanc quoque juravit; atque iis duntaxat conditionibus, vivente adhuc fratre Roberto natu majore, in regem eſt electus. Jurarunt eadem omnes deinceps reges, antequam inſignia regni acciperent. Hinc celebris ille & antiquus noſter juriſconſultus Bractonus, l. 1. c. 8. *Non eſt rex ubi dominatur voluntas & non lex.* Et l. 3. c. 9. *rex eſt dum benè regit, tyrannus dum populum ſibi creditum violenta opprimit dominatione.* Et ibidem, *exercere debet rex poteſtatem juris, ut vicarius & miniſter dei: poteſtas autem injuriæ diaboli eſt, non dei: cum declinat ad injuriam rex, diaboli miniſter eſt.* Eadem ferme habet vetuſtus alter juriſconſultus, libri illius author qui Fleta inſcribitur, memor nempe uterque & legis illius Edvardinæ, verè quidem regiæ, & regulæ illius in jure noſtro primariæ à me ſupra dictæ, quâ nihil dei legibus & rationi contrarium haberi pro lege poteſt; uti nec tyrannus pro rege, nec miniſter diaboli pro miniſtro dei. Cum itaque lex maximè ratio recta ſit, ſiquidem regi, ſiquidem dei miniſtro obediendum eſt, eâdem prorſùs & ratione & lege, tyranno diaboli miniſtro erit reſiſtendum. Et quoniam de nomine ſæpius quam de re ambigitur, tradunt iidem, regem Angliæ, etiamſi nomen regis nondum perdiderit judicari tamen, ut quilibet è vulgo, & poſſe & debere. Bracton. l. 1. c. 8. Fleta. l. 1. c. 17. *non debet eſſe rege major quiſquam in exhibitione juris; minimus autem eſſe debet in judicio ſuſcipiendo, ſi peccat,* alii legunt *ſi petat.* Judicari igitur cum debeat rex noſter, ſive tyranni ſub nomine, ſive regis, quos habeat item judices legitimos dictu difficile non debet eſſe. Eoſdem conſulere authores haud pejus erit. Bracton. l. 2. c. 16. Fleta. l. 1. c. 17. *In populo regendo rex habet ſuperiores, legem, per quam factus eſt rex, & curiam ſuam, videlicet comites & Barones: comites dicuntur quaſi ſocii regis, & qui habet ſocium, habet magiſtrum; & ideo ſi rex fuerit ſine fræno, id eſt ſine lege, debent ei frænum ponere.* Baronum autem nomine plebeium ordinem comprehendi ſupra oſtendimus; quin & Pares etiam Parlamenti eoſdem fuiſſe dictos, libri legum noſtrarum antiqui paſſim tradunt: & imprimis liber ille cui titulus, Parlamenti modus; *Eligentur,* inquit, *de omnibus regni paribus* 15. quorum erunt *quinque milites, quinque cives* id eſt urbium delegati, *quinque municipes; & duo milites pro comitatu majorem vocem habent in concedendo & contradicendo quam major comes Angliæ;* & meritò quidem, illi enim pro tota aliqua provincia, aut municipio ſuffragia ferunt, iſti pro ſe quiſque duntaxat. Comites autem illos *Codicillares,* quos vocas, & *reſcriptitios,* cum feudales jam nulli ſint. ad judicandum regem à-quo creabantur minimè omnium idoneos eſſe, quis non videt? Cum itaque jus noſtrum ſit, ut eſt in illo ſpeculo antiquo, regem habere pares, qui in Parlamento cognoſcant & judicent, *ſi quid rex in aliquem populi ſui peccaverit,* ſi notiſſimum ſit licere apud nos cuivis è populo in minoribus quibuſque curiis injuriarum actionem regi intendere, quanto juſtius eſt, quantoque magis neceſſarium, ſi rex in univerſos peccaverit, ut habeat qui eum non refrænare ſolùm & coercere,

cere, ſed judicare & punire poſſint. Peſſimè enim & ridiculè inſtitutam eſſe eam neceſſe eſt rempub. in qua de minimis regum injuriis etiam privato cuivis cautum ſit, de maximis nihil in commune proviſum, nihil de ſalute omnium, quo minùs liceat ei univerſos ſine lege perdere, qui ne unum quidem lædere per legem poterat. Comites autem eſſe regis judices, cum oſtenſum ſit neque decere neque expedire, ſequitur judicium illud totum ad plebeium ordinem, qui & pares regni, & Barones, & populi totius poteſtate ſibi delegatâ præditi ſunt, jure optimo pertinere. Cum enim (ut in noſtro jure ſcriptum eſt, quod ſupra attuli) plebs ſola cum rege ſine Comitibus aut Epiſcopis Parlamentum conſtituat, quia rex cum ſola Plebe, etiam ante Comites aut epiſcopos natos, parlamenta peragere ſolebat, eâdem prorſus ratione plebs ſola ſupremam & ſine rege, & regem ipſum judicandi poteſtatem habebit, quòd etiam ante ullum regem creatum, ipſa univerſi populi nomine Concilia & Parlamenta peragere, judicare, ferre leges, ipſa reges creare ſolita erat; non ut populo dominarentur, ſed ut rem populi adminiſtrarent. Quem ſi rex contrà injuriis afficere, & ſervitute opprimere conatus fuerit, ex ipſa legis noſtræ ſententiâ nomen regis in eo non conſtat, rex non eſt; quòd ſi rex non ſit, quid eſt quod ei pares amplius quæramus? Tyrannum enim jam re ipſa ab omnibus bonis judicatum nulli non ſatis pares atque idonei ſunt, qui ſupplicio mactandum eſſe pro tribunali judicent. Hæc cum ita ſint, tot teſtimoniis, tot legibus prolatis, abundè hoc demùm, quod erat propoſitum, eviciſſe arbitror, cum judicare regem penes plebem jure optimo ſit, cúmq; plebs regem de repub. déque eccleſia, ſine ſpe ulla ſanitatis, peſſimè meritum ſupplicio ultimo affecerit, rectè atque ordine, éxque repub. ſuáque fide, dignitate, legibus denique patriis feciſſe. Neque poſſum hîc non gratulari mihi de majoribus noſtris, qui non minore prudentia ac libertate, quàm Romani olim, aut Græcorum præſtantiſſimi, hanc rempub. inſtituerunt; neque poterunt illi, ſiquid noſtrarum rerum ſentiunt, non ſibi etiam gratulari de poſteris ſuis; qui tam ſapienter inſtitutam, tanta libertate fundatam ab impotenti regis dominatione, cum redacti penè in ſervitutem eſſent, tam fortiter, támque prudenter vindicarunt.

## CAP. IX.

SAtis jam arbitror palàm eſſe, regem Angliæ etiam Anglorum legibus judicari poſſe; ſuos habere judices legitimos; quod erat probandum. Quid tu porro? (Nam quæ tua repetis, ad ea non repetam mea) *ex rebus nunc ipſis propter quas comitia indici ſolent, proclive*, inquis, *eſt oſtendere regem eſſe ſupra Parlamentum.* Sit ſanè proclive quantum voles, in quo præcipitem te dari jam ſtatim ſenties. *Parlamentum*, inquis, *congregari ſolet ad majoris momenti negotia in quibus regni ſalus & populi verſatur.* Si rex Parlamentum convocat ad procurandas res populi, non ſuas, neque id niſi aſſenſu eorum atque arbitrio quos convocat, quid aliud eſt, obſecro, niſi miniſter populi & procurator? Cum, ſine ſuffragiis eorum quos populus mittit, ne tantillum quidem, neque de aliis, neque de ſeipſo decernere poſſit. Quod etiam argumento eſt, officium eſſe regis, toties Parlamentum convocare, quoties populus id petit: Quandoquidem & res populi, non regis, iis comitiis tractantur, idque populi arbitrio. Quamvis enim regis quoque aſſenſus honoris cauſa peti ſoleret, quem in rebus minoris momenti ad privatorum duntaxat commoda ſpectantibus poterat non præbere, poterat pro illa formula dicere, *rex deliberabit*, de iis tamen, quæ ad ſalutem omnium communem & libertatem pertinebant, prorſùs abnuere nullo modo poterat; cum id & contra juramentum regium eſſet, quo veluti lege firmiſſima tenebatur, & contra præcipuum magnæ Chartæ articulum, c. 29. *Non negabimus, non differemus cuiquam jus aut juſtitiam.* Non negabit rex juſtitiam, negabit ergò juſtas leges? Non cuiquam, an ergò omnibus? Ne in Curiâ quidem ullâ minori, an ergò in Senatu ſupremo? An verò rex ullus tantùm ſibi arrogabit, ut quid juſtum ſit, quid utile, ſe unum univerſo populo ſcire meliùs exiſtimet? Cum *ad hoc creatus & electus ſit, ut juſtitiam faciat univerſis*, Bracton. l. 3. c. 9. per eas nimirum leges *quas vulgus* elegerit. Unde illud in archivis noſtris, 7 H. 4. Rot. Parl. Num. 59. *Non eſt ulla regis prærogativa, qua ex juſtitia & æquitate quicquam derogat.* Et reges olim acta Parlamenti confirmare recuſantes, Chartam videlicet magnam & hujuſmodi alia, majores noſtri ſæpenumerò armis coëgere; neque propterea minùs valere illas leges, aut minùs legitimas eſſe juriſperiti noſtri ſtatuunt: Quandoquidem aſſenſum rex iis decretis coactus præbuit, quibus jure atque ſponte aſſentiri debebat.

Tu dum contendis aliarum etiam gentium reges in poteſtate vel Synedrii vel Senatus, vel Concilii ſui æquè fuiſſe, non nos in ſervitutem aſſeris, ſed eas in libertatem: In quo idem facere pergis quod ab initio feciſti, quodque faciunt pragmaticorum ſtultiſſimi, ut incauti ſeipſos in lite ſæpiùs contraveniant. At nos ſcilicet fatemur *regem, ubicunque abſit, in Parlamento tamen cenſeri præſentem vi poteſtatis: Ergò quodcunque illic agitur à rege ipſo actum intelligi.* Tum quaſi bolum aliquem nactus eſſes aut mercedulam, illorum recordatione Caroleorum delinitus, *accipimus*, inquis, *quod dant:* Accipe igitur, quo dignus es, magnum malum; non enim damus, quod ſperabas, inde ſequi *curiam illam non alia potiri poteſtate quàm à rege delegata.* Si enim dicitur, poteſtas regis, quæcunque ea ſit, à Parlamento abeſſe non poteſt, an ſuprema continuò dicitur? Annon potiùs transferri in Parlamentum poteſtas regia videtur, útque minor majore contineri? Sanè ſi Parlamentum poteſt, nolente & invito rege, acta ejus & privilegia quibuſvis data revocare atque reſcindere, ſi ipſius regis prærogativas, prout videtur, circumſcribere, ſi proventus ejus annuos & impenſas aulæ, ſi famulitium ipſum, ſi totam denique rem domeſticam regis moderari, ſi vel intimos ejus conſiliarios atque amicos amovere, vel etiam è ſinu abripere ad ſupplicium poteſt, ſi cuivis denique de plebe à rege ad Parlamentum quacunque de re provocatio eſt lege data, non itidem à Parlamento ad regem, quæ omnia & poſſe fieri, & fuiſſe ſæpiùs facta, cum monumenta publica, tum legum noſtrarum conſultiſſimi teſtantur, neminem eſſe arbitror, modò mens ei ſana ſit, qui Parlamentum ſupra regem eſſe non fateatur. Nam in interregno etiam Parlamentum viget; & quod hiſtoriis noſtris teſtatiſſimum eſt, nulla hæreditatis ratione habita, ſæpe, quem ſibi viſum eſt, ſuffragiis liberrimis regem creavit. Ut ſummatim dicam quod res eſt, Parlamentum eſt ſupremum gentis Concilium, ad hoc ipſum à Populo planè libero conſtitutum, & poteſtate plenâ inſtructum, ut de ſummis rebus in commune conſulat; rex ideo erat creatus, ut de conſilio & ſententiâ illorum Ordinum conſulta omnia exequenda curaret. Quod cum Parlamentum ipſum edicto nuper ſuo publicè declararet, neque enim pro æquitate ſua recuſabat vel externis gentibus actionum ſuarum rationem ultrò ac ſponte reddere, ecce tibi è gurguſtio nullius homo authoritatis, aut fidei, aut rei, Burgundus iſte Verna, qui ſummum Angliæ Senatum, jus patrium atque ſuum ſcripto aſſerentem, *deteſtandæ & horribilis impoſturæ* inſimulat. Patriam mehercule tuam pudebit, verbero, ſe tantæ impudentiæ homuncionem genuiſſe. Sed habes fortaſſe quæ ſalutariter monitos nos velis; agedum, auſcultamus. *Quas*, inquis, *leges ſancire poteſt Parlamentum, in quo nec præſulum ordo comparet?* Túne ergo, furioſe, præſules ex Eccleſia extirpatum ibas, ut in Parlamenta induceres? O hominem impium, & Satanæ tradendum, quem neque Eccleſia non ejicere hypocritam & atheum, neque ulla reſpub. recipere communem libertatis peſtem atque labem deberet; qui etiam quod nequit ex Evangelio, id ex Ariſtotele & Halicarnaſſæo, deinde ex ſtatutis Papiſticis praviſſimorum temporum probare adnititur, regem Angliæ caput eſſe Anglicanæ Eccleſiæ, ut Epiſcopos compranſores ſuos & neceſſarios nuper factos, quos ipſe Deus exturbavit, novos iterum prædones & tyrannos, pro virili ſua parte, ſanctæ Dei Eccleſiæ imponat; quorum univerſum ordinem tanquam religioni Chriſtianæ pernicioſiſſimum, eradicandum eſſe ſtirpitùs, editis antea libris clamoſè contenderat. Quis unquam Apoſtata, non dico à ſua, quæ nulla certa eſt, ſed à Chriſtiana doctrina, quam ipſe aſſeruerat, defectione tam fœdâ atque nefariâ deſcivit? *Epiſcopis de medio ſublatis, qui ſub rege, & ex ejus arbitrio de cauſis eccleſiæ cognoſcebant*, quæris *ad quos redibit ea cognitio.* O perditiſſime, verere tandem vel conſcientiam tuam; memineris dum licet, niſi ſi hoc ſerò nimis te moneo, memineris quàm non impunè tibi erit, quàm inexpiabile demùm ſit, ſanctum Dei Spiritum ſic illudere. Subſiſte aliquando, & pone aliquem furori modum, ne te accenſa ira numinis repentè corripiat; qui Chriſti gregem, unctóſque Dei minimè tangendos; iis hoſtibus & ſæviſſimis tyrannis obterendos iterum & perſultandos tradere cupis, à quibus elata modò & mirifica Dei manus eos liberavit: Túque ipſe, neſcio eorúmne ad fructum ullum, an ad perniciem & obdurationem tuam, liberandos eſſe docuiſti. Quod ſi jus nullum dominandi in Eccleſiam eſt Epiſcopis, certè multo minùs eſt regibus; quicquid hominum ſtatuta edicunt. Sciunt enim qui labris aliquanto pluſquàm primoribus Evangelium guſtarunt, Eccleſiæ gubernationem divinam eſſe totam ac ſpiritualem, non civilem. *In ſecularibus* autem, quòd aïs *ſupremam juriſdictionem habuiſſe regem Angliæ*, id falſum eſſe jura noſtra ubertim declarant. Curias omnes ubi judicia exercentur, non rex, ſed Parlamenti authoritas vel conſtituit, vel tollit; in quibus tamen minimo cuivis è plebe licebat regem in jus vocare; neque raro judices contra regem pronuntiare ſolebant: id ſi rex vel interdicto, vel mandato, vel ſcriptis literis impedire conaretur, ex juramento & lege non parebant judices, ſed ejuſmodi mandata rejiciebant, & pro nihilo habebant. Non poterat rex quenquam in vincula conjicere, aut ullius bona in publicum addicere; poterat neminem ſupplicio punire, niſi in aliquam curiam priùs citatum, ubi non rex, ſed conſueti judices ſententias tulere; idque ſæpe, ut ſupra dixi, contra regem. Hinc noſter Bractonus, l. 3. c. 9. *Regia poteſtas juris eſt, non injuriæ; & nihil aliud poteſt rex, niſi id ſolùm quod de jure poteſt.* Aliud tibi ſuggerunt Cauſidici tui, qui nuper ſolum verterunt; ex ſtatutis nempe quibuſdam haud antiquis ſub Edvardo Quarto, Henrico Septimo, Edvardo Sexto promulgatis: Neque viderunt, quamcunque regi poteſtatem ſtatuta illa concedunt, eam à Parlamento conceſſam eſſe omnem & quaſi precariam; quàm & eadem authoritas poterat revocare. Cur ſic paſſus es naſuto tibi imponi, ut quo maximè argumento regis poteſtatem ex decretis Parlamenti pendere demonſtratur, eo abſolutam eſſe & ſupremam probare te crederes? Nam & monumenta noſtra ſanctiora teſtantur, reges noſtros non hæreditati, non armis, non ſucceſſioni; ſed populo ſuam omnem poteſtatem debere. Talis poteſtas regia Henrico quarto, talis ante eum Richardo Secundo à plebeio ordine conceſſa legitur; Rot. Parlament. 1 Hen. 4. Num. 108. haud ſecùs atque rex aliquis præſidibus ſuis præfecturas & provincias edicto & diplomate ſolet concedere. Id nempe literis publicis conſignari disertè juſſit Communium Domus, *conceſſiſſe ſe regi Richardo, ut tali bona libertate* frueretur, *qualem ante eum reges Angliæ habuere*; quâ cum rex ille *contra fidem Sacramenti ſui* ad everſionem legum abuteretur, ab iiſdem orbatus regno eſt. Iidem etiam, quod & eadem rotula teſtatur, in Parlamento edicunt, ſe prudentiâ & moderatione Henrici Quarti confiſos, *velle ac jubere ut in eadem magna libertate regia ſit quam ejus progenitores obtinuere.* Illa autem niſi fiduciaria planè fuiſſet, quemadmodum hæc fuit, neceſſe eſt profectò & Parlamenti illius ordines, qui concederent quod ſuum non erat, ineptos ac vanos, & reges illos qui, quod ſuum jam erat, conceſſum ab aliis vellent accipere, & ſibi & poſteris injurios nimis fuiſſe: Quorum utrumvis credibile non eſt. *Tertia pars*, inquis, *regiæ poteſtatis verſatur circa militiam; hanc partem reges Angliæ ſine pari & æmulo tractarunt.* Neque hoc verius quàm cætera quæ perfugarum fide ſcripſiſti. Primùm enim pacis & belli arbitrium penes magnum regni ſenatum ſemper fuiſſe, & hiſtoriæ paſſim noſtræ, & exterorum quotquot res noſtras paulo accuratiùs attigere teſtantur. Sancti etiam Edvardi leges, in quas jurare noſtri reges tenebantur, certiſſimam fidem faciunt, capite de Heretochiis, *fuiſſe quaſdam poteſtates per provincias & ſingulos comitatus regni conſtitutas, qui Heretoches vocabantur, latinè ductores exercitus*, qui provincialibus copiis præerant, non *ad honorem coronæ* ſolùm, ſed *ad utilitatem regni.* Iſti vero eligebantur *per commune concilium, & per ſingulos comitatûs in pleno conventu populari, ſicut & vicecomites eligi debent.* Ex quo facilè perſpicitur, & copias regni & copiarum ductores in poteſtate populi, non regis & antiquitùs fuiſſe, & eſſe oportere: illámque legem æquiſſimam noſtro in regno haud minus valuiſſe, quàm olim in populari Romanorum ſtatu valebat. De qua & M. Tullium audire non ab re fuerit. Philipp. 10. *Omnes legiones, omnes copiæ quæ ubique ſunt, Populi R. ſunt. Neque enim legiones quæ Antonium Conſulem reliquerunt, Antonii potius quàm reipub. fuiſſe dicuntur.* Sancti autem Edovardi legem illam, cum aliis illius legibus Guilielmus ille conquæſtor dictus, populo ſic volente ac jubente, juratus confirmavit; ſed & hanc inſuper adjecit, c. 56. *Omnes civitates, burgos, caſtella, ſingulis noctibus ita cuſtodiri, prout vicecomes, & Aldermanni, cæterique præpoſiti per commune concilium ad utilitatem regni meliùs providebunt*; & lege 62. *Ideo caſtella, burgi, civitates ædificata ſunt ad tuitionem gentium & populorum regni, idcirco & obſervari debent cum omni libertate, integritate, & ratione.* Quid ergo? Cuſtodientur arces & oppida in pace contra fures & maleficos non niſi per commune Concilium ejuſdem loci, non cuſtodientur in maximo belli metu contra hoſtes ſive externos ſive inteſtinos per commune concilium totius gentis? Sanè illud niſi concedatur, neque *libertas*, neque *integritas*, nec *ratio* de-

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nique in iis cuſtodiendis ulla eſſe poterit ; neque earum rerum quicquam aſſequemur, quarum causâ fundari primùm urbes & arces lex ipſa dicit. Majores certè noſtri quidvis potiùs regi quàm ſua arma & oppidorum præſidia tradere ſolebant ; idem eſſe rati acſi libertatem ipſi ſuam ferocitati regum & impotentiæ proditum irent. Cujus rei exempla in hiſtoriis noſtris uberrima cum ſint, & jam notiſſima, inſerere huic loco ſupervacaneum eſſet. At *protectionem rex debet ſubditis, quomodo eos protegere poterit, niſi arma viroſque habeat in ſua poteſtate ?* At, inquam, habebat hæc omnia ad utilitatem regni, ut dictum eſt, non ad civium interitum & regni diſperditionem : Quod & Henrici Tertii temporibus, prudenter Leonardus quidam vir doctus in Epiſcoporum conventu reſpondit Ruſtando Papæ nuntio & regis procuratori : *Omnes Eccleſiæ ſunt Domini Papæ, ut omnia principis eſſe dicimus, ad tuitionem, non ad fruitionem vel proprietatem*, quod aïunt ; ad defenſionem, *non ad diſperſionem* : Eadem & prædictæ legis Edovardi ſententia erat ; quid eſt hoc aliud niſi poteſtate fiduciaria, non abſoluta ? Qualem cum imperator bellicus fere habeat, id eſt delegatam, non planè propriam, non eò ſegniùs populum, à quo eligitur, ſive domi ſive militiæ defendere ſolet. Fruſtra autem Parlamenta, & impari ſane congreſſu de legibus Sancti Edovardi & libertate olim cum regibus contendiſſent, ſi penes regem ſolum arma eſſe oportere exiſtimaſſent ; nam & leges quamlibet iniquas ipſe dare ſi voluiſſet, fruſtra ſe *charta* quantumvis *magna* contra ferrum defendiſſent. *At quid proderit*, inquis, *Parlamento militiæ magiſterium habere, cum ne teruncium quidem ad eam ſuſtinendam queat, nolente rege, de populo cogere.* Ne ſit ea tibi cura : Primùm enim hoc falsò ponis, Parlamenti ordines *non poſſe ſine rege tributa populo imponere*, à quo & ipſi miſſi ſunt, & cujus cauſam ſuſcipiunt. Deinde non poteſt te fugere tam ſedulum de alienis rebus percontatorem, ſua ſponte populum, vaſis aureis atque argenteis conflatis, magnam vim pecuniæ in hoc bellum contra regem impendiſſe. Ampliſſimos exinde regum noſtrorum annuos reditus recenſes : Nil niſi *millies quingenties quadragies* crepas ; *ex patrimonio regis maximas largitiones* fieri ſolitas ab iis *regibus qui liberalitatis laudibus emicuerunt*, avidus audieras : Hac te illecebrâ veluti Bileamum illum infamem proditores patriæ ad ſuam cauſam perduxere ; ut Dei populo maledicere, & divinis judiciis obſtrepere auderes. Stulte ; quid tandem regi injuſto ac violento tam immenſæ opes profuere ? Quid etiam tibi ? Ad quem nihil prorſus eorum, quæ ſpe ingenti devoraveras, perveniſſe audio, præter unam illam crumenulam vitreis globulis vermiculatam, & centenis aureolis conſertam. Cape iſtam, Balaame, quam adamaſti, iniquitatis mercedem, ac fruere. Pergis enim deſipere ; *Erectio ſtandardi*, id eſt *vexilli ad regem ſolum pertinet.* Quapropter ? Quia

> *——Belli ſignum Laurenti Turnus ab arce*
> *Extulit.*

Tune verò neſcis, Grammatice, hoc idem cujuſvis imperatoris bellici munus eſſe ? At *aït Ariſtoteles, neceſſe eſt regi præſidium adſiſtere, quo leges tueri poſſit* ; *ergo oportet regem plus armis poſſe quàm populum univerſum.* Tales hic homo conſequentias torquere ſolet, quales Ocnus funes apud inferos ; quæ nulli ſunt uſui, niſi ut comedantur ab aſinis : Aliud enim eſt præſidium à populo datum, aliud armorum omnium poteſtas, quam Ariſtoteles hoc ipſo, quem protuliſti, loco à regibus abjudicat. Oportet, inquit, habeat rex tantam circa ſe manum armatorum, *quanta ſingulis vel compluribus fortior ſit, populo vero minor* ; εἶναι δὲ τοσαύτην ἰσχυν ὥστε ἑκάστου μὲν καὶ ἑνὸς καὶ συμπλειονων κρείττω, τοῦ δὲ πλήθους ἥττω, Polit. l. 3. c. 11. Alioqui ſanè, ſub ſpecie tuendi, poſſit ſtatim & populum & leges ſibi ſubjicere. Hoc autem rex & tyrannus intereſt ; rex à ſenatu & populo volente, ac libente, quod ſatis eſt præſidii circa ſe habet contra hoſtes, & ſeditioſos : Tyrannus invito ſenatu ac populo, vel hoſtium, vel perditorum civium præſidium ſibi quàm maximum comparare ſtudet, contra ſenatum ipſum & populum. Conceſſit itaque Parlamentum regi, ut alia omnia, ſic *ſtandardi erectionem* ; non ut infeſta patriæ ſigna inferret, ſed ut populum contra eos defenderet, quos Parlamentum hoſtes judicat ; ſi ſecus feciſſet, ipſe hoſtis judicandus erat ; cum juxta ipſam Sancti Edovardi, vel quod ſanctius eſt, ipſam naturæ legem, nomen regis perdiderit. Unde in prædictâ Philippicâ, *amittit is omne exercitûs & imperii jus, qui eo imperio & exercitu rempub. oppugnat.* Neque licebat regi *feudales* illos *equites ad bellum* evocare, quod Parlamenti authoritas non decreviſſet ; id quod ex ſtatutis pluribus manifeſtum eſt. Idem de vectigalibus & cenſu navali cenſendum; quem imperare civibus ſine ſenatuſconſulto rex non potuit: atque ita graviſſimi legum noſtrarum interpretes annis abhinc plus minus duodecim, tum cum adhuc firmiſſimum erat regium imperium, publicè ſtatuerunt. Sic diu ante eos Forteſcutius Henrici Sexti cancellarius juris noſtri conſultiſſimus; rex Angliæ, inquit, neque leges mutare poteſt, neque tributa, nolente populo, imponere, ſed nec probaverit quiſquam ullis teſtimoniis antiquorum *regni Angliæ ſtatum mere eſſe regalem. Habet rex,* inquit Bractonus, *juriſdictionem ſuper omnes.* Id eſt in curiâ; ubi regis quidem nomine, noſtris autem legibus jus redditur. *Omnis ſub rege eſt*; id eſt, ſinguli: atque ita ſe explicat ipſe Bractonus locis à me ſupra citatis. Ad ea quæ reſtant, ubi eundem volvis lapidem, in quo vales ipſum, credo, Siſyphum delaſſare, ex ſupra dictis abunde reſpondetur. De cætero, ſi quando Parlamenta ſuum regibus bonis obſequium ampliſſimis verbis citra aſſentationem & ſervitutem detulere, id quaſi eodem modo tyrannis delatum eſſet, intelligi, aut populo fraudi eſſe non debet; neque enim juſto obſequio libertas imminuitur. Quod autem ex Edvardo Coco & aliis citas, *Angliæ regnum abſolutum eſt imperium*, id eſt, ſi ad ullum regem externum, aut Cæſarem reſpicias; vel, ut Cambdenus aït, *quia in imperii clientela non eſt:* alioqui adjicit uterque imperium hoc conſiſtere non *ex rege* ſolo, ſed *ex corpore politico.* Unde Forteſcutius, de laud. legum Angl. c. 9. *rex,* inquit, *Angliæ* populum gubernat *non mera poteſtate regia, ſed politica*; *populus enim iis legibus gubernatur quas* ipſe fert. Externos hoc etiam ſcriptores non latebat. Hinc Philippus Cominæus author graviſſimus commentariorum quinto; *inter omnia orbis terræ regna, quorum ego notitiam habeo, non eſt meâ quidem ſententiâ, ubi publicum moderatius tractetur, neque ubi regi minus liceat in populum, quàm in Anglia.* Poſtremò *ridiculum eſt*, inquis, *argumentum, quod afferunt, regna ante reges fuiſſe, quaſi dicas lucem ante ſolem extitiſſe.* At nos, ô bone vir, non regna, ſed populum ante reges fuiſſe dicimus. Quem interim te magis ridiculum dicam, qui lucem ante ſolem extitiſſe, quaſi ridiculum, negas. Ita dum in alienis curioſus eſſe vis, elementa dedidiciſti. Miraris denique, *eos qui regem in comitiis regni viderunt ſolio ſedentem, ſub aureo & ſerico cœlo, potuiſſe in dubium vocare utrum penes regem an penes Parlamentum majeſtas ſit.* Incredulos profectò homines narras, quos tam lucidum argumentum è cœlo ipſo petitum nihil movit. Quod tu cœlum aureum homo ſtoicus adeò es religioſè & unicè contemplatus, ut & cœli Moſaici & Ariſtotelici oblitus eſſe penitus videare: cum in illo *lucem ante ſolem exſtitiſſe* negaveris, in hoc tres Zonas temperatas eſſe ſupra docueris. Quot Zonas in illo regis aureo & ſerico cœlo obſervaveris, neſcio: hoc ſcio, te Zonam unam centum ſtellis aureis bene temperatam ex illa tua cœleſti contemplatione abſtuliſſe.

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## C A P. X.

CUm hæc omnis controverſia de jure, ſive generatim regio, ſive ſeparatim regis Angliæ, obſtinatis partium contentionibus, quàm ipſa rei natura difficilior facta ſit, ſpero, qui ſtudium veritatis factionibus anteponunt, iis ea me ex lege Dei, jureque gentium, ex inſtitutis denique patriis, copioſè attuliſſe, quæ regem Angliæ judicari poſſe, atque etiam capite puniri indubitatum reliquerint. Cum cæteris, quorum animos aut ſuperſtitio occupavit, aut mentis etiam anticipata regii ſplendoris admiratio ita perſtrinxit, ut nihil in virtute ac libertate verâ illuſtre ac ſplendidum videre poſſint, ſive ratione & argumentis agamus, ſive exemplis, fruſtra contendimus. Tu verò, Salmaſi, ut reliqua omnia, ita hoc etiam abſurdè admodùm facere videris, qui cum omnes independentes omnibus probris onerare non deſinas, regem ipſum quem defendis, maximè omnium independentem fuiſſe ſtatuis: neque *regnum populo, ſed generi debuiſſe:* deinde quem *capitis cauſam dicere coactum* initio graviter dolebas, eum nunc *inauditum periiſſe* quereris. At verò totam cauſæ dictionem ejus, fide ſumma Gallicè editam, inſpicere ſi libet, perſuaſum tibi aliud fortaſſe erit. Carolo certè cum per aliquot dies continuos ampliſſima loquendi facta copia eſſet, non ille quidem eſt ea uſus ad objecta ſibi crimina diluendum, ſed ad judicium illud ac judices omninò rejiciendum. Qui autem reus aut tacet, aut aliena ſemper reſpondet, eum non eſt injuria, ſi manifeſtus criminum ſit, vel inauditum condemnari. Carolum ſi *mortem* aïs *planè egiſſe vita reſpondentem*, aſſentior: ſi dicis piè & ſanctè & *ſecurè* vitam finiiſſe, ſcito aviam ejus Mariam, infamem fœminam, pari in ſpeciem pietate, ſanctitate, conſtantia in pegmate occubuiſſe. Ne animi præſentiæ, quæ in morte quibuſvis è vulgo maleficis permagna ſæpè eſt, nimium tribuas, ſæpè deſperatio aut obfirmatus animus fortitudinis quandam ſpeciem & quaſi perſonam induit; ſæpè ſtupor tranquillitatis: videri ſe bonos, intrepidos, innocentes, interdum & ſanctos peſſimi quique non minùs in morte quàm in vita cupiunt; ínque ipſa ſcelerum ſuorum capitali pœna ſolent ultimam ſimulationis ſuæ & fraudum, quàm poſſunt ſpecioſiſſimè, pompam ducere, &, veluti poetæ aut hiſtriones deterrimi, plauſum in ipſo exitu ambitioſiſſimè captare. Nunc *ad iſtam quæſtionem perveniſſe te* aïs, *quâ tractandum eſt quinam fuerint illius regiæ condemnationis præcipui authores.* Cum de te potiùs inquirendum ſit, quomodo tu, homo exterus, & Gallicanus erro, ad quæſtionem de rebus noſtris, tibi tam alienis, habendam perveneris? quo pretio emptus? verùm de eo ſatis conſtat. Te vero percontantem de rebus noſtris quis demum docuit? ipſi nimirum perfugæ, & perduelles patriæ, qui te hominem vaniſſimum nacti, mercede ad maledicendum facilè adduxerunt. Data deinde tibi eſt aliqua aut furibundi cujuſpiam ſacellani ſemipapiſtæ, aut ſervientis aulici, de ſtatu rerum ſcriptiuncula; eam ut latinè verteres negotium tibi dabatur: hinc iſtæ narrationes confectæ, quas, ſi videtur, paulùm excutiamus. *In hanc condemnationem non centena milleſima pars populi conſenſit.* Quid ergo cæteri, qui ſeſe nolentibus tantum facinus fieri ſunt paſſi? an ſtipites, an trunci hominum, an fortè quales illi in ſcena Virgiliana,

*Purpurea intexti tollunt aulæa Britanni?*

Non enim veros tu quidem Britannos, ſed pictos neſcio quos, vel etiam acu pictos videris mihi velle dicere. Cum itaque incredibile ſit gentem bellicoſam à tam paucis, iiſque infimis de plebe ſua, ſub jugum mitti, quod in narratione tua primum occurrit, id eſſe falſiſſimum apparet. *Ordo eccleſiaſticus erat ab ipſo ſenatu ejectus.* Eo miſerior itaque tua eſt inſania, necdum enim te ſentis inſanire, qui eos è Parlamento quereris ejectos, quos tute ex eccleſia ejiciendos eſſe, libro longiſſimo ſcribis? *Senatûs alter ordo qui in proceribus conſiſtebat, ducibus, comitibus, vicecomitibus, ſtatione ſua dejectus eſt.* Et meritò, à nullo enim municipio miſſi pro ſe tantùm ſedebant, nihil juris in populum habebant, juri tamen ejus & libertati, ſuo quodam inſtituto refragari in pleriſque conſueverant: erant à rege conſtituti, ejus comites, & famuli, & quaſi umbræ, quo amoto, ipſi neceſſe eſt ad plebem, unde orti ſunt, redigerentur. *Una & deterrima portio Parlamenti poteſtatem ſibi vindicare non debuit reges judicandi.* At plebeius ordo, quòd te ſupra docui, non ſolum Parlamenti pars erat potiſſima, etiam ſub regibus, ſed per ſe ipſe Parlamentum omnibus numeris abſolutum & legitimum, etiam ſine Comitibus, nedum Eccleſiaſticis, conſtituebat. Atqui *ne tota quidem hæc ipſa pars ad ſententiam de regis capite ferendam admiſſa eſt.* Pars illa nempe non admiſſa, quem verbo regem, re hoſtem toties judicaverat, ad eum animis atque conſiliis palam defecerat. Parlamenti ordines Anglicani cum iis qui à Scotiæ itidem Parlamento miſſi erant legati, idibus Januarii 1645. reſcripſerant regi, doloſas inducias & habenda ſecum Londini colloquia petenti, non poſſe ſe eum in urbem admittere, donec is de bello civili tribus jam regnis ejus operâ excitato, de cædibus tot civium ejus juſſu factis reipub. ſatisfeciſſet; déque pace firma atque ſincera iis conditionibus caviſſet, quas ei utriuſque regni Parlamenta & tulerant ſæpiùs, & latura eſſent: ipſe è contrario poſtulata eorum æquiſſima jam ſepties humillimè oblata, reſponſionibus aut ſurdis repudiaverat, aut ambiguis eluſerat. Ordines tandem poſt tot annorum patientiam ut ne fraudulentus rex, quam debellare rempub. in acie non valebat, eam in vinculis per dilationes everteret, & jucundiſſimum ex noſtris diſſidiis fructum capiens, de victoribus etiam ſuis reſtitutus hoſtis inſperatum ſibi triumphum ageret, decernunt, ſe regis deinceps rationem non habituros, nullas ſe ei poſtulationes ampliùs eſſe miſſuros, aut ab eo accepturos. Poſt hæc tamen decreta reperti ſunt ex ipſo ordinum numero, qui invictiſſimi exercitûs odio, cujus maximis rebus geſtis invidebant, quémque poſt ingentia merita, dimittere cum ignominia cupiebant, & miniſtris aliquot ſeditioſis, quibus miſerè ſerviebant, morem gerentes, opportunum ſibi tempus nacti, cum eorum multi, quos à ſe longè diſſentire ſciebant, ad ſedandos Presbyterianorum gliſcentes jam tumultus, miſſi ab ipſo ordine, in provinciis abeſſent, mira levitate, ne dicam perfidia, decernunt, inveteratum hoſtem, verbotenùs duntaxat regem, nulla penè ab eo ſatisfactione priùs accepta, aut cautione facta, ad urbem eſſe reducendum; in ſummam dignitatem atque imperium æquè eſſe reſtituendum, ac ſi de repub. præclare meritus eſſet. Ita religioni, libertati, fœderi denique illi à ſe toties jactato regem præponebant. Quid illi interea qui integri tam peſtifera agitari conſilia videbant? An ideo deeſſe patriæ, ſaluti ſuorum non proſpicere debuerant, eò quod iſtius mali contagio in ipſorum Ordinem penetraverat? At quis iſtos excluſit malè ſanos? *Exercitus*, inquis, *Anglicanus*, id eſt, non externorum, ſed fortiſſimorum & fidiſſimorum civium; quorum tribuni plerique, ſenatores ipſi erant, quos illi boni excluſi patriâ ipſa excludendos, & in Hiberniam procul ablegandos eſſe cenſuerant; dum Scoti interim dubia jam fide quatuor Angliæ provincias ſuis finibus proximas magnis copiis inſidebant, firmiſſima earum regionum oppida præſidiis tenebant, regem ipſum in cuſtodia habebant: dum ipſi etiam factiones ſuorum atque tumultus, Parlamento ipſi pluſquam minaces, & in urbe & in agris paſſim fovebant, qui paulò pòſt in bellum non civile ſolùm, ſed & Scoticum illud erupere. Quòd ſi privatis etiam conſiliis aut armis ſubvenire reipublicæ laudatiſſimum ſemper fuit, non eſt certè cur exercitus reprehendi poſſit, qui Parlamenti authoritate ad urbem accerſitus imperata fecit; & regiorum factionem atque tumultum ipſi curiæ ſæpiùs minitantem facilè compeſcuit. In id autem diſcrimen adducta res erat, ut aut nos ab illis, aut illos à nobis opprimi neceſſe eſſet. Stabant ab illis Londinenſium plerique inſtitores atque opifices, & miniſtrorum factioſiſſimi quique; à nobis exercitus magna fide, modeſtia, virtute cognitus. Per hos cum retinere libertatem, rempub. ſalutem liceret, an hæc omnia per ignaviam & ſtultitiam prodenda fuiſſe cenſes? Debellati regiarum partium duces arma quidem inviti, animum hoſtilem non depoſuerant: omnibus belli renovandi occaſionibus intenti ad urbem ſe receperant. Cum his, quamvis inimiciſſimis quamvis ſanguinem eorum avidè ſitientibus, Presbyteriani, poſtquam non permitti ſibi in omnes tam civilem quàm eccleſiaſticam dominationem viderunt, clandeſtina conſilia, & prioribus tum dictis tum factis indigniſſima conſociare, cœperant: eóque acerbitatis proceſſere, ut mallent ſe regi denuò mancipare, quàm fratres ſuos in partem illam libertatis quam & ipſi ſuo ſibi ſanguine acquiſiverant, admittere; mallent tyrannum tot civium cruore perfuſum, irâ in ſuperſtites, & concepta jam ultione ardentem rurſus experiri dominum, quàm fratres, & amiciſſimos æquo jure ferre ſibi pares. Soli Independentes qui vocantur, & ad ultimum ſibi conſtare, & ſua uti victoria ſciebant: qui ex rege hoſtem ſe fecerat, eum ex hoſte regem eſſe amplius, ſapienter, meo quidem judicio, nolebant: neque pacem idcircò non volebant, ſed involutum pacis nomine aut bellum novum, aut æternam ſervitutem prudentes metuebant. Exercitum autem noſtrum quo fuſiùs infamare poſſis, narrationem quandam rerum noſtrarum inconditam & ſtrigoſam exordiris: in qua tametſi multa falſa, multa frivola reperio, multa abs te vitio data, quæ laudi ducenda eſſent, huic tamen alteram ex adverſo narrationem opponere nihil arbitror attinere. Rationibus enim hic non narrationibus certatur; atque illis utrobique, non his fides habebitur. Et ſanè ſunt ejuſmodi res iſtæ, ut niſi juſta hiſtoria dici pro dignitate nequeant. Melius itaque puto, quod de Carthagine Salluſtius, ſilere tantis de rebus, quàm parùm dicere: neque committam ut non ſolùm virorum illuſtrium, ſed Dei præcipuè maximi laudes, in hac rerum ſerie mirabili ſæpiſſimè iterandas, tuis hoc libro intexam opprobriis. Ea igitur duntaxat, quæ argumenti habere ſpeciem videntur, pro more decerpam. *Anglos & Scotos* quòd ais *ſolenni conventione promiſiſſe, ſe regis majeſtatem conſervaturas,* omittis quibus id conditionibus promiſere; ſi ſalvâ nimirum religione & libertate id fieri poſſet: quibus utriſque ad extremum uſque ſpiritum iniquus adeò & inſidioſus rex iſte erat, ut, vivente illo, & religionem periclitaturam, & libertatem interituram eſſe facile appareret. Sed redis jam ad illos regii ſupplicii authores. *Si res ipſa ponderibus ſuis, & momentis rectè æſtimetur, exitus facti nefandi ita Independentibus imputari debet, ut principii & progreſſus gloriam Presbyteriani ſibi poſſent vindicare.* Audite Presbyteriani, ecquid nunc juvat, ecquid confert ad innocentiæ & fidelitatis opinionem veſtræ, quòd à rege puniendo abhorrere tantopere videremini?

Vos iſto regis actore verboſiſſimo, accuſatore veſtro, *pluſquam dimidium itineris confeciſtis*; vos *ad quartum actum & ultra in dramate hoc deſultando friguttientes ſpectati eſtis*; vos *meritò regis occiſi crimine notari debetis*; *ut qui viam ad ipſum occidendum muniiſtis*; vos *nefariam illam ſecurim cervicibus ejus inflixiſtis*, *non alii*. Væ vobis imprimis, ſi unquam ſtirps Caroli regnum poſthac in Anglos recuperabit: in vos, mihi credite, cudetur hæc faba. Sed Deo vota perſolvite, fratres diligite liberatores veſtros, qui illam calamitatem, atque certam perniciem ab invitis etiam vobis hactenus prohibuere. Poſtulamini vos item, quòd *aliquot annos antè per varias petitiones jus regis imminuere moliti eſtis*, *quòd voces contumelioſas regi illis ipſis libellis quos nomine Senatus regi porrexiſtis*, *inſertas publicaſtis*; videlicet *in illa declaratione dominorum & communium*, *Maii 26. 1642. apertè quid ſenſiſtis de regis authoritate aliquoties perduellionem ſpirantibus & inſanis poſitionibus faſſi eſtis. Hullæ oppidi portas Hothamus, tali mandato à ſenatu accepto, venienti regi occluſit*; vos *quid rex pati poſſet, hoc primo rebellionis experimento cognoſcere concupiviſtis*. Quid hoc dici potuit accommodatiùs ad conciliandos inter ſe Anglorum animos, atque à rege penitùs abalienandos? cum intelligere hinc poſſint, ſi rex revertatur, ſe non ſolùm regis mortem, ſed etiam petitiones quondam ſuas, & frequentiſſimi Parlamenti acta de liturgia & epiſcopis abolendis, de triennali Parlamento, & quæcunque ſummo populi conſenſu ac plauſu ſancita ſunt, tanquam ſeditioſas atque *inſanas Presbyterianorum poſitiones* luituros. Sed repente mutat animum homo leviſſimus; & quod modò *rem ipſam rectè æſtimanti* ſibi videbatur ſolis Presbyterianis deberi, id nunc *rem* eandem *ab alto revolventi* Independentibus totum deberi videtur. Modò Presbyterianos *vi aperta atque armis contra regem graſſatos eſſe*, eúmque ab iis *bello victum*, *captum*, *in carcerem conjectum* affirmabat, nunc omnem *hanc rebellionis doctrinam* Independentium eſſe ſcribit. O hominis fidem & conſtantiam! quid aliam jam opus eſt narrationem comparare contra tuam, quæ ipſa ſibi tam turpiter decoxit? Verùm de te ſiquis dubitat, albúſne an ater homo ſis, tua legat quæ ſequuntur. *Tempus eſt*, inquis, *pandere unde & quando proruperit inimica regibus ſecta: belli iſti ſanè Puritani ſub regno Eliſabethæ prodire tenebris Orci*, *& Eccleſiam inde turbare primùm cœperunt*, *immo rempub. ipſam: non enim ſunt minores reipub. peſtes quàm eccleſiæ.* Nunc te verè Balaamum vox ipſa ſonat; ubi enim virus omne acerbitatis evomere cupiebas, ibi inſciens atque invitus benedixiſti. Hoc enim tota Anglia notiſſimum eſt, ſi qui ad exemplum eccleſiarum vel Gallicarum vel Germanicarum, ut quaſque reformatiores eſſe judicabant, puriorem cultus divini rationem ſequi ſtudebant, quam penè omnem Epiſcopi noſtri cæremoniis & ſuperſtitionibus contaminaverant, ſi qui tandem pietate erga Deum, aut vitæ integritate cæteris præſtabant, eos ad Epiſcoporum fautoribus Puritanos fuiſſe nominatos. Hi ſunt quorum doctrinam regibus inimicam eſſe clamitas; neque hi ſolum, nam *plerique reformatorum*, inquis, *qui in alios diſciplinæ ejus articulos non jurarunt*, *hunc tamen unum videntur approbaſſe*, *qui regiæ adverſatur dominationi.* Ita Independentes, dum graviſſimè inſectaris, laudas; qui eos ab integerrima Chriſtianorum familia deducis; & quam doctrinam Independentium eſſe propriam ubique aſſeris, eam nunc *reformatorum pleroſque approbaſſe* confiteris; eò uſque demùm audaciæ, impietatis, apoſtaſiæ provectus es, ut etiam Epiſcopos, quos tanquam peſtes & Antichriſtos ex Eccleſia radicitùs evellendos, atque exterminandos eſſe nuper docuiſti, eos nunc *à rege tuendos fuiſſe* affirmas, ne quid *Sacramento* ſcilicet *inaugurationis derogatum iret*. Nihil eſt ulterius jam ſceleris aut infamiæ quò poſſis procedere, quàm, quòd ſolum ſupereſt, ut reformatam, quam polluis, religionem quamprimùm ejures. Quòd autem nos aïs *omnes ſectas & hereſes tolerare*, id noli accuſare; quandiu te impium, qui Chriſtianorum ſanctiſſimos, & pleroſque etiam reformatos tibi adverſos *è tenebris orci prodire*, audes dicere, te vanum, mendacem, & conductitium calumniatorem, te denique Apoſtatam Eccleſia tamen toleret. Tuas autem exinde ſycophantias, quibus magnam reliqui capitis partem inſumis, & quæ monſtroſa dogmata Independentibus, ad cumulandam iis invidiam, affingis, quidni omittam? cum neque ad cauſam hanc regiam omninò pertineant, & ea ferè ſint quæ riſum potiùs aut contemptum cujuſvis quàm refutationem mereantur.

# CAP. XI.

AD undecimum hoc caput videre mihi, Salmaſi, quamvis nullo cum pudore, cum aliqua tamen conſcientia futilitatis tuæ accedere. Cum enim hoc loco perquirendum tibi propoſueris *qua authoritate* pronunciatum de rege fuerit, ſubjungis quod à te nemo expectabat, *fruſtra id quæri*; ſcilicet, *quæſtioni huic vix locum reliquit qualitas hominum qui id fecere.* Cum igitur, quàm es importunitatis & impudentiæ in hac cauſa ſuſcipienda compertus, tam ſis nunc etiam loquacitatis tibi conſcius, eò à me brevius reſponſum feres. Quærenti jam tibi *qua authoritate* ordo plebeius vel judicavit ipſe regem, vel aliis id judicium delegavit, reſpondeo ſupremâ: ſupremam quemadmodum habuerit, docebunt te ea quæ tunc à me dicta ſunt, cum te ſuprà hac ipſa de re gnaviter ineptientem redarguerem. Quòd ſi tibi ſaltem crederes, poſſe te ullo tempore quod ſatis eſt dicere, non eadem toties cantare odioſiſſimè ſoleres. Aliis autem delegare ſuam judicandi poteſtatem ordo plebeius eadem ſanè ratione potuit, qua tu regem, qui & ipſe omnem poteſtatem à populo accepit, eandem aliis delegare potuiſſe dicis. Unde in illa ſolenni conventione, quam nobis objeciſti, cum Angliæ tum Scotiæ ſummi ordines religioſè profitentur ac ſpondent, ea ſe ſupplicia de perduellibus eſſe ſumpturos, *quibus utriuſque gentis poteſtas judiciaria ſuprema, aut qui ab ea delegatam poteſtatem accepturi erant*, plectendos judicarent. Audis hîc utriuſque gentis Senatum una voce teſtantem ſe poſſe ſuam authoritatem judiciariam, quam *ſupremam* ipſi vocant, aliis delegare: vanam ergo & frivolam de iſta poteſtatis delegatione controverſiam moves. At *cum his*, inquis, *judicibus è domo inferiori ſelectis juncti etiam judices fuere ex cohortibus militaribus ſumpti; nunquam autem militum fuit civem judicare.* Pauciſſimis te retundam; non enim de cive nunc, ſed de hoſte memineris nos loqui: quem ſi imperator bellicus cum tribunis militaribus ſuis, bello captum, & è veſtigio, ſi ita videretur, occidendum, pro tribunali judicare voluerit, an quicquam præter jus belli aut morem cenſebitur feciſſe? qui autem hoſtis reipublicæ, & bello captus eſt, ne pro cive quidem is, nedum pro rege in ea repub. haberi poteſt. Hanc ipſa lex Regis Edovardi ſacroſancta ſententiam tulit; quæ negat malum regem aut eſſe regem, aut oportere regis nomine appellari. Ad illud autem quod aïs non *integram* plebis domum, ſed *mancam & mutilam de regis capite judicaſſe*, ſic habeto; eorum, qui regem plectendum eſſe cenſebant, longè majorem fuiſſe numerum, quàm qui res quaſcunq; in Parlamento tranſigere, etiam per abſentiam cæterorum, ex lege debebant; qui cum ſuo vitio atq; culpâ abeſſent (defectio enim animorum ad communem hoſtem peſſima abſentia erat) nullam iis, qui in fide permanſerant, afferre moram conſervandæ reipub. poterant; quam vacillantem, & ad ſervitutem atque interitum prope redactam, populus univerſus eorum fidei, prudentiæ, fortitudini primò commiſerat. Atque illi quidem ſtrenuè rem geſſere; exulcerati regis impotentiæ, furori, inſidiis ſeſe objecere; omnium libertati atque ſaluti ſuam poſthabuere; omnia antehac Parlamenta, omnes majores ſuos prudentia, magnanimitate, conſtantia ſupergreſſi. Hos tamen populi magna pars, quamvis omnem illis fidem, operam, atque auxilium pollicita, ingratis animis in ipſo curſu deſeruit. Pars hæc ſervitutem & pacem cum ignavia atque luxuria ullis conditionibus volebat; pars altera tamen libertatem poſcebat, pacem non niſi firmam atq; honeſtam. Quid hîc ageret Senatus? partem hanc ſanam, & ſibi & patriæ fidelem defenderet, an deſertricem illam ſequeretur? Scio quid agere oportuiſſe dices; non enim Eurylochus, ſed Elpenor es, id eſt vile animal Circéum, porcus immundus, turpiſſima ſervitute etiam ſub fœmina aſſuetus; unde nullum guſtum virtutis, & quæ ex ea naſcitur, libertatis habes; omnes eſſe ſervos cupis, quòd nihil in tuo pectore generoſum aut liberum ſentis, nihil non ignobile atque ſervile aut loqueris aut ſpiras. Injicis porrò ſcrupulum quòd *& Scotiæ rex erat, de quo ſtatuimus*, quaſi idcirco in Anglia impune quidvis illi facere liceret. Ut hoc caput denique præ cæteris elumbe atque aridum aliquo ſaltem facetè dicto queas coucludere, *duæ* inquis, *ſunt voculæ iiſdem ac totidem elementis conſtantes, ſolo literarum ſitu differentes, ſed immane quantum ſignificatione differentes, Vis, & Jus.* Minimè profectò mirum eſt te trium literarum hominem tam ſcitam ex tribus literis argutiolam exculpere potuiſſe; hoc magis mirandum eſt quod toto libro aſſeris, duas res tam inter ſe cæteroqui *differentes*, in regibus unum atque idem eſſe. Quæ enim vis eſt unquam à regibus facta, quam non jus regium tu eſſe affirmaſti? Hæc ſunt quæ novem paginis bene longis reſponſione digna animadvertere potui; cætera ſunt ea, quæ aut identidem repetita haud ſemel refutavimus, aut ad hanc cauſam diſceptandam nullum habent momentum. Itaque ſolito nunc brevior ſi ſum, id non meæ diligentiæ, quam in hoc ſummo tædio langueſcere non patior, ſed tuæ loquacitati, rerum & rationum tam caſſæ atque inani, imputandum erit.

## CAP. XII.

VEllem equidem, Salmaſi, ne cui forte videar in regem Carolum, ſuo fato atque ſupplicio defunctum, iniquior eſſe aut acerbior, ut totum hunc de *criminibus ejus* locum, quod & tibi & tuis conſultius fuiſſet, ſilentio præteriiſſes. Nunc verò quoniam id magis placuit, ut de iis præfidenter & verboſè diceres, faciam profectò ut intelligas,nihil à te fieri incogitantius potuiſſe,quàm ut deterrimam cauſæ tuæ partem, nempe ejus crimina ad extremum refricanda & accuratiùs inquirenda reſervares; quæ, cum vera & atrociſſima oſtendero fuiſſe, & ejus memoriam omnibus bonis ingratam atque inviſam, & tui defenſoris odium quàm maximum in animis legentium noviſſimè relinquant. *Duæ*, inquis, *partes ejus accuſationis fieri poſſunt; una in reprehenſione vitæ verſatur, altera in delictis quæ tanquam rex potuit committere.* Et vitam quidem ejus inter convivia, & ludos, & fœminarum greges dilapſam facilè tacebo: quid enim habet luxus dignum memoratu? Aut quid hæc ad nos, ſi tantùm privatus feciſſet? poſtquam voluit rex eſſe, ut nec ſibi vivere, ita ne peccare quidam ſibi ſolùm potuit. Primùm enim exemplo ſuis vehementiſſimè nocuit; ſecundo loco, quod temporis libidinibus & rebus ludicris impendit, quod erat plurimum, id totum reipub. quam ſusceperat gubernandam, ſubduxit; poſtremò immenſas opes, innumerabilem pecuniam non ſuam, ſed publicam luxu domeſtico dilapidavit. Itaque domi rex malus primùm eſſe cœpit. Verum ad ea potius crimina *quæ malè regnando commiſiſſe arguitur* tranſeamus. Hic doles *tyrannum* eum, *proditorem*, & *homicidam* fuiſſe judicatum. Id non injuria factum demonſtrabitur. Tyrannum autem priùs, non ex vulgi opinione, ſed ex Ariſtotelis & doctorum omnium judicio definiamus. Tyrannus eſt qui ſuam duntaxat, non populi utilitatem ſpectat. Ita Ariſtoteles ethicorum decimo, & alibi; ita alii plerique. Suane commoda an populi ſpectarit Carolus, pauca hæc de multis, quæ tantummodò perſtringam, teſtimonio erunt. Cum aulæ ſumptibus patrimonium & proventus regii non ſufficerent, imponit graviſſima populo tributa; iiſq; abſumptis nova excogitavit: non ut rempub. vel augeret, vel ornaret, vel defenderet, ſed ut populi non unius opes vel unam in domum congerendas inferret, vel una in domo diſſiparet. Hunc in modum ſine lege cum pervolaret omnia, quod unicum ſciebat ſibi fræno fore, Parlamentum aut funditus abolere, aut convocatum haud ſæpius quàm id ſuis rationibus conduceret, ſibi ſoli reddere obnoxium conatus eſt. Quo fræno ſibi detracto, aliud ipſe populo frænum injecit: Germanos equites, pedites Hibernos per urbes, pérque oppida quaſi in præſidiis, cum bellum eſſet nullum, collocandos curavit: parúmne tibi adhuc tyrannus videtur? In quo etiam, ut in aliis multis rebus, quod ſupra per occaſionem abs te datam oſtendi ( quanquam tu Carolum Neroni crudeliſſimo conferri indignaris ) Neroni perquàm ſimilis erat: nam & Senatum ille à repub. ſe ſublaturum perſæpe erat minatus. Interea conſcientiis religioſorum hominum ſupra modum gravis, ad cæremonias quaſdam & ſuperſtitioſos cultus, quos è medio papiſmo in eccleſiam reduxerat, omnes adigebat; renuentes aut exilio aut carcere multabat; Scotos bis eam ob cauſam bello adortus eſt. Huc uſque ſimplici ſaltem vice nomen tyranni commeruiſſe videatur. Nunc cur adjectum in accuſatione proditoris nomen fuerit exponam. Cum huic Parlamento ſæpiùs pollicitis, edictis, execrationibus confirmaſſet, ſe nihil contra rempub. moliri, eodem ipſo tempore aut papiſtarum delectus in Hibernia habebat, aut legatis ad regem Daniæ clanculùm miſſis, arma, equos, auxilium diſertè contra Parlamentum petebat, aut exercitum nunc Anglorum nunc Scotorum pretio ſollicitabat; illis Urbem Londinum diripiendam, his quatuor provincias Aquilonares Scotorum ditioni adjungendas promiſit, ſi ſibi ad Parlamentum quoquo modo tollendum commodare ſuam operam vellent. Cum hæc non ſuccederent, cuidem Dillonio perduelli dat ſecretiora ad Hibernos mandata, quibus juberentur omnes Anglos ejus inſulæ colonos repente armis adoriri. Hæc ferè proditionum ejus monumenta ſunt, non vanis rumoribus collecta, ſed ipſis literis ipſius manu ſubſcriptis atq; ſignatis comperta. Homicidam denique fuiſſe, cujus acceptis mandatis Hiberni arma ceperint, ad quinquies centena millia Anglorum in ſumma pace nihil tale metuentium exquiſitis cruciatibus occiderint, qui etiam tantum reliquis duobus regnis bellum civile conflârit, neminem puto negaturum. Addo enim quod in illo Vectenſi colloquio hujus belli & culpam & crimen rex palàm in ſe ſuſcepit, eòque omni Parlamentum notiſſima confeſſione ſuâ liberavit. Habes nunc breviter quamobrem rex Carolus & tyrannus & proditor & Homicida judicatus fuerit. At *cur non prius*, inquis in illo *ſolenni fœdere*, neque poſtea cum deditiτius eſſet, vel *à Presbyterianis* vel *ab Independentibus* ſic judicatus eſt, ſed potiùs, *ut regem decuit accipi, omni reverentia eſt exceptus?* Vel hoc ſolo argumento perſuaderi cuivis intelligenti queat, non niſi ſerò tandem, & poſtquam omnia ſuſtinuerant, omnia tentaverant, omnia perpeſſi erant, deliberatum Ordinibus fuiſſe regem abjicere. Tu id ſolus malitioſe nimis in invidiam rapis, quod ſummam eorum patientiam, æquanimitatem, moderationem, faſtúſque regii tolerantiam nimis fortaſſe longam apud omnes bonos teſtabitur. At *menſe Auguſto, qui præceſſit ejus ſupplicium, domus Communium quæ ſola jam tum regnabat & Independentibus erat obnoxia, ſcripſit literas ad Scotos, quibus teſtabatur nunquam ſibi in animo fuiſſe mutare ſtatum qui huc uſque in Anglia obtinuerat ſub rege, domo dominorum, & Communium.* Vide jam quàm non doctrinæ Independentium abrogatio regis attribuenda ſit. Qui ſuam diſſimulare doctrinam non ſolent, etiam potiti rerum profitentur *nunquam ſibi in animo fuiſſe ſtatum regni mutare.* Quod ſi id poſtmodùm in mentem venit, quod in animo non fuit, cur non licebat quod rectius, & è repub. magis eſſe videbatur, id potiſſimum ſequi? præſertim cum Carolus neque exorari, neque flecti ullo modo potuerit, ut juſtiſſimis eorum poſtulatis quæque ſemper eadem ab initio obtulerant, aſſentiretur. Quas initio de religione, quas de jure ſuo ſententias perverſiſſimas tuebatur, nobíſque adeò calamitoſas, in iiſdem permanebat: ab illo Carolo nihil mutatus, qui & pace & bello tanta nobis omnibus mala intulerat. Siquid eſt aſſenſus, id & invitè facere, & quamprimùm ſui juris foret, pro nihilo ſe habiturum haud obſcuris indiciis ſignificabat: idem apertè filius, abducta ſecum per eos dies claſſis parte, ſcripto, idem ipſe per literas ad ſuos quoſdam in urbe declarabat. Interea cum Hibernis Anglorum hoſtibus immaniſſimis, reclamante Parlamento, fœdis conditionibus occultè pacem coagmentaverat, Anglos ad repetita inutiliter colloquia & pacem quoties invitabat, toties contra eos omni ſtudio bellum coquebat. Hic ille quibus concredita reſpub. erat. Quò ſe verterent? an commiſſam ſibi noſtram omnium ſalutem in manus hoſti acerbiſſimo traderent? An alterum belli propè internecini ſeptennium, nequid pejus ominemur, gerendum nobis iterum, & exantlandum relinquerent? Deus meliorem illis mentem injecit, ut prioribus de rege non movendo cogitationibus, non enim ad decreta pervenerant, rempub. religionem, libertatem ex ipſo illo fœdere ſolenni anteponerent; quæ quidem, ſtante rege conſtare non poſſe, tardiùs illi quidem quàm oportuit, ſed aliquando tamen viderunt. Sanè Parlamento nunquam non liberum atque integrum eſſe debet, ex re natâ quàm optimè reipub. conſulere; neque ita ſe prioribus addicere ſententiis, ut religio ſit in poſterum, etiamſi Deus dederit, vel ſibi, vel reipub. plus ſapere. At *Scoti non idem ſentiunt, quinimo ad filium Carolum ſcribentes, ſacratiſſimum regem appellant parentem ejus, & ſacerrimum facinus quo necatus eſt.* Cave plura de Scotis, quos non noviſti; nos novimus, cum eundem regem *ſacerrimum*, & homicidam & proditorem; facinus quo tyrannus necaretur *ſacratiſſimum* appellarent. Nunc regi quam dicam ſcripſimus, quaſi parùm commodè ſcriptam cavillaris, & *quid opus fuerit ad Elogium illud tyranni addere proditoris & homicidæ titulos*, quæris: *cum tyranni appellatio omnia mala comprehendat:* tum quis tyrannus ſit grammaticè & gloſſematicè etiam doces. Aufer nugas iſtas, literator, quas una Ariſtotelis definitio modò allata nullo negotio difflabit; quæque te doctorem docebit nomen tyranni, quoniam tuâ nihil intereſt præter nomina intelligere, poſſe citra proditionem & homicidium ſtare. Atqui *leges Anglicanæ non dicunt proditionis crimen regem incurrere ſi procuraverit ſeditionem contra ſe vel populum ſuum.* Neque dicunt, inquam, Parlamentum læſæ Majeſtatis reum eſſe, ſi malum regem tollat, aut unquam fuiſſe, cum ſæpius olim ſuſtulerit:

poſſe autem regem ſuam majeſtatem lædere atque minuere, immò amittere, clara voce teſtantur. Quod enim in illa lege Sancti Edovardi legitur, *nomen regis perdere*, nihil aliud eſt quàm regio munere ac dignitate privari; quod accidit Chilperico Franciæ regi, cujus exemplum illuſtrandæ rei cauſa eodem loco lex ipſa ponit. Committi autem ſummam perduellionem tam in regnum, quàm in regem non eſt apud nos juriſperitus qui inficias ire poſſit. Provoco ad ipſum, quem profers Glanvillanum. *Siquis aliquid fecerit in mortem regis, vel ſeditionem regni, crimen proditionis eſſe.* Sic illa machinatio quâ Papiſtæ quidam Parlamenti curiam cum ipſis ordinibus uno ictu pulveris nitrati in auras disjicere parabant, non in regem ſolum, ſed in Parlamentum & regnum, ab ipſo Jacobo & utraq; ordinum domo *ſumma proditio* judicata eſt. Quid plura attinet in re tam evidenti, quæ tamen facilè poſſem, ſtatuta noſtra allegare? cum ridiculum planè ſit & ratione ipſa abhorrens, committi perduellionem in regem poſſe, in populum non poſſe, propter quem & cujus gratia, cujus, ut ita dicam, bonâ veniâ, rex eſt id quod eſt. Fruſtra igitur tot ſtatuta noſtra deblateras, fruſtra in vetuſtis legum Anglicarum libris exerces te atque volutas; ad quas vel ratas vel irritas habendas Parlamenti authoritas ſemper valuit; cujus etiam ſolius eſt, quid ſit perduellio, quid læſa majeſtas interpretari: quam majeſtatem nunquam ſic à populo in regem tranſiiſſe, ut non multo celſior atque auguſtior in Parlamento conſpiciatur, jam ſæpiùs oſtendi. Te verò vappam & circulatorem Gallum jura noſtra interpretantem quis ferat? Vos verò Anglorum perfugæ, tot epiſcopi, doctores, juriſconſulti, qui literaturam omnem & eruditionem vobiſcum ex Anglia aufugiſſe prædicatis, adeóne ex veſtrûm numero nullus cauſam regiam atque ſuam defendere ſatis ſtrenuè ſatiſque latinè ſciebat, gentibúſque exteris dijudicandum exponere, ut cerebroſus iſte & crumenipeta Gallus mercede accerſendus in partes neceſſariò eſſet, qui regis inopis, tot doctorum & ſacerdotum infantiâ ſtipati, patrocinium ſuſciperet? magna, mihi credite, infamiâ etiam hoc nomine apud exteras nationes flagrabitis; & meritò vos utique cecidiſſe cauſâ omnes exiſtimabunt, quam ne verbis quidem, nedum armis aut virtute ſuſtinere valuiſtis. Sed ad te redeo, vir bone, dicendi perite, ſi tute modò ad te rediiſti; nam ſtertentem te tam prope finem & de *morte* voluntaria neſcio quid ab re ſomniantem offendo; tum ſtatim negas *cadere in regem ſuæ mentis compotem, ut populum ſeditionibus diſtrahat, exercitus ſuos hoſtibus debellandos tradat, ut factiones contra ſe ſuſcitet.* Quæ omnia cum & alii multi reges, & Carolus ipſe fecerit, dubitare non potes, præſertim Stoicus, quin ut omnes improbi, ſic omnes quoque tyranni prorſùs inſaniant. Flaccum audi.

> *Quem mala ſtultitia, & quæcunque inſcitia veri*
> *Cæcum agit, inſanum Chryſippi porticus & grex*
> *Autumat, hæc populos, hæc magnos formula reges,*
> *Excepto ſapiente, tenet.* —

Si igitur inſani cujuſpiam facti crimen à rege Carolo amovere cupis, debebis improbitatem ab eo priùs amovere quàm inſaniam. At enim *rex non potuit proditionem in eos committere, qui vaſſalli ipſius & ſubjecti fuere.* Primùm, cum æquè atque ulla gens hominum liberi ſimus, nullum barbarum morem fraudi nobis eſſe patiemur: fac deinde *vaſſallos* fuiſſe nos regis, ne ſic quidem tyrannum perferre dominum tenemur. Omnis ea ſubjectio, ut ipſæ leges noſtræ loquuntur, *honeſto & utili* definita eſt. Leg. Hen. 1. c 55. Fidem eam eſſe *mutuam* juriſconſulti omnes tradunt, ſi dominus *ligeam*, quod aïunt, *defenſionem* præſtiterit: ſin è contrario nimiùm ſævus fuerit, aut atrocem aliquam injuriam intulerit, *diſſolvi & penitùs extingui omnem homagii connexionem.* Hæc ipſa Bractoni verba & Fletæ ſunt. Unde vaſſallum eſt ubi lex ipſa in dominum armat; eúmque ſingulari certamine à vaſſallo, ſi acciderit, interimendum tradit. Idem ſi univerſæ civitati aut nationi in tyrannum non licuerit, deterior liberorum hominum conditio quàm ſervorum erit. Nunc Caroli homicidia aliorum regum partim homicidiis, partim juſtè factis excuſare contendis. De lanienâ Hiberniensi *remittis lectorem ad opus illud regium Iconis Baſilicæ*; & ego te remitto ad Iconoclaſtem. *Captam Rupellam*, proditos Rupellenſes, *oſtentatam potiùs quàm datam opem*, imputari Carolo non vis: imputetur necne meritò, non habeo dicere; ſatis ſuperque ab eo peccatum eſt domi, ne externa perſequi curem: omnes interim eccleſias proteſtantium, quotquot ullo tempore ſe contra reges religionis hoſtes armis defenderunt, eodem nomine rebellionis damnas. Quam contumeliam ab alumno ſuo ſibi illatam quanti interſit ad diſciplinam eccleſiaſticam, ſuamque tuendam integritatem, non negligere, ſecum ipſi cogitent: nos etiam Anglos ea expeditione proditos acerbè tulimus. Qui enim regnum Angliæ in tyrannidem convertere diu meditatus erat, non, niſi extincto priùs militari civium robore ac flore, cogitata perficere ſe poſſe arbitrabatur. Aliud erat crimen regis, quod ex jurejurando à regibus regnum capeſſentibus dari ſolito verba quædam ejus juſſu eraſa fuerint, antequam juraſſet. O facinus indignum & execrandum! impium qui fecit, quid dicam qui defendit? nam quæ potuit, per Deum immortalem, quæ perfidia, aut juris violatio eſſe major? quid illi ſanctius poſt ſacratiſſima religionis myſteria illo jurejurando eſſe debuit? Quis quæſo ſceleratior, iſne qui in legem peccat, an qui ſecum legem ipſam ut peccare faciat dat operam? aut denique ipſam legem tollit ne peccaſſe videatur? Agedum, jus hoc religioſiſſimè jurandum rex iſte violavit; ſed ne palàm tamen violaſſe videretur, turpiſſimo quodam adulterio per dolum corrupit; & ne pejeraſſe diceretur, jus ipſum jurandum in perjurium vertit. Quid aliud potuit ſperari, niſi injuſtiſſimè, verſutiſſimè, atque infeliciſſimè regnaturum eſſe eum, qui ab injuria tam deteſtanda auſpicatus regnum eſt; juſque illud primum adulterare auderet, quod ſolum impedimento ſibi fore, ne jura omnia perverteret, putabat? At enim *Sacramentum* illud, ſic enim defendis, *non magis obligare reges poteſt, quàm leges; legibus autem ſe devinciri velle præ ſe ferunt, & ſecundum eas vivere, cum tamen re vera iis ſoluti ſint.* Quemquámne tam ſacrilego, támque inceſto ore eſſe, ut ſacramentum religioſiſſimum tactis Evangeliis datum, quaſi per ſe leviculum ſolvi ſine cauſa poſſe aſſerat? Te verò, ſcelus atque portentum, ipſe Carolus redarguit; qui cum ſacramentum illud non eſſe per ſe leve quidpiam exiſtimaret, idcircò ejus religionem aut ſubterfugere, aut fallaciâ quavis eludere ſatius duxit, quàm apertè violare; & corruptor jusjurandi hujus & falſarius eſſe maluit, quàm manifeſtè perjurus. At verò *jurat quidem rex populo ſuo, ut populus viciſſim regi; ſed populus jurat regi fidelitatem, non populo rex.* Lepidum ſanè hominis commentum! annon qui juratus promittit atque ſpondet ſe quidpiam fideliter præſtiturum, fidem ſuam iis obligat qui jusjurandum ab eo exigunt? Rex ſanè omnis quoad præſtanda ea quæ promittit, & *fidelitatem*, & *obſequium*, & *obedientiam populo* jurat. Hîc ad Guilielmum Conquæſtorem recurris, qui ipſe, non quod ſibi collibitum erat, ſed quod populus ab eo & magnates poſtulabant, id omne haud ſemel jurare eſt coactus ſe præſtiturum. Quòd ſi multi reges *coronam* ſolenni ritu non *accipiunt* & proinde non jurant, & tamen regnant, idem de populo reſponderi poteſt, cujus pars magna fidelitatem nunquam juravit. Si rex ob eam cauſam ſolutus erit, erit & populus. Quæ autem pars populi jurabat, non regi ſolùm, ſed regno & legibus jurabat, à quibus rex factus eſt, & quidem eatenus tantum regi, quoad is leges obſervaret, *quas vulgus*, id eſt, communitas ſive plebeius ordo *elegerit*. Stultior enim ſit, qui legum noſtrarum loquelam ad puriorem ſemper latinitatem exigere velit. Hanc clauſulam, *quas Vulgus elegerit*, Carolus, antequam coronam acciperet, ex formula juramenti regii eradendam curavit. At, inquis, *ſine regis aſſenſu nullas leges vulgus elegerit*; eóque nomine duo ſtatuta citas, unam Anni xxxvii. Hen. 6. c. xv. alterum *decimo tertio* Edovardi iv. c. viii. Tantùm autem abeſt quo minùs eorum alterutrum in libro ſtatutorum uſquam appareat, ut annis abs te citatis, neque rex iſte neque ille ullum omninò ſtatutum promulgaverit. Tu fidem jam perfugarum, ſtatuta tibi dictantium, eluſus querere; dum alii tuam admirantur impudentiam ſimul & vanitatem, quem non pudebat iis in libris verſatiſſimum videri velle, quos inſpexiſſe nunquam, ne vidiſſe quidem tam facilè argueris. Clauſulam autem iſtam jusjurandi, quam tu perfricti oris balatro *commentitiam* audes dicere, *regis*, inquis, *defenſores fieri poſſe aiunt*, ut in aliquot antiquis exemplaribus extiterit, *ſed in deſuetudinem abiiſſe, quòd commodam ſignificationem non haberet.* Verùm ob id ipſum majores noſtri illam clauſulam in hoc regis jurejurando poſuere, ut ſignificationem tyrannidi ſemper non commodam haberet. In deſuetudinem autem ſi abierat, quod tamen falſiſſimum eſt, quis neget multo meliori jure revocandam fuiſſe? fruſtra, ſi te audiam: quippe *in regibus* mos ille *jurandi qui hodie receptus eſt, cæremonialis eſt tantùm.* Atqui rex, cum epiſcopos aboleri oportuit, per illud jusjurandum non licere ſibi cauſatus eſt. Atque ita ſacramentum illud ſanctiſſimum, quoties ex uſu eſt regis, vel ſolidum quiddam & firmum erit, vel inane tantùm & *cæremoniale*. Quod ego vos obteſtor, Angli, etiam atque etiam animadvertatis: & qualem eſtis regem habituri, ſi redierit, vobiſcum reputetis: non enim in mentem veniſſet unquam huic Grammatico ſceleroſo & extraneo de jure regis Anglorum velle ſcribere, aut poſſe, niſi Carolus ille extorris, diſciplinâ patriâ imbutus, unáque illi monitores ejus profligatiſſimi, quid hac de re ſcribi vellent omni ſtudio ſuggeſſiſſent. Dictabant huic illi, *totum Parlamentum proditionis in regem inſimulari poſſe*, vel ob hoc ſolum, quòd *ſine aſſenſu regis declaravit omnes eſſe proditores qui arma contra Parlamentum Angliæ ſumpſerunt*; *vaſſallum ſcilicet regis eſſe Parlamentum*; jusjurandum verò regium *cæremoniale tantùm* eſſe, quidni *vaſſallum* etiam? Ita neque legum ulla ſanctitas, neque ſacramenti ulla fides, aut religio, quicquam valebit ad cohibendam à vita atque fortunis veſtrûm omnium vel libidinem effrænati regis, vel ultionem exacerbati: qui ita inſtitutus à pueritia eſt, ut leges & religionem, ipſam denique fidem vaſſallari ſibi, & ſervire ſuis libitis arbitretur debere. Quanto præſtabilius eſſet, vobiſque dignius, ſi opes, ſi libertatem, ſi pacem, ſi imperium vultis, à virtute, induſtria, prudentia, fortitudine veſtra indubitanter petere hæc omnia quàm ſub regio dominatu incaſsùm ſperare? Certè qui ſine rege ac domino parari hæc poſſe non putant, dici non poteſt, quàm abjectè, quàm non honeſtè, non dico quàm indignè, de ſe ipſi ſtatuant: quid enim aliud niſi ſe inertes, imbecllios, mentis inopes, atque conſilii, corpore atque animo ad ſervitium natos fatentur eſſe? Et ſervitus quidem omnis homini ingenuo turpis eſt; vobis autem poſt libertatem, Deo vindice veſtróque marte recuperatam, poſt tot fortia facinora, & exemplum in regem potentiſſimum tam memorabile editum velle rurſus ad ſervitutem, etiam præter fatum, redire, non modo turpiſſimum, ſed & impium erit, & ſceleratum: párque veſtrum ſcelus illorum ſceleri erit, qui ſervitutes olim Ægyptiacæ deſiderio capti, multis tandem cladibus ac variis divinitùs abſumpti, liberatori Deo pœnas tam ſervilis animi dedere. Quid tu interim, ſervitutis conciliator? *Potuit*, inquis, *rex proditionis & delictorum aliorum gratiam facere; quod ſatis evincit legibus eum ſolutum fuiſſe*. Proditionis quidem, non quæ in regnum, ſed quæ in ſe commiſſa erat, poterat rex, ut quivis alius, gratiam facere: poterat & quorundam aliorum fortaſſe maleficiorum, quanquam non id ſemper: an ideò qui maleficum ſervandi nonnunquam jus quoddam habet, idem continuò omnes bonos perdendi jus ullum habebit? Citatus in curiam, eámque inferiorem, reſpondere non tenetur, niſi per procuratorem, rex; an ideo in Parlamentum citatus ab univerſis non veniet? non ipſe reſpondebit? *Conari* non aïs *Batavorum exemplo factum noſtrum tueri*, atque hinc, ſtipendo ſcilicet metuens quo te Batavi luem atque peſtem alunt, ne Anglos infamando etiam Batavos altores tuos infamaſſe videaris, demonſtrare cupis quàm *diſſimile ſit quod hi & quod illi fecerunt*. Quam ego collationem tuam, quanquam in ea quædam ſunt falſiſſima, alia, ne ſalario fortaſſe tuo non ſatis litares, palpum olent, omittam. Negant enim Angli opus ſibi eſſe ut exterorum quorumvis exemplo facta ſua tueantur. Habent leges, quas ſecuti ſunt, patrias, hac in parte, ſicubi terrarum aliæ ſunt, optimas: habent quos imitentur, majores ſuos, viros fortiſſimos, qui immoderatis regum imperiis nunquam ceſſere; multos eorum intolerantiùs ſe gerentes per ſupplicium necavere. In libertate ſunt nati, ſibi ſufficiunt, quas volunt leges poſſunt ſibi ferre; unam præ cæteris colunt antiquiſſimam, à natura ipſa latam, quæ omnes leges, jus omne atque imperium civile non ad regum libidinem, ſed ad bonorum maximè civium ſalutem refert. Jam præter quiſquilias & rudera ſuperiorum capitum reſtare nihil video; quorum quidem acervum cum ſatis magnum in fine congeſſeris, neſcio quid aliud tibi volueris, niſi hujus tuæ fabricæ ruinam quaſi præſagire. Tandem aliquando poſt immenſam loquacitatem rivos claudis; *Deum teſtatus te hanc cauſam tuendam ſuſcepiſſe, non tantum quia rogatus, ſed quia meliorem nullam te potuiſſe defendere conſcientia tibi ſuggeſſit*. Rogatus tu in res noſtras tibi alieniſſimas, nobis non rogantibus, te interponas? Tu populi Anglicani ſummos magiſtratus pro authoritate próque imperio ſibi commiſſo quod ſuum munus eſt in ſua ditione agentes, nulla injuriâ laceſſitus (neque enim natum te eſſe ſciebant) indigniſſimis verborum contumeliis laceres, libróque infami edito proſcindas? A quo autem rogatus? An ab uxore, credo, quæ jus regium, ut perhibent, in te exercet; quæque tibi, quoties libet, ut illa Fulvia, cujus, ex epigrammate obſcœno, centones modò conſuiſti (*p.* 320.) *aut* ſcribe *aut pugnemus* aït: unde tu, ne ſigna canerent, ſcribere malebas. An rogatus fortaſſe à Carolo minore, & perditiſſimo illo peregrinantium aulicorum grege, quaſi alter Balaamus ab altero Balacco rege accerſitus,

ſitus, ut jacentem regis cauſam, & malè pugnando amiſſam maledicendo erigere dignarere? Sic ſanè fieri potuit; niſi quod hoc ferè interfuit; ille enim vir ſagax aſino inſidens locutuleio ad execrandum venit; tu aſinus loquaciſſimus inſeſſus à fœmina, & ſanatis quos vulneraveras epiſcoporum capitibus obſitus, apocalypticæ illius beſtiæ parvam quandam imaginem exprimere videris. Sed ferunt pœnituiſſe te hujus libri, pòſt paulò quàm ſcripſiſſes. Benè profectò habet; tuam itaque ut teſtere omnibus pœnitentiam, nihil tibi priùs faciendum erit, quàm ut pro libro tam longo unam tantummodò literam adhuc longam ex te facias. Sic enim pœnituit Iſcarioten illum Judam cui ſimilis es; ídque novit puer Carolus, qui crumenam idcircò tibi, inſigne illud Judæ proditoris, dono miſit, quòd primùm audierat, & poſtmodùm ſciebat, te apoſtatam eſſe & Diabolum. Judas ille Chriſtum prodidit, tu Chriſti Eccleſiam; Epiſcopos Antichriſtos eſſe docueras, ad eos defeciſti: Quos inferis damnaveras, eorum cauſam ſuſcepiſti: Chriſtus omnes homines liberavit, tu omnes ad ſervitutem redigere conatus es: Ne dubita, poſtquàm in Deum, in Eccleſiam, in omne genus hominum tam impius fuiſti, quin te etiam idem exitus maneat, ut deſperatione magis quàm pœnitentiâ ductus, tuíque pertæſus, ab infelici tandem arbore pendens, ſicut & par ille tuus olim, medius crepes; illámque malefidam & fallacem conſcientiam, bonorum & ſanctorum inſectatricem, ad deſtinatas tibi quandoque ſupplicii ſedes præmittas. Hactenus, quod initio inſtitueram ut meorum civium facta egregia contra inſanam & lividiſſimam furentis ſophiſtæ rabiem, & domi & foris defenderem, júſque populi commune ab injuſto regum dominatu aſſererem, non id quidem regum odio, ſed tyrannorum, Deo bene juvante, videor jam mihi abſolviſſe: Neque ullum ſine reſponſo vel argumentum, vel exemplum, vel teſtimonium ab adverſario allatum ſciens prætermiſi, quod quidem firmitatis in ſe quicquam, aut probationis vim ullam habere videretur; in alteram fortaſſe partem culpæ propior, quòd ſæpiuſculè ineptiis quoque ejus, & argutiis tritiſſimis, quaſi argumentis, reſpondendo, id iis tribuiſſe videar, quo dignæ non erant. Unum reſtat, & fortaſſe maximum, ut vos quòque, ô Cives, adverſarium hunc veſtrum ipſi refutetis; quod nulla alia ratione video poſſe fieri, niſi omnium maledicta veſtris optimè factis exuperare perpetuò contendatis. Vota veſtra & preces ardentiſſimas Deus, cum ſervitutis haud uno genere oppreſſi, ad eum confugiſtis, benignè exaudiit. Quæ duo in vita hominum mala ſanè maxima ſunt, & virtuti damnoſiſſima, Tyrannis & ſuperſtitio, iis vos gentium primos glorioſè liberavit; eam animi magnitudinem vobis injecit, ut devictum armis veſtris & dedititium regem judicio inclyto judicare, & condemnatum punire primi mortalium non dubitaretis. Poſt hoc facinus tam illuſtre, nihil humile aut anguſtum, nihil non magnum atque excelſum & cogitare & facere debebitis. Quam laudem ut aſſequamini, hac ſola incedendum eſt via, ſi ut hoſtes bello domuiſtis, ita ambitionem, avaritiam, opes, & ſecundarum rerum corruptelas, quæ ſubigunt cæteras gentes hominum, oſtenderitis poſſe vos etiam inermes media in pace omnium mortalium fortiſſimè debellare: Si, quam in repellenda ſervitute fortitudinem præſtitiſtis, eam in libertate conſervanda juſtitiam, temperantiam, moderationem præſtiteritis. His ſolis argumentis & teſtimoniis evincere poteſtis, non eſſe vos illos, quos hic probris inſequitur, *Perduelles, latrones, ſicarios, parricidas, fanaticos*; non vos ambitionis aut alieni invadendi ſtudio, non ſeditione, aut pravis ullis cupiditatibus, non amentia aut furore percitos, regem trucidâſſe, ſed amore libertatis, religionis, juſtitiæ, honeſtatis, patriæ denique charitate accenſos, tyrannum puniiſſe. Sin autem, quod, bone Deus, ne unquam ſiveris, aliter in animum induxeritis, ſi in bello fortes; in pace turpes eritis, qui manifeſtum ſenſiſtis numen vobis tam propitium, hoſtibus tam grave, neque exemplo tam inſigni & memorando ante oculos poſito, Deum vereri, & juſtitiam colere didiceritis, quod ad me attinet, concedam ſanè, & fatebor, neque enim potero negare, ea omnia quæ nunc maledici & mendaces de vobis peſſimè aut loquuntur aut ſentiunt, vera eſſe: Vóſque multo iratiorem brevi tempore experturi eſtis Deum, quàm aut infenſum inimici veſtri, aut vos benignum & faventem & paternum, præ cæteris omnibus terrarum orbis gentibus hodiernis, experti eſtis.

DEFENSIO

# DEFENSIO
## SECUNDA
## Pro Populo Anglicano,
### Contra Infamem Libellum Anonymum,
### Cui Titulus,
### *Regii Sanguinis clamor ad Cœlum, adverſus Parricidas Anglicanos.*

Quod in omni vita hominum, omníque genere officii eſt primum, ut grati ſemper erga Deum, ejúſque memores beneficiorum ſimus, tum præſertim, ſi qua ſupra ſpem votúmque evenerint, uti, ob ea, ſingulares atque ſolennes gratias quamprimùm referamus, id mihi nunc in ipſo limine orationis tribus potiſſimùm de cauſis video eſſe faciendum. Primùm iis me natum temporibus patriæ, quibus civium virtus eximia, & ſupergreſſa omnes majorum laudes magnitudo animi atque conſtantia, obteſtata priùs Deum, eundémque ſequuta manifeſtiſſimum ducem, editis poſt orbem conditum exemplis factíſque fortiſſimis, & gravi dominatione rempublicam, & indigniſſimâ ſervitute religionem liberavit. Deinde, cùm extitiſſent ſubitò multi, qui, ut eſt ferè ingenium vulgi, egregiè facta odioſè criminarentur, unúſque, præ cæteris, literatorio faſtu, & conceptâ de ſe gregalium ſuorum opinione inflatus ac fidens, conſcripto in nos libro admodum infami, tyrannorum omnium patrocinium nefariè ſuſcepiſſet , me potiùs quàm alium quemvis, neque tanti nominis adverſario, neque tantis rebus dicendis viſum imparem, ab ipſis patriæ liberatoribus has partes accepiſſe communi omnium conſenſu ultrò delatas, ut cauſam & populi Anglicani, & ipſius adeò Libertatis, ſiquis unquam alius, publicè defenderem. Poſtremò, in re tam arduâ & expectationis plenâ, neque civium meorum de me ſive ſpem, ſive judicium illud fefelliſſe, neque exterorum quamplurimis cùm doctis viris, tum rerum peritis non ſatisfeciſſe ; adverſarium verò, quamvis audaciſſimum, ita profligâſſe, ut animo ſimul & exiſtimatione fractâ cederet ; trienniòque toto, quo poſtea vixit, multa licèt minatus ac fremens, nullam tamen ampliùs moleſtiam nobis exhiberet, niſi quòd viliſſimorum quorundam hominum obſcuram operam ſubſidio ſibi corrogaret, & laudatores neſcio quos ineptos atque immodicos, ad inopinatam ac recentem infamiam, ſiquo modo poſſet, ſarciendam ſubornaret ; quod ſtatim patebit. Hæc ego divinitus mihi accidiſſe bona, & magna quidem ratus, appoſitiſſima denique non modò ad perſolvendas numini ex debito gratias, ſed ad auſpicium quoque optimum inſtituti operis capiendum, cum veneratione, ut facio, imprimis commemoranda eſſe duxi. Nam quis eſt qui patriæ decora non arbitretur ſua ? quid patriæ cujuſquam eſſe magis decori aut gloriæ poteſt, quàm libertas, non civili tantùm vitæ, ſed divino etiam cultui reſtituta ? quæ gens, quæ civitas aut feliciùs aut fortiùs hanc ſibi utrobique peperit ? Etenim fortitudo, cùm non tota in bello atque armis eniteat, ſed contra omnes æquè formidines diffundat vim ſuam atque intrepida ſit, Græci quidem illi, quos maximè admiramur, & Romani, ad tollendos ex civitatibus tyrannos nullam ferè virtutem, præter ſtudium libertatis, expedita arma, promptáſque manus attulere ; Cætera omnia in proclivi, inter laudes omnium & plauſus, & læta omnia, peragebant; nec tam ad diſcrimen & ambiguum facinus quàm ad certamen virtutis glorioſiſſimum atque pulcherrimum, ad præmia denique & coronas ſpémque immortalitatis certiſſimam properabant. Nondum enim Tyrannis res ſacra erat; nondum tyranni, Chriſti ſcilicet proreges atque vicarii repentè facti, cùm benevolentiâ non poſſent; cæcâ vulgi ſuperſtitione ſeſe munierant: nondum Clericorum malis artibus attonita plebs, ad barbariem eâ fœdiorem, quæ ſtolidiſſimos mortalium infamat Indos, degeneraverat. Illi enim noxios ſibi Dæmonas, quos abigere non poſſunt, pro Diis colunt; hæc Tyrannos nè liceret tollere cùm poſſet, impotentiſſimos creabat in ſe Deos; & humani generis peſtes in ſuam perniciem conſecrabat. At contra has omnes traditarum diu opinionum, religionum, calumniarum, atque terrorum denſiſſimas acies, hoſte ipſo vehementiùs ab aliis formidatas, decertandum Anglis erat. Quæ omnia, edocti meliùs, & proculdubio cœlitus imbuti, tantâ cauſæ fiduciâ, tantâ animorum firmitate ac virtute ſuperârunt, ut cùm numero populus ſanè magnus eſſent, animis tamen tam erectis támque excelſis, vulgus eſſe deſierint; Britanniáque ipſa poſthac, quæ tyrannorum terra ferax dicta olim eſt, nunc liberatorum longè feracior, perpetuâ ſeculorum omnium celebratione dici meruerit. Quos non legum contemptus aut violatio in effrænatam licentiam effudit; non virtutis & gloriæ falſa ſpecies, aut ſtulta veterum æmulatio inani nomine libertatis incendit, ſed innocentia vitæ, morúmque ſanctitas rectum atque ſolum iter ad libertatem veram docuit, legum & religionis juſtiſſima defenſio neceſſariò armavit. Atque illi quidem Deo perinde confiſi, ſervitutem honeſtiſſimis armis pepulere: cujus laudis etſi nullam partem mihi vendico, à reprehenſione tamen vel timiditatis vel ignaviæ, ſiqua infertur, facilè me tueor. Neque enim militiæ labores & pericula ſic defugi, ut non aliâ ratione, & operam, multò utiliorem, nec minore cum periculo meis civibus navârim, & animum dubiis in rebus neque demiſſum unquam, neque ullius invidiæ, vel etiam mortis plus æquo metuentem præſtiterim. Nam cùm ab adoleſcentulo humanioribus eſſem ſtudiis, ut qui maximè deditus, & ingenio ſemper quàm corpore validior, poſthabitâ caſtrenſi operâ, quâ me gregarius quilibet robuſtior facilè ſuperâſſet, ad ea me contuli, quibus plus potui; ut parte meî meliore ac potiore, ſi ſaperem, non deteriore, ad rationes patriæ, cauſámque hanc præſtantiſſimam, quantum maximè poſſem momentum accederem. Sic itaque exiſtimabam, ſi illos Deus res gerere tam præclaras voluit, eſſe itidem alios à quibus geſtas dici pro dignitate atque ornari, & defenſam armis veritatem, ratione etiam, (quod unicum eſt præſidium verè ac propriè humanum) defendi voluerit. Unde eſt, ut dum illos invictos acie viros admiror, de mea interim provincia non querar; immo mihi gratuler, & gratias inſuper largitori munerum cœleſti iterum ſummas agam obtigiſſe talem, ut aliis invidenda multò magis, quàm mihi ullo modo pœnitenda videatur. Et me quidem nemini vel infimo libens confero; nec verbum de me ullum inſolentius facio: ad cauſam verò omnium nobiliſſimam, ac celeberrimam, & hoc ſimul defenſores ipſos defendendi munus ornatiſſimum ipſorum mihi ſuffragiis attributum atque judiciis quoties animum refero, fateor me mihi vix temperare, quin altiùs atque audentiùs quàm pro exordii ratione inſurgam; & grandius quiddam, quod eloqui poſſim, quæram: quandoquidem oratores illos antiquos & inſignes, quantum ego ab illis non dicendi ſolùm ſed & loquendi facultate, (in extranea præſertim, quâ utor neceſſariò, linguâ, & perſæpe mihi nequaquam ſatisfacio) haud dubiè vincor, tantùm omnes omnium ætatum, materiæ nobilitate & argumento vincam. Quod & rei tantam expectationem ac celebritatem adjecit, ut jam ipſe me ſentiam non in foro aut roſtris, uno duntaxat populo, vel Romano, vel Athenienſi circumfuſum; ſed attentâ, & conſidente quaſi totâ penè Europâ, & judicium ferente, ad univerſos quacunque graviſſimorum hominum, urbium, gentium, conſeſſus atque conventus, & priore defenſione, dixiſſe, & hac rurſus dicturum. Jam videor mihi, ingreſſus iter, tranſmarinos tractus & porrectas latè regiones, ſublimis perluſtrare; vultus innumeros atque ignotos, animi ſenſus mecum conjunctiſſimos. Hinc Germanorum virile & infeſtum ſervituti robur, inde Francorum vividi digníque nomine liberales impetus, hinc Hiſpanorum conſulta virtus, Italorum inde ſedata ſuíque compos magnanimitas ob oculos verſatur. Quicquid uſpiam liberorum pectorum quicquid ingenui, quicquid magnanimi aut prudens latet aut ſe palàm profitetur, alii tacitè favere, alii apertè ſuffragari, accurrere alii & plauſu accipere, alii tandem vero victi, dedititios ſe tradere. Videor jam mihi, tantis circumſeptus copiis, ab Herculeis uſque columnis ad extremos Liberi Patris terminos, libertatem diu pulſam atque exulem, longo intervallo domum ubique gentium reducere: Et, quod Triptolemus olim fertur, ſed longè nobiliorem Cereali illâ frugem, ex civitate mea gentibus importare; reſtitutum nempe civilem liberúmque vitæ cultum, per urbes, per regna, pérque nationes diſſeminare. Sed nec ignotus plané, nec fortaſſe non gratus rurſum advenero; ſi ſum idem, qui pugnaciſſimum tyrannorum ſatellitem, & opinione plerorumque, & ſuî fiduciâ inſuperabilem antea creditum, cùm nos noſtráſque acies contumelioſè laceſſeret, & Optimates noſtri me primùm intuerentur, ſingulari certamine congreſſus, adacto convitiantis in jugulum hoc ſtylo, immò ſuiſmet ipſius telis, collocavi; & niſi velim tot undique lectorum intelligentium calculis atque ſententiis, neutiquam addictis mihi aut obnoxiis diffidere prorſus & derogare, opima ſpolia retuli. Hæc ſine ulla vaniloquentia ità eſſe re vera, vel illud maximè argumento eſſè poteſt, quod ego nec ſine Dei nutu reor accidiſſe, quòd, cùm à Regina Suecorum Sereniſſima, quâ vivit opinor nemo, aut olim vixit, vel optimarum artium, vel doctorum hominum ſtudioſior, honorificè ſanè eſſet invitatus, veniſſétque & Salmaſius & Salmaſia, ( uter enim horum is erat, uxoris palàm dominatus cum fama tum domi incertum admodum reddiderat ) quo in loco peregrinus magno in honore degebat, ibi eum noſtra Defenſio nihil tale metuentem occupavit. Quâ ſtatim à pluribus perlectâ, Regina quidem, quæ & ipſa cumprimis perlegerat, de ſuâ priſtinâ benignitate ac munificentiâ, id ſolum ſpectans quod ſe dignum erat, in hoſpitem nihil remiſit: de cætero, ſi audita ſæpius & quæ arcana non ſunt, licet referre, tanta animorum facta ſubitó mutatio eſt, utqui nudiuſtertius ſummâ gratiâ floruerat, nunc penè obſoleſceret; nec ità multò poſt diſcedens cum bona venia hoc unum in dubio permultis relinqueret, honoratiórne advenerit, an contemptior abierit. Sed neque aliis in locis detrimentum levius feciſſe famæ ſatìs conſtat. Verùm hæc omnia non eò attuli; quò me cuiquam venditarem, neque enim eſt opus; ſed quò id duntaxat latiùs oſtenderem, quod initio inſtitui, quas ob cauſas, & quàm non leves, ab agendis Deo Optimo Maximo gratiis potiſſimùm ſim exorſus; mihíque proœmium hoc fore honeſtiſſimum atque pulcherrimum, in quo præcipuè, tot argumentis enumeratis, demonſtrare liceat, me, haud expertem licèt calamitatum humanarum, me tamen, réſque meas Deo curæ eſſe; me maximis prope de rebus, & ad patriæ neceſſaria tempora accommodatis, & civilis vitæ religioníſque ex uſu maximè futuris, non uno pro populo, nedum uno pro reo, ſed pro univerſo potiùs hominum genere, contra humanæ libertatis hoſtes, quaſi in communi omnium gentium & frequentiſſimo concurſu diſſerentem, divino favore & auxilio adjutum atque auctum: quo ego majus aut glorioſius quicquam mihi tribuere, neque poſſim ullo tempore neque cupiam. Eundem proinde immortalem Deum oro, ut conſuetâ ejus ope ac benignitate ſolâ fretus, quâ integritate, diligentiâ, fide, felicitate etiam, fortiſſimè juſtiſſiméque ſimul facta haud ità pridem defendi, eâdem, vel eâ amplius, Authores ipſos, méque tantis viris ignominiæ cauſâ, non honoris additum ab immeritis opprobriis, atque calumniis vindicare ſufficiam. Quòd ſi eſt, qui contemni hæc ſatiùs arbitretur potuiſſe, fateor equidem, ſi apud eos qui nos rectè nôſſent hæc ſpargerentur: cæteris quâ tandem ratione conſtabit non eſſe verum quicquid adverſarius noſter eſt mentitus? cùm autem, data, quæ par eſt, opera, à nobis erit, ut quo præceſſit calumnia, eodem vindex quoque veritas ſequatur, & illos de nobis perperam ſentire opinor deſituros, & iſtum fortaſſe mendaciorum pudebit: ſi non puduerit, tum demùm, ſatiùs contempſerimus. Huic interea reſponſum pro meritis celeriùs expediviſſem, niſi ſe falſis rumoribus hactenus muniiſſet; dum ſæpius denuntiaret, ad incudem ſudare Salmaſium, nova volumina in nos fabricare, jam jámque editurum: ex quo hoc ſolum eſt conſequutus, ut maledicentiæ pœnas aliquanto ſeriùs daret: expectandum enim duxi potiùs, ut potiori viribus adverſario, integrum me ſervarem. Sed cum Salmaſio debellatum jam puto mihi eſſe, utpote mortuo; & quemadmodum mortuo, non dicam: non enim ut ille mihi cæcitatem, ſic ego illi mortem vitio vertam. Quanquam ſunt, qui nos etiam necis ejus reos faciunt, illóſque noſtros nimis acriter ſtrictos aculeos; quos dum repugnando altiùs ſibi infixit, dum quod præ manibus habebat opus, vidit ſpiſſiùs procedere, tempus reſponſionis abiiſſe, operis gratiam periiſſe, recordatione amiſſæ famæ, exiſtimationis, Principum denique favoris, ob rem regiam malè defenſam, erga ſe imminuti, triennali tandem mœſtitiâ, & animi magis ægritudine, quàm morbo confectum obiiſſe. Utcunque ſit, ſi iterum cum hoſte ſatis mihi cognito, ſi bella etiam poſthuma gerenda ſunt, cujus feroces ac ſtrenuos impetus facilè ſuſtinui, ejus languentes & moribundos conatus non eſt ut reformidem.

Nunc verò ad hoc quicquid eſt hominis, qui nos inclamat, aliquando veniamus: clamorem quidem audio, non Regii ſanguinis, ut præ ſe fert titulus, ſed obſcuri cujuſpiam nebulonis; clamantem enim nuſquam reperio. Eho! quis es? homóne an nemo? hominum certè infimi, nè mancipia quidem, ſine nomine ſunt. Sempérne ergò mihi cum anonymis res erit? at verò hi regios haberi ſe vel maximè volunt: miror ſi regibus ſic perſuaſerint. Regum ſequaces atque amicos regum non pudet; quo pacto igitur ſunt iſti regibus amici? non dant munera; immo verò libentiùs multò accipiunt: res ſuas non impendunt, qui ne nomina quidem cauſæ regiæ dare audent: quid ergò? verba dant, ſed nec verba gratìs dare ſuis regibus, vel ſatìs benevoli in animum inducunt, vel ſatis conſtantes nomine adſcripto audent. Me quidem ὦ ἄνδρες ἀνώνυμοι, fas enim ſit Græcè quos Latinè quid nominem non reperio, me inquam, cum veſter ille Claudius de Jure Regio, materiâ ſanè gratioſiſſimâ, ſine nomine tamen orſus eſſet ſcribere, & exemplo poſſem uti, uſque adeò neque mei, neque cauſæ puditum eſt, ut ad rem tantam accidere, niſi nomen palàm profeſſus, turpe ducerem. Quod ego in Republica palàm videor contra Reges, cur vos in Regno, vel Regum ſub patrocinio, non niſi furtim & clanculum, contra Rempublicam audetis? cur in tuto pavidi, cur in luce nocturni, ſummam potentiam, ſummam gratiam, timiditate invidioſâ planè atq; ſuſpectâ obſcuratis? ſatíſne vobis ut præſidii ſit in Regibus veremini? ſic tecti, ſic obvoluti non vos mehercule ad aſſerendum jus Regium defenſores, ſed ad ærarium compilandum fures potiùs videmini veniſſe. Equidem quod ſum, profiteor; quod Regibus nego jus eſſe, vel in regno quovis legitimo pernegare auſim: nemo me læſerit Monarcha, quin ſe priùs damnet, tyrannum faſſus. Si tyrannos inſector, quid hoc ad Reges? quos ego à tyrannis longiſſimè ſejungo. Quantum à viro malo diſtat vir bonus, tantundem à tyranno diſcrepare Regem contendo: Unde efficitur, tyrannum non modò non eſſe Regem, ſed Regi quidem adverſiſſimum ſemper imminere. Et ſanè qui monumenta rerum percurrit, plures à tyrannis quàm à populo oppreſſos Reges, atque ſublatos inveniet. Qui igitur tollendos affirmat tyrannos, non Reges, ſed inimiciſſimos Regibus, immo infeſtiſſimos regum hoſtes tollendos affirmat. Vos contrà, quod regibus jus datis, ut quicquid libeat jus ſit, non eſt jus, ſed injuria, ſed ſcelus, ſed ipſa pernicies: venenato iſto munere, non ſalutari, quos ſupra omnem vim atque periculum fore prædicatis, eos ipſi occiditis; regem & tyrannum idem eſſe, ſiquidem idem utrobique Jus eſt, ſtatuitis. Nam ſi iſto ſuo jure, Rex non utitur (utetur autem nunquam quamdiu Rex, non tyrannus, erit) non hoc Regi, ſed viro aſſignandum eſt. Quid autem abſurdius illo jure Regio fingi queat, quo ſi quis utatur, quoties Rex vult eſſe, toties eſſe vir bonus deſinat: quoties vir eſſe bonus maluerit, toties ſe arguerit non eſſe Regem? quo quid in Reges dici contumelioſius poteſt? Hoc jus qui docet, ipſe ſit oportet injuſtiſſimus, atque omnium peſſimus: pejor autem quo pacto fiat, quàm ſi quales format ac fingit alios, talis ipſe imprimis fuerit? Quòd ſi omnis vir bonus, ut antiquorum ſecta quædam magnificè ſanè philoſophatur, eſt Rex, pari ratione ſequitur, omnem virum malum pro ſuo quemque modulo tyrannum eſſe: neque enim magnum, nè hoc nomine intumeſcat, ſed infimum quiddam eſt tyrannus; & quantò omnium maximus, tantò omnium viliſſimus, & maximè ſervilis. Alii enim ſuis tantùm vitiis volentes ſerviunt; Hic non modò ſuis ſed miniſtrorum etiam atque ſatellitum importuniſſimis flagitiis etiam nolens cogitur ſervire; & ſuas quaſdam tyrannides abjectiſſimo cuique ſuorum concedere: Tyranni igitur ſervorum infimi, ſuis ſerviunt etiam ſervitiis. Quamobrem rectè hoc nomen vel in minimum quemque tyrannorum pugilem, vel in hunc etiam clamatorem poterit convenire; qui in hac cauſa tyrannica cur tam ſtrenuè vociferetur, ex his quæ dicta ſunt, quæque mox dicentur, ſatis liquebit: utì etiam cur anonymus: aut enim turpiter conductus, clamorem hunc ſuum regio ſanguini; Salmaſium ſequutus, vendidit; aut infamis doctrinæ conſcientiâ pallens, aut vitâ flagitioſus ac turpis latere ſi cupit, mirum non eſt: aut fortaſſis ità ſe parat, ut ſicubi ſpem quæſtûs uberiorem odoretur, deſertis quandoq; regibus integrum ſibi ſit, ad quamlibet etiam futuram rempublicam transfugere; nè tunc quidem ſine exemplo magni ſui Salmaſii, qui affulgente lucro captus, ab Orthodoxis ad Epiſcopos, à popularibus ad regios, etiam ſenex defecit. Tu igitur iſte è gurguſtio clamator, qui ſis non fallis; fruſtrà tibi iſta latibula quæſiſti: Extrahère mihi crede, neque Plutonis iſta galea diutiùs te teget: Dejerabis, quoad vixeris, me aut cæcum non eſſe, aut tibi ſaltem non connivere. Quis igitur ſit, quod genus hominis, quâ ſpe adductus, quibus illecebris, quibus lenociniis delinitus, ad hanc cauſam regiam acceſſerit, (Mileſia propemodum, aut Baiana fabula eſt) ſi vacat nunc audite.

Eſt *Morus* quidam, partim Scotus, partim Gallus; nè tota hominis infamia gens una, aut regio nimiùm laboraret; homo improbus, & cùm aliorum, tum, quod graviſſimum eſt, amicorum, quos ex intimis inimiciſſimos ſibi fecit, teſtimoniis quam plurimis infidus, mendax, ingratus, maledicus, & virorum perpetuus obtrectator & fœminarum, quarum nec pudicitiæ plus unquam parcere, quàm famæ conſuevit. Is, ut primæ ætatis obſcuriora præteream, primùm Genevæ Græcas literas docuit; verùm, ſæpius licet nomen ſuum Græcè Morum diſcipulis interpretatus, ſtultum & nequam ipſe dediſcere nequivit. Quin eo potiùs furore eſt agitatus cùm tot ſcelerum eſſet ſibi conſcius, quamvis fortaſſe nondum compertus, ut paſtoris in Eccleſia munus ambire, atque iſtis moribus inquinare non horreſceret. Verùm haud diu Presbyterorum cenſuram effugere potuit mulierarius ac vanus, multiſque aliis criminibus notatus, multis ab Orthodoxâ fide erroribus damnatus, quos & turpiter ejuravit, & ejuratos impiè retinuit, tandem adulterii manifeſtus. Hoſpitis ancillam quandam fortè adamaverat; eam paulò pòſt etiam alteri nuptam ſectari non deſtitit; tuguriolum quoddam intrare hortuli, ſolum cum ſola, vicini ſæpe animadverterant. Citra adulterium, inquis; poterat enim quidvis aliud: Sanè quidem; poterat confabulari, nimirum de re hortenſi, prælectiones quaſdam ſuas ſciolæ fortaſſe fœminæ & audiendi cupidæ expromere de hortis, Alcinoï putà vel Adonidis; poterat nunc areolas laudare, umbram tantummodo deſiderare, liceret modò ficui morum inſerere, complures indè ſycomoros quàm citiſſimè enaſci, ambulationem amœniſſimam; modum deinde inſitionis mulieri poterat monſtrare: Hæc & plura poterat, quis negat? Veruntamen Presbyteris ſatiſfacere non poterat, quin illum tanquam adulterum cenſurâ ferirent, & paſtoris munere indignum prorſus judicarent: Harum & hujuſmodi accuſationum capita in Bibliotheca illius urbis publica etiamnum aſſervantur. Interea, dum hæc palàm nota non eſſent, ab Eccleſia, quæ Middelburgi erat Gallica, procurante Salmaſio, in Hollandiam vocatus, magnâ cum offenſione Spanhemii, viri ſanè docti, & paſtoris integerrimi, qui eum Genevæ antea probè noverat, literas teſtimoniales, quas vocant, dum alii non ferendum exiſtimarent, ut homo iſtiuſmodi Eccleſiæ teſtimonio ornaretur, alii quidvis potiùs ferendum, quàm ipſum hominem, ægrè à Genevenſibus, & non aliâ quàm ſui diſceſſûs conditione, atque illas quidem frigidulas, tandem impetravit. In Hollandiam ut venit, ad ſalutandum Salmaſium profectus, domi ejus in uxoris ancillam, cui Pontiæ nomen erat, oculos nequiter conjecit: Semper enim in ancillis prolabitur libido hominis; hinc ſummâ aſſiduitate Salmaſium cœpit colere, & quoties licuit Pontiam. Neſcio an ille commoditate hominis & aſſentatione captus, an hic optabilem excogitâſſe ſe conveniendæ eo ſæpius Pontiæ occaſionem ratus, prior ſermones injecerit de reſponſo Miltonii ad Salmaſium. Ut ut fuit, Morus propugnandum ſuſcipit Salmaſium: Et Salmaſius quidem Theologicam in ea urbe cathedram ſuâ operâ pollicetur Moro; Morus & hanc & aliud inſuper ſuaviculum, furtivos Pontiæ concubitus pollicetur ſibi. Per cauſam conſulendi de hoc opere Salmaſium, dies ac noctes eam domum frequentat. Jámque ut olim Pyramus in morum, ità nunc repente morus in Pyramum tranſmutatus ſibi videtur, Genevenſis in Babylonium; verùm illo juvene quantò improbior, tantò fortunatior, nunc ſuam Thiſben, factâ ſub eodem tecto copiâ, ut libitum eſt, Pontiam alloquitur; rimam in pariete conquirere opus non erat: Spondet matrimonium; eâ ſpe pellectam vitiat; eodémque ſcelere, horreo dicere, ſed dicendum eſt, Sacroſancti Evangelii miniſter, hoſpitalem etiam domum conſtuprat. Ex hoc demum congreſſu, mirum quiddam, & præter ſolitum naturæ prodigioſum accidit, ut & fœmina & mas etiam conciperet, Pontia quidem Morillum, quod & Plinianum exercitatorem diu poſtea exercuit Salmaſium; Morus ovum hoc irritum & ventoſum, ex quo tympanites iſte clamor regii ſanguinis prorupit. Quod quidem primò regiis noſtris in Belgio eſurientibus pergrata admodum ſorbitio fuit; nunc rupto putamine, vitioſum ac putridum repertum averſantur. Nam Morus hoc ſuo fœtu haud mediocriter inflatus, & Arauſiacam factionem totam demeruiſſe ſe ſentiens, jam integras profeſſionum cathedras ſpe improbâ devoraverat, & ſuam Pontiam utpote ancillam & pauperculam, jam gravidam ſceleratus deſeruerat. Illa deſpectam ſe atque deluſam querens, & ſynodi fidem & magiſtratûs imploravit. Sic tandem evulgata hæc res, & conviviis penè omnibus, ac circulis diu riſum & cachinnos præbuit. Unde aliquis, & lepidi ſanè, quiſquis erat, ingenii, hoc diſtichon,

*Galli ex concubitu gravidam te, Pontia, Mori,*
*Quis bene moratam, morigerâmque neget?*

Sola Pontia non riſit; ſed nec querendo quicquam profecit; Clamor enim regii ſanguinis clamorem ſtupri, & ſtupratæ mulierculæ ploratum facilè obruerat; Salmaſius quoque illatam ſibi hanc totíque familiæ & injuriam & labem ægrè ferens, ſéque ab amico & laudatore ſuo ſic ludos factum, ſic adverſario rurſus obnoxium, accedente ad priores ejus in cauſa regia infelicitates forſitan hoc etiam infortunio, haud itâ multò pòſt ſupremum diem obiit. Verùm aliquantò hæc poſteriùs. Interim Salmaſius, Salmacidis quodam fato, ut enim nomen, itâ & fabula non abludit, neſcius Hermaphroditum ſe adjunxiſſe ſibi Morum tam gignendi quàm pariendi compotem, quid is domi genuiſſet ignarus, quod peperit exoſculatur; librum nempe iſtum in quo ſentit ſe Magnum toties dici, & ſuo fortè judicio dignè, aliorum certè ſtultè atque ridiculè laudatum. Itaque typographum feſtinanter quærit; & fugientem ab ſe jam diu famam, retinere fruſtrà conatus, quas laudes, quas potiùs fœdas ſuî adulationes per hunc atque alios miſerè concupiverat, iis etiam divulgandis obſtetricatur ipſe atque ſubſervit. Ad hanc operam Vlaccus quidam eſt viſus omnium maximè idoneus; huic facilè perſuadet, non modò ut librum illum excudendum curaret, quod nemo reprehendiſſet; ſed etiam ut Epiſtolæ ad Carolum videlicet miſſæ, multis in me, qui hominem nunquam nôram, probris & contumeliis refertæ, ſubſcripto nomine ſe profiteretur authorem. Nequis igitur miretur cur ſe exorari tam facilè ſit paſſus, ut me tam impudenter nullâ de cauſâ laceſſeret, & alienas etiam intemperies in ſe transferre atque præſtare tam pro nihilo duceret, erga omnes etiam alios quemadmodum ſe geſſerit, ſicuti ego compertum habeo, oſtendam. Eſt Vlaccus unde gentium neſcio, vagus quidam librariolus, veterator atque decoctor notiſſimus; is Londini aliquandiu Bibliopola fuit clancularius; quâ ex urbe, poſt innumeras fraudes, obæratus aufugit. Eundem Pariſiis fide caſſum & malè agendo inſignem, via tota Jacobæa cognovit: Unde olim quoque profugus nè multis quidem paraſangis audet appropinquare; nunc ſi cui opus eſt balatrone perditiſſimo atque venali, proſtat Hagæcomitis Typographus recoctus. Hunc ut intelligatis, quid dicat, quídve agat, quàm nihil penſi habeat, nihil eſſe tam ſanctum, quod non lucro vel exiguo poſterius putet, ſéque non cáuſa publica, quod quis putâſſet, ſic in me eſſe debacchatum, fatentem ipſum in ſe teſtem producam. Is cum vidiſſet quod in Salmaſium ſcripſeram, nonnullis librariis æra meruiſſe, ſcribit ad amicos quoſdam meos mecum agerent, ut ſiquid haberem excudendum, ſibi committeretur; ſe typis longè melioribus, quàm qui priùs excudiſſet, mandaturum: Reſpondi per eoſdem, non habere me in præſentia, quod excuſo eſſet opus. Ecce autem! cui ſuam operam tam officioſè modò detulerat, in eum haud itâ multò poſt, ſcripti contumelioſiſſimi non excuſor ſolùm ſed & author, ſubdititius licèt, prodit. Indignantur amici; reſcribit impudentiſſimus, mirari ſe ſimplicitatem eorum, & rerum imperitiam, qui officii rationem aut honeſti ab ſe exigant aut deſiderent, cùm videant quibus rebus quæſtum faciat: Se ab ipſo Salmaſio illam epiſtolam, cùm libro accepiſſe; qui rogabat, id uti ſuâ gratiâ, vellet facere quod fecit; ſi Miltonio, vel cuivis alteri viſum eſſet reſpondere, nullum ſibi eſſe ſcrupulum; ſiquidem eâdem ſuâ operâ uti voluerint: Id eſt, vel in Salmaſium vel in Carolum; namque id erat ſolum quod in reſponſo ejuſmodi futurum expectare poterat. Quid plura? Hominem videtis; ad reliquos nunc pergo, non enim unus eſt duntaxat, qui hanc in nos regii Clamoris quaſi tragœdiam adornavit. En igitur initio, ut ſolet, dramatis perſonæ: Clamor prologus, Vlaccus Balatro, aut ſi mavultis, Salmaſius Vlacci Balatronis perſona & lacernis involutus, Duo Poetaſtri Cereviſiali vappâ temulenti,

lenti, Morus adulter & ſtuprator. Mirificos ſanè tragœdos! Bellum certamen mihi paratum! Verùm qualeſcunque ſortiti, quoniam alios atque hujuſmodi adverſarios vix eſt ut cauſa noſtra habere poſſit, nunc ſingulos aggrediamur; hoc tantùm præfati, ſi cui minus gravitatis noſtra alicubi refutatio habere videbitur, cogitare eum debere, non cum gravi adverſario, ſed cum grege hiſtrionico, nobis rem eſſe; ad quem dum refutationis genus accommodandum erat, non ſemper quid magis decuiſſet, ſed quid illis dignum eſſet, ſpectandum duximus.

*Regii Sanguinis clamor ad Cœlum adverſus Parricidas Anglicanos.*

Siquidem non jure fuſum oſtendiſſes, More, iſtum ſanguinem, haud incredibile narrares: Nunc, quemadmodum primis reſtituti Evangelii temporibus, Monachi, cùm argumentis minùs valerent, ad ſpectra neſcio quæ, & ficta monſtra decurrere ſolebant; ſic vos, poſtquam omnia defecere, ad clamores nuſquam auditos, & obſoletas fraterculorum artes revertimini. Voces è cœlo audire quemquam noſtrorum, longè abeſt ut credas; ego te clamores ab Inferis audîſſe, quod poſtulas, facilè crediderim. Verùm hunc regii ſanguinis clamorem dic ſodes quis audivit? Te ais: Nugæ: Primùm enim malè audis: Ad Cœlum autem qui clamor perveniat, ſi quis præter Deum, juſti puto ſoli & integerrimi quique audiunt, ut qui poſſint, immunes ipſi, iram Dei conſciis denuntiare. Tu verò quorſum audires, an ut ſatyram cynædus ſcriberes? Videris enim eodem tempore, & ementitus hunc clamorem ad cœlum, & cum Pontia furtim libidinatus eſſe. Multa te impediunt, More, multa intus foriſque circumſonant, quæ te res iſtiuſmodi ad cœlum perlatas audire non ſinunt; & ſi nihil aliud certè qui contra ipſum te ad Cœlum quam plurimus fit clamor. Clamat contra te, ſi neſcis, Mœcha illa tua hortenſis, tuo maximè Paſtoris ſui exemplo, deceptam ſe eſſe queſta; clamat contra te maritus, cujus torum violâſti; clamat Pontia, cui pactum nuptiale temerâſti; clamat, ſiquis eſt, quem probro genitum, infantulum abdicâſti; horum omnium clamores ad Cœlum contra te, ſi non audis, neque illum regii ſanguinis audiveris: Interea libellus iſte, non regii Sanguinis clamor ad Cœlum, ſed laſcivientis Mori hinnitus ad Pontiam, rectiùs inſcribetur. Quæ ſequitur Epiſtola prolixa quidem, & bene putida, partim Carolo, partim Miltonio, alteri amplificando, alteri infamando, dedicatur. Ab ipſo ſtatim initio Authorem diſcite: *Caroli Regna*, inquit, *in Sacrilegam parricidarum, & (quia verba deſunt idonea, Tertullianeâ voce abutimur) Deicidarum poteſtatem venerunt.* Hæc ſive Salmaſiæa, ſive Moræa, ſive Vlaccæa ſartago ſit, prætereamus. Hoc verò aliis ridendum, Carolo indignandum profectò eſt, quod paulò pòſt, *neminem*, ait *vivere felicitatis Caroli ſtudioſiorem.* Quíne eandem & epiſtolandi, & excudendi operam Caroli hoſtibus detuliſti, te vivit nemo felicitatis ejus ſtudioſior? Miſerum profectò dicis regem ſic ab amicis omnibus derelictum, ut qui intimi reſtant, iis Vappa typographus comparare ſe audeat. Miſerrimum, cujus fideliſſimis, Vlaccus perfidus fide ac ſtudio non cedat: Quo quid inſolentius de ſe, contemptius de rege amicíſque regiis pronunciare potuit? Neque hoc minùs ridiculum, induci Idiotam & operarium de rebus graviſſimis ac regiis virtutibus phiſophantem, eáque dicentem, qualiacunque ſunt, quibus nec Salmaſius ipſe, nec Morus meliora dixiſſet. Equidem Salmaſium, ut ſæpe aliàs, ità hoc loco haud obſcurè, ſi multâ lectione, judicio tamen puerili & nullius uſûs hominem deprehendi; qui cùm legere potuiſſet ſummos in Spartanâ civitate optimè inſtitutâ magiſtratus, ſi quid fortè viro malo excidiſſet ſapienter dictum, id ei adimi juſſiſſe, & in virum aliquem bonum ac frugi ſortitione conferri, adeò id omne quod decorum dicitur ignorârit, ut è contra, quas probum atque prudentem decere ſentias arbitraretur, eas homini nequiſſimo attribui ſuſtineret. Bono es animo, Carole: Veterator Vlaccus, *qua ſua eſt in Deum fiducia*, bono animo te eſſe jubet. *Noli tot mala perdere:* Vlaccus decoctor perditiſſimus, qui bona omnia, ſiqua habuit, perdidit, author tibi eſt, perdere ut nolis mala: *Fruere novercante fortunâ:* Potin'es ut nè fruare, hortatore præſertim tali, qui alienis etiam fortunis frui per fas & nefas tot annis conſuevit? *In ſapientiam penitùs ingurgitâſti, & ingurgita:* Sic monet, ſic præcipit regum Inſtitutor ſanè optimus Vlaccus gurges, qui arreptâ atramentoſis manibus, coriaceâ lagenâ, inter combibones operas, ingenti hauſtu, ſapientiam tibi propinat. Hæc audet tuus Vlaccus, tam præclara monita, nomine etiam conſcripto, quæ

Salmaſius, quæ Morus, cæteríque pugiles tui aut timidi non audent, aut ſuperbi non dignantur; nimirum quoties te monito eſt opus aut defenſo, alieno ſemper nomine, atque periculo, non ſuo, ſapientes aut fortes ſunt. Deſinat ergò, quiſquis hic eſt, *ſtrenuam & animoſam facundiam* ipſe ſuam inaniter jactare; dum *vir*, ſi diis placet, *inſignis, decoro ingenio nomen ſuum celeberrimum* edere metuit; librum quo regium ſanguinem ulciſci ſe ait, ne dicare quidem Carolo niſi per Vlaccum interpretem & vicarium auſus, verbis typographi miſerè contentus ſignificare, *librum* ſe, ſine nomine, *ſi pateris, O Rex, tuo nomini dicatum ire.* Sic functus Carolo in me impetum parat minitabundus: *Poſt hæc proœmia, tubam terribilem inflabit ὁ θαυμάσιος ille Salmaſius.* Salubritatem prædicis & concentûs muſici novum genus futurum; iſti enim tubæ terribili, cùm inflabitur, nulla aptior excogitari ſymphonia poterit, quàm ſi affatim oppedetur. Buccam verò Salmaſius nimis inflatam ne afferat moneo; quo enim attulerit inflatiorem, eò mihi crede, opportuniorem ad Colaphos præbebit; qui thaumaſii Salmaſii rhythmicum hunc ſonum, quo delectaris, buccis ambabus reſonantibus, numeroſe reddent. Pergis cornicari. *Qui nec parem nec ſecundum habet, in univerſo literarum & ſcientiarum orbe.* Veſtram fidem! Eruditi, quotquot eſtis, veſtram fidem! Siccine vobis omnibus anteferri Cimicem Grammaticum, cujus res atque ſpes omnis in gloſſario vertebatur? Quem vel extremum meritò occupet ſcabies, ſi cum viris verè doctis comparetur. Hæc autem, niſi ab infimo quopiam & infra Vlaccum ipſum væcorde affirmari tam fatuè nequiverunt. *Quique jam ſtupendam & infinitam eruditionem cœleſti junctam ingenio ad cauſam tuæ majeſtatis contulit.* Si meminiſtis quod ſuprà narravi, ipſum Salmaſium, attuliſſe hanc epiſtolam cum libro excudendam, vel ab ipſo ſcriptam, vel ab anonymo quovis, vernámque typographum exorâſſe, ut quod author nollet, ipſe ſuum nomen adſcriberet, cognoſcetis profectò puſilli omnino, & abjectiſſimi hominem ingenii ſuis laudibus tam miſerè velificantem, & immenſa encomia tam ſtolidi laudatoris aucupantem. *Opus æternum fruſtrà ſugillantibus nonnullis, juriſconſulti mirari ſatis nequeunt quòd homo Gallus ità ſubitò res Anglicas, leges, decreta, inſtrumenta, ità teneat, enodet, &c.* Immo quàm ineptierit in noſtris legibus & pſittacus fuerit, noſtris etiam juriſconſultis teſtibus abunde oſtendimus. *Sed ipſe mox altera, quam in Rebelles molitur, impreſſione, ſimul Theonum ora comprimet, ſimul Miltonum nobis pro eo ac meretur concaſtigatum dabit.* Tu igitur ut piſciculus ille anteambulo, præcurris Balænam Salmaſium, impreſſiones in hæc littora minitantem; nos ferramenta acuimus, expreſſuri ſi quid habent impreſſiones & concaſtigationes illæ ſive olei ſive gari. Bonitatem interea magni viri mirabimur pluſquam Pythagoricam, qui animalia quoque miſeratus, & præſertim piſces, quorum carnibus, ne quadrageſima quidem parcit, iis tam decenter involvendis tot volumina deſtinârit, tot pauperum millibus, Thunnorum, credo, aut Scombrorum, chartaceas in ſingulos tunicas teſtamento legârit.

*Gaudete Scombri, & quicquid eſt piſcium ſalo,*
*Qui frigidâ hyeme incolitis algentes freta,*
*Veſtrûm miſertus ille Salmaſius eques*
*Bonus amicire nuditatem cogitat;*
*Chartæque largus apparat papyrinos*
*Vobis cucullos præferentes Claudii*
*Inſignia nomenque & decus Salmaſii,*
*Geſtetis ut per omne cetarium forum*
*Equitis clientes, ſcriniis mungentium*
*Cubito virorum, & capſulis gratiſſimos.*

Hæc habui in Editionem diu exſpectatam tam nobilis libri; cujus impreſſionem, dum, ut ais, molitur Salmaſius, tu ejus domum, More, fædiſſimâ compreſſione Pontiæ contaminâſti. Et videtur ſanè, ad hoc opus abſolvendum, Salmaſius diu multúmque incubuiſſe; paucis enim ante mortem diebus, cùm vir quidam doctus, à quo hoc ipſum accepi, miſiſſet, qui ex eo quæreret, ecquando apparatûs partem ſecundam in Primatum Papæ editurus eſſet, reſpondit, ad illud opus non ante reverſurum ſe, quàm abſolviſſet quod adhuc commentaretur adverſùs Miltonium. Ità ego etiam Papæ refutandus præferor; & quem illi primatum in Eccleſia negavit, eum mihi ultro in inimicitia ſua concedit; ſic ego primatui Papæ jam jam evertendo ſalutem attuli; ego redivivum hunc Catilinam, non in toga, ut conſul olim Tullius, nè per ſomnum quidem, ſed aliud omnino agens, Romanis mœnibus averti; non unus profectò cardinalatus mihi hoc nomine debebitur; vereor, nè tranſlato in me regum nuper noſtrorum titulo, Defenſor fidei ab Romano Pontifice appellandus ſim. Videtis quantus invidiæ artifex in me concitandæ, Salmaſius fuerit; verùm ipſe viderit, qui tam honeſtâ provinciâ turpiter relictâ, alienis ſe controverſiis immiſcuerit, ab Eccleſiæ cauſa, ad civiles & externas, quarum ſuâ nihil intererat, ſe traduxerit; cum Papa inducias fecerit; & quod fœdiſſimum fuit, cum Epiſcopis, poſt bellum apertiſſimum, in gratiam redierit. Veniamus nunc ad mea crimina; éſtne quod in vita aut moribus reprehendat? Certè nihil: Quid ergo? Quod nemo niſi immanis, ac barbarus feciſſet, formam mihi ac cæcitatem objectat.

*Monſtrum, horrendum, informe, ingens, cui lumen ademptum.*

Nunquam exiſtimabam equidem fore, ut de forma, cum Cyclope certamen mihi eſſet; verùm ſtatim ſe revocat. *Quanquam nec ingens, quo nihil eſt exilius, exſanguius, contractius.* Tametſi virum nihil attinet de forma dicere, tamen quando hîc quoque eſt, unde gratias Deo agam, & mendaces redarguam, nè quis (quod Hiſpanorum vulgus de hæreticis, quos vocant, plus nimio Sacerdotibus ſuis credulum opinatur) me fortè Cynocephalum quempiam, aut Rhinocerota eſſe putet, dicam. Deformis quidem à nemine, quod ſciam, qui modò me vidit, ſum unquam habitus; formoſus nécne, minùs laboro; ſtaturâ fateor non ſum procerâ: Sed quæ mediocri tamen quàm parvæ propior ſit: Sed quid ſi parvâ, quâ & ſummi ſæpe tum pace tum bello viri fuere, quanquam parva cur dicitur, quæ ad virtutem ſatis magna eſt. Sed neque exilis admodum, eo ſanè animo iiſque viribus, ut cùm ætas vitæque ratio ſic ferebat, nec ferrum tractare, nec ſtringere quotidiano uſu exercitatus neſcirem; eo accinctus, ut plerumque eram, cuivis vel multò robuſtiori exæquatum me putabam, ſecurus quid mihi quis injuriæ vir viro inferre poſſet. Idem hodie animus, eædem vires, oculi non iidem; ità tamen extrinſecus illæſi, ità ſine nube clari ac lucidi, ut eorum qui acutiſſimùm cernunt: In hac ſolùm parte, memet invito, ſimulator ſum. In vultu, quo *nihil exſanguius* eſſe dixit, is manet etiamnum color exſangui & pallenti planè contrarius, ut quadragenario major vix ſit cui non denis prope annis videar natu minor; neque corpore contracto neque cute. In his ego ſi ulla ex parte mentior, multis millibus popularium meorum, qui de facie me nôrunt, exteris etiam non paucis, ridiculus meritò ſim: Sin iſte in re minimè neceſſariâ, tam impudenter & gratuitò mendax comperietur, poteritis de reliquo eandem conjecturam facere. Atque hæc de forma mea vel coactus: De tua quanquam & contemptiſſimam accepi, & habitantis in te improbitatis atque malitiæ vivam imaginem, neque ego dicere, neque ullus audire curat. Utinam de cæcitate pariter liceret inhumanum hunc refellere adverſarium; ſed non licet; feramus igitur: Non eſt miſerum eſſe cæcum; miſerum eſt cæcitatem non poſſe ferre: Quidni autem feram, quod unumquemque ità parare ſe oportet, ut ſi acciderit, non ægrè ferat, quod & humanitus accidere cuivis mortalium, & præſtantiſſimis quibuſdam, atque optimis omni memoriâ viris accidiſſe ſciam: Sive illos memorem vetuſtatis ultimæ priſcos vates, ac ſapientiſſimos; quorum calamitatem, & Dii, ut fertur, multò potioribus donis compenſârunt, & homines eo honore affecerunt, ut ipſos inculpare maluerint deos, quàm cæcitatem illis crimini dare. De augure Tireſia quod traditur, vulgò notum. De Phineo ſic cecinit Apollonius in Argonauticis:

——— Οὐδ᾽ ὅσσον ὀπίζετο καὶ Διὸς αὐτοῦ
Χρωον ἀτρεκέως ἱερὸν νόον ἀνθρώποισι.
Τῷ καὶ οἱ γῆρας μὲν ἐπὶ δ᾽ ιωαιὸν ἴαλλεν
Ἐκ δ᾽ ἕλετ᾽ ὀφθαλμῶν γλυκερὸν φάος.

——— *neque eſt veritus Jovem ipſum*
*Edens veraciter mentem divinam hominibus:*
*Quare & ſenectam ei diuturnam dedit,*
*Eripuit autem oculorum dulce lumen.*

Cæterum deus & ipſe veritas eſt: in qua homines edocenda quò quis veracior eò ſimilior deo acceptiórque ſit, oportet. Non eſt pium veritatis invidentem deum credere; aut nolle hominibus quàm liberrimè impertitam: Ob nullam igitur noxam, divinus vir, & humani generis erudiendi ſtudioſiſſimus, ut philoſophorum etiam complures, caruiſſe luminibus videtur. Sive illos commemorem civili prudentiâ, geſtiſque rebus admirabiles olim viros; primùm Timoleontem Corinthium, & civitatis ſuæ, & Siciliæ totius liberatorem; quo virum meliorem, aut in republica ſanctiorem nulla ætas tulit; tum Appium Claudium, cujus in Senatu pulcrè dicta ſententia, Italiam Pyrrho, gravi hoſte, ſeipſum cæcitate non liberavit; tum Cæcilium Metellum Pontificem, qui non urbem ſolùm, ſed & fatum urbis Palladium, & penitiſſima ſacra dum ab incendio ſervavit, ſuos oculos perdidit; quanquam aliàs certè Deus pietati tam egregiæ favere ſe, etiam inter gentes, teſtatus eſt: quod tali igitur viro uſu venit, ponendum in malis eſſe vix putem. Quid alios recentiorum temporum adjungam, vel illum Venetiarum Principem Dandulum longè omnium præſtantiſſimum; vel Boëmorum Ziſcam ducem fortiſſimum, orthodoxæ fidei propugnatorem? Quid ſummi nominis theologos Hieronymum Zanchium, nonnullóſq; alios? cùm & ipſum Iſaacum Patriarcham, quo nemo unquam mortalium Deo charior fuit, annos haud paucos, cæcum vixiſſe conſtet; aliquot fortaſſe Jacobum etiam ejus filium, & ipſum Deo haud minùs dilectum: cùm deniq; Chriſti ſervatoris noſtri divino teſtimonio compertiſſimum ſit, illum hominem ab ſe ſanatum, neque ob ſuum, neque ob parentum ſuorum aliquod peccatum, etiam ab utero cæcum fuiſſe. Ad me quod attinet, te teſtor, Deus, mentis intimæ, cogitationúmque omnium indagator, me nullius rei (quanquam hoc apud me ſæpius, & quàm maximè potui, ſeriò quæſivi, & receſſus vitæ omnes excuſſi) nullius vel recèns vel olim commiſſi, mihimet conſcium eſſe, cujus atrocitas hanc mihi præ cæteris calamitatem creare, aut accerſiſſe meritò potuerit. Quod etiam ullo tempore ſcripſi (quoniam hoc nunc me luere quaſi piaculum regii exiſtimant, atque adeò triumphant) teſtor itidem Deum, me nihil iſtiuſmodi ſcripſiſſe, quod non rectum & verum, Deóque gratum eſſe, & perſuaſerim tum mihi, & etiamnum perſuaſus ſim; ídque nullâ ambitione, lucro, aut gloriâ ductus; ſed officii, ſed honeſti, ſed pietatis in patriam ratione ſolâ; nec reipublicæ tantùm, ſed Eccleſiæ quoque liberandæ cauſâ potiſſimùm feciſſe: adeò ut cùm datum mihi publicè eſſet illud in defenſionem regiam negotium, eodémque tempore & adverſâ ſimul valetudine, & oculo jam penè altero amiſſo, conflictaret, prædicerén tque diſertè medici, ſi hunc laborem ſuſcepiſſem, fore, ut utrumque brevi amitterem, nihil iſtâ præmonitione deterritus, non medici nè Æſculapii quidem Epidaurii ex adyto vocem, ſed divinioris cujuſdam intus monitoris viderer mihi audire; duáſque ſortes, fatali quodam nutu, jam mihi propoſitas, hinc cæcitatem, indè officium; aut oculorum jacturam neceſſariò faciendam, aut ſummum officium deſerendum: occurrebántque animo bina illa fata, quæ retuliſſe Delphis conſulentem de ſe matrem, narrat Thetidis filius.

Διχθαδίας κῆρας φερέμεν θανάτοιο τέλοσδε.
Εἰ μὲν κ' αὖθι μένων τρώων πόλιν ἀμφιμάχωμαι
Ὤλετο μέν μοι νόστος· ἀτὰρ κλέος ἄφθιτον ἔσται.
Εἰ δὲ κεν οἴκαδ' ἵκωμαι φίλην ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν.
Ὤλετό μοι κλέος ἐσθλόν, ἐπὶ δηρὸν δέ μοι αἰὼν
Ἔσσεται. ——

Iliad. 9.

*Duplicia fata ducere ad mortis finem:*
*Si hic manens circa Troum urbem pugnavero,*
*Amittitur mihi reditus; ſed Gloria immortalis erit:*
*Si domum revertor dulce ad Patrium ſolum,*
*Amittitur mihi Gloria pulcra, ſed diuturna vita*
*Erit.* ———

Unde ſic mecum reputubam multos graviore malo minus bonum morte gloriam, redemiſſe; mihi contrà majus bonum minore cum malo proponi: ut poſſem cùm cæcitate ſola vel honeſtiſſimum officii munus implere; quod ut ipſa gloria per ſe eſt ſolidius, ità cuique optatius atque antiquius debet eſſe. Hac igitur tam brevi luminum uſurâ, quanta maxima quivi cum utilitate publica, quoad liceret, fruendum eſſe ſtatui. Videtis quid prætulerim, quid amiſerim, quâ inductus ratione: deſinant ergò judiciorum Dei calumniatores maledicere, déque me ſomnia ſibi fingere: ſic denique habento; me ſortis meæ neque pigere neque pœnitere; immotum atque fixum in ſententia perſtare; Deum iratum neque ſentire, neque habere, immò maximis in rebus clementiam ejus & benignitatem erga me paternam experiri atque agnoſcere; in hoc præſertim, quòd ſolante ipſo atque animum confirmante in ejus divina voluntate acquieſcam; quid is largitus mihi ſit quàm quid negaverit ſæpius cogitans: poſtremò nolle me cum ſuo quovis rectiſſimè facto, facti mei conſcientiam permutare, aut recordationem ejus gratam mihi ſemper atque tranquillam deponere. Ad cæcitatem denique quod attinet, malle me, ſi neceſſe eſt, meam, quam vel ſuam, More, vel tuam. Veſtra imis ſenſibus immerſa, nequid ſani videatis aut ſolidi, mentem obcæcat: mea, quam objicitis, colorem tantummodo rebus & ſuperficiem demit; quod verum ac ſtabile in iis eſt contemplationi mentis non adimit. Quàm multa deinde ſunt quæ videre nollem, quàm multa quæ poſſem libens non videre, quàm pauca reliqua ſunt quæ videre cupiam. Sed neque ego cæcis, afflictis, mœrentibus, imbecillis, tametſi vos id miſerum ducitis, aggregari me diſcrutior; quandoquidem ſpes eſt, eo me propiùs ad miſericordiam ſummi patris atque tutelam pertinere. Eſt quoddam per imbecillitatem, præeunte Apoſtolo, ad maximas vires iter: ſim ego debiliſſimus, dummodo in mea debilitate immortalis ille & melior vigor eo ſe efficaciùs exerat; dummodo in meis tenebris divini vultûs lumen eo clariùs eluceat; tum enim infirmiſſimus ero ſimul & validiſſimus, cæcus eodem tempore & perſpicaciſſimus; hac poſſim ego infirmitate conſummari, hac perfici, poſſim in hac obſcuritate ſic ego irradiari. Et ſanè haud ultima Dei cura cæci ſumus; qui nos, quò minus quicquam aliud præter ipſum cernere valemus, eò clementiùs atque benigniùs reſpicere dignatur. Væ qui illudit nos, væ qui lædit, execratione publicâ devovendo; nos ab injuriis hominum non modò incolumes, ſed penè ſacros, divina lex reddidit, divinus favor; nec tam oculorum hebetudine, quàm cœleſtium alarum umbrâ has nobis feciſſe tenebras videtur, factas illuſtrare rurſus interiore ac longe præſtabiliore lumine haud raro ſolet. Huc refero, quòd & amici officioſiùs nunc etiam quàm ſolebant, colunt, obſervant, adſunt; quòd & nonnulli ſunt, quibuſcum Pyladéas atque Theſéas alternare voces verorum amicorum liceat.

Ορες. Ἕρπε νῦν οἴαξ ποδὸς μοι. Πυ. φίλα γ' ἔχων κηδεύματα,
*Vade gubernaculum mei pedis. Py. per gratam mihi habens curam.* Eurip. in Oreſt.

Et alibi,

δίδου χεῖρ' ὑπηρέτῃ φίλῳ,
*Da manum miniſtro amico.*

δίδου δέρῃ σὴν χεῖρ' ὁδηγήσω δ' ἐγώ,
*Da collo manum tuam, ductor autem viæ ero tibi ego.* Id. in Her. furent.

Non enim hoc caſu factum me omnino nullum; non quicquid eſt probi aut cordati hominis, poſitum in oculis putant eſſe. Quin & ſummi quoque in republica viri, quandoquidem non otio torpentem me, ſed impigrum & ſumma diſcrimina pro libertate inter primos adeuntem oculi deſeruerunt, ipſi non deſerunt; verùm humana qualia ſint, ſecum reputantes, tanquam emerito favent, indulgent, vocationem atque otium faciles concedunt; ſi quid eſt ornamenti, non detrahunt; ſi quid publici muneris, non adimunt; ſi quid ex ea re commodi, non minuunt; & quamvis non æquè nunc utili, præbendum nihilo minùs benignè cenſent; eodem planè honore, ac ſi, ut olim Athenienſibus mos erat, in Prytanéo alendum decreviſſent. Sic mihi & apud Deum & apud homines cæcitatem ſolari meam quandiu licuerit, amiſſos honeſti causâ oculos, nemo meos lugeat; abſit quoque ut ipſe lugeam, aut vel animi ſatis ut nè habeam quo cæcitatis convitiatores facilè poſſim contemnere, vel veniæ ut nè poſſim faciliùs condonare. Ad te, quiſquis es, redeo, qui parùm tibi conſtans, nunc pumilionem me, nunc Antæum vis eſſe: *Non aliud* poſtremò optas *libentiùs fœderatis Belgii Provinciis, quàm ut tam facile, tamque feliciter defungantur hoc Bello, quàm defungetur Salmaſius Miltonio.* Cui ego voto ſi facilè aſſenſero, arbitror me noſtris ſucceſſibus Reique Anglicanæ nec ominari malè nec malè precari.

En verò iterum clamorem, alienum quendam & ſtridulum! anſeres puto alicunde advolare: Jam ſentio quid ſit; memini clamoris hanc eſſe tragœdiam; prodit Chorus: en duo Poëtaſtri; vel duo vel unus, biformi ſanè ſpecie & bicolore; Sphingémne dicam an Horatianum illud monſtrum Poëticum, capite muliebri, cervice aſininâ variis indutum plumis, undique collatis membris: id profectò ipſiſſimum eſt. Rhapſodus videlicet quiſpiam, centonibus & pannis obſitus; unúſne an duo incertum, nam & Anonymus quoque eſt. Poëtas equidem verè dictos & diligo & colo, & audiendo ſæpiſſimè delector; illorum etiam pleroſque tyrannis eſſe ſcio inimiciſſimos, ſi vel à primis exorſus ad Buchananum uſque noſtrum recenſerem: iſtos verò verſiculorum nugivendos, quis non oderit? quo genere hominum nihil ſtultius, aut vanius, aut corruptius, aut mendacius. Laudant, vituperant, ſine delectu, ſine diſcrimine, judicio, aut modo, nunc principes, nunc plebeios, doctos juxtà atque indoctos, probos an improbos, perinde habent; prout Cantharus, aut ſpes nummuli, aut fatuus ille furor inflat ac rapit; congeſtis undique & verborum & rerum tot diſcoloribus ineptiis támque putidis, ut laudatum longè præſtet ſileri, & pravo, quod aïunt, vivere naſo, quàm ſic laudari: vituperatus verò qui ſit, haud mediocri ſanè honori ſibi ducat, ſe tam abſurdis, tam ſtolidis nebulonibus diſplicere. Primus qui eſt, ſi modò bini ſunt, dubito Poëta ſit an Cæmentarius; ità Salmaſio os oblinit, immo totum quaſi parietem dealbat atque incruſtat. Curru nempe *triumphantem* inducit, Heroëm Gigantomachum, *haſtilia* & *caſtus*, & neſcio quæ nugamenta armorum vibrantem, doctos omnes pedibus quadrigam ſequentes, ſed poſt térga ejus innumeris ſpatiis relictos, utpote *quem numen rebus trepidis ſalutem orbis admoverit*; *tandem ergo tali tempus erat tegi umbone reges parente* nimirum *Juris & imperii.* Delirus neceſſe eſt fuerit & bis puer Salmaſius, qui his laudibus non ſolùm tantopere ſibi placuerit, ſed excudendas etiam quàm primùm de ſe tam ſedulò curaverit: Miſellus etiam poëta atque indecorus, qui Grammaticum, quod genus hominum poëtis miniſtrum ſemper atque ſubſerviens fuit, tam immodicis laudibus dignetur. Alter verò non verſus facit, ſed planè inſanit, enthuſiaſtarum omnium quos tam rabidè inſectatur, ipſe amentiſſimus: hic Salmaſii carnifex quaſi ſit, Syri Damæ filius, Lorarios invocat & Cadmum; veratro deinde ebrius, totam, quicquid ubique eſt, Servulorum & Ballionum ſentinam, ex Indice Plautino evomit; credas lingua Oſcum non latinè loquentem, aut inferarum, quas natat, paludum coaxare ranam. Tum ut intelligatis, quantus ſit Iamborum artifex, duabus ſyllabis unâ in voce peccat, alterâ productâ alterâ perperam correptâ.

*Hi trucidato rege per horrendum nefas.*

Aufer iſtas, aſine, *vacivitatum* tuarum clitellas; & tria verba, ſi potes ſani ac ſobrii hominis tandem affer; ſi tua iſta cucurbita & *blennum caput* vel ad punctum temporis poteſt ſapere: interea te ego puerorum *virgidemiis* tuis cædendum trado Orbilium. Tu mihi ſic perge maledicere, ut *Cromuello pejor* tibi ſim, quâ nullâ majore me laude afficere potuiſti. Te verò benevolúmne dicam, an ſtolidum, an hoſtem inſidioſum? benevolus certè non es, verba enim hoſtem indicant; cur ergò tam ſtolidus fuiſti vituperator, ut anteferre me tanto viro in buccam tibi venerit; ecquid tu non intelligis, an me putas non intelligere, quò graviora veſtra in me eſſe odia oſtenditis, eò vos ampliora mea in rempublicam merita prædicare, veſtra tot opprobria, tot mea eſſe apud meos præconia? Nam ſi vos me omnium maximè odiſtis, ſanè ego vos omninm maximè exulceravi, vos ego maximè afflixi, cauſæque veſtræ nocui: id ſi ità eſt, idem ego de meis civibus optime quoque merui; hoſtis enim vel teſtimonium vel judicium, etſi aliàs leve admodùm, de ſuo tamen dolore longè eſt graviſſimum. An Poëta non meminiſti, cùm de Achillis mortui armis, Ajax & Ulyſſes contenderent, non Græcos populares ſed Trojanos hoſtes ex ſententia Neſtoris Judices datos?

τοὔνεκα Τρώεσσιν ἐφῶμεν εὔφροσι τήνδε δικάσσαι.

*Quapropter Trojanis permittamus prudentibus hanc litem judicandam.*

Et paulò poſt,

οἳ ῥα δίκην ἰθεῖαν ἐπὶ σφίσι ποιήσονται.
οὔ τινι ἦρα φέροντες ἐπεὶ μάλα πάντας Ἀχαιοὺς
Ἶσον ἀπεχθαίρουσι κακῆς μεμνημένοι ἄτης.

*Qui juſtum judicium de iis fecerint,*
*Nemini gratificantes, cùm vehementer omnes Achivos*
*Æquè oderint, mali memores damni.*

Hæc Smyrnæus ille, ſive Calaber. Inſidioſus itaque ſis oportet, méque in invidiam conjicere labores, qui quod judicium in hoſte rectum atque ſincerum eſſe ſolet, id dolo malo & graviùs lædendi animo corrumpis atq; depravas, ita non vir modò ſed & hoſtis depravatiſſimus es. Verùm ego, nullo negotio fruſtrabor te, vir bone; quanquam enim Ulyſſem, id eſt, quàm optimè de patria meritum me eſſe ſanè perquàm vellem, tamen Achilleïa arma non ambio; cœlum in clypeo pictum, quod alii, non ego, in certamine aſpiciant, præferre, onus non pictum ſed verum, humeris portare, quod ego, non alii ſentiant, non quæro: Equidem cùm nullas omnino ſimultates aut inimicitias ullo cum homine privatas geram, neque ullus, quod ſciam, mecum gerat, tot in me maledicta jactari, tot probra torqueri, reipublicæ duntaxat cauſâ, non meâ, eo æquiore animo fero: nec præmii & commodorum inde provenientium, partem longè minimam, ignominiæ longè maximam perveniſſe ad me queror; contentus quæ honeſta factu ſunt, ea propter ſe ſolùm appetiſſe, & gratis perſequi: Id alii viderint, túque ſcito, me illas *opimitates* atque *opes*, quas mihi exprobas, non attigiſſe, neque eo nomine quo maximè accuſas, obolo factum ditiorem. Hic rurſus infit Morus, & ſecunda epiſtola cauſas ſcribendi refert; tuinam? *Lectori Chriſtiano* nempe Mœchus & ſtuprator Morus ſalutem: piam ſanè epiſtolam promittis; jam cauſas incipe. *Excitati ſunt Europaarum gentium animi, maxime omnium Galli noſtri reformati, ut parricidium & parricidas, &c. cognoſcerent.* Galli & ipſi reformati contra reges bella geſſerunt; quid ulteriùs fuiſſent facturi paribus uſi rerum ſucceſſibus, affirmari non poteſt: certè reges ipſorum, ſi qua earum rerum monumentis fides, ab illis haud minùs metuebant tibi, quàm à nobis noſter: neque injuria, quoties meminiſſent quæ etiam illi ſcriptitarunt, & minati ſæpe ſunt: Nolint igitur, quicquid tu cauſare, ſplendidè nimis de ſe polliceri, iniquiùs de nobis ſentire. Pergit in cauſis. *Equidem ea Anglorum melioris notæ conſuetudine ſum uſus.* Qui tibi ſunt melioris notæ, viris bonis ſunt peſſimæ. *Ut auſim dicere me iſta hominum monſtra noſſe intus & in cute.* Putabam te mœchas tantummodo tuas & ſcorta; tu etiam monſtra intus & in cute. *Ut nomen meum premerem, facile impetrarunt Angli quibuſcum conſuevi.* Et aſtutè quidem illi: ſic enim ſperabant & ſe impudentia tua eò largiore fruituros, & te tua fama, etiam tum mala, eo minus cauſæ nociturum. Noverant enim te, & quàm eſſes olim bonus hortorum cuſtos, & nunc raſus licèt & pumicatus ſacerdos, ut à Pontia ne Pilata quidem abſtinere manus potueris; nec de nihilo ſanè, ſi enim à conficienda carne carnifex dictus putatur, cur minùs tu conficiendo Pontiam Pontifex factus ex ſacerdote tibi videare? Hæc cùm de te non neſcirent alii, cùm non poſſes ipſe quin tibimet conſcires, tamen incredibili, & execrandâ quadam impietate palàm audes profiteri, te *Dei gloriam unice quærere, & vindicare:* & dum ipſe turpiſſima quæris, ſimul accuſare alios, quod *pietatis larvam criminibus imponant:* cùm id nemo manifeſtiùs ac ſceleratiùs quàm tu ipſe facis, unquam fecerit. *Ad rerum* ais *geſtarum ſeriem magno* tibi *fuiſſe adjumento cum alios ſcriptores tum maxime elenchum motuum nuperorum in Angliæ.* Næ tu ineptus homo es, qui tanto clamore facto, quod tuum ſit nihil afferas; ſed ſcriptores tantùm, regiis partibus addictos eóq; meritò ſuſpectos authores contra nos adducere potuiſti, quorum fides ſi elevabitur, progredi nequeas. Nos igitur ſcriptores illos, ſi opus erit & elenchum elencho refutabimus, non illis per te, ſed tibi per illos, cum viſum erit reſpondebimus; tibi quæ de tuo protuleris, videndum interea, ut tueri queas; quæ cujuſmodi ſint, ab impio & planè Atheo homine profecta, audiant nunc omnes pii & horreſcant. *Jubet amor Dei, & injuriæ ſancto ejus nomini factæ ſenſus acerrimus cogit ſupplices manus ad Deum attollere.* Abde abde obſcœnas illas manus, quas libidine & ambitione ſupinatus attollere non vereris, nè cœlum ipſum quoque audeas iis manibus inceſtare, quibus ſacra religionis myſteria contrectando polluiſti. Quam enim divinam ultionem aliis temerarius & væcors imprecaris, eam in ipſius tuum impuriſſimum caput devocaſſe te olim intelliges.

Hactenus clamoris quaſi præludia fuere; nunc (ſummas enim, & propè ſolas in hoc dramate partes clamor obtinet,) quàm poteſt maximo hiatu, rictum diducit: in cœlum ſcilicet iturus; quo ſi aſcenderit, in neminem profectò acriùs clamabit quam in ipſum clamatorem Morum. *Cum omnibus ſeculis, ſacra fuerit regum majeſtas, &c.* Multa tu quidem More vulgariter, multa malitioſè in nos declamas, quæ nihil attinent: regis enim cædes, & tyranni ſupplicium non ſunt idem, More, non ſunt, inter ſe diſtant longiſſimè, atque diſtabunt, dum ſenſus & ratio, jus atque fas, rectique & obliqui judicium hominibus concedetur. Verùm de his ſatìs jam ſæpiùs dictum, ſatìs defenſum eſt: non patiar qui tot diris inanibus lædere non potes, ut repetitâ crambe nos demum occidas. De patientiâ, deinde & pietate bellè diſputas: Sed

> *——de virtute loquutus*
> *Clunem agitas: ego te ceventem more verebor?*

*Omnes* aïs *reformatos, preſertim Belgas & Gallos, factum noſtrum horruiſſe:* & ſtatim, *bonis ubique non licuiſſe, idem ſentire & loqui.* Sed te tibi repugnare leviculum eſt; hoc multo indignius atque atrocius: *præ noſtro,* inquis, *ſcelere, nihil fuit Judæorum ſcelus, Chriſtum crucifigentium, ſive hominum mentem, ſive ſceleris effectus compares.* Furioſe! túne Chriſti miniſter perpetratum facinus in Chriſtum tam leviter fers, quacunque demum *mente* vel *effectu* ut pari ſcelere interfectum quemlibet regem audeas dicere? Judæi certè clariſſimis indiciis Dei filium agnoviſſe poterant; nos Carolum non eſſe tyrannum, nulla ratione potuimus intelligere. Eventûs autem, ad minuendum ſcelus, ineptiſſimè facis mentionem: verùm ſemper animadverto regios, quò quiſque acrior eſt, eò leviùs ferre quicquid committitur in Chriſtum, quàm ſi quid in regem: cui tamen cùm Chriſti præcipuè cauſa obediendum doceant, facilè oſtendunt ſe neque Chriſtum verè colere, neque regem: ſed aliud quiddam ſibi quærentes, incredibilem hanc erga reges fidem ac religionem ſuam, vel ambitioni, vel occultis quibuſdam aliis cupiditatibus obtendere. *Prodiit ergo magnus literarum princeps Salmaſius.* Deſine toties magnum illud, More; quod millies licèt ingeſſeris, haud cuiquam profectò intelligenti perſuaſeris magnum eſſe Salmaſium, ſed minimum eſſe Morum, & nullius pretii homulum, qui, quid deceat ignarus, magni cognomine tam imperitè abutatur. Nos grammaticis atque criticis, quorum ſumma laus aut in alienis lucubrationibus edendis, aut librariorum mendulis corrigendis verſatur, induſtriam quidem ac literarum ſcientiam, doctrinæ etiam haud contemnendæ laudem, ac præmia libenter concedimus, magni cognomen haud largimur. Is ſolus magnus eſt appellandus, qui res magnas aut gerit, aut docet, aut dignè ſcribit: res autem magnæ ſunt ſolæ, quæ vel vitam hanc noſtram efficiunt beatam, aut ſaltem cum honeſtate commodam atque jucundam, vel ad alteram ducunt beatiorem. Horum verò Salmaſius quid egit? egit verò nihil; quid autem docuit aut ſcripſit magnum? niſi fortè contra Epiſcopos, & primatum Papæ, quod ipſe poſtea & ſuis moribus, & aliis in nos pro epiſcopatu ſcriptis, recantatum penitus evertit. Magnus ergo ſcriptor dici non debet, qui aut nihil magnum, aut quod optimum in vita ſcripſerat, ei fœdiſſimè renunciavit. *Literarum princeps* ut ſit, & Alphabeti per me licet; at verò tibi non *princeps* modò *literarum* eſt, ſed *patronus regum,* & *patronus quidem dignus tantis clientibus.* Pulchrè tu quidem regibus conſuluiſti, ut poſt alios inſignes titulos, Claudii Salmaſii clientes appellentur. Ea nimirum lege ſolvimini cunctis aliis legibus Reges, ut in clientelam Grammatico tradatis vos Salmaſio, ſceptra ferulæ ſubmittatis: *Debebunt ei Reges, dum ſtabit orbis, dignitatis & ſalutis ſuæ vindicias.* Audite Principes; qui peſſimè vos defendit, immo ne defendit quidem, nemo enim oppugnavit, dignitatem & ſalutem veſtram ſibi imputat. Hoc nempe ſolum conſequuti ſunt, qui ſuperbiſſimum Grammaticum ſuſtinendis regum rationibus ex tinearum & blatarum foro advocârunt. *Cui quantum res regia, tantundem etiam eccleſia debebit*; non laudem ſanè, ſed meritiſſimam deſertæ ſuæ cauſæ notam. Nunc in laudes effunderis Defenſionis regiæ; *ingenium, doctrinam, infinitum prope rerum uſum, & intimam ſacri & profani juris penum, concitatæ orationis vigorem, eloquentiam, facundiam aurei illius operis* admiraris, quorum cum nihil affuiſſe homini contendo (quid enim Salmaſio cum eloquentia?) tum aureum fuiſſe illud opus vel centies fateor; tot enim Carolus aureos numeravit, ne dicam quid Arauſiacus etiam princeps in idem opus profuderit. *Nunquam major ſurrexit vir magnus, nunquam magis Salmaſius:* Et tantò quidem major ut ſe ruperit, quàm magnus enim fuerit in illo opere jam vidimus; & ſiquid ejuſdem argumenti,

menti, ut fertur, poſthumum reliquit, ſortaſſe videbimus. Non equidem inficior, edito illo libro, Salmaſium in ore omnium fuiſſe, regiis mirè placuiſſe; *ab auguſtiſſima Sueciæ regina, ampliſſimis præmiis invitatum*; quinimò tota illa contentione Salmaſio ſecunda omnia, adverſa mihi penè omnia fuere. Primùm de illius eruditione, erat hominum ſumma opinio, quam multis ab annis jam diu collegerat, libros conſcribendo multos, & bene magnos, non eos quidem plerúmque utiles, ſed abſtruſiſſimis de rebus, & ſummorum authorum citariunculis differtos; quo nihil citiùs literatorum vulgus in admirationem rapit; me verò quis eſſem, nemo in iis ferè regionibus nôrat; magnam ille ſuî expectationem concitârat, attentior operi quàm ſolebat aliàs, ut in re tanta; ego mei nullam potui movere: immò verò multi me ab illo dehortabantur, tyronem cum veterano congreſſurum, partim invidentes, nè utcunque mihi gloriæ foret cum tanto hoſte decertâſſe; partim & mihi, & cauſæ metuentes, nè utriuſque gravi cum ignominia victus diſcederem; cauſa denique ſpecioſa atque plauſibilis, inveterata vulgi opinio, ſive ſuperſtitio dicenda potiùs eſt, & propenſus in regium nomen favor Salmaſio vires & ſpiritus addiderat; eadem omnia contra me fecêre, quo magìs eſt mirandum, quamprimum reſponſio noſtra prodiit, non ſi à pleriſque avidè arriperetur, videre geſtientibus ecquis tam præceps animi eſſet ut auderet cum Salmaſio confligere, ſed tam eſſe placitam multis atque gratam, ut, non authoris, ſed ipſius veritatis ratione habitâ, qui modò ſummo in honore fuerat Salmaſius, nunc quaſi detractâ, ſub qua latuerat, perſonâ, & exiſtimatione, & animo repentè caderet; ſéque aſſerere, tametſi omnibus nervis id agens, quoad vixit poſtea non valuerit. Te verò, ſereniſſima Suecorum regina, tuúmque illud acre judicium fallere haud diu potuit; tu veritatis partium ſtudiis anteferendæ, Princeps atque Author propè dicam cœleſtis extitiſti. Quamvis enim illum hominem eximiæ doctrinæ fama, cauſæque regiæ patrocinio tunc temporis longè omnium celeberrimum, à te invitatum, multis honoribus affeciſſes, tamen prodeunte illo reſponſo, & ſingulari æquanimitate abs te perlecto, poſtquam vanitatis & apertiſſimæ corruptelæ redargutum Salmaſium, multa leviter, multa immoderatè, falſa quædam, adverſùs ſeipſum alia, & prioribus ſententiis contraria diſſeruiſſe animadverteras, ad quæ, coram accitus, ut ferunt, quod ſatis reſponderet nihil habuit, ita palàm animo affecta es, ut ab illo tempore neque hominem, ut antea, colere, neque ejus ingenium aut doctrinam magni facere, &, quod erat planè inopinatum, ejus adverſario propenſiùs favere, omnes te intelligerent. Quod enim erat in tyrannos dictum, negabas id ad te ullo modo pertinere: unde & apud te fructum, & apud alios famam rectiſſimæ conſcientiæ adepta es. Cùm enim tua facta ſatis declarent, tyrannum te non eſſe, hæc tua tam aperta animi ſignificatio adhuc clariùs demonſtrabat, te ejus rei ne omnino quidem tibi eſſe conſciam. O me ſpe meâ omni feliciorem! ( Eloquentiam enim, niſi quæ in ipſa veritate Suada eſt, nullam mihi ſumo ) qui, cùm in ea patriæ tempora incidiſſem, ut neceſſe eſſet in cauſa tam ardua támque invidioſa verſari, ut jus omne regium impugnare viderer, tam illuſtrem, tam verè regiam nactus ſim integritatis meæ teſtem atque interpretem, nullum me verbum feciſſe contra reges, ſed contra regum labes ac peſtes duntaxat tyrannos. Te verò magnanimam, Auguſta, te tutam undique divinâ planè virtute ac ſapientiâ munitam! quæ quod in jus tuum ac dignitatem poterat videri ſcriptum, non ſolùm tam æquo animo atque ſedato, tam incredibili mentis candore, vultúſque verâ ſerenitate perlegere ſuſtinuiſti; ſed contra ipſum Patronum tuum ejuſmodi ſententiam ferre, ut ejus adverſario palmam etiam adjudicare à pleriſque exiſtimeris. Quo te honore, quâ te veneratione, Regina, proſequi ſemper debuero, cujus excelſa virtus ac magnitudo animi non tibi ſolùm glorioſa, ſed mihi etiam tam fauſta atque fortunata, & ſuſpicione me omni atque infamiâ apud alios reges liberavit, & præclaro ac immortali hoc beneficio tibi in perpetuum devinxit. Quàm bene de æquitate tua, déque juſtitia & ſentire exteri, & ſentire & ſperare ſemper tui populi debebunt, qui, cùm tua res ac majeſtas ipſa agi videretur, tam nihil turbatam te de tuo haud minùs placidè, quàm de populi jure ſoles, judicantem viderunt. Jam tu quidem haud temerè, tot conquiſita undique volumina, tot literarum monumenta congeſſiſti, non quaſi te illa quicquam docere, ſed ut ex illis tui cives te diſcere, tuæque virtutis ac ſapientiæ præſtantiam contemplari poſſint; cujus ipſa Divæ ſpecies, niſi tuo animo penitùs inſediſſet, & quaſi oculis conſpiciendam ſe tibi præbuiſſet, haud ulla profectò librorum lectione, tam incredibiles amores excitâſſet in te ſui : quò magìs illum mentis tuæ vigorem planè æthereum & quaſi puriſſimam divinæ auræ partem in illas ultimas regiones delapſam admiramur; quam neque cœlum illud triſte ac nubiloſum ullis frigoribus extinguere aut gravare, neque ſolum illud horridum ac ſalebroſum, quod & ingenia quoque incolarum haud rarò indurat, quicquam in te inæquale aut aſperum creare potuit: quin & ipſa terra illa, tot metallis fæcunda, ſi aliis noverca, tibi certè alma parens, te ſummis enixa viribus totam auream produxiſſe videtur. Dicerem Adolphi filiam invicti atque inclyti regis unicam prolem, niſi tu illi, *Chriſtina*, tantum præluceres, quantum viribus ſapientia, belli artibus pacis ſtudia præcellunt. Jam inde profectò regina Auſtri haud ſola celebrabitur: habet nunc & ſeptentrio reginam ſuam, & dignam ſanè quæ non modò ſapientiſſimum illum Judæorum regem, aut ſiquis unquam ſimilis futurus eſſet, auditum proficiſceretur, ſed ad quam alii tanquam ad clariſſimum regalium virtutum exemplar, & viſendam omnibus Heroinam, undique concurrant: nullùmque in terris faſtigium par eſſe ejus laudibus ac meritis fateantur, in qua minimum hoc eſſe videant, quòd ſit Regina, tot gentium monarcha. Non autem hoc minimum, quòd etiam hoc eſſe decorum ſuorum minimum ipſa ſentiat, aliúdque longè majus atque ſublimius meditetur, quàm regnare; hoc ipſo nomine innumeris regibus præponenda. Poteſt itaque, ſi ea manet Suecorum gentem calamitas, regnum abdicare, Reginam deponere nunquam poteſt, non Sueciæ ſed totius orbis terrarum dignam ſe imperio teſtata.

In has digreſſum me Reginæ meritiſſimas laudes, nemo eſt, opinor, qui non collaudet, nedum reprehendat; quas ego quidem ſine ſumma ingratitudinis culpa, vel aliis tacentibus, prætermittere non potui; qui neſcio quâ meâ ſorte, ſanè feliciſſimâ, aut ſi quis eſt occultus vel ſiderum, vel animorum, vel rerum conſenſus aut moderamen, tantam arbitram quam omnium minimè ſperabam, omnium maximè optabam, tam mihi æquam & faventem in ultimis terris repererim. Nunc ad relictum opus, longè quidem diverſiſſimum, redeundum tamen eſt. *Infremuiſſe*, aìs, *nos ad Defenſionis regiæ famam; diſpexiſſe igitur Grammaticaſtrum aliquem famelicum, qui venalem calamum parricidii patrocinio vellet commodare.* Hæc abs te malitioſiſſimè ficta ſunt, ex quo memineras, regios, cum ſuis mendaciis ac maledicentiæ præconem diſpicerent, adiiſſe Grammaticum, ſi non famelicum, certè auri plus nimio ſitientem Salmaſium; qui non ſolùm præſentem operam ſuam, ſed bonam quoqe mentem, ſi quam priùs habuit, illis libentiſſimè vendidit; ex quo memineras Salmaſium, famâ jam deploratâ atque perditâ, cum diſpiceret, qui exiſtimationem afflictam atque obtritam, quoquo modo reparare quiret, te inveniſſe juſto Dei judicio, non, unde excuſſus es, miniſtrum Geneven ſem, ſed epiſcopum Lapmſacenum, id eſt, ex horto Priapum, ſuæ domûs conſtupratorem; unde & inſulſiſſimas laudes, tanto cum dedecore emptas averſatus, & ex amico inimiciſſimus factus, tibi laudatori ſuo, multa moriens imprecatus eſt. *Unus inventus eſt, magnus ſcilicet Heros, quem Salmaſio opponerent, Joannes Miltonus.* Ego Heroëm me eſſe neſciebam, tu Heroïs cujuſpiam fortè filius per me ſis licèt; totus enim noxa es. Atque unum me eſſe inventum, qui cauſam populi Anglicani tuear, ſi reipublicæ rationes cogito, ſanè quàm doleo, ſi laudem, ejus participem habere me neminem facilè patior. Quis & unde ſim dubium ais eſſe. Tam olim erat dubium quis Homerus, quis Demoſthenes. Equidem tacere diu, & poſſe non ſcribere, quod nunquam potuit Salmaſius, didiceram; eáque in ſinu geſtabam tacitus, quæ ſi tum proferre libuiſſet, æquè ac nunc, inclaruiſſe jamdudum poteram: ſed cunctantis famæ avidus non eram, ne hæc quidem, niſi idoneâ datâ occaſione unquam prolaturus; nihil laborans etſi alii me quæcunque nôſſem ſcire neſciebant; non enim famam ſed opportunitatem cujuſque rei præſtolabar; unde factum eſt, ut multò ante plurimis eſſem notus, quàm Salmaſius notus eſſet ſibi; nunc Andremone notior eſt caballo. *Homóne an vermis.* Equidem malim me vermem eſſe, quod fatetur de ſe etiam rex Davides, quàm tuum vermem in pectore nunquam moriturum intùs celare. *Aiunt*, inquis, *hominem Cantabrigienſi Academia ob flagitia pulſum, dedecus & patriam fugiſſe, & in Italiam commigraſſe.* Vel hinc licebit conjicere quàm veraces illi fuerint, ex quibus res noſtras auditione accepiſti; hîc enim & te & illos impudentiſſimè mentiri & nôrunt omnes qui me nôrunt, & ſtatim ampliùs oſtendam. Pulſus verò Cantabrigiâ, cur in Italiam potiùs quàm in Galliam aut Hollandiam commigrarem? ubi tu tot flagitiis co-opertus, Miniſter Evangelii, non modò impunè vivis, ſed concionaris, ſed ſacra etiam miniſteria, ſummo cum illius Eccleſiæ opprobrio, inquinatiſſimis manibus conſpurcas. Cur verò in Italiam, More? novus credo Saturnus, ut alicubi laterem, in Latium ſcilicet profugi. Verùm ego Italiam, non, ut tu putas, facinoroſorum latibulum aut aſylum, ſed humanitatis potiùs, & civilium doctrinarum omnium hoſpitium & noveram antea, & expertus ſum. *Reverſus librum de divortiis conſcripſit.* Non aliud ſcripſi atque ante me Bucerus de regno Chriſti copioſè, Fagius in Deuteronomium, Eraſmus in Epiſtolam primam ad Corinthios deditâ operâ in Anglorum gratiam, aliíque multi percelebres viri, in commune bonum ſcripſerunt. Quod in illis nemo reprehendit, cur id mihi præ cæteris fraudi eſſet, non intelligo: vellem hoc tantùm, ſermone vernaculo me non ſcripſiſſe; non enim in vernas lectores incidiſſem; quibus ſolenne eſt ſua bona ignorare, aliorum mala irridere. Téne verò, turpiſſime, de divortiis obſtrepere, qui cum Pontia ancilla tibi deſponſata, poſt ſtuprum eo obtentu illatum, immaniſſimum omnium divortium feciſti? Et tamen erat illa Salmaſii famula, Anglica, ut fertur, fœmina, regiis partibus apprimè dedita; nempe hoc erat, ſcelerate, adamâſti ut rem regiam, reliquiſti ut rem publicam, cujus tamen converſionis, quam odiſſe adeo vis videri, vide ne ipſe author fueris; vide inquam ne ſubverſa funditus dominatione Salmaſiana Pontiam ipſe in rem publicam converteris. Et hoc modo multas tu quidem una in urbe res publicas, regius licet, aut fundaſſe diceris aut ab aliis fundatas miniſter publicus adminiſtrare. Hæc tua ſunt divortia, ſeu mavis, diverticula, unde in me Curius prodiiſti. Ad mendacia nunc redis. *Cum de regis capite inter conjuratos ageretur, ſcripſit ad eos, & nutantes in malam partem impulit.* Ego vero neque ad eos ſcripſi, neque impellere attinebat, quibus id omnino agere ſine me deliberatum jam erat: verùm ea de re quid ſcripſerim, infrà dicetur, uti etiam de Iconoclaſte. Nunc quoniam iſte (Hominem an dicam hæreo purgamentum potiùs hominis) ab ancillarum adulteriis ad adulterandam omnem veritatem progreſſus, congeſtis in me tot una ſerie mendaciis, apud exteros infamem reddere conatus eſt, peto ne quis rem ſecùs interpretetur, aut in invidiam trahat, néve moleſtè ferat, ſi de me plura quàm vellem & dixi ſuprà, & porrò dicam: ut ſi oculos à cæcitate, nomen ab oblivione aut calumnia non poſſum, vitam tamen poſſim ab ea ſaltem obſcuritate quæ cum macula ſit, in lucem vindicare. Idque non unam ob cauſam mihi erit neceſſariò faciendum. Primùm ut tot viros bonos atque doctos, qui per omnes vicinas gentes noſtra jam legunt, deque me haud malè ſentiunt, ne propter hujus maledicta mei pœniteat; verùm ita ſibi perſuadeant non eum eſſe me, qui honeſtam orationem inhoneſtis moribus, aut liberè dicta, ſerviliter factis unquam dedecorârim; vitámque noſtram, Deo bene juvante, ab omni turpitudine ac flagitio remotam longè ſemper fuiſſe: deinde, ut quos laudandos mihi ſumo viros illuſtres ac laude dignos, hi ſciant nihil me pudendum magis exiſtimare, quàm ſi ad eorum laudes vituperandus ipſe ac nequam accederem; ſciat denique populus Anglicanus, quem ut defenderem, meum ſive fatum ſive officium, ſua virtus impulit, ſi vitam pudenter atque honeſtè ſemper egi, meam defenſionem, neſcio an honori aut ornamento, certè pudori aut dedecori nunquam ſibi fore: qui igitur, & unde ſim, nunc dicam. Londini ſum natus, genere honeſto, patre viro integerrimo, matre probatiſſima, & eleemoſynis per viciniam potiſſimum nota. Pater me puerulum humaniorum literarum ſtudiis deſtinavit; quas ita avidè arripui, ut ab anno ætatis duodecimo vix unquam ante mediam noctem à lucubrationibus cubitum diſcederem; quæ prima oculorum pernicies fuit: quorum ad naturalem debilitatem acceſſerant & crebri capitis dolores; quæ omnia cum diſcendi impetum non retardarent, & in ludo literario, & ſub aliis domi magiſtris erudiendum quotidie curavit: ita variis inſtructum linguis, & percepta haud leviter philoſophiæ dulcedine, ad Gymnaſium gentis alterum, Cantabrigiam miſit: Illic diſciplinis atque artibus tradi ſolitis ſeptennium ſtudui; procul omni flagitio, bonis omnibus probatus, uſquedum Magiſtri, quem vocant, gradum, cum laude etiam adeptus, non in Italiam, quod impurus ille comminiſcitur, profugi, ſed ſponte meâ domum me contuli, meíque etiam deſiderium, apud Collegii pleróſque ſocios à quibus eram haud mediocriter cultus, reliqui. Paterno rure, quo is tranſigendæ ſenectutis cauſâ conceſſerat, evolvendis Græcis Latiníſque ſcriptoribus ſummum per otium totus vacavi; ita tamen ut nonnunquam, rus urbe mutarem, aut coëmendorum gratia librorum, aut novum quidpiam in Mathematicis, vel in Muſicis, quibus tum oblectabar, addiſcendi. Exacto in hunc modum quinquennio, poſt matris obitum, regiones exteras, & Italiam potiſſimùm, videndi cupidus, exorato patre, uno cum famulo profectus ſum. Abeuntem vir clariſſimus Henricus Woottonus, qui ad Venetos Orator Jacobi regis diu fuerat, & votis & præceptis, eunti peregrè ſanè utiliſſimis, eleganti epiſtolâ perſcriptis, me amiciſſimè proſequutus eſt. Commendatum ab aliis nobiliſſimus vir Thomas Scudamorus Vicecomes Slegonenſis, Caroli regis Legatus, Pariſiis humaniſſimè accepit; méque Hugoni Grotio viro eruditiſſimo, ab Regina Suecorum tunc temporis ad Galliæ regem Legato, quem inviſere cupiebam, ſuo nomine, & ſuorùm uno atque altero deducente, commendavit: Diſcedenti poſt dies aliquot Italiam verſùs, literas ad mercatores Anglos, quà iter eram factùrus, dedit, ut quibus poſſent officiis mihi præſtò eſſent. Nicæâ ſolvens, Genuam perveni; mox Liburnum & Piſas, inde Florentiam. Illa in urbe, quam præ cæteris propter elegantiam cum linguæ tum ingeniorum ſemper colui, ad duos circiter menſes ſubſtiti; illic multorum & nobilium ſanè & doctorum hominum familiaritatem ſtatim contraxi; quorum etiam privatas academias (qui mos illic, cum ad literas humaniores, tum ad amicitias conſervandas laudatiſſimus eſt) aſſiduè frequentavi. Tui enim Jacobe Gaddi, Carole Dati, Freſcobalde, Cultelline, Bonmatthæi, Clementille, Francine, aliorúmque plurium memoriam, apud me ſemper gratam atque jucundam, nulla dies delebit. Florentia Senas, inde Romam profectus, poſtquam illius urbis antiquitas & priſca fama me ad bimeſtre ferè ſpatium tenuiſſet (ubi & Luca Holſtenio, aliiſque viris cum doctis tum ingenioſis, ſum uſus humaniſſimis) Neapolim perrexi: Illìc per Eremitam quendam, quîcum Roma iter feceram, ad Joannem Baptiſtam Manſum, Marchionem Villenſem, virum nobiliſſimum atque graviſſimum (ad quem Torquatus Taſſus inſignis poeta Italus de amicitia ſcripſit) ſum introductus; eodémque uſus, quamdiu illic fui, ſanè amiciſſimo; qui & ipſe me per urbis loca & Proregis aulam circumduxit, & viſendi gratia haud ſemel ipſe ad hoſpitium venit: Diſcedenti ſeriò excuſavit ſe, tametſi multò plura detuliſſe mihi officia maximè cupiebat, non potuiſſe illa in urbe, propterea quòd nolebam in religione eſſe tectior. In Siciliam quoque & Græciam trajicere volentem me, triſtis ex Anglia belli civilis nuntius revocavit: Turpe enim exiſtimabam, dum mei cives domi de libertate dimicarent, me animi causâ otioſè peregrinari. Romam autem reverſurum, monebant Mercatores ſe didiciſſe per literas parari mihi ab Jeſuitis Anglis inſidias, ſi Romam reverterem; eò quod de religione nimis liberè loquutus eſſem. Sic enim mecum ſtatueram, de religione quidem iis in locis ſermones ultro non inferre; interrogatus de fide, quicquid eſſem paſſurus, nihil diſſimulare. Romam itaque nihilo minùs redii: Quid eſſem, ſi quis interrogabat, neminem celavi; ſi quis adoriebatur, in ipſa urbe Pontificis, alteros prope duos menſes, Orthodoxam Religionem, ut antea, liberrimè tuebar: Deóque ſic volente, incolumis Florentiam rurſus perveni; haud minùs mei cupientes reviſens, ac ſi in patriam revertiſſem. Illic totidem, quot priùs, menſes libenter commoratus, niſi quod ad paucos dies Luccam excucurri, tranſcenſo Apennino, per Bononiam & Ferraram, Venetias contendi. Cui urbi luſtrandæ cum menſem unum impendiſſem, & libros, quos per Italiam conquiſiveram, in navem imponendos curâſſem, per Veronam ac Mediolanum, & Pæninas Alpes, Lacu denique Lemanno, Genevam delatus ſum. Quæ urbs, cùm in mentem mihi hinc veniat Mori calumniatoris, facit ut Deum hìc rurſus teſtem invocem, me his omnibus in locis, ubi tam multa licent, ab omni flagitio ac probro integrum atque intactum vixiſſe, illud perpetuò cogitantem, ſi hominum latere oculos poſſem, Dei certè non poſſe. Genevæ cum Joanne Deodato, Theologiæ profeſſore doctiſſimo, quotidianus verſabar. Deinde eodem itinere, quo priùs, per Galliam, poſt annum & tres plus minus menſes in patriam revertor; eodem ferme tempore quo Carolus cum Scotis, ruptâ pace, bellum alterum quod vocant Epiſcopale, redintegrabat; in quo fuſis primo congreſſu regiis copiis, cùm videret etiam omnes Anglos, & meritò quidem, in ſe peſſimè animatos, malo coactus, non ſponte, Parlamentum haud ita multò poſt, convocavit. Ipſe, ſicubi poſſem, tam rebus turbatis & fluctuantibus, locum conſiſtendi circumſpiciens, mihi libríſque meis, ſat amplam in urbe domum conduxi; ibi ad intermiſſa ſtudia beatulus me recepi; rerum exitu Deo imprimis, & quibus id muneris populus dabat, facilè permiſſo. Interea Parlamento rem ſtrenuè gerente, Epiſcoporum faſtus detumuit. Ut primùm loquendi ſaltem cæpta eſt libertas concedi, omnia in Epiſcopos aperiri ora; alii de ipſorum vitiis, alii de ipſius ordinis vitio conqueri; iniquum eſſe, ſe ſolos ab Eccleſiis omnibus, quotquot reformatæ ſunt, diſcrepare; exemplo fratrum, ſed maximè ex verbo Dei, gubernari Eccleſiam convenire. Ad hæc ſanè experrectus, cùm veram affectari viam ad libertatem cernerem, ab his initiis, his paſſibus, ad liberandam ſervitute vitam omnem mortalium, rectiſſimè, procedi, ſi ab religione diſciplina orta, ad mores & inſtituta reipublicæ emanaret, cùm etiam me ita ab adoleſcentia parâſſem, ut quid divini, quid humani eſſet juris, ante omnia poſſem non ignorare, méque conſuluiſſem ecquando ullius uſus eſſem futurus, ſi nunc patriæ, immo verò eccleſiæ tótque fratribus evangelii causâ, periculo ſeſe objicientibus deeſſem, ſtatui, etſi tunc alia quædam meditabar, huc omne ingenium, omnes induſtriæ vires transferre. Primùm itaque de reformanda eccleſia Anglicana, duos ad amicum quendam libros conſcripſi: Deinde, cum duo præ cæteris magni nominis Epiſcopi ſuum jus contra Miniſtros quoſdam primarios aſſererent, ratus de iis rebus, quas amore ſolo veritatis, & ex officii Chriſtiani ratione didiceram haud pejùs me dicturum quàm qui de ſuo quæſtu & injuſtiſſimo dominatu contendebant, ad hunc libris duobus, quorum unus de Epiſcopatu prælatico, alter de ratione Diſciplinæ Eccleſiaſticæ inſcribitur, ad illum, ſcriptis quibuſdam animadverſionibus, & mox Apologia, reſpondi; & miniſtris facundiam hominis, ut ferebatur ægrè ſuſtinentibus, ſuppetias tuli; & ab eo tempore, ſi quid poſtea reſponderent, interſui. Cùm petiti omnium telis Epiſcopi tandem cecidiſſent, otiúmque ab illis eſſet, verti aliò cogitationes; ſi qua in re poſſem libertatis veræ ac ſolidæ rationem promovere; quæ non foris, ſed intus quærenda, non pugnando, ſed vitam rectè inſtituendo, rectéque adminiſtrando adipiſcenda potiſſimùm eſt. Cùm itaque tres omnino animadverterem libertatis eſſe ſpecies, quæ niſi adſint, vita ulla tranſigi commodè vix poſſit, Eccleſiaſticam, domeſticam ſeu privatam, atque civilem, déque prima jam ſcripſiſſem, déque tertia Magiſtratum ſedulò agere viderem, quæ reliqua ſecunda erat, domeſticam mihi deſumpſi; ea quoque tripartita, cùm videretur eſſe, ſi res conjugalis, ſi liberorum inſtitutio rectè ſe haberet, ſi denique liberè philoſophandi poteſtas eſſet, de conjugio non ſolùm ritè contrahendo, verùm etiam, ſi neceſſe eſſet, diſſolvendo, quid ſentirem explicui; ídque ex divina lege, quam Chriſtus non ſuſtulit, nedum aliam, tota lege Moſaïca graviorem civiliter ſanxit; quid item de excepta ſolùm fornicatione ſentiendum ſit, & meam aliorúmque ſententiam exprompſi, & clariſſimus vir Seldenus noſter, in Uxore Hebræâ plùs minùs biennio pòſt editâ, uberiùs demonſtravit. Fruſtrà enim libertatem in comitiis & foro crepat, qui domi ſervitutem viro indigniſſimam, inferiori etiam ſervit; ea igitur de re aliquot libros edidi; eo præſertim tempore cùm vir ſæpè & conjux hoſtes inter ſe acerrimi, hic domi cum liberis, illa in caſtris hoſtium materfamilias verſaretur, viro cædem atque perniciem minitans. Inſtitutionem deinde liberorum uno opuſculo breviùs quidem tractabam; ſed quod ſatis arbitrabar iis fore, qui ad eam rem, quâ par eſſet diligentiâ, incumberent; quâ quidem re, nihil ad imbuendas, unde vera atque interna oritur libertas, virtute hominum mentes, nihil ad rempublicam bene gerendam, & quam diutiſſimè conſervandam majus momentum poteſt afferre. Poſtremò de typographia liberanda, ne veri & falſi arbitrium, quid edendum, quid premendum, penès paucos eſſet, eóſque ferè indoctos, & vulgaris judicii homines, librorum inſpectioni præpoſitos, per quos nemini ferè quicquam quod ſupra vulgus ſapiat, in lucem emittere, aut licet aut libet, ad juſtæ orationis modum Areopagiticam ſcripſi. Civilem, quæ poſtrema ſpecies reſtabat, non attigeram; quam Magiſtratui ſatis curæ eſſe cernebam: Neque de jure regio quicquam à me ſcriptum eſt, donec Rex hoſtis à Senatu judicatus, bellóque victus, cauſam captivus apud Judices diceret, capitíſque damnatus eſt. Tum verò tandem, cùm Presbyteriani quidam Miniſtri, Carolo priùs infeſtiſſimi, nunc Independentium partes ſuis anteferri, & in Senatu plus poſſe indignantes, Parlamenti ſententiæ de Rege latæ (non facto irati, ſed quod ipſorum factio non feciſſet) reclamitarent, & quantum in ipſis erat, tumultuarentur, auſi affirmare Proteſtantium doctrinam, omnéſque eccleſias reformatas ab ejuſmodi in reges atroci ſententiâ abhorrere, ratus falſitati tam apertæ palàm eundum obviàm eſſe, ne tum quidem de Carolo quicquam ſcripſi aut ſuaſi, ſed quid in genere contra tyrannos liceret, adductis haud paucis ſummorum Theologorum teſtimoniis, oſtendi; & inſignem hominum meliora profitentium, ſive ignorantiam ſive impudentiam propè concionabundus inceſſi. Liber iſte non niſi poſt mortem Regis prodiit, ad componendos potiùs hominum animos ſactus, quàm ad ſtatuendum de Carolo quicquam quod non mea, ſed Magiſtratuum intererat, & peractum jam tum erat. Hanc intra privatos parietes meam operam nunc eccleſiæ, nunc reipublicæ gratìs dedi ; mihi viciſſim vel hæc vel illa præter incolumitatem nihil ; bonam certè conſcientiam, bonam apud bonos exiſtimationem,& honeſtam hanc dicendi libertatem facta ipſa reddidere: Commoda alii, alii honores gratìs ad ſe trahebant : Me nemo ambientem, nemo per amicos quicquam petentem, curiæ foribus affixum petitorio vultu, aut minorum conventuum veſtibulis hærentem nemo me unquam vidit. Domi fere me continebam, meis ipſe facultatibus, tametſi hoc civili tumultu magna ex parte ſæpe detentis, & cenſum ferè iniquiùs mihi impoſitum, & vitam utcunque frugi tolerabam. His rebus confectis, cùm jam abundè otii exiſtimarem mihi futurum, ad hiſtoriam gentis, ab ultima origine repetitam, ad hæc uſque tempora, ſi poſſem, perpetuo filo deducendam me converti : Quatuor jam libros abſolveram, cum ecce nihil tale cogitantem me, Caroli regno in rempublicam redacto, Concilium Statûs, quod dicitur, tum primùm authoritate Parlamenti conſtitutum, ad ſe vocat, meâque operâ ad res præſertim externas uti voluit. Prodiit haud multò poſt attributus Regi liber, contra Parlamentum invidioſiſſimè ſane ſcriptus : Huic reſpondere juſſus, Iconi Iconoclaſten oppoſui ; non *regiis manibus inſultans*, ut inſimulor, ſed reginam veritatem regi Carolo anteponendam arbitratus ; immo cum præviderem hanc calumniam cuivis maledico in promptu fore, ipſo exordio, & ſæpe aliàs, quoad licuit, à me iſtam invidiam ſum amolitus. Prodiit deinde Salmaſius ; cui quis reſponderet, adeò non diu, quòd ait Morus, diſpiciebant, ut me in concilio tum etiam præſentem ſtatim omnes ultro nominarent. Hactenus ad obturandum os tuum, More & mendacia redarguenda bonorum maximè virorum in gratiam, qui me aliàs non nôrint, meî rationem reddidi. Tu igitur, More, tibi dico immunde, φιμώθητι, obmuteſce inquam ; quo enim magis mihi maledixeris, eo me rationes meas uberiùs explicare coëgeris ; ex quo aliud lucrari nihil poteris, quàm ut tibi mendaciorum opprobrium adhuc gravius concilies, mihi ad integritatis commendationem eo latiùs viam aperias. Reprehenderam ego Salmaſium, quòd extraneum ſe & alienigenam rebus noſtris immiſcuiſſet : Tu inſtas, *ad eos qui ad Angliam non pertinent, hanc defenſionem maxime pertinere.* Quid enim? *Poſſint*, inquis, *Angli exiſtimari ſtudio partium acriùs agere ; Gallos verò conſentaneum eſt rei, non hominum, rationem habuiſſe.* Ad hæc eadem quæ priùs regero ; externum & longinquum, qualis tu es, in alienas res præſertim turbatas, immerſurum ſe neminem niſi corruptum ; Salmaſium prius demonſtravi mercede conductum ; te conſtat per Salmaſium & Arauſionenſes profeſſoriam cathedram petiiſſe ; deinde, quod fædius eſt, exagitas Parlamentum, & ſubagitas Pontiam. Quam autem affers rationem, cur hæc ad exteros potius pertinerent, deridicula prorſus eſt ; ſi enim Angli partium ſtudiis feruntur, quid vos aliud, qui illos ſolos ſequimini, quàm eorum affectus duntaxat in vos transfertis ? Adeò ut, ſi Anglis illis credendum in ſua cauſa non eſt, vobis profectò ſit multò minus ; qui rerum noſtrarum nihil intelligitis, aut ſaltem creditis, niſi quas ab ipſis accepiſtis quibus, veſtrâ quoque ſententiâ, vix eſt credendum. Hìc rurſum effundis te in laudem magni Salmaſii : Magnus ſanè tibi fuit, quem tu quaſi pro lenone habuiſti ancillæ ſuæ ; laudas tamen ; at is te non laudat, immo ante mortem palàm eſt abominatus, ſéque ipſe millies incuſavit, quod Spanhemio graviſſimo Theologo, de te, quàm impius eſſes, non crediddiſſet. Nunc totus in rabiem verſus rationi quaſi renuntias ; *Jamdudum ratione* ſcilicet *defunctus eſt Salmaſius.* Tu clamandi tantum & furendi partes tibi depoſcis, & tamen primas in maledicendo etiam tribuis Salmaſio ; *non quia verbis ſævit, ſed quia Salmaſius.* Ω σπερμολόγε ! Has nempe argutias morigeranti debemus Pontiæ. Hinc clamor tuus argutari atque etiam minurizare didicit ; hinc minitabundus quoque, *experiemini*, inquis, *aliquando, fœdiſſima bellua, quid ſtyli potuerint.* Téne experiemur, ancillariole, tène mœche, aut ſtylum tuum, ancillis tantummodo metuendum ? Cui ſi quis raphanum aut mugilem ſolùm intenderit, actum mehercule præclarè tecum putes, ſi nate non fiſſa & incolumi ſtylo iſto ſalaci tuo queas aufugere. *Equidem non adeo ſum*, inquis, *vacui capitis ut Provinciam à Salmaſio ſuſceptam aggrediar* : Quam ille quidem ſine capite admodum vacuo, nunquam aggreſſus fuiſſet ; feſtivè tu quidem vacuitate capitis, magnum Salmaſium tibi anteponis. *At* *regii ſanguinis clamorem ad cœlum tollere* quod *ineruditi* etiam *debent:* hoc nempe tuum eſſe ais. Clama, vociferare, boa; perge hypocritari, ſancta verba uſurpare, & Priapeïa vivere: Exurget, mihi crede, aliquando quem inclamas toties ultionum Deus; exurget, téque imprimis eradicabit, diaboli miniſtrum, & reformatæ eccleſiæ infandum dedecus & luem. Inculpantibus Salmaſii maledicentiam quamplurimis, reſpondes, *Sic cum parricidis monſtrorum omnium turpiſſimis, fuiſſe agendum.* Laudo; telis enim nôs inſtruis: & quo te pacto, tuóſque perduelles tractari conveniat, commodus doces, nóſq; ipſe abſolvis. Nunc quando ratione nihil potes, ne audes quidem occupatum ab Salmaſio jus omne regium, & quicquid eſt in eo rationis cauſatus, à contumeliis & rabie ad narrationes quaſdam miſerabiles converſus, expers rationis, inſtitutos ab initio clamores tantùm perſequeris: quas partim Salmaſianas recoxiſti, partim ex elencho illo ἐλεγχιστῶ anonymo, qui non patriâ ſolùm ſed nomine etiam profugit, deſcriptas interpolâſti: quarum ad præcipua capita, vel in Iconoclaſte, vel in Salmaſianis ita jam reſpondi, ut citra modum Hiſtoriæ, reſponderi ampliùs poſſe non putem. Sempérne ego ut identidem eandem orbitam teram, & ad Balatronis cujuſque ſtridorem dicta toties cogar iterare? non faciam; neq; meâ ſic abutar vel operâ vel otio. Si quis conductitios ejulatus, & compoſitos vænaliſſimi hominis ploratus, ſi quis declamatiunculas, quas etiam ancillaris concubitus, adulterinas edixit & ſpurias, Morilli nothi gemellas, fide ſatis locupletes, arbitratur eſſe, ad me quod attinet, nihil quidem moror, quo minùs ita exiſtimet; neque enim eſt ut ab ejuſmodi credulo ac temerario metuendum nobis quicquam ſit: attingam tamen pauca, multorum inſtar, ex quibus tam quis ipſe, quàm quid dicat, & quid de reliquo judicandum ſit, ſummatim intelligetis. Poſtquam de camera plebis & camera procerum, ad unum redigenda, multa exoticus deblateravit (quod poſtulatum nemo ſanus reprehenderet) *ut æqualite*, inquit, *in rempublicam invecta, ad eandem in eccleſiam introducendam procederetur; tunc enim adhuc ſtabant epiſcopi: hic niſi ſit purus putus Anabaptiſmus, nihil video.* Quis hoc à Theologo & miniſtro Gallico ſperâſſet unquam? ſanè qui Anabaptiſmus quid ſit, niſi hoc ſit, non videt, eum ego crediderim haud magìs videre quid ſit Baptiſmus. Sed ſi res propriis vocabulis appellare malimus, æqualitas in republica non eſt Anabaptiſmus, ſed Democratia, longè antiquior; in eccleſia præſertim conſtituta, eſt diſciplina Apoſtolica. At enim *ſtabant epiſcopi.* Fatemur, ſtabant & Genevæ; cum illa civitas & epiſcopum & eundem legitimum principem religionis causâ expulit; quod illis laudi, cur id nobis probro ducitur? ſcio quid tibi vis, More, Genevenſium ſuffragia ultum is; quibus dimiſſus cum ignominia, an ejectus ex illa eccleſia fueris, in dubio eſt. Te ergo cum Salmaſio tuo ab evangelico hoc inſtituto deſciviſſe, & ad epiſcopos tranſfugiſſe, ſi modo refert quo tu transfugeris, apparet. *Deinde ad miniſtrorum,* inquis, *noſtratium æqualitatem reſpublica tranſiit, ut palàm ſit eundem ſpiritum tunc viguiſſe qui octavo demum anno nefando regis parricidio rem peregit.* Ergo idem ut videtur ſpiritus & miniſtros conſtituit veſtrates, & parricidium peregit: Perge ut occepiſti, quas par eſt apoſtatam eructare inſanias. *Non plures,* inquis, *tribus libellis ſupplicibus confecerunt, qui in regem animadverti poſtulabant.* Quod notum eſt, & ipſe memini falſiſſimum eſſe. Sanè qui has res apud nos memoriæ mandarunt, non tres tantummodo libellos iſtiuſmodi, ſed multos ex diverſis Angliæ provinciis, exercitúſque legionibus unius ferè menſis ſpatio, tres uno die allatos fuiſſe memorant. Vides quanta cum gravitate hac de re deliberaverit Senatus, cujus cunctationem Populus lenitatis nimiæ ſuſpectam tot ſupplicibus libellis eximendam putavit. Quot reris millia hominum fuiſſe idem ſentientium, qui Senatum ad id hortari, quod jam tum ſeriò agitabat vel importunum exiſtimarent vel ſupervacaneum? quorum ex numero & ipſe fui, qui tamen quid voluerim obſcurum non eſt. Quid ſi conticuiſſent omnes rei magnitudine perculſi, eóne minùs habuiſſet Senatus in re tanta quod ſtatueret, expectanduſne populi nutus erat, ex quo tantorum exitus conſiliorum penderet? enimverò ſupremum gentis Concilium, ab univerſo populo ea mente adhibitum, ut impotentem regis dominatum coerceret, poſteaquam efferatum & repugnantem bello cepiſſet, ſi recurrere ad juſſa populi deberet, velit jubeátne de captivo hoſte ſupplicium ſumi, profectò qui rempublicam fortiſſimè recuperaſſent, quid aliud feciſſe viderentur quàm in laqueos tyranni à populo, ſi fors ita ferret, abſoluti ſeſe præcipites dediſſe? aut ſi accepta maximis de rebus decernendi ſumma poteſtate, de iis quæ præſertim vulgi captum ſuperant, non dico ad populum (nam cum hac poteſtate ipſi populus jam ſunt) ſed ad multitudinem rurſus referre cogerentur quæ imperitiæ ſuæ, conſcia ad eos prius omnia retulerat, quis ultro citróque referendi finis eſſet? quis tandem in hoc Euripo conſiſtendi locus? quod firmamentum inter libellos iſtiuſmodi tot capitum leviſſimorum, quæ ſalus quaſſatis rebus hominum foret? quid ſi reſtituendum regno Carolum poſtulaſſent? cujuſmodi libellos extitiſſe aliquot non ſupplices ſed minaces fatendum eſt ſeditioſorum hominum, quorum nunc odium, nunc miſeratio æquè ſtulta aut malitioſa eſſe ſolebat; horúmne ratio habenda fuit? qui *ut cum Regè colloquium inſtitueretur, ingenti*, inquis, *numero pagis relictis ad Parlamenti fores accurrebant*; *quorum Senatores, immiſſo milite, plurimos trucidarunt.* Et Surrienſes dicis paganos, qui neſcio aliorúmne malitia, agreſtes ipſi, an ſua improbitate impulſi, cum libello ſupplice bene poti, & comeſſabundi potiùs, quam aliquid petituri, per urbem ibant; mox curiæ fores facto agmine, ferociter obſederunt; collocatos ibi milites ſtationibus deturbarunt, unum ad ipſas curiæ fores occiderunt, priuſquam illos vel dicto vel facto quiſquam laceſſiſſet: inde meritò pulſi ac malè multati, haud ultra duos tréſve occiſi, vinolentiam potiùs quàm *libertatem ſpirantes.* Paſſim concedis *potiores fuiſſe Independentium partes, non numero, ſed conſilio & virtute militari.* Unde ego & jure & merito ſuperiores quoque fuiſſe contendo: nihil enim eſt naturæ convenientius, nihil juſtius, nihil humano generi utilius aut melius, quàm ut minor majori, non numerus numero, ſed virtus virtuti, conſilium conſilio cedat; qui prudentiâ, qui rerum uſu, induſtriâ, atque virtute pollent, hi meâ quidem ſententiâ, quantumvis pauci, quantovis numero, plures erunt, & ſuffragiis ubique potiores. Multa ſparſim inſeris de *Cromuello*, quæ cujuſmodi ſint infra videbimus; de reliquis reſponſum jampridem Salmaſio eſt. Judicium quoque Regis non prætermittis, quamvis & illud à magno tuo rhetore miſerabiliter ſit declamatum. Proceres, id eſt, Regis purpuratos, & miniſtros ferè aulicos, à judicando Rege ais abhorruiſſe: Nos id parùm referre, altero libro oſtendimus. *Deinde curiarum judices eraſos*; *quippe qui reſponderant eſſe contra Angliæ leges, Regem judicio ſiſti.* Neſcio quid tunc reſponderint, ſcio quid jam approbent atque defendant: non eſt novum, Judices, quos minimè decet, meticuloſos eſſe. *Præficitur ergo ſordidæ & ſceleratæ curiæ, par Præſes, obſcuriſſimus & petulantiſſimus nebulo.* Te verò tot vitiis & ſceleribus obſtrictum, immo meram ſpurcitiem, merum ſcelus, uſque adeo obduxiſſe menti & ſenſibus callum, niſi tua mens potiùs tota callus eſt, ut in Deum atheus, & ſacrorum contaminator, in homines inhumanus, cujuſque optimi calumniator eſſe auſis, quid aliud eſt eſſe quàm germanum Iſcariotam atq; diabolum? Quamvis autem tua vituperatio laus ſumma ſit, tamen præſtantiſſimo viro cui oblatras, nec non amico mihi ſemper plurimùm colendo, nequaquam deero; quo minus ab improbiſſimis perfugarum & Mororum linguis, quas, niſi cauſa reipublicæ nunquam ſenſiſſet, vindicem. Eſt *Joannes Bradſcianus* (quod nomen libertas ipſa, quacunq; gentium colitur, memoriæ ſempiternæ celebrandum commendavit) nobili familia, ut ſatis notum eſt, ortus; unde patriis legibus addiſcendis, primam omnem ætatem ſedulò impendit; dein conſultiſſimus cauſarum ac diſertiſſimus patronus, libertatis & populi vindex acerrimus, & magnis reipublicæ negotiis eſt adhibitus, & incorrupti Judicis munere aliquoties perfunctus: Tandem uti Regis judicio præſidere vellet, à Senatu rogatus, provinciam ſanè periculoſiſſimam non recuſavit. Attulerat enim ad legum ſcientiam ingenium liberale, animum excelſum, mores integros ac nemini obnoxios; unde illud munus omni prope exemplo majus ac formidabilius, tot Sicariorum pugionibus ac minis petitus, ita conſtanter, ita graviter, tanta animi cum præſentia ac dignitate geſſit atq; implevit, ut ad hoc ipſum opus, quod jam olim Deus edendum in hoc populo mirabili providentia decreverat, ab ipſo Numine deſignatus atque factus videretur; & Tyrannicidarum omnium gloriam tantum ſuperaverit, quantò eſt humanius, quantò juſtius, ac majeſtate plenius, Tyrannum judicare, quàm injudicatum occidere. Alioqui nec triſtis, nec ſeverus, ſed comis ac placidus, perſonam tamen quam ſuſcepit tantam, æqualis ubique ſibi, ac veluti conſul non unius anni, pari gravitate ſuſtinet: ut non de tribunali tantùm, ſed per omnem vitam judicare Regem diceres. In conſiliis ac laboribus publicis maximè omnium indeſeſſus, multíſque par unus; domi, ſi quis alius, pro ſuis facultatibus hoſpitalis ac ſplendidus, amicus longè fideliſſimus, atque in omni fortuna certiſſimus, bene merentes quoſcunque nemo citiùs aut libentiùs agnoſcit, neque majore benevolentia proſequitur; nunc pios, nunc doctos, aut quavis ingenii laude cognitos, nunc militares etiam & fortes viros ad inopiam redactos ſuis opibus ſublevat; iis ſi non indigent, colit tamen libens atque ampleſtitur; alienas laudes perpetuò prædicare, ſuas tacere ſolitus; hoſtium quoque civilium, ſi quis ad ſanitatem rediit, quod experti ſunt plurimi, nemo ignoſcentior. Quòd ſi cauſa oppreſſi cujuſpiam defendenda palam, ſi gratia aut vis potentiorum oppugnanda, ſi in quenquam bene meritum, ingratitudo publica objurganda ſit, tum quidem in illo viro, vel facundiam vel conſtantiam nemo deſideret, non patronum, non amicum, vel idoneum magis & intrepidum, vel diſertiorem alium quiſquam ſibi optet; habet, quem non minæ dimovere recto, non metus aut munera propoſito bono atque officio, vultúſque ac mentis firmiſſimo ſtatu dejicere valeant. Quibus virtutibus, & pleriſque merito charus, & inimiciſſimis non contemnendus, geſtarum egregiè rerum in republica laudem, dirupto te, More, tuíque ſimilibus, apud omnes tum exteros tum poſteros, in omne ævum propagabit. Sed pergendum, Rex capite damnatus eſt: *contra hanc veſaniam Londini pulpita fere omnia detonare.* Ligneo iſto tonitru haud multum terres; iſtos Salmoneas nihil veremur, qui fictitium illud fulmen & arrogatum ſibi, aliquando luent; graves profectò authores & ſinceri, qui paulò ante ex iiſdem pulpitis contra Pluraliſtas & Nonreſidentes ſtrepitu æquè horribili detonabant; paulò poſt, raptis hic ſibi ternis, ille quaternis Prælatorum ſacerdotiis, quos tonando abegerant, atque inde nonreſidentes neceſſariò facti, eodem ipſi crimine tenebantur in quod detonabant, & ſui quiſque tonitrus bidental factus eſt: neque ullus adhuc pudor; nunc in vendicandis ſibi decimis toti ſunt; & ſanè ſi decimarum tanta ſitis eſt, cenſeo affatim decimandos: non terræ fructus tantùm, ſed & maris fluctus ſibi habeant decumanos. Iidem primò bellum ſuadebant in Regem, ut in hoſtem exitio devotum; mox capto hoſti, & imputatæ à ſemetipſis toties cædis ac ſanguinis effuſi damnato, parci volebunt utpote regi. Ita in pulpitis tanquam in taberna quadam meritoria, quæ volunt mercimonia, quæ volunt ſcruta, vendunt popello; & quod miſerius eſt, quæ jam vendidere, quoties volunt repoſcunt. At *Scoti regem ſibi reddi flagitabant, commemorant Senatus promiſſa quando Anglis regem tradiderant.* Atqui ego vel Scotos etiam fatentes habeo, nulla omnino promiſſa publica interceſſiſſe, cum rex traderetur; & turpe ſanè fuiſſet Anglis, regem ſuum à Scotis in Anglia conductitiis, reddendum non fuiſſe niſi per conditiones: quid? quod ipſa Parlamenti reſponſio ad Scotorum cartulas Id. Mart. 1647. edita, ullam hac de re interpoſitam ab ſe fidem, quo pacto rex tractandus eſſet, dilucidè negat; indignum quippe cenſuiſſe, non niſi eâ lege ſua jura obtineri à Scotis potuiſſe. Attamen *regem reddi ſibi flagitabant.* Mites, credo, homines frangebantur animo, deſiderium ſui regis ferre diutius non poterant: immoverò iidem illi, cum ab initio horum in Britannia motuum, de jure regio haud ſemel in Parlamento retuliſſent, eſſétque ab omnibus aſſenſum, ob tres maximè cauſas regem privari regno poſſe, ſi tyrannus exiſtat, ſi fundum regium alienet, ſi ſuos deſerat, circa annum 1645. Parlamento Perthæ habito ſententias rogare cæperunt, ſitne rex quem ſanctis infeſtum eſſe conſtet, communione eccleſiæ interdicendus? verùm antequam ea de re quicquam decerneretur, Montroſſius ad eam urbem cum copiis accedens conventum diſturbavit. Iidem in ſuo quodam ad Cromuellum Imperatorem reſponſo, An. 1650. fatentur punitum jure regem, juris tantummodo formam fuiſſe vitioſam, eo quòd ipſi in illius judicii conſortium non vocarentur. Hoc ergo facinus ſine illis atrox, cum illis egregium fuiſſet, ex eorum quippe nutu fas atque nefas pendebat, juſtum atque injuſtum definiendum erat: quid iſti, obſecro, rege ſibi reddito lenius in eum ſtatuiſſent? At *Delegati Scotici à Senatu Anglico reſponſum hoc prius tulerant, nolle ſe regni Anglicani formam immutare, poſtea tamen reſpondere ſe tunc noluiſſe, nunc velle, prout ſalus reipublica poſtularet.* Et rectè quidem reſponderunt: quid tu hinc? *hac ſtropha,* inquis, *omnia fædera, commercium, ipſumque ſenſum communem evertit.* Tuum quidem evertit, qui neſcis inter libera promiſſa, & pactam fæderis fidem quid interſit: Angli de forma reipublicæ ſuæ futura, cujus rationem Scotis reddere neceſſe non erat, quod tum ipſis videbatur; liberè quidem reſpondent; nunc ſalus reipublicæ aliud ſuadebat; ſi fidem, ſi jusjurandum populo datum violare nollent. Utrum ſanctius obligare putas, liberúmne de forma reipublicæ futura datum Scoticis legatis reſponſum, an neceſſarium de ſalute reipublicæ procuranda datum ſuo populo jusjurandum & ſummam fidem? Licere autem Parlamento vel Senatui, prout expedit, conſilia mutare, quoniam quicquid nos affirmamus, anabaptiſticum tibi eſt & monſtroſum, malo ex Cicerone audias pro Plancio. ‘Stare omnes debemus tanquam in orbe aliquo reipublicæ; qui quoniam verſetur,

‘ ſetur, eam deligere partem debemus, ad quam nos illius utilitas ſalúſq; conver-
‘ terit. Et ſtatim. ‘ Neq; enim inconſtantis puto, ſententiam, tanquam aliquod
‘ navigium atq; curſum, ex reipublicæ tempeſtate moderari. Ego verò hæc
‘ didici, hæc vidi, hæc ſcripta legi, hæc de ſapientiſſimis & clariſſimis viris & in
‘ hac republica, & in aliis civitatibus monumenta nobis literæ prodiderunt, non
‘ ſemper eaſdem ſententias, ab iiſdem, ſed quaſcunq; Reipublicæ ſtatus, incli-
‘ natio temporum, ratio concordiæ poſtularet, eſſe defendendas. Hæc Marcus Tullius: ſed tu, More, Hortenſium mavis; hæc illæ ætates quæ civili maximè prudentiâ floruerunt; quæ ſi ſequuntur anabaptiſtæ, meâ quidem ſententiâ ſapiunt. Quàm multa alia poſſem proferre, quæ à miniſterculis hiſce & ſuo Salmaſio, ſi res non verba ſpectemus, planè indocto, pro anabaptiſticis damnantur. At *nihilo*, inquis, *plus potuerant potentiſſimi Belgii fæderati ordines, qui per oratores ſuos & prece & pretio oblato ſtrenuè allaborarunt ſacrum Regis caput redimere.* Velle profectò juſtitiam ſic redimere, idem erat atque regem ſalvum nolle: verùm didicerunt, non omnes eſſe mercatores; non adeò vendacem eſſe Senatum Anglicanum. Quod autem ad judicium regis, *ut plurima*, inquis, *Chriſto ſimilia Carolus pateretur, milites in eum ingeminant ludibria.* Plura quidem paſſus eſt ſimilia Chriſtus maleficis, quàm Carolus Chriſto; & multa iſtiuſmodi jactabantur vulgò ab iis quibus ad invidiam facti majorem excitandam, quidvis fingere aut fictum referre ſtudium erat: Fac tamen gregarios milites inſolentiùs ſe geſſiſſe; non id continuò in cauſam eſt conferendum. *Mactatum vero eſſe quempiam ad pedes regis prætereuntis, apprecantem ut Deus ejus miſereretur*, nec antea audivi unquam, nec convenire quenquam adhuc potui qui audiviſſet: quin immo tribunum ipſum, qui toto illius judicii tempore cuſtodiis præfuit, regíſque à latere vix diſceſſit, interrogandum hac de re curavi: is denique nec audiſſe ſe hoc antea, & pro certo ſcire falſiſſimum id eſſe, conſtanter aſſeverabat. Ex quo intelligi poteſt tuarum narrationum fides, etiam in reliquis quàm firma ſit. Nam in benevolentia quoque & adoratione, ſi poſſes, Carolo poſt mortem procuranda, quàm in odio nobis vel iniquiſſimè conflando haud multo veracior inveni-eris. *Auditum*, ais, *fuiſſe Regem in fatali pegmate epiſcopo Londinenſi ingeminantem, memento, memento.* Id regis Judices anxios nempe habuit, quid illa ultimum iterata vox ſibi voluiſſet; accerſitur, ut ais, epiſcopus, & illud geminum *memento* quid ſibi quæſiviſſet, additis minis, enuntiare jubetur. Is primò (ſic enim fingi expediebat) ex compoſito nimirum delicias fecit, &, quaſi arcanum quoddam, prodere recuſavit. Cum illi vehementiùs inſtarent, id quaſi metu ſibi expreſſum, & nolenti extortum, ægrè tandem edidit, quod re vera quovis pretio divulgatum vellet; *Juſſerat me*, inquiens, *rex, ut ſi poſſem ad filium pervenire, hoc ſupremum morientis patris mandatum ad eum perferrem, ut regno & poteſtati ſuæ reſtitutus, vobis ſua necis authoribus ignoſceret: hoc me meminiſſe, rex iterum atque iterum juſſit.* O magis, regémne dicam pietatis, an epiſcopum rimarum plenum! qui rem tam ſecretò in pegmate ſuæ fidei commiſſam ut effutiret, tam facilè expugnari potuit. At ô taciturne! jampridem Carolus hoc idem inter alia præcepta filio mandaverat, in illa Icone Baſilica; quem librum ideo ſcriptum ſatis apparet, ut omni cum diligentia nobis vel invitis ſecretum illud, qua oſtentatione ſimulatum erat, eadem paulo pòſt evulgaretur. Sed video planè decreviſſe vos Carolum quendam abſolutiſſimum, ſi non Stuartum hunc, at ſaltem hyperboreum aliquem & fabuloſum, fucatis quibuſlibet coloribus depictum, imperitis rerum obtrudere: ita fabellam hanc velut acroama quoddam, diverbiis & ſententiolis pulchrè diſtinctum, neſcio quem ethologum imitatus, ad ineſcandas vulgi aures putidè concinnaſti. Ego verò, ut non negaverim interrogatum fortaſſe obiter ab uno vel altero conſeſſorum hac de re epiſcopum, ita accerſitum, dedita opera vel à concilio vel ab illo judicum collegio, quaſi id omnes curaſſent, aut ſollicitè quæſiviſſent non comperio. Sed demus inde quæ vis: dederit in pegmate ſuprema hæc epiſcopo mandata, ut ſuæ necis authoribus ignoſceretur, perferenda ad filium Carolus: quid tam egregium aut ſingulare præter cæteros eò loci deductos fecit? quotuſquiſq; eſt morientium in pegmate, qui peracturus jam vitæ fabulam, cùm hæc mortalia quàm vana ſint videt, non idem faciat; & inimicitias, iras, odia, tanquam ex ſcena quadam jam exiturus, libens non deponat, aut ſaltem ſimulet, ut vel miſericordiam, vel innocentiæ opinionem ſuæ in animis hominum relinquat? Simulâſſe Carolum, neque unquam ex animo, & ſincero mentis propoſito tale mandatum dediſſe filio, *ut ſua necis authoribus ignoſceret*, vel ſi hoc palàm, aliud tamen clanculum

mandâſſe, argumentis non levibus demonſtrari poteſt: nam filius, alioqui plus ſatis patri obſequens, patris graviſſimo atque ultimo præcepto tam religioſè ſibi per epiſcopum tradito, haud dubiè paruiſſet: quî autem paruit, cujus vel juſſu vel authoritate duo Legati noſtri, alter in Hollandia, alter in Hiſpania, & hic ne ſuſpitione quidem ulla regiæ necis reus, trucidati ſunt? qui denique haud ſemel ſcripto publico edixit atque omnibus palam fecit, ſe nolle patris ſui interfectoribus ullo pacto veniam concedere? Hanc igitur narratiunculam tuam vide an veram eſſe velis; quæ quo magis collaudat patrem, eo magis vituperat filium. Nunc inſtituti oblitus, non regii ſanguinis ad cœlum, ſed populi ad Senatum clamores ementiris, odioſiſſimus poſt Salmaſium in republica aliena pragmaticus & ardelio, qui tam fœdè præſertim res tuas domi agas. Tuáne voce, impuriſſime, populus pro ſe utatur, cujus halitum ipſum oris lue venerea fœtidum, purus omnis averſaretur? tu verò perfugarum ac perditorum voces populo attribuis; & quod agyrta peregrinus ad coronam ſolet, viliſſimorum duntaxat animalium voces imitaris. Quis autem negat ea poſſe tempora ſæpiùs accidere, in quibus civium longè major numerus improborum ſit; qui Catilinam vel Antonium, quàm ſaniorem ſenatus partem ſequi malint; neque idcirco boni cives obniti contra, & fortiter facere non debebunt, ſui magis officii, quàm paucitatis rationem ducentes: tuam ergo tam bellam pro noſtro populo oratiunculam, ne charta omnino pereat, in annales Voluſi ſuadeo inſeras; nobis rhetorculo tam hircoſo atque olido, non eſt uſus. Dehinc injuriarum in eccleſiam poſtulamur. *Exercitus eſt omnium hæreſeωn lerna.* Qui non maledicunt, exercitum noſtrum ut fortiſſimum, ita modeſtiſſimum ac religioſiſſimum eſſe confitentur: aliis in caſtris ferè potatur, variis libidinibus indulgetur, rapitur, aleâ luditur, juratur & perjuratur; in his noſtris quod datur otii, diſquirendæ veritati impenditur, ſacræ Scripturæ invigilatur; nec quiſquam pulchrius exiſtimat hoſtem ferire, quàm ſe atque alios cœleſtium cognitione rerum erudire, aut bellicam magis quàm evangelicam militiam exercere. Et ſanè ſi proprium belli uſum conſideramus, quid aliud magis deceat milites? qui ideo conſtituti ſunt atque conſcripti, ut eſſent legum defenſores, paludati juſtitiæ ſatellites, eccleſiæ propugnatores: quid illis, non ferocius aut truculentius, ſed civilius aut humanius eſſe oporteat? qui non bellum ſerere ac metere, ſed pacem & incolumitatem humano generi arare, vero ac proprio fine laborum ſuorum debent. Quòd ſiquos ad hæc præclara, inſtituta aſpirantes vel alienus error, vel ſua animi infirmitas tranſverſos abducit, in eos, non ferro ſæviendum, ſed rationibus ac monitis precibus quoque ad Deum fuſis enitendum, cujus eſt ſolius omnes animo errores diſpellere, & cœleſtem veritatis lucem, cui volet impertire. Hæreſes quidem, ſic verè dictas, nos nullas approbamus, ne omnes quidem toleramus; extirpatas etiam volumus, ſed quibus convenit modis, præceptis nimirum & ſaniore doctrina, ut in mente ſitas, non ferro ac flagris quaſi ex corpore evellendas. *Altera,* inquis, *par noſtra injuria eſt in temporali, quod vocant, eccleſiæ fundo.* Percontare Belgas vel etiam Germaniæ ſuperioris poteſtantes, numquid ab eccleſiæ bonis abſtinuerint; in quos Cæſar Auſtriacus quoties bellum movet, vix alium quærit belli titulum, quàm ut bona eccleſiæ reſtitui jubeat. Verùm illa profectò non eccleſiæ, ſed eccleſiaſticorum duntaxat bona fuere, qui hoc maximè ſenſu clerici, vel etiam holoclerici, ut qui ſortem totam invaſiſſent, rectiùs nominari poterant; immo lupi veriùs plerique eorum, quàm aliud quidvis erant dicendi; luporum autem bona, vel congeſtas potiùs prædas majorum ex ſuperſtitione partas, quam per tot ſæcula quæſtui habuerunt, in uſus transferre belli à ſemetipſis conflati, nefas non erat, quando aliud non erat reliquum, unde ſumptus belli tam gravis ac diuturni ſuppeterent. Atqui *expectabatur, ut epiſcopis erepta opes in paſtores eccleſiarum erogarentur.* Expectabant, ſcio, illi, & avebant omnia in ſe transfundi: nulla enim eſt vorago tam profunda, quæ non expleri citiùs quàm clericorum avaritia poſſit. Aliis fortaſſe in locis, haud æquè miniſtris proviſum; noſtris jam ſatis ſuperque bene erat; oves potiùs appellandi quàm paſtores, paſcuntur magis quàm paſcunt; pinguia illis plerumque omnia, ne ingenio quidem excepto; decimis enim ſaginantur, improbato ab aliis omnibus eccleſiis more; Deòque ſic diffidunt, ut eas malint per magiſtratum atque per vim ſuis gregibus extorquere, quàm vel divinæ providentiæ, vel eccleſiarum benevolentiæ & gratitudini debere; atque inter hæc tamen & apud diſcipulos & apud diſcipulas, tam crebrò convivantur, ut quid domicœnium ſit, aut domiprandium penè neſciant: hinc itaque luxuriant plerique, non egent; liberíque eorum & conjuges luxu & lautitiis, cum divitum liberis atque conjugibus certant: hanc novis latifundiis adauxiſſe luxuriam, idem prorſus fuiſſet, ac ſi quis novum venenum (quam olim peſtem ſub Conſtantino vox miſſa cœlitùs, deflevit) in eccleſiam infudiſſet. Proximum eſt ut de injuriis in Deum, quarum tres maximè nominantur, de fiducia nimirum divinæ opis, *de precibus etiam atque jejuniis*, reddenda nobis ratio ſit. Verùm ex ore tuo, hominum corruptiſſime, te redarguo; illúdque Apoſtoli abs te prolatum in te retorqueo, Quis es tu qui *alienum ſervum judicas?* coram Domino noſtro ſine ſtemus vel cadamus. Illud inſuper addam Davidis prophetæ, Cùm flens affligo jejunio animam meam, tum hoc vertitur in ſummum probrum mihi. Cæteras hac de re tuas garritiones febriculoſas, quas nemo bis legat, minutim perſequi ſi vellem, haud leviùs profectò ipſe peccem. Nec minus aliena ſunt quæ de ſucceſſibus prolixè oſcitas: Cave tibi, More, & vide, ne poſt Pontianos ſudores, gravedinem fortè contraxeris aut polypum; metuendum, ne, ut Salmaſius ille magnus nuper, Thermas refrigeres. Equidem de ſucceſſu ſic paucis reſpondeo; cauſam ſucceſſu neque probari bonam, neque argui malam: nos cauſam noſtram non ex eventu, ſed eventum ex cauſa judicari poſtulamus. Jam rationes politicas deſumis tibi tractandas, mancipium cathedrarium, immo cathedralitium; injurias nimirum noſtras, in omnes reges ac populos. Quas? nobis enim nihil tale propoſitum erat; res noſtras tantummodo egimus, aliorum miſſas fecimus; ſiquid ad vicinos ab exemplo noſtro boni redundavit, haud invidemus; ſi quid ſecùs non noſtrâ id culpâ, ſed abutentium evenire credimus. Reges aut populi, te Balatronem ſuarum injuriarum interpretem, quinam tandem conſtituerunt? certè oratores eorum ac legatos, alii in Senatu, ipſe in concilio cum audierentur ſæpè audivi non ſolùm de ſuis injuriis nihil querentes, ſed amicitiam noſtram ac ſocietatem ultrò petentes; quinetiam regum ſuorum ac principum nomine, de rebus noſtris nobis gratulantes, etiam bene precantes, pacem ac diuturnitatem, atque eoſdem felices ſucceſſus, in perpetuum exoptantes. Non inimicorum hæ voces, non eorum qui odiſſent, ut tu prædicas; aut tu mendacii, quod in te leviſſimum eſt, aut reges ipſi fraudum ac malarum artium, quod illis inhoneſtiſſimum foret, damnentur neceſſe eſt. Verùm ſcripta noſtra objectas confitentium, *Dediſſe nos exemplum populis omnibus ſalutare, tyrannis omnibus formidandum.* Immane crimen profectò narras; idem ferè atque ſi dixiſſet quiſpiam,

*Diſcite juſtitiam moniti, & non temnere Divos.*

Numquid dici potuit pernicioſius? *hac Cromuellius ad Scotos poſt Dumbarrenſe prælium ſcripſit.* Et ſe quidem & illa nobili victoria dignè. *Ejuſmodi ſeſamo & papavere conſperſa ſunt infames Miltoni paginæ.* Illuſtrem tu quidem collegam ſemper mihi adjungis, & in hoc facinore parem planè facis, nonnunquam & ſuperiorem; quo ego nomine cohoneſtari me maximè abs te putem, ſiquid à te honeſtum poſſet proficiſci. *Cremata vero*, inquis, *ſunt iſta paginæ à carnifice Pariſienſi ſupremi Senatus authoritate.* Nequaquam id comperi à Senatu factum, ſed ab officiario quodam urbico, locotenente civili neſcio an incivili, cui clerici quidam, ignaviſſima animalia, authores fuere; tam ex diſſito atque longinquo, abdomini ſuo, quod aliquando precor evenire poſſit, augurantes. Cenſes non potuiſſe nos viciſſim Salmaſii defenſionem regiam cremaſſe? potuiſſem ſanè vel ipſe à magiſtratibus noſtris hoc facilè impetraſſe, niſi illam contumeliam contemptu potiùs ulciſcendam exiſtimaſſem: Vos ignem igne properantes extinguere, Herculeum præbuiſtis rogum, unde clarior exurgerem; nos conſultiùs, Defenſionis Regiæ frigus calfaciendum non cenſuimus. Illud miror, tam eſſe Majorum diſſimiles factos Toloſates (nam & Toloſæ combuſtos nos accepimus) ut qua in urbe ſub Raimundis comitibus, & libertas & religio defenſa olim tam inſigniter eſt, in ea nunc & libertatis & religionis Defenſio combureretur. *Vtinam & Scriptor*, inquis. Itane ergaſtulum? at ego parem ne reddam tibi ſalutem, More, tu egregiè caviſti; ut qui nigrioribus multò ignibus jamdudum pereas: urunt te adulteria tua, urunt ſtupra, urunt perjuria, quorum ope deſponſatam tibi ſtupro fœminam perfidus excuſſiſti; urunt perditiſſimi furores, qui impulerunt te, ut ſacroſancta munia facinoroſus concupiſceres, & imperſpectum Domini corpus inceſtis manibus ſacerdos pollueres; ſanctitatem etiam ſimulans, in ſanctitatis ſimulatores, dira omnia hoc tuo clamore denunciares; tuúmque execrabile caput, tuamet ipſius damnatum ſententia irretires: his tu ſceleribus & infamiis totus flagras, his tu flammis furialibus dies atque noctes torreris, dáſque nobis pœnas quibus graviores imprecari tibi nullus hoſtis poteſt. Me interim concremationes veſtræ non lædunt, non tangunt, & iſtis ignominiis habeo complura quæ opponam grata meo animo atque jucundâ. Una me curia, unus fortè lictor Pariſienſis, malarum avium impulſu, combuſſit; at quamplurimi per totam Galliam viri boni atque docti nihilo minus legunt, approbant, amplectuntur? quamplurimi per immenſum Germaniæ totius tractum, libertatis ferè domicilium, per cæteras quoque regiones, quâcunque ejus veſtigia ulla adhuc manent; quin & ipſa Græcia, ipſæ Athenæ Atticæ, quaſi jam redivivæ, nobiliſſimi alumni ſui Philaræ voce, applauſere. Hoc etiam verè poſſum dicere, quo primùm tempore noſtra Defenſio eſt edita, & legentium ſtudia incaluere, nullum vel principis vel civitatis legatum in urbe tum fuiſſe, qui non vel fortè obvio mihi gratularetur, vel conventum apud ſe cuperet vel domi inviſeret. Tuos verò nefas ſit præterire manes, Adriane Pauui, qui legatus ad nos ſummo cum honore miſſus, Hollandiæ decus atque ornamentum, ſummam in me ac ſingularem benevolentiam tuam, etiamſi videre nunquam contigerit, multis ſæpè nuntiis ſignificandam curaſti. Hoc verò etiam ſæpius recolere memoria juvat; quod ſine Dei propitio numine accidere arbitror nunquam potuiſſe; mihi, qui contra reges, ut videbatur, ſcripſeram, majeſtatem ipſam regiam placidè annuiſſe; meæque integritati, nec non ſententiæ, ut veriori, teſtimonium divino proximum perhibuiſſe. Quid enim verear hoc dicere, quoties auguſtiſſimam reginam illam, quantis cum laudibus in ore omnium verſetur, mecum cogito. Equidem Athenienſem illum ſapientiſſimum, cui me tamen non confero, ne ipſius quidem Pythii teſtimonio, quàm me illius judicio ornatiorem exiſtimem. Quòd ſi mihi quidem hæc ſcribere adoleſcenti contigiſſet, & oratoribus idem quod poetis liceret, haud dubitaſſem profectò ſortem meam deorum ſorti nonnullorum anteferre: quippe illos de forma duntaxat aut de muſica, Deos, humano ſub judice, contendiſſe; me hominem in certamine longè omnium prcælariſſimo, deâ judice, ſuperiorem diſceſſiſſe. Sic me cohoneſtatum, nemo niſi carnifex ignominioſè audeat tractare, tam qui juſſerit quàm qui fecerit. Hîc vehementer laboras, ut ne facta noſtra Belgicorum pro libertate facinorum exemplo tueri queamus; quod à Salmaſio quoque fruſtra laboratum eſt: cui quod tunc reſpondi, idem tibi nunc reſponſum volo; Falli qui nos opinatur cujuſquam exemplo niti; Belgarum pro libertate facinora adjuviſſe ſæpius ac foviſſe, æmulari neceſſe nunquam habuiſſe; ſiquid pro libertate fortiter faciendum eſt, authores ipſi nobis ſumus, præire, non ſequi alios aſſueti. Tu verò etiam ad bellum contra nos treſſis orator, ſtultiſſimis argumentis, & te verberone dignis, Gallos hortaris: *Noſtros*, inquis, *legatos excipere Gallicus ſpiritus nunquam ſuſtinebit*. Suſtinuit quod plus eſt, ſuos jam ter & amplius ad nos ultrò mittere: Galli igitur generoſi, ut ſolent, tu degener & ſpurius, politicarum rationum rudis ac falſus deprehenderis. Hinc id agis ut demonſtres, *à fœderatis ordinibus ex compoſito rem in longum duci, eoſque nobiſcum nec fœdus nec bellum velle.* Atqui intereſt profectò ipſorum ordinum, non pati conſilia ſua ſic nudari, &, ut ita dicam, vitiari à Genevenſe perfuga apud ſe ſtabulante, qui ſi diutiùs toleretur, non ancillis modò, ſed conſiliis etiam publicis ſtuprum videtur illaturus; cùm ipſi fraterna atque ſincera omnia præ ſe ferant; nunc pacem, quæ vota ſunt bonorum omnium, perpetuam nobiſcum redintegraverint. *Jucundum erat*, inquit, *videre quibus ludibriis, quibus periculis furciferi illi legati*, Anglorum ſcilicet, *quotidie conflictarentur, non modo ab Anglis regiis, &c. ſed maxime omnium à Batavis.* Niſi exploratum nobis jam diu eſſet quibuſnam & prioris legati Doriſlai cædes, & duorum poſtea acceptæ injuriæ referendæ ſint, en delatorem, qui hoſpites & altores ſuos etiam falſò deferat: Hunccine apud vos, Batavi, non modò venereum in eccleſia miniſtrum, ſed ſanguinarium etiam, nec violandi ſolùm juris omnis hortatorem, ſed violati quoque falſum indicem ac proditorem ali?

Ultimus accuſationum titulus eſt *noſtra injuria in Reformatas eccleſias.* At verò quî magis noſtra in illas quàm illarum in nos? ſi exemplo inſtes, certè ſi ab ipſis Valdenſibus & Toloſanis, ad Rupellanam uſque famem monumenta repetas, nos omnium eccleſiarum ultimi reperiemur contra tyrannos arma ſumpſiſſe. At primi capite damnaſſe. Sanè quia nobis hoc primis in manu adhuc fuit: quid illi, ſi data ſimilis facultas fuiſſet, fuiſſent facturi, opinor ne ipſos quidem ſatis nôſſe. Equidem in ea ſum ſententia, contra quem bellum gerimus, eum, ſiquis rationis aut judicii uſus ſit, hoſtem à nobis judicari; hoſtem autem tam interficere quàm oppugnare, eodem ſemper jure licuiſſe: Tyrannus igitur cùm non noſter ſolùm, ſed totius propè generis humani publicus hoſtis ſit, eum quo jure armis oppugnari, eodem poſſe & interfici. Nec verò hæc mea unius ſententia eſt, aut nova, eandem & aliis olim ſive prudentia ſive ſenſus communis dictavit. Hinc pro Rabirio M. Tullius: *Si interfici Saturninum nefas fuit, arma ſumpta eſſe contra Saturninum ſine ſcelere non poſſunt; ſi arma jure ſumpta concedis, interfectum jure concedas neceſſe eſt.* Plura hac de re & ſuprà dixi, & ſæpè aliàs, & per ſe res obſcura non eſt: Ex quibus quid Galli etiam, eadem data occaſione fuiſſent facturi, ipſe queas divinare. Addo & hoc amplius, quicunque armis tyrannum oppugnant, iidem, quantum in ſe eſt, & interficiunt: immo, quicquid vel ſibi vel aliis ineptè ſatis perſuadere cupiunt, jam interfecere. Sed & doctrina hæc nobis haud magis quàm Gallis, quos tu hoc piaculo cupis eximere, debetur: unde enim Francogallia illa, niſi ex Gallia, unde vindiciæ contra tyrannos? qui liber etiam Bezæ vulgò tribuitur; undè alii quorum meminit Thuanus? tu tamen, quaſi ego ſolus, *id ſatagit*, inquis, *Miltonus, cujus ego piacularem veſaniam pro meritis excepiſſem.* Tu excepiſſes, furcifer? cujus nefaria flagitia ſi eccleſia illa Middleburgenſis, te paſtore infamis & infelix, pro meritis excepiſſet, jamdudum te Satanæ mandaſſet; ſi pro meritis excepiſſet magiſtratus, jamdudum adulteria patibulo pendens luiſſes: Et luiturus propediem ſane videris; evigilavit enim, ut audeo nuper, tua illa eccleſia Middleburgenſis, ſuæque famæ conſuluit, téque caprimulgum paſtorem, immo hircum potius olentiſſimum ablegavit ab ſe in malam crucem; hinc & magiſtratus Amſterodamenſis pulpitum quoque interdixit tibi, orcheſtram tuam; tuúmque illud os impudicum eo ex loco ad ſummam omnium bonorum offenſionem conſpici, illam impiam vocem vetuit in ſacro publicè audiri: reſtat jam tibi ſola Græcarum literarum profeſſio; & hæc quoque brevi eripienda, præter unam illam literam, cujus non profeſſor, ſed diſcipulus mox penſilis meritò futurus es. Neque hæc iratus tibi ominor, ſed duntaxat jus dico: maledicis enim tantum abeſt ut talibus offendamur qualis tu es, ut tales ſemper nobis vel exoptemus; immo divinâ plané benevolentiâ fieri arbitremur, ut qui in nos acerrimè clamitarunt, tales potiſſimùm ſemper extiterint; qui maledicendo non infamant, ſed honeſtant, ſed laudant, nam laudando certè maledixiſſent. Sed irruentem modò quid te retinuit tam fortem homuncionem? *Niſi mihi*, inquis, *religio fuiſſet in magni Salmaſii provinciam excurrere, cui ſolida de magno ſcilicet adverſario victoria relinquetur.* Siquidem & ille & ego nunc magnus tibi videor, eo difficilior provincia, præſertim mortuo, fortaſſis ero; de victoria, modò veritas vincat, parum ſollicitus. Interim tu clamitas; *parricidium in doctrinam vertunt, eámque reformatarum eccleſiarum conſenſione cupiunt quidem, non audent aperto ore defendere; fuit, inquit Miltonus, etiam ſummorum hæc ſententia Theologorum, qui ipſi reformandæ eccleſiæ authores fuere.* Fuit, inquam, & id fuſiús docui in eo libro qui noſtro idiomate Tenor ſive Tenura regum & magiſtratuum inſcriptus eſt, ſecundúm editus, & alibi: nunc actum toties, agendi faſtidium cepit: illic ex Luthero, Zuinglio, Calvino, Bucero, Martyre, Paræo, citantur ipſa verbatim loca; ex illo denique Cnoxo, quem *unum*, me, *Scotum* ais *innuere, quemque hac in re reformatos omnes, præſertim Gallos, illa ætate condemnaſſe.* Atqui ille contrà, quod ibi narratur, ſe illam doctrinam nominatim à Calvino, ſummíſque aliis ea tempeſtate theologis, quibuſcum familiariter conſueverat, hauſiſſe affirmat: plura etiam illic noſtrorum, regnante Maria & Elizabetha, ſinceriorum theologorum in eandem ſententiam deprompta reperies. Tu verò tandem conceptis ad Deum precibus malè prolixis peroras impius abominandis; & os illud adulterum, obduratus cœlo offers: ſino te facilè, neque interpello; major enim cumulus ad impietatem tuam accedere non potuit. Revertor nunc ad id quod ſuprà pollicitus ſum, & objecta Cromuello præcipua crimina quæ ſunt, in medio hic ponam; ut ſparſa quàm fuerint levia poſſit intelligi, quæ collecta nullum pondus in ſe habent. *Coram pluribus teſtibus pronunciavit ſibi in animo eſſe, monarchias omnes evertere, reges omnes exitio dare.* Quæ tua ſit narrationum fides, jam aliquoties vidimus; dixit fortaſſe tibi perfugarum aliquis Cromuellum ita dixiſſe: ex illis multis teſtibus nullum nominas: quod itaque ſine authore maledicis, ſuopte vitio ruit. Non is eſt Cromuellus, quem de ſuis jam factis ullus unquam vaniloquum audierit; tantùm abeſt ut infecta quæ ſunt, támque difficilia, de iis inſolentius quicquam promittere ac minitari conſueverit: ſanè iſta tibi qui narrarunt, niſi voluntate atque natura magis quàm conſilio mendaces eſſent, hoc ſaltem quod ab ingenio ejus alieniſſimum eſt, non affinxiſſent. Regibus autem, quos ut ſibi caveant frequenter mones, licebit cum ſaluti proſpexerint ſuæ, ſpreto te monitore tam imperito, non ſermunculos ex trivio arripere, ſed rationes ſe dignas inire, quibus quid ſua interſit faciliùs perſpexerint. Alterum eſt crimen perſuaſiſſe regi Cromuellum, *ut in inſulam Vectim clanculum ſe ſubduceret.* Conſtat regem Carolum rem ſuam multis aliàs rebus, ter fuga perdidiſſe; primùm cum Londino Eboracum fugit, deinde cum ad Scotos in Anglia conductitios, poſtremò cum ad inſulam Vectim. At hujus poſtremæ ſuaſor erat Cromuellus. Optime; ſed tamen ego regios illos primùm miror, qui Carolum toties affirmare non dubitant fuiſſe prudentiſſimum, & eundem ſimul vix unquam ſuæ ſpontis; ſive apud amicos ſive inimicos, in aula vel in caſtris, in aliena ferè poteſtate ſemper fuiſſe; nunc uxoris, nunc epiſcoporum, nunc purpuratorum, nunc militum, denique hoſtium; pejora plerúmque conſilia, & pejorum fermè ſequutum; Carolo perſuadetur, Carolo imponitur, Carolo illuditur, metus incutitur, ſpes vana oſtenditur, velut præda omnium communis, tam amicorum quàm hoſtium, agitur & fertur Carolus. Aut hæc è ſcriptis ſuis tollant, aut ſagacitatem Caroli prædicare deſiſtant. Fateor deinde, quamvis prudentia atq; conſilio præſtare pulcrum ſit, tamen ubi reſpublica factionibus laborat, ſuis incommodis haud carere; & conſultiſſimum quemq; eo magis obnoxium calumniis utriuſq; partis reddere: hoc ſæpe Cromuello obſuit; hinc presbyteriani, inde hoſtes quicquid in ſe durius fieri putant, non id communi Senatus conſilio, ſed Cromuello ſoli imputant; immo ſiquid per imprudentiam ipſi malè gerunt, id dolis & fraudibus Cromuelli aſſignare non erubeſcunt; culpa omnis in eum derivatur, omnis in eum faba cuditur. Et tamen certiſſimum eſt, fugam ad Vectim regis Caroli, abſenti tum aliquot millibus paſſuum Cromuello, tam novum accidiſſe & inopinatum, quàm cuilibet ex Senatu tum in vrbe verſanti, quem ut de re inopinatiſſima ſibi recèns allata per literas certiorem fecit. Res autem ita ſe habuit; exercitus univerſi vocibus rex territus, qui eum nullis officiis ſuis aut pollicitis factum meliorem, ad ſupplicium poſcere jam tunc cœperat, ſtatuit cum duobus tantummodo conſciis nocturnâ fugâ ſibi conſulere: verùm fugiendi certior, quàm quo fugeret, per comitum ſuorum vel imperitiam vel timiditatem, inops conſilii quo ſe reciperet, Hamundo Vectis inſulæ præſidi ſe ultro dedidit; ea ſpe, facilem ſibi ex ea inſula, parato clam navigio, tranſitum in Galliam aut in Belgiam fore. Hæc ego de fuga regis in Vectim ex iis comperi, quibus rem totam pernoſcendi quàm proxima facultas erat. Sed & hoc quoque criminoſum eſt, quòd per Cromuellum, *Angli ingentem de Scotis parti ſunt victoriam.* Non *parti ſunt*, More, ſed ſine ſolœciſmo claram ſibi pepererunt; tu verò cogita, quàm Scotis cruentum illud prælium fuerit, cujus tu mentionem tantummodo facere nequiviſti, quin inſtabile præ metu profeſſorium caput tuum ad Priſciani pluteum nutando allideres. Sed videamus porro quantum flagitium Cromuelli fuerit, Scotos irrumpentes, imperium ſibi in Anglos jam pollicentes, nobiliſſimo poſt multas ætates prælio viciſſe. *Inter has turbas, dum Cromuellus cum exercitu abeſt:* Immò dum hoſtem in Angliæ viſcera jam progreſſum, jam Parlamento ipſi imminentem Cromuellus etiam deficientes Cambros ad fidem reducendo, & obſidione longa defeſſus, ut vidit, ut vicit, ut glorioſiſſimè fudit, Presbyterianos *tædium Cromuelli ceperat:* Hîc verum dicis; dum is communem hoſtem cum vitæ diſcrimine propulſat, hi militantem pro ſeſe & in acie fortiter dimicantem confictis criminibus accuſant domi; & Huntingtonum centurionem quendam in ejus caput ſubornant. Quis tantæ ingratitudinis fœditatem ſine fremitu vel audire poſſit? Eorundem inſtinctu, nequiſſimum genus homuncionum ac petulantiſſimum, tyrones tabernarum maximo numero curiæ fores obſident; Senatum, quicquid ipſis videtur (quo quid indignius?) clamore ſuo ac minis cogunt decernere: jámque reducem à Scotis victorem fortiſſimum, aut exulantem, aut pœnas indigniſſimas dantem vidiſſemus Camillum noſtrum; niſi Fairfaxius imperator, invictiſſimi Legati ſui tantum dedecus perferendum non ſenſiſſet; niſi cunctus exercitus, & is quoque ſatis ingratè habitus, tam atrocia prohibuiſſet. Urbem itaque ingreſſus, urbicos nullo negotio repreſſit; Scotorum hoſtium partibus addictos meritò Senatu movit: pars reliqua inſolentiis tabernariorum jam liberata, colloquium Vectenſe contra Senatus conſultum edictúmque publicum, cum rege initum reſcindit: Huntingtonus autem ille accuſator, impunis & ſui juris relictus, tandem pœnitentiâ ductus, ipſe ſua ſponte à Cromuello veniam petiit, & à quibus eſſet ſubornatus ultro faſſus eſt. Hæc ferè ſunt quæ fortiſſimo patriæ liberatori, niſi ad quæ ſupra reſpondi, crimina objiciuntur; quæ quid valeant videtis. Verùm ego tantum virum, déque hac republica tam inſignitè meritum, ſi duntaxat nihil mali commiſiſſe defendam, nihil egero; cum præſertim non reipublicæ ſolùm, ſed & meâ quoque interſit, ut qui eadem infamia tam prope ſim conjunctus, quàm optimum eum, atque omni laude digniſſimum, gentibus, quoad poſſum, omnibus atque ſæculis demonſtrare. Eſt *Oliverius Cromuellus* genere nobili atque illuſtri ortus: nomen republica olim ſub regibus benè adminiſtrata clarum, religione ſimul orthodoxa vel reſtituta tum primùm apud nos vel ſtabilita clarius: Is matura jam atq; firmata ætate, quam & privatus traduxit, nulla re magis quàm religionis cultu purioris, & integritate vitæ cognitus, domi in occulto creverat; & ad ſumma quæque tempora fiduciam Deo fretam & ingentem animum tacito pectore aluerat. Parlamento ab rege ultimùm convocato, ſui municipii ſuffragiis lectus Senatorium munus obtinuit; illic rectiſſimis ſententiis conſiliiſque firmiſſimis ſtatim innotuit: Ubi ad arma deventum eſt, delata ſua opera, equitum turmæ præficitur; ſed bonorum virorum concurſu, ad ejus ſigna undique confluentium, auctus copiis, & geſtarum rerum magnitudine & celeritate conficiendi ſummos ferè duces brevi ſuperavit. Nec mirum; ſui enim noſcendi exercitatiſſimus miles, quicquid intus hoſtis erat, ſpes vanas, metus, cupiditates, apud ſe prius aut deleverat, aut ſubactas jam habuerat in ſe priùs imperator, ſui victor, de ſe potiſſimùm triumphare didicerat; itaq; ad externum hoſtem quo primùm die in caſtra venit, veteranus, & in illa omni caſtrenſi militia conſummatus acceſſit. Non eſt ut in his poſſim orationis carceribus, tot urbes captas, tot prælia & quidem maxima, in quibus nunquam victus aut fuſus, Britannicum orbem totum continuis victoriis peragravit, pro dignitate rerum exequi; quæ juſtæ ſanè hiſtoriæ grande opus & iterum quaſi campum quendam dicendi, & exæquata rebus narrandi ſpatia deſiderant. Sufficit hoc unicum ſingularis & prope divinæ virtutis indicium, tantam in eo viguiſſe ſive animi vim atq; ingenii, ſive diſciplinæ non ad militarem modò, ſed ad Chriſtianam potiùs normam & ſanctimoniam inſtitutæ, ut omnes ad ſua caſtra tanquam ad optimum non militaris duntaxat ſcientiæ, ſed religionis ac pietatis gymnaſium, vel jam bonos & fortes undiq; attraheret, vel tales, ipſius maximè exemplo, efficeret: eóſq; toto belli, pacis etiam nonnunquam intermediæ tempore, per tot animorum & rerum viciſſitudines, non largitionibus & militari licentia, ſed authoritate & ſolo ſtipendio, adverſantibus licèt multis, in officio contineret & adhuc contineat: quâ quidem laude neq; Cyro, neq; Epaminondæ, neque antiquorum ulli excellentiſſimo Imperatori laus ulla major attribui ſolet. Hinc enim exercitum, quo nemo minori ſpatio majorem aut inſtructiorem, ſibi comparavit, & per omnia dicto audientem, & civibus gratum atque dilectum; & hoſtibus, armatis quidem formidoloſum, pacatis admirabilem, quorum in agris atque ſub tectis ita non gravis, & ſine omni maleficio verſabatur, ut cum regiorum ſuorum vim, vinolentiam, impietatem atque libidines, cogitarent, mutata ſorte læti, non nunc hoſtes, ſed hoſpites adveniſſe crederent; præſidium bonis omnibus, terrorem malis, virtutis etiam omnis & pietatis hortatores. Sed neque te fas eſt præterire, *Fairfaxi* in quo cum ſummâ fortitudine ſummam modeſtiam, ſummam vitæ ſanctitatem, & natura & divinus favor conjunxit: Tu harum in partem laudum evocandus tuo jure ac merito es; quanquam in illo nunc tuo ſeceſſu, quantus olim Literni Africanus ille Scipio, abdis te quoad potes; nec hoſtem ſolùm, ſed ambitionem, & quæ præſtantiſſimum quemque mortalium vincit, gloriam quoque viciſti; tuiſque virtutibus & præclarè factis, jucundiſſimum & glorioſiſſimum per otium frueris, quod eſt laborum omnium & humanarum actionum vel maximarum finis; qualique otio cùm antiqui Heroes, poſt bella & decora tuis haud majora, fruerentur, qui eos laudare conati ſunt poetæ, deſperabant ſe poſſe aliâ ratione id quale eſſet dignè deſcribere, niſi eos fabularentur, cœlo receptos, deorum epulis accumbere. Verùm te ſive valetudo, quod maximè crediderim, ſive quid aliud retraxit perſuaſiſſimum hoc habeo, nihil te à rationibus reipublicæ divellere potuiſſe, niſi vidiſſes quantum libertatis conſervatorem, quàm firmum atque fidum Anglicanæ rei columen ac munimentum in ſucceſſore tuo relinqueres. Te enim ſalvo, Cromuelle, ne Deo quidem ſatis confidit, qui rebus Anglorum, ſatis ut ſalvæ ſint, metuat; cùm videat tam faventem tibi, tam evidenter opitulantem ubique Deum. Verùm tibi tum ſoli decertanda alia bellorum palæſtra erat.

Quid autem multa? res maximas, quâ tu celeritate ſoles, eadem ſi poſſum brevitate expediam. Amiſſâ Hiberniâ præter unam urbem totâ, tu, exercitu tranſmiſſo, uno ſtatim prælio Hibernicorum opes fregiſti; reliqua indies conficiebas; cùm repentè ad bellum Scoticum revocaris. Hinc contra Scotos irruptionem cum rege ſuo in Angliam parantes, indefeſſus proficiſceris; regnum illud, quod omnes reges noſtri octingentis annis non poterant, uno circiter anno perdomuiſti, & Anglorum ditioni adjeciſti; reliquas eorum copias, validiſſimas tamen & expeditas, per ſummam deſperationem in Angliam tum ferè præſidiis nudatam, inopinâ impreſſione factâ, Vigornium uſque progreſſas, magnis itineribus aſſecutus, uno prælio deleviſti; captâ penè tota gentis nobilitate. Hinc alta pax domi: tum te, ſed neque tum primùm, non minùs conſiliis, quàm belli artibus valere ſenſimus; id quotidiè in ſenatu agebas, vel ut cum hoſte pacta fides ſervaretur, vel uti ea, quæ ex republicâ eſſent, maturè decernerentur. Cum videres moras necti, privatæ quemque rei, quam publicæ, attentiorem, populum queri deluſum ſe ſuâ ſpe, & potentiâ paucorum circumventum eſſe, quod ipſi toties moniti nolebant, eorum dominationi finem impoſuiſti. Parlamentum aliud convocatur novum; conceſſa iis duntaxat, quibus par erat, eligendi poteſtate; conveniunt electi; nihil agunt; cùm ſe invicem diſſidiis & altercationibus diu defatigaſſent, animadvertentes plerique ſe rebus tantis exequendis, neque pares eſſe, néque idoneos, ipſi ſeſe diſſolvunt. Deſerimur Cromuelle; tu ſolus ſuperes, ad te rerum ſumma noſtrarum rediit; in te ſolo conſiſtit; inſuperabili tuæ virtuti cedimus cuncti, nemine vel obloquente, niſi qui aut æquales inæqualis ipſe honores ſibi quærit, aut digniori conceſſos invidet, aut non intelligit nihil eſſe in ſocietate hominum magis vel Deo gratum, vel rationi conſentaneum, eſſe in civitate nihil æquius, nihil utilius, quàm potiri rerum digniſſimum. Eum te agnoſcunt omnes, Cromuelle, ea tu civis maximus & glorioſiſſimus, dux publici conſilii, fortiſſimorum exercituum Imperator, pater patriæ geſſiſti: ſic tu ſpontaneâ bonorum omnium & animitùs miſſâ voce ſalutaris: alios titulos te dignos tua facta non norunt, non ferunt, & ſuperbos illos, vulgi licet opinione magnos, meritò reſpuunt. Quid enim eſt titulus, niſi definitus quidam dignitatis modus? tuæ res geſtæ cùm admirationis, tum certè titulorum modum omnem excedunt; & velut pyramidum apices cœlo ſe condunt, populari titulorum aurâ excelſiores. Sed quoniam ſummis etiam virtutibus, qui honos habetur, humano quodam faſtigio finiri ac terminari, non dignum eſt, ſed tamen expedit, aſſumpto quodam titulo patris patriæ ſimillimo, non evehi te quidem, ſed tot gradibus ex ſublimi deſcendere, & velut in ordinem cogi, publico commodo, & ſenſiſti & ſuſtinuiſti; regium nomen majeſtate longè majore aſpernatus. Et meritò quidem: quod enim nomen, privatus ſub jugum mittere, & ad nihilum planè redigere potuiſti, eo ſi tantus vir factus caperere, idem penè faceres, atque ſi gentem aliquam Idololatram Dei veri ope cùm ſubegiſſes, victos abs te coleres deos. Tu igitur, Cromuelle, magnitudine illâ animi macte eſto; te enim decet: tu patriæ liberator, libertatis auctor, cuſtoſque idem & conſervator, neque graviorem perſonam, neque auguſtiorem ſuſcipere potes aliam; qui non modò regum res geſtas, ſed Heroum quoque noſtrorum fabulas factis exuperaſti. Cogita ſæpiùs, quàm caram rem, ab quàm cara parente tua, libertatem à patriâ tibi commendatam atque concreditam, apud te depoſitam habes: quod ab electiſſimis gentis univerſæ viris, illa modò expectabat, id nunc à te uno expectat, per te unum conſequi ſperat. Reverere tantam de te expectationem, ſpem patriæ de te unicam; reverere vultus & vulnera tot fortium virorum, quotquot, te duce, pro libertate tam ſtrenuè decertârunt; manes etiam eorum qui in ipſo certamine occubuerunt: reverere exterarum quoque civitatum exiſtimationem de nobis atque ſermones? quantas res de libertate noſtra, tam fortiter partâ, de noſtrâ republicâ, tam glorioſè exortâ ſibi polliceantur: quæ ſi tam citò quaſi aborta evanuerit, profectò nihil æquè dedecoroſum huic genti, atque pudendum fuerit: teipſum denique reverere, ut pro quâ adipiſcendâ libertate, tot ærumnas pertuliſti, tot pericula adiiſti, eam ademptus, violatam per te, aut ullâ in parte imminutam aliis, ne ſinas eſſe. Profectò tu ipſe liber ſine nobis eſſe non potes; ſic enim natura comparatum eſt, ut qui aliorum libertatem occupat, ſuam ipſe primus omnium amittat; ſéque primum omnium intelligat ſervire: atque id quidem non injuriâ. At verò, ſi patronus ipſe libertatis, & quaſi tutelaris deus, ſi is, quo nemo juſtior, nemo ſanctior eſt habitus, nemo vir melior, quam vindicavit ipſe, eam poſtmodùm invaſerit, id non ipſi tantùm, ſed univerſæ virtutis ac pietatis rationi pernicioſum ac lethale propemodum ſit neceſſe eſt: ipſa honeſtas, ipſa virtus

tus decoxiſſe videbitur, religionis anguſta fides, exiſtimatio perexigua in poſterum erit, quo gravius generi humano vulnus, poſt illud primum, infligi nullum poterit. Onus longè graviſſimum ſúſcepiſti, quod te penitùs explorabit, totum te atque intimum perſcrutabitur atque oſtendet, quid tibi animi, quid virium inſit, quid ponderis; vivatne in te verè illa pietas, fides, juſtitia, animíque moderatio, ob quas evectum te præ cæteris Dei numine ad hanc ſummam dignitatem credimus. Tres Nationes validiſſimas conſilio regere, populos ab inſtitutis pravis ad meliorem, quàm ante hac, frugem ac diſciplinam velle perducere, remotiſſimas in partes ſollicitam mentem, cogitationéſque immittere, vigilare, prævidere, nullum laborem recuſare, nulla voluptatum blandimenta non ſpernere, divitiarum atque potentiæ oſtentationem fugere, hæc ſunt illa ardua, præ quibus bellum ludus eſt; hæc te ventilabunt atque excutient, hæc virum poſcunt divino fultum auxilio, divino penè colloquio monitum atque edoctum. Quæ tu, & plura, ſæpenumero quin tecum reputes atque animo revolvas, non dubito: uti & illud, quibus potiſſimùm queas modis & illa maxima perficere, & libertatem ſalvam nobis reddere & auctiorem. Quod meo quidem judicio, haud alia ratione rectiùs effeceris, quam ſi primùm quos laborum atque diſcriminum comites habuiſti, eoſdem, quod facis, conſiliorum ſocios cum primis adhibueris; viros ſanè & modeſtiſſimos, & integerrimos, & fortiſſimos; quos tot mortes conſpectæ, tot ſtrages ante ora editæ, non ad crudelitatem, aut duriciem animi, ſed ad juſtitiam, & numinis reverentiam, & humanæ ſortis miſerationem, ad libertatem denique eo acriùs retinendam erudierunt, quo gravioribus ejus cauſa, periculis ipſi ſuum caput objecêre: Non illi quidem ex colluvione vulgi, aut advenarum, non turba collectitia, ſed melioris pleriq; notæ cives, genere vel nobili, vel non inhoneſto, fortunis vel amplis, vel mediocribus; quid ſi ipſa paupertate aliqui commendatiores? quos non præda convocavit, ſed difficillima tempora, rebus maximè dubiis, ſæpè adverſis, ad liberandam tyrannide rempubl. excitarunt; non in tuto aut curiâ ſermones inter ſe atque ſententias tantùm, ſed manus cum hoſte conſerere paratos. Quòd niſi ſpes ſemper infinitas, atque inanes perſequemur, in quibus tandem mortalium ſiſti aut confidi poſſit non video, ſi his horùmque ſimilibus fides non habebitur. Quorum fidelitatis certiſſimum pignus, & indubitatum habemus, quòd pro republica vel mortem oppetere, ſi ita ſors tuliſſet, non recuſarint; pietatis, quòd implorato ſuppliciter dei auxilio, totieſque ab eo inſigniter adjuti, à quo auxilium petere, eidem gloriam tribuere omnem rerum proſperè geſtarum conſueverint; juſtitiæ, quòd etiam regem in judicium adduxerint, damnato parci noluerint; moderationis, quòd & eam experti jam diu ſumus, &, quam ipſi ſibi peperere pacem, ſi eorundem per injuriam rumpatur, quæ mala inde oritura ſunt, ipſi primi ſint perſenſuri, ipſi prima vulnera ſuis corporibus excepturi, déque ſuis omnibus fortunis atque ornamentis feliciter jam partis rurſus dimicaturi; fortitudinis denique, quòd nulli unquam libertatem feliciùs aut fortiùs recuperaverint; ne arbitremur ullos alios poſſe diligentiùs conſervare. Geſtit clarorum virorum nomina commemorare oratio mea: te primum, Fletuode, quem ego ab ipſis tyrociniis ad hos uſque militiæ honores, quos nunc obtines à ſummis proximos, humanitate, manſuetudine, benignitate animi eundem novi; hoſtis fortem & imperterritum, ſed & mitiſſimum quoque victorem ſenſit: Te, Lamberte, qui vix modicæ dux manûs, ducem Hamiltonum juvenis, totius Scoticæ juventutis flore ac robore circumſeptum, & progredientem retardaſti, & retardatum ſuſtinuiſti: Te, Desboroe, Te, Hualei, qui atrociſſimas hujus belli pugnas vel audienti mihi vel legenti, inter hoſtes confertiſſimos expectati ſemper occurriſtis: Te, Overtone, mihi multis abhinc annis, & ſtudiorum ſimilitudine, & morum ſuavitate; concordiâ pluſquam fraternâ conjunctiſſime, te Marſtonenſi prælio illo memorabili, pulſo ſiniſtro cornu noſtro, reſpectantes in fugâ duces ſtantem cum tuo pedite, & hoſtium impetus propulſantem inter denſas utrinq; cædes vidêre: Scotico deinde bello, ut primùm Cromuelli auſpiciis, tuo marte occupata Fifæ littora, & patefactus ultra Sterlinium aditus eſt, te Scoti occidentales, te Boreales humaniſſimum hoſtem, te Orcades extremæ domitorem fatentur. Addam & nonnullos, quos togâ celebres & pacis artibus, conſiliarios tibi advocaſti, vel amicitia vel fama mihi cognitos; Huitlochium, Picheringum, Striclandium, Sidnamum, atq; Sidneium (quod ego illuſtre nomen noſtris ſemper adhæſiſſe partibus lætor) Montacutium, Laurentium, ſummo ingenio ambos, optimiſque artibus expolitos; alioſque permultos eximiis meritis cives, partim ſenatorio jampridem munere, partim militari operâ inſignes. His & ornatiſſimis viris & ſpectatiſſimis civibus libertatem noſtram proculdubio rectè commiſeris; immò quibus tutiùs committi poſſit aut concredi, haud facilè quis dixerit. Deinde ſi eccleſiam eccleſiæ reliqueris, téque ac magiſtratus eo onere, & dimidio ſimul & alieniſſimo, prudens levaveris; nec duas poteſtates longè diverſiſſimas, civilem & eccleſiaſticam, ſiveris inter ſe ſcortari; ſéque invicem promiſcuis ac falſis opibus in ſpeciem quidem firmare re autem verâ labefactare ac demum ſubvertere: ſi vim omnem ab eccleſia ſuſtuleris; vis autem nunquam aberit, quandiu pecunia, eccleſiæ toxicum, veritatis angina, enunciandi evangelii merces, vi etiam ab nolentibus coacta, erit; ejeceris ex eccleſia nummularios illos, non columbas ſed columbam, ſanctum ipſum ſpiritum cauponantes. Tum ſi leges non tot rogaveris novas, quot abrogaveris veteres; ſunt enim ſæpè in republica, qui multas leges ferendi, ut verſificatores multa carmina fundendi impetigine quadam pruriunt: ſed leges quo ſunt plures, eo ferè ſunt deteriores; non cautiones ſed cautes, tu neceſſarias duntaxat retinueris, alias tuleris, non quæ bonos cum malis eodem jugo ſubjiciant, aut quibus, dum improborum fraudes præcaventur, quod bonis liberum eſſe debet, vetatur, ſed quæ in vitia tantum animadvertant, res per ſe licitas abutentium ob noxam, non prohibeant. Leges enim ad frænandam malitiam ſolùm ſunt comparatæ, virtutis libertas formatrix optima atque auctrix eſt. Deinde ſi juventutis inſtitutioni ac moribus meliùs proſpexeris, quàm eſt adhuc proſpectum, nec dociles juxta atque indociles, gnavos atque ignavos, impenſis publicis ali æquum ſenſeris, ſed jam doctis, jam benè meritis doctorum præmia reſervaveris. Tum ſi liberè philoſophari volentibus permiſeris, quæ habent, ſine magiſtelli cujuſpiam privato examine, ſuo periculo in lucem proferre: ita enim maximè veritas effloruerit; nec ſemidoctorum ſemper ſive cenſura, ſive invidia, ſive tenuitas animi, ſive ſuperſtitio aliorum inventa, omnémque ſcientiam ſuo modulo metietur, ſuóque arbitrio nobis impertiverit. Poſtremò ſi ipſe neque verum neque falſum, quicquid id eſt, audire metueris: eos autem minimè omnium audieris, qui ſeſe liberos eſſe non credunt, niſi aliis eſſe liberis, per ipſos non liceat; nec ſtudioſius aut violentius quicquam agunt, quàm ut fratrum non corporibus modò ſed conſcientiis quoque vincula injiciant; peſſimámque omnium tyrannidem, vel pravarum conſuetudinum vel opinionum ſuarum & in rempublicam & in eccleſiam inducant: tu ab eorum parte ſemper ſteteris, qui non ſuam tantummodo ſectam aut factionem, ſed omnes æquè cives, æquali jure liberos eſſe in civitate arbitrantur oportere. Hæc ſicui ſatis libertas non eſt, quæ quidem à magiſtratibus exhiberi poteſt, is mihi ambitionis atque turbarum, quàm libertatis ingenuæ ſtudioſior videtur; præſertim cum agitatus tot factionibus populus, ut poſt tempeſtatem, cùm fluctus nondum reſederunt, ſtatum illum rerum optabilem atque perfectum, ipſe non admittat.

Nam & vos, ô cives, quales ipſi ſitis ad libertatem vel acquirendam vel retinendam haud parvi intereſt: niſi libertas veſtra ejuſmodi ſit, quæ neque parari armis, neque auferri poſſit, ea autem ſola eſt, quæ pietate, juſtitiâ, temperantâ, verâ denique virtute nata, altas atque intimas radices animis veſtris egerit, non deerit profectò qui vobis iſtam, quam vi atque armis quæſiviſſe gloriamini, etiam ſine armis citò eripiat. Multos bellum auxit, quos pax minuit; ſi perfuncti bello, pacis ſtudia neglexeritis, ſi bellum pax veſtra, atque libertas, bellum tantummodò veſtra virtus eſt, veſtra ſumma gloria, invenietis mihi credite, ipſam pacem vobis infeſtiſſimam; pax ipſa veſtrum bellum longè difficillimum, & quam putâſtis libertatem, ſervitus veſtra erit. Niſi per veram atque ſinceram in Deum atque homines pietatem, non vanam atque verboſam, ſed efficacem & operoſam, ſuperſtitiones animis, religionis veræ ac ſolidæ ignoratione ortas, abegeritis, habebitis, qui dorſo atque cervicibus veſtris, tanquam jumentis inſidebunt; qui vos etiam victores bello ſuam veluti prædam ſub haſtâ non bellicâ nundinabuntur; & ex ignorantiâ & ſuperſtitione veſtrâ, uberem quæſtum facient. Niſi avaritiam, ambitionem, luxuriam mentibus, immo familiis quoque veſtris luxum expuleritis, quem tyrannum foris & in acie quærendum crediđiſtis eum domi, eum intus vel duriorem ſentietis, immò multi indies tyranni ex ipſis præcordiis veſtris intolerandi pullulabunt. Hos vincite in primis, hæc pacis militia eſt, hæ ſunt victoriæ, difficiles quidem, at incruentæ, illis bellicis & cruentis longè pulchriores; niſi hìc quoque victores eritis, illum modo in acie hoſtem atque tyrannum, aut non omnino aut fruſtra viciſtis: nam pecuniæ vim maximam in ærarium inferendi rationes poſſe calidiſſimas excogitare, pedeſtres atque navales copias impigrè poſſe inſtruere, poſſe cum legatis exterorum cautè agere, ſocietates & fœdera peritè contrahere, ſi qui majus atque utilius ac ſapientius in republica exiſtimaviſtis eſſe, quàm incorrupta populo judicia præſtare, afflictis per injuriam atque oppreſſis opem ferre, ſuum cuique jus expeditum reddere, quanto ſatis in errore verſati, tum ſerò nimis perſpicietis, cum illa magna repentè vos fefellerint, hæc parva veſtro nunc judicio & neglecta adverſa tum vobis & exitio fuerint. Quin & exercituum & ſociorum, quibus confiditis, fluxa fides, niſi juſtitiæ ſola authoritate retineatur: & opes atque honores, quos plerique ſectantur, facilè dominos mutant: ubi virtus, ubi induſtria, & laborum tolerantia plus viget, eò transfugiunt, & ignavos deſerunt. Sic gens gentem urget, ut ſanior pars gentis corruptiorem proturbat: ſic vos regios dejeciſtis. Si vos in eadem vitia prolabi, ſi illos imitari, eadem ſequi, eaſdem inanitates aucupari ceperitis, vos profectò regii iſtis, vel eiſdem adhuc hoſtibus, vel aliis viciſſim opportuni; qui iidem ad Deum precibus, eadem patientia, integritate, ſolertia freti, qua vos primò valuiſtis, depravatos nunc, & in regium luxum atque ſocordiam prolapſos, meritò ſubjugabunt. Tum verò, quod miſerum eſt, videbimini, planè quaſi Deum veſtri pœnituiſſet, pervaſiſſe ignem ut fumo pereatis: quantæ nunc admirationi, tantæ tunc omnibus contemptioni eritis; hoc ſolum quod aliis fortaſſe, non vobis, prodeſſe in poſterum queat, ſalutare documentum relicturi, quantas res vera virtus & pietas efficere potuiſſet, cum ficta & adumbrata, duntaxat bellè ſimulando, & aggredi tantas, & progreſſus in iis tantos per vos facere valuerit. Non enim, ſi propter veſtram ſive imperitiam, ſive inconſtantiam, ſive improbitatem tam præclarè facta malè ceſſerunt, idcirco viris melioribus minus poſt hæc vel licebit vel ſperandum erit. Sed liberare vos denuò tam facilè corruptos nemo, ne Cromuellus quidem, nec tota, ſi reviviſceret, Brutorum natio liberatorum, aut ſi velit, poſſit, aut ſi poſſit, velit. Quid enim quiſquam vobis libera ſuffragia & eligendi quos vultis in ſenatum poteſtatem tum aſſereret, an ut ſuæ quiſque factionis homines per urbes, aut qui conviviis unctiùs vos, & majoribus poculis per municipia colonos ac ruſticos exceperit, eum quantumvis indignum eligere poſſitis? ita non prudentia, non authoritas, ſed factio & ſagina, aut ex tabernis urbicis caupones & inſtitores reipublicæ, aut ex pagis bubulcos & verè pecuarios ſenatores, nobis creaverit. Illis nempe rempublicam commendaret, quibus vel rem privatam nemo committeret; illis ærarium & vectigalia qui rem ſuam turpiter prodegere? illis publicos reditus, quos depeculentur, quos ex publicis privatos reddant? an legiſlatores ut illi extemplò gentis univerſæ fiant, qui ipſi quid lex, quid ratio, quid fas aut jus, rectum aut curvum, licitum aut illicitum ſit, nunquam intellexerint? qui poteſtatem omnem in violentia, dignitatem in ſuperbia atque faſtidio poſitam exiſtiment? Qui in Senatu nihil prius agant, quàm ut amicis pravè gratificentur, inimicis memores adverſentur? qui propinquos ſibi ac neceſſarios, tributis imperandis, bonis proſcribendis, per provincias ſubſtituant, homines pleroſque viles ac perditos, qui ſuarum ipſi auctionum ſectores, grandem exinde pecuniam cogant, coactam intervertant, rempublicam fraudent, provincias expilent, ſe locupletent ad opulentiam atque faſtum ex mendicitate heſterna ac ſordibus repentini emergant? quis talis ferat ſervos furaces, dominorum vicarios? quis ipſos furum dominos ac patronos, libertatis idoneos fore cuſtodes crediderit, aut illiuſmodi curatoribus reipublicæ ( quingenti licet conſueto numero ſint ex municipiis omnibus hunc in modum electi) pilo ſe factum liberiorem putet, cùm & libertatis ipſi cuſtodes & quibus cuſtoditur, tam pauci tum ſint futuri, qui libertate uti atque frui vel ſciant vel digni ſint? Libertate autem indigni, quod omittendum poſtremò non eſt, erga ipſos primum liberatores ingratiſſimi ferè exiſtunt. Quis nunc talium pro libertate pugnare, aut vel minimum adire periculum velit; non convenit, non cadit in tales eſſe liberos; utut libertatem ſtrepant atque jactent, ſervi ſunt & domi & foris, nec ſentiunt; & cùm ſenſerint tandem, & velut ferocientes equi frænum indignantes, non veræ libertatis amore ( quam ſolus vir bonus rectè poteſt appetere ) ſed ſuperbia & cupiditatibus pravis impulſi, jugum excutere conabuntur, etiamſi armis rem ſæpiùs tentaverint, nihil tamen proficient; mutare ſervitutem fortaſſe poterunt. exuere non poterunt. Id quod Romanis etiam antiquis luxu jam fractis ac diffluentibus perſæpè accidit; recentioribus multò magis; cùm longo poſt tempore

Creſcentii Nomentani auſpiciis, & poſtea duce Nicolao Rentio, qui ſe tribunum plebis nominaverat, antiquam renovare gloriam Romanam, & rempublicam reſtituere affectarent. Scitote enim, ne fortè ſtomachemini, aut quemquam præter voſmetipſos inculpare poſſitis, ſcitote, quemadmodum eſſe liberum idem planè eſt atque eſſe pium, eſſe ſapientem, eſſe juſtum ac temperantem, ſui providum, alieni abſtinentem, atque exinde demum magnanimum ac fortem, ita his contrarium eſſe, idem eſſe atque eſſe ſervum; ſolitóque Dei judicio & quaſi talione juſtiſſima fit, ut quæ gens ſe regere ſéque moderari nequit, ſuíſque ipſa ſe libidinibus in ſervitutem tradidit, ea aliis, quibus nollet, dominis tradatur; nec libens modò, ſed invita quoque ſerviat. Quod etiam & jure & naturâ ipſâ ſancitum eſt, ut qui impos ſui, qui per inopiam mentis aut furorem ſuas res rectè adminiſtrare nequit, in ſuâ poteſtate ne ſit; ſed tanquam pupillus, alieno dedatur imperio; nedum ut alienis negotiis, aut reipublicæ præficiendus ſit. Qui liberi igitur vultis permanere, aut ſapite imprimis, aut quamprimùm reſipiſcite: ſi ſervire durum eſt, atque nolitis, rectæ rationi obtemperare diſcite, veſtrûm eſſe compotes; poſtremo factionibus, odiis, ſuperſtitionibus, injuriis, libidinibus ac rapinis invicem abſtinete. Id niſi pro virili veſtra parte feceritis, neque Deo neque hominibus, ne veſtris quidem jam nunc liberatoribus, idonei poteritis videri, penes quos libertas & reipublicæ gubernatio, & imperandi aliis, quod tam cupidè vobis arrogatis, poteſtas relinquenda ſit: cum tutore potius aliquo rerúmque veſtrarum fideli ac forti curatore tanquam pupilla gens, tum quidem indigeatis. Ad me quod attinet, quocunque res redierit, quam ego operam meam maximè ex uſu reipublicæ futuram judicavi, haud gravatim certè, & ut ſpero, haud fruſtra impendi; meáque arma pro libertate, non ſolùm ante fores extuli, ſed etiam iis ita latè ſum uſus, ut factorum minimè vulgarium jus atque ratio, & apud noſtros & apud exteros explicata atque defenſa, bonis certè omnibus probata, & ad meorum civium ſummam laudem, & poſterorum ad exemplum præclarè conſtet. Si poſtrema primis non ſatis reſponderint, ipſi viderint; ego quæ eximia, quæ excelſa, quæ omni laude propè majora fuere, iis teſtimonium, prope dixerim monumentum, perhibui, haud citò interiturum; & ſi aliud nihil, certè fidem meam liberavi. Quemadmodum autem poeta is qui Epicus vocatur, ſi quis paulò accuratior, miniméque abnormis eſt, quem Heroem verſibus canendum ſibi proponit, ejus non vitam omnem, ſed unam ferè vitæ actionem, Achillis putà ad Troiam, vel Uliſſis reditum, vel Æneæ in Italiam adventum ornandum ſibi ſumit, reliquas prætermittit; ita mihi quoque vel ad officium, vel ad excuſationem ſatis fuerit, unam ſaltem popularium meorum heroicè rem geſtam exornaſſe; reliqua prætereo, omnia univerſi populi præſtare quis poſſit? ſi poſt tam fortia facinora fœdiùs deliqueritis, ſi quid vobis indignum commiſeritis, loquetur profectò poſteritas, & judicium feret; jacta ſtrenuè fundamenta fuiſſe, præclara initia immò pluſquam initia; ſed qui opus exædificarent, qui faſtigium imponerent, non ſine commotione quadam animi deſiderabit; tantis incœptis, tantis virtutibus, non adfuiſſe perſeverantiam dolebit; ingentem gloriæ ſegetem, & maximarum rerum gerendarum materiam præbitam videbit, ſed materiæ defuiſſe viros: non defuiſſe qui monere recta, hortari, incitare, qui egregiè tum facta, tum qui feciſſent, condecorare, & victuris in omne ævum celebrare laudibus potuerit.

# AUTORIS
# Pro ſe
# DEFENSIO
## CONTRA
## *Alexandrum Morum* Eccleſiaſten,

Libelli famoſi, cui titulus, *Regii ſanguinis clamor ad cœlum adverſus Parricidas Anglicanos*, Authorem rectè dictum.

NIhil equidem aut antea inauditum, aut meâ tum expectatione alienum, cùm Libertatis cauſam primò accepi defendendam, uſu venturum mihi arbitratus ſum, ſi liberatores Patriæ, cives meos, unus præ cæteris publicê laudaſſem, Tyrannorum jus infinitum atque injurium coarguiſſem, ut improborum omnium in me propè unum ſerentur odia, atque redundarent. Prævidebam etiam tum bellum vobis, Angli, cum hoſtibus haud diuturnum, mihi cum perfugis, & eorum mercenariis ſempiternum propemodum fore: ut quorum vos tela de manibus eripuiſſetis, eorum in me maledicta atque convicia eò acriùs conjicerentur. In vos ergo furor hoſtium atque impetus deferbuit: mihi ut videtur ſoli hujus belli reliquiæ ſuperſunt; contemptiſſimæ quidem illæ, ſed ut ferè ſunt infimorum impetus animalium, ſatis infeſtæ. Non perditorum duntaxat civium, ſed exterorum etiam ut quiſque alienarum rerum plus nimio curioſus, ut quiſque importuniſſimus, corruptiſſimúſque eſt, in me involat, officii tantummodo mei ſatagentem; in me omne virus & aculeos dirigit. Quo fit, ut quod plerique ad commendationem operis, & audientiam ſibi faciendam præfari initio ſolent, ſe ab exili atque humili rerum materiâ ad res dictu graviſſimas atque maximas aſpirare, id mihi in præſentia nequaquam conceſſum ſit; ut cui nunc contrà vel invito atque nolenti à rebus maximis & glorioſiſſimis dicendis ad res obſcuras, anonymorum latebras, & adverſarii turpiſſimi perſequenda luſtra atque flagitia neceſſariò ſit deſcendendum. Quod etſi parum exordienti honorificum & ad reddendos lectorum animos attentiores minus accommodatum eſſe videatur, habet tamen quod exemplo haud abſimili, cùm viris optimis & præſtantiſſimis idem contigerit, conſolari poſſit ſiquidem & Africanus ipſe Scipio, poſtquam ea geſſerat quibus nihil in eo laudis genere felicius aut majus potuit, inclinatione rerum ſuarum perpetuâ & decreſcente ſemper ſuæ virtutis materiâ uſus eſſe videtur: Et primò Dux quidem ſummus, atque Hannibale ſuperior, mox contra hoſtem Syrum & imbellem Legatus, Tribunorum deinde impotentiâ vexatus, ſuam tandem communire villam Liternenſem contra fures atque latrones coactus eſt: in hac tamen rerum ſuarum declivitate atque deſcenſu par ipſe ſemper ſibi & æqualis dicitur fuiſſe. Unde ego, atque aliis aliundè monitis quicquid ſortis aut provinciæ dederit modò Deus, multo licet priore anguſtius, atque tenuius, id non aſpernari erudior. Sed quemadmodum Dux bonus (quidni enim bonos in omni genere liceat imitari?) contra hoſtem qualemcunque boni Ducis officium explebit; vel ſi hoc nimis invidioſum eſt, ut ſutor bonus, ita enim vir ſapiens olim philoſophatus eſt, ex eo quodcunque eſt ad manum corio calceamentum quàm poteſt optimum conficiet, ſic ego ex hoc calceamento (argumentum enim cùm inſtituiſſem dicere, puduit) trito præſertim jam antea atque diſſuto, ſiquid concinnare quod legentium auribus tantum non faſtidio ſit potero, experiar. Parſurus utique omninò huic operæ, niſi accuſationes mihi neſcio quas falſas, & mendacia objeciſſet adverſarius, quam ego maculam aut ſuſpicionem adhærere mihi minimè volo. Quando hoc neceſſariò tollendum mihi onus eſt, dabit quiſque veniam, uti ſpero, ſi populo qui non deſui pridem & Reipublicæ, mihimet nunc non deſuero.

Quoniam itaque *tuam fidem*, More, quam in ipſo libelli titulo tu *publicam* vocas, Ego publicatam jamdudum & perditam ſcio, ita ultrò ſtatim nobis obſtringis, ut *ſiquid eorum in te agnoſceres*, quæ de te ego ſcripſerim, *majorem in modum iraſcerere*, ex ore imprimis tuo, quo laqueo ſolet improbus irretiri ſemper & capi, judicandum te omnibus atque damnandum addico. Cùm enim & ex perpetuâ calumniâ, quâ meum omne dictum aut factum in deterrimam partem trahis, méque obruere invidiâ quæris, & ex contumeliis quas ſemper iniquiſſimas undique in me arripis jaciendas, ex omnibus denique ſignis atq; indiciis iræ facilè appareat vehementiſſimè te, quamvis id uſque neges, & apertiſſimè iraſci, effugere non potes quin arguaris agnoſcere in te ea, quæ vel *affinxiſſe* tibi me ais, vel in lucem protuliſſe.

Duæ ſunt res quarum ego te poſtulabam: altera injuriarum, altera flagitiorum. Injuriarum, quòd libelli in nos clamoſiſſimi Author extitiſſes; nam quòd populum Anglicanum ſatis lædere exiſtimares te non poſſe, niſi me eximiè præter cæteros læſiſſes, id ego honori mihi potius, quàm contumeliæ duco. Flagitia verò tua commemorare, ut dignum erat, idcirco non gravabar, ut oſtenderem, ſiquidem is eſt habendus clamoris author, qui edidit, & alius certè præter te nemo hactenus comparuit, quàm caſto ex ore clamor ille prorupiſſet. Quid tu ad hæc? negas te authorem illius libelli; & ita ſedulò, ita prolixe negas, cùm tamen liber ille nequaquam tibi diſpliceat, ut magis mihi pertimuiſſe videare, ne illum librum ſcripſiſſe, quàm ne illa in te tot probra admiſiſſe reperiaris; de quibus ſic leviter & timidè, ſed ſimul verſutè ac veteratoriè te purgas, ut nemo non ſubeſſe ulcus perſpiciat. Haud incallido fortaſſe conſilio; nam quis unum libellum ſcripſerit, quàm quis multa ſtupra fecerit difficilior longè eſt probatio; libellus ſine arbitris confici potuit; hæc ſine ſociis, & ſcelerum conſciis non potuerunt: illic veſtigia penè nulla neceſſariò apparent; hic plurima indicia & præcedunt, & unà adſunt, & ſubſequuntur. Itaque, ſi pernegaſſes ad te librum illum pertinere, arbitrabaris eâdem operâ & fidem meam de reliqua tua vita ſaltem apud longinquos infirmari, & meâ credulitate atque injuriâ, quâ te ſcilicet temere violaſſem, tuam magnâ ex parte levari infamiam: ſin ire inficias de libello non poſſes, reſtare tibi hoc ſolum prævidebas, quo nihil difficilius erat aut acerbius, ut de moribus & flagitiis haud perfunctoriè reſpondendùm tibi eſſet. Verùm ego niſi hoc doceo, niſi planum facio aut te authorem illius libelli famoſiſſimi in nos eſſe, aut te ſatis cauſæ præbuiſſe cur pro authore meritò haberi debeas, non recuſo quin abs te victus in hac cauſâ cum dedecore atque pudore turpitèr diſcedam; nullam à me culpam neque imprudentiæ, neque temeritatis, neque maledicentiæ deprecor.

Prodiit hoc biennio anonymus & probroſus liber, *Regii ſanguinis clamor ad cœlum adverſus Parricidas Anglicanos* inſcriptus; in quo libro, cùm Reſpublica Anglorum tota, tum nominatim *Cromuellus*, eo quidem tempore noſtrorum exercituum Imperator, nunc totius Reipublicæ vir ſummus, omni verborum contumeliâ laceratur: Secundùm eum, ſic illi anonymo viſum eſt, maledictorum pars maxima in me conjicitur. Vix ſuis integer ſchedulis liber iſte in Conſilio mihi eſt traditus; ab eo mox conſeſſu qui quæſtionibus tum præfuit, alter mittitur: ſignificatum quoque eſt, expectari à me hanc operam Reipub. navandam, ut huic importuno clamatori os obturarem. Verùm me, tum maximé, & infirma ſimul valetudo, & duorum funerum luctus domeſticus, & defectum jam penitus oculorum lumen diverſâ longè ſollicitudine urgebat: foris quoque adverſarius ille prior, iſti longè præferendus, impendebat; jamjamque ſe totis viribus incurſurum indies minitabatur: quo derepente mortuo levatum me parte aliquâ laboris ratus, & valetudine partim deſperatâ, partim reſtitutâ, utcunque confirmatus, ne omnino vel ſummorum hominum expectationi deeſſe, vel omnem inter tot mala abjeciſſe curam exiſtimationis viderer, ut primùm de iſto Clamatore anonymo certum aliquid comperiendi facultas data eſt, hominem aggredior. De te, *More*, dictum hoc volo: quem ego (quamvis tu nunc, quaſi inſons omnium atque inſciens falsò te accuſari vocifereris) nefandi illius clamoris vel eſſe authorem, vel eſſe pro authore haud injuriâ habendum ſtatuo. Et cur ſic ſtatuam nunc audies. Primùm ego, neque hoc leve putaveris, famam communem, conſentientem, conſtantem ſum ſecutus: neque eam ſolùm quæ populi vox, & ab antiquis Dea credita eſt, & à nobis hodiè vox Dei nuncupatur,

tur, ſed eam etiam, ut legitimè tecum agi intelligas, quam Juriſperiti ab authoribus & probis & benè notis exortam, fidem adjicere teſtimonio docent. Verè hoc dico & religiosè, me toto biennio nullum neque popularem, neque peregrinum conveniſſe, cum quo de iſthoc libello ſermones mihi fuiſſent, quin omnes unâ voce te ejus Authorem dici conſentirent, neminem præter te alium nominarent. Ita univerſim obtinuit hæc fama, ut te poſſim ipſum hujus rei teſtem producere. Recita tuum ipſe teſtimonium.

### *Teſtimonium Mori, pag.* 10.

Neque verò tacui, ſi cui fortè ſubiit aliquid ejuſmodi ſuſpicari, ſed palam & exertè reſpondi reclamans, conqueſtúſque ſum invito ſupponi mihi fœtum alienum, ſiquidem illius auctor libri vel ex parte vel in totum exiſtimarer.

Quamvis hoc falſum ſit tacuiſſe te, aut reclamaſſe quod plurimi teſtantur, qui te de eo libro & confitentem & gloriantem audierunt, dum hoc tutum tibi, aut lucro aut honori credidiſti fore, hìc tamen vides, quàm hæc fuerit concepta altè, nec ſine cauſa proculdubio, hominum opinio, ut ne familiaribus quidem tuis perſuadere potueris, quo minùs *reclamantem* te & *conquerentem* atque *invitum* illius libri authorem *vel ex parte vel in totum exiſtimarint.* Quid ſi ego, qui te noſtris partibus inimiciſſimum eſſe, & de Republicâ noſtrâ peſſimè ſolere loqui intelligerem, hâc pluſquam famâ nixus, hâc hominum non vulgarium communi opinione atque conſenſu adductus, hoc pro certo ſumpſiſſem, te hunc libellum compoſuiſſe? Tu contra quid affers, quamobrem tantæ hominum, etiam amicorum tuorum conſenſioni de inimico noſtro facilè habere fidem non debuerim? Factum negas. At quotuſquiſque eſt reorum, qui multis etiam teſtibus in judicio convictus atque damnatus in ipſo ſupplicii loco, ubi etiam pœnâ capitali jamjam plectendus eſt, pernegare crimen ſuum non ſoleat; immò ſecretum quodvis anteactæ vitæ facinus ſuum proferre in lucem non malit, cujus pœnas meritas dare ſe nunc dicat, quàm de illo crimine confiteri de quo ſit condemnatus? Accedit quod is tum negat, cùm ſententiâ jam latâ, eùm expeditâ & imminente jam ſecuri, nihil juvat neque prodeſt negare: Tu propterea, quòd prodeſt, quòd eſt cur metuas, quòd manendum tibi in iis provinciis ſi faterere non eſſet, idcirco negas. Pacis articulos inter Nos & Fæderatas Provincias *Latinè conditos* vertiſſe te dicis. Legito itaque nonum, decimum, & undecimum, quos tu cùm vertebas, ſolùm vertere debuiſti.

### *Articulus pacis nonus.*

Quod neutra dictarum Rerump. hoſtes alterius Reipub. declaratos vel declarandos, in ejus dominia recipiet, neque eorum alicui in prædictis locis vel aliò quocunque, etiam extra ſua dominia auxilium, conſilium, hoſpitium concedet, nec iſtiuſmodi hoſtibus ullum auxilium, conſilium, hoſpitium, favorem, pecunias præſtari permittet.

### *Articulus decimus.*

Quòd ſi alterutra dictarum Rerumpub. aliquem ſuum fuiſſe & eſſe hoſtem, & in ſua dominia receptum eſſe, aut ibidem commorari per literas ſuas publicas alteri ſignificaverit, tunc illa Reſp. quæ hujuſmodi literas receperit, intra ſpatium viginti octo dierum tenebitur dicto hoſti mandare, ut extra ſua dominia exeat. Et ſiquis prædictorum hoſtium intra quindecimum diem non exiverit, ſinguli morte & amiſſione bonorum multabuntur.

### *Articulus undecimus.*

Quòd nullus hoſtis publicus Reip. Angliæ in aliqua oppida, vel alia loca recipietur; neque Domini Ordines Generales alicui hujuſmodi hoſti publico in locis prædictis, pecuniis, commeatu, aut alio quocunque modo auxilium, conſilium, aut favorem dari permittent.

Hæccine audis? quàm diligenter, quàm ſeverè ab utraque Republica tribus continuis articulis cautum atque proviſum ſit, nequis alterius hoſtis ab alterutra vel hoſpitio vel tecto recipiatur; qui hoſtis declaratus vel declarandus ab alterutrâ ſit, ei ut aquâ & igni ab altera ſit interdicendum, ut morte etiam multandus

dus ſit, ni intra dies quindecim poſt denunciatum ſibi diſceſſum ſarcinas collegerit? Hæccine, inquam, ſine metu ac trepidatione audis? qui ſi hoſtis eſſe aut fuiſſe deprehendêris, nóſque ut viros fortes decet, in ſententia perſiſtemus, neque articulos otioſos ad numerum duntaxat compoſuimus, ubi tua illa ſtipendia, & ſacrarum Hiſtoriarum profeſſiones? cui de tota illa ditione intra paucos dies decedendum erit; & relictis Hiſtoriis, illa vitæ tuæ fabula nequiſſima neſcio quibus in terris peragenda. Quis enim hoſtis noſter magis publicus eſt dicendus, quàm is, qui libro famoſiſſimo in vulgus edito totam Angliæ Rempubl. inhumaniſſimis verborum contumeliis proſcindit atque dilaniat? latrocinii, cædis, perduellionis, impietatis, parricidii, immò novo prorſus vocabulo deicidii demùm incuſat; omnes Principes, Populos, Nationes in nos, tanquam in monſtra ac peſtes generis humani ad arma, quantum in ſe eſt, concitat; & quaſi ad commune atque ſacrum bellum nobis inferendum hortatur? Hunc tu confeciſſe librum niſi pertinaciter negares, nullus nunc locus conſiſtendi iis in locis tibi eſſet. Cum igitur tibi tam ſit omnino periculoſum fateri, cùm incolumitatis & commodorum tuorum, ac prope ſalutis tam vehementer interſit librum iſtum ejurare, cur tua inimici & improbiſſimi hominis negatio contra famam conſtantem, immò verò quod plus eſt, contra tot hominum ſatis perſpicacium, & amicorum aliquot tuorum opinionem valere debeat, non video. At enim dicis, non te ſolum negaſſe; teſtem habere *reverendum antiſtitem Ottonum*, qui clariſſimum Duræum *admonuerit te illius libri non eſſe auctorem, ſibi probè notum auctorem longè alium.* Itaque ex ipſis Duræi literis oſtendam, neque probè hoc noviſſe Ottonum, neque teſtem omnino eſſe, vel ſiquid teſtatur, ex eo reddi te multo quàm antea ſuſpectiorem.

*Ex literis Durai, Haga, April.* $\frac{14}{24}$. 1654.

“Quod ad reſponſum Miltoni ad eum librum, cui titulus Regii ſanguinis clamor: Equidem à Miniſtro quodam Midelburgenſi, qui Mori perfamiliaris eſt, certior ſum factus, Morum non eſſe illius libri authorem, ſed Miniſtrum quendam Gallicum, quem Morus ſub conditione ſilentii eidem nominavit.

*Et ex alteris Amſterodamo, April.* $\frac{19}{29}$. 1654.

“Cum D. Ottono colloquutus ſum; hic quidem acerrimè Regius eſt, & Moro perquam intimus; idque mihi dixit, quod ſuperioribus literis ad te ſcripſi, Morum non eſſe *Clamoris Regii ſanguinis* authorem.

Ex quibus hoc in primis nemo non intelligit, Ottono, ut qui partibus Regiis addictiſſimus, nobis inimiciſſimus, Moro à ſceretis ſit, ne ſi ſua quidem fide quicquam afferat, credendum eſſe. Nunc autem cùm apertè fateatur Ottonus, quicquid hac de re ſciat, abs te hauſiſſe, tuâ ſolâ authoritate niti, tuum hoc apud ſe depoſitum arcanum eſſe, non hoc Ottoni teſtimonium, ſed tua adhuc ſola negatio eſt: immò verò potiùs tua clara confeſſio dicenda erit, illius te libelli vel componendi vel procurandi cum pauciſſimis eſſe conſcium; ſi non authorem, at certè ſocium & adminiſtrum; vel tuâ operâ vel tuo conſilio librum illum fuiſſe editum. Quod ſi ita eſt, ut eſt ſanè per tuum teſtem, ex tuometipſius ore veriſimillimum, equidem haud metuo, ne te falsò inſimulaſſe dicar, ſi vel authorem ipſum affirmaverim te, vel eodem numero habuerim. Quis non jam planè perſpiciat, quàm penitùs ex ſinu tuo liber iſte prodierit? quàm non de nihilo conſtantiſſima de te iſta fama invaluerit? verùm adhuc clarius hoc idem ſtatim perſpicere cuivis licebit. Jam enim à fama, quod poſtmodum apparebit, minimè fallaci, ne vocis invidiâ contra me utaris, ad juſtam probationem & compertiſſimos mihi teſtes tranſeo. Accipe in primis literarum partem, quæ haud ita multo pòſt Lugduno Batavorum ſunt datæ, quàm libellus iſte clamoſus Hagæ-Comitis eſt editus. Miſſæ ſunt hæ literæ ad amicum quendam meum ab homine & docto & prudente, & rerum peritiſſimo, mihi ſatis noto, & in Hollandia notiſſimo: in quibus libelli cujuſdam famoſi factâ mentione, hæc ſtatim verba ſubjungit.

*Literæ Leidenſes, Septemb. 27. ſtilo novo. 1652.*

*Nec majoris momenti eſt iſte Mori liber, cui titulus Clamor Regii ſanguinis ad cœlum: ſatiſque vendibilis fuit, donec Author illius vitiatâ Salmaſii uxoris ancillâ, ipſe ſuam exiſtimationem commaculavit.* Hæ literæ eodem puto menſe, integræ ſunt evulgatæ, inque actis diurnis apud nos quinto quoque die hebdomadæ prodire ſolitis, palam extant; ejuſque authoritate vel qui miſit eas, vel qui edidit, fidem facilè ſuam tuentur, meam abſolvunt. Hæc habui neque levia, neque ullo modo contemnenda, cur hunc Regii ſanguinis clamorem opus tuum eſſe crediderim: famam conſtantem, non vulgi, ſed ampliſſimorum hominum per biennium totum opinionem atque conſenſum, literas viri intelligentiſſimi atque honeſtiſſimi vicina ex urbe miſſas, quibus an quid certius in re præſertim longinqua de inimico & extraneo homine, & omni infamiâ jamdudum cooperto, expectandum fuerit aut requirendum, haud ſcio. Age verò; ne tu me triſtem nimis & obſtinatum queraris, aliquanto laxiùs te habebo, quo deinde fortiùs teneam atque conſtringam: quoniam attributum tibi librum elegantulum ſic averſaris atque horres, contra hæc omnia quæ afferre hactenus potui tam valida, tuam valere ſingularem & ſuſpectiſſimam negationem patiar; remittam tibi hoc totum atque largiar, non eſſe te hujus libelli, qui Regii ſanguinis clamor inſcribitur, authorem; & tamen, quod jam forſitan expectas, non ſic abibis. Conſtat iſte liber & coagmentatur prooemiis quibuſdam & epilogis, Epiſtolâ ad Carolum alterâ ad Lectorem, clauditur carmine, altero in Salmaſium *Eucharistico*, altero in me diffamatorio: ſi ullam hujus libri paginam, ſi verſiculum fortè unicum ſcripſiſſe aut contuliſſe, ſi edidiſſe, aut procuraſſe, aut ſuaſiſſe, ſi denique edendo præfuiſſe, aut vel operæ tantillum accommodaſſe te reperero, quandoquidem nemo alius exiſtit, tu mihi ſolus totius operis reus, & author, & clamator eris. Neque verò meam hanc ſeveritatem, aut vehementem animum eſſe dixeris; idem apud omnes fere gentes jure &æquiſſimis legibus eſt comparatum. Quod ab omnibus receptiſſimum eſt adducam, jus civile Imperatorium.

Legito Inſtitut. Juſtiniani, l. 4. de injuriis, Tit. 4.

Siquis ad infamiam alicujus libellum, aut carmen (aut hiſtoriam) ſcripſerit, compoſuerit, ediderit, dolóve malo fecerit, quo quid eorum fieret, &c. Adjiciunt aliæ leges, *Etiamſi alterius nomine ediderit, vel ſine nomine.* Et omnes decernunt eum pro authore habendum eſſe atque plectendum. Quæro nunc ex te, non utrùm Regii ſanguinis clamorem, ſed an præmiſſam clamori epiſtolam Carolo dicatam, ullámve ejus particulam feceris, ſcripſeris, edideris, edendámve curaveris? quæro an alteram ad lectorem, quæro denique an illud infame carmen condideris, aut vulgandum curaveris? nihildum ad hæc reſpondiſti; ſi clamorem ipſum tantummodo abdicaſſes, omnémque ejus particulam gnaviter ejuraſſes, ſalva fide evaſiſſe te putabas, nóſque probè ludificaſſe; Epiſtolam videlicet ad Carolum filium, aut ad Lectorem, carmen etiam Iambum, Regii ſanguinis clamorem non eſſe. Tu itaque ſic breviter habeto, ne tergiverſari in poſterum queas, aut prævaricari; ne diverticulum ullum, aut latibulum ſperare; ut jam ſciant omnes quàm non mendax, ſed veriloqua, aut ſaltem non de nihilo iſta fama de te increbuerit, tu, inquam, ſic habeto: me non famâ ſolùm, ſed eo teſtimonio, quo nullum certius eſſe poteſt comperiſſe, te & libelli totius cui Regii ſanguinis Clamor eſt titulus, editionem adminiſtraſſe, & operam typographicam correxiſſe, & Epiſtolam illam ad Carolum ſecundum, Vlacci nomen præferentem, vel ſolum, vel *cum uno atq; altero* compoſuiſſe. Id quod tuum ipſum nomen Alexander Morus exemplis aliquot illius epiſtolæ ſubſcriptus, multis ejus rei teſtibus oculatis clariùs indicavit, quàm tu negare aut expedire te ullo pacto queas. Si dicis, importunitati quorundam amicorum te hoc dediſſe, ut epiſtolæ nomen tuum apponeres, non aliunde quàm ex ore tuo ſic excuſanti qui ſolenniter affirmas, & eo præſertim loco paginæ 39. in quo, ut credatur tibi enixè flagitas *tueri te tua, aliena tunc demum forte curaturum, cum ex cuſſus propriis fueris.* Teipſo itaque flagitante, credendum non eſt te nomen tuum illi Epiſtolæ fuiſſe ſubſcripturum, tua niſi eſſet: id quod ſequente paginâ penè confiteris, tuàmque ipſe fraudem detegis & fallaciam, quâ fretus Clamoris authorem te eſſe toties negas. *Nam quis non miſereatur*, inquis, *hallucinationis tuæ cùm Præfationem Typographo tri-*

*buis modo, modo adimis: Clamorem totum in me confers, qui ne particulam quidem ullam ejus extuli.* Hoc cui non ſuboleat? cùm Præfationis ſeu Epiſtolæ ſimul & Clamoris mentionem facis, Clamoris ne ullam quidem particulam conferri in te ſinis; Præfationis nullam reſpuis, nullam inficiaris: immò quaſi errorem meum videris propemodum ridere, quòd ſatis conſtanter non dixerim tuam eſſe. Si inſciente te & prorſus ignaro factum hoc dicis, ut nomen tuum ſubſcriberetur, primùm credibile non eſt quenquam eſſe auſum mittendæ ad Regem Epiſtolæ cum dedicato libro excuſæ, alienum nomen ipſo inconſulto ſubſcribere. Complures deinde ſunt, qui ex te ipſo audierunt, cùm tuam eſſe illam epiſtolam vel interrogantibus faterere, vel ultrò ipſe prædicares. Verùm tua nécne fuerit, non admodum laboro; túne ſolus an *cum uno aut altero* eam compoſueris; quod & hîc pag. 41. ſubindicare ludibundus propè videris. Te iſtius ego non Epiſtolæ duntaxat, ſed & libelli infamiſſimi ſolum propè conſcium, te ejuſdem editorem aut edendi adminiſtrum, te Epiſtolæ ad Carolum aliquammultis exemplaribus divulgatæ ſubſcriptorem notiſſimum, te ſcriptorem etiam confeſſum, te ergò omnium legum conſenſu atque ſententiâ totius operis authorem ipſum tuo ore convictum atque conſtrictum teneo. Hæc quo dicam teſtimonio tam remotus, & unde mihi tam liquidò conſtare potuerint, ſi quæris, non famâ, inquam, ſolâ, ſed partim teſtibus religioſiſſimis qui coràm hæc mihi ſanctiſſimè aſſeverarunt, partim literis vel ad alios vel ad me ſcriptis. Literarum verba ipſa expromam, ſcribentium nomina non edam; propterea quòd in rebus alioqui notiſſimis neceſſe non habeo. Hem tibi imprimis ab homine probo, & cui ad hanc rem perveſtigandam haud mediocris facultas fuit, literas Hagâ Comitis ad me datas.

### *Ex Literis Hag. Com.*

Exploratiſſimum mihi eſt, Morum ipſum Clamoris Regii ſanguinis exemplar nonnullis aliis imprimendum obtuliſſe, antequam Vlaccus illud accepiſſet; ipſum corrigendis operarum erratis præfuiſſe; ab ipſo exemplaria, ut primum quodque abſolutum eſt, compluribus impertita ac diſſipata.

Viden' ut hæc dilucida atque diſtincta ſint, ut non dubiis rumoribus collecta, ſed datâ operâ ac diligentiâ hominis iis in locis ac rebus verſatiſſimi, perveſtigata & inquiſita, certiſſimis indiciis comprobata atque comperta? Atqui teſtem, inquies, unum jus omne rejicit: en itaque ex ore duorum teſtium, quo teſtimonio neque ſacrum, neque civile jus quicquam amplius aut locupletius deſiderat, firmatum à me omne verbum, ut dicitur, & corroboratum habebis. Accipe nunc ſis quæ vir honeſtiſſimus idemque intelligentiſſimus & certò ſibi cognita, & illic teſtatiſſima Amſterodamo ſic ſcribit.

### *Ex Literis Amſterodamo.*

Certiſſimum eſt omnes ferè per hæc loca Morum pro authore illius libri habuiſſe, qui *Regii ſanguinis clamor* inſcribitur: nam & ſchedas à prælo exceptas ipſe correxit, & aliqua exempla ſubſcriptum dedicatoriæ nomen Mori præferebant, cujus & ipſe author erat; dixit enim ipſe amico cuidam meo, ſe illius Epiſtolæ authorem fuiſſe: immò nihil certius eſt, quàm illam ſibi Morum vel attribuiſſe, vel agnoviſſe pro ſuâ.

Verùm requiris adhuc tertium: non id quidem cogit lex, attamen indulget. Eſto; largiſſimâ per me lege utere: poteſt fieri, ut terni opus ſint teſtes: coarctatum tibi à me juris quicquam non dices. Addo jam tertium.

### *Ex alteris literis Hagâ Comitis.*

Dixit mihi Hagæ Comitis vir quidam primarius, habere ſe Regii ſanguinis Clamorem, cum ipſa Mori epiſtola.

Vides quàm largiter tibi admetiar: clara enim hæc ſunt, quis neget? tu tamen ſcito clariora apud me eſſe, quæ datæ fidei cauſâ reticeo, quàm quæ nunc palam exhibeo. Quod ſi adhuc tamen vis cumulum, fortaſſis accedet. Interea nunc libero ac ſoluto animo ad reliqua proficiſcor; quandoquidem id quod Deum Opt. Max. precatus ſum, adeptum me eſſe ſpero, ut nemini videar, viro præſertim bono & intelligenti, incertis rumoribus elatus temerè, accuſationem contra te falſam inſtituiſſe, nec fictis criminibus innocentem, quod quereris, & immeritum perfudiſſe; ſed tectum atque duplicem veris redarguiſſe, latentem atque ſectantem tenebras in lucem protraxiſſe: quod quidem & ex ipſa teſtimonii claritate perſpicuum eſſe reor, & in ipſis plurimorum hominum non conſcientiis modò, ſed & ſermonibus, ubi hæc geſta ſunt, clarius elucere. Quibus ſi ego teſtimonium denuntiare poſſem, obruerere, mihi crede, multitudine tot teſtium: quos tamen aliquando ſponte ſuâ veritati tam illuſtri, ſi opus erit, ſua nomina palam daturos eſſe confido. Quòd ſi hanc probationis vim atque evidentiam, quam ne Judex quidem ſeveriſſimus repudiaſſet, tu falſam tamen eſſe, id quod incredibile eſt, contendere audebis, erit fortaſſe cur de tuo queraris atque deplores infortunio, aut iratum tibi atque infenſum agnoſcas Deum, qui per aliorum vel errorem vel mendacium aſſignati tibi hujus libelli illa alia tua dedecora in Eccleſia diutius non ferenda, latiùs patefieri, & perſonam illam eccleſiaſticam, quam circumfers impudentiſſimè, detrahi tibi voluerit; me cur incuſes deinceps aut reprehendas non erit, immo nec unquam fuit, velles modò tua in nos commiſſa recognoſcere; verùm illa mordicus inficiari nimium tibi expedit, & ſimul pergis laceſſere. Noli igitur, quod jam iterum moneo, me inculpare, ſi rurſus quæ nolis nunc viciſſim audieris. Sed videamus quid ſit. Primùm occurrit mihi, nec opinato, mea pro Pop. Anglicano Defenſio ſecunda, typis Vlacci malevoli mendoſiſſimè ac malitioſiſſimè excuſa; omiſſis nonnunquam verbis integris, non ſine ſtructuræ totius atque ſententiæ vel depravatione vel interitu. Quod ego omnes volo monitos, qui mea curant legiſſe, nequid meum ex officina hominis inimici & veteratoris exire integrum aut ſincerum exiſtiment. Huic acceſſio eſt. Vlacci itidem mala merx, *Alexandri Mori fides publica.* Ita ego quos à me longiſſimè ſummoviſſe ac protelaſſe ſum ratus, eos vel invitus ſub iiſdem pellibus conjunctiſſimos mihi reperio. Sic eſt profecto; qui liberrimè riſerit hos homines, ſibi devinxerit. Cavendum ſanè & procul fugiendum erit cui putaverint iſti naſum eſſe aduncum; ne aliquando ſatis irriſi, irridentis naribus duntaxat uncis ipſi ſeſe tanquam uniones hinc atque inde ſuſpendant. Cognoſcite verò nunc adverſarium, ſiquis unquam fuit, degenerem, iniquum, odioſum. Nam ut primùm, neſcio quo caſu per amicum meum, non id agentem ut ab iſto gratiam iniret ullam, intellexit me ad Clamorem Regii ſanguinis reſponſum in ſe edere, æſtuare mens hominis conſcia, & omnes in partes verſare ſe cœpit. Inter alia trepidantis atque degeneris animi indicia, qui libellum modò famoſum tam cupidè, támque improbè in alios edidiſſet, libellum nunc ſupplicem ad Legatum Fœderatorum Ordinum apud nos commorantem ſcribit, orans atque obſecrans, uti cum Dom. Protectore quam inſtantiſſimè de ſupprimenda mea Defenſione ageret. Cùm reſponſum tuliſſet impetrari nequaquam id poſſe, exire nihilominus in lucem, jamque adnavigare animadverſorem in ſe librum cum ſpicilegio quodam & collectaneis facinorum ſuorum, conturbatus, & huc, illuc curſitans, circumſpectiſſimus deinde homo, totus in ſpeculis eſt; oculos ab litore dimovere vix audet; ubi adveniſſe librum cognovit, ſuúmque ſtatim indicem ſenſit, prece neſcio an pretio exorat librarium, ut exemplum illius libri ullum me divenderet, donec ipſe reſponſum ſuum confeciſſet; id eſt, ut commercii fidem violaret, donec iſte *fidem publicam* conflaſſet. Ita bonus ille vir quingenta plus minus exempla rectè & emendatè edita ſuo arbitratu premit, dum Vlaccus interim jacturam alienam ſuum ratus compendium, quot ſibi videtur mendoſa imprimit. Bene agis, Vlacce, ut conſueviſti; ſed auctarium hoc damni quid ſibi vult adjectum? cur appendices vos ipſos adjunxiſtis mihi, hominum importuniſſimi? nemóne ut poſſit me velle, quin vos quoque vel ingratiſſimum onus unà ferre cogatur? Ergo ego, ut videtur, non cæcus, ſed cæcias, quos volebam propellere nebulones, attraxi. Tu verò, adeóne tibi, More, tuóque ſive genio ſive ingenio diffiſus es, ut victurum te, & in manus hominum perventurum deſperares, niſi te mihi aſſeclam quocunque irem, malè conciliatum agglutinares, & emptoribus etiam nolentibus te obtruderes? verùm expertus jam didici quid ſit picem attrectare; & erat hoc, opinor, haud minus Vlacci aſtutiâ proviſum, qui non Typographus ſolùm, ſed arithmeticus, quod jam fateor, vetulus, metuebat ne *Alexandri Mori* neglecta *fides publica* jaceret, ſéque à ſoricibus ægrè tueretur, niſi hanc artem Alligationis, verè cauponariam, adhibuiſſet, & vile ac vitioſum vendibili miſcuiſſet. Age verò, quoniam neceſſe eſt cum Defenſione pro pop. Anglicano, Alexandri Mori fidem publicam coemere, quanquam parva hæc, utcunque nummulorum jactura erit, diſcere ex te avemus, quid ſit *Mori fides publica?* utrùm confeſſionem tuæ fidei publicam nobis exhibes, an quid in ſymbolum? Hæc enim tua fides publica eſt, opinor; privata an ſit, dicant qui te Spir. Sanctum non agnoſcere accuſant. Quid ergo eſt? tuámne dicamus fidem eſſe publicam, an fidem publicam eſſe tuam? Tuam fidem ſicut & pudicitiam eſſe publicam, non eſt difficile ut credamus. Qui enim alienas uxores & ancillas vis eſſe publicas, quidni tua omnia, pudorem etiam ac fidem publicam eſſe velis? An verò hoc eſt quod dicis, fidem publicam eſſe tuam? at hoc quì poteſt fieri? Túne fidem publicam pro ſcorto abduxiſſe te putas, tua ut ſimul eſſet & publica? aut captioſus hic titulus eſt, aut ſenſu vacuus. Si tua fides hæc eſt, quemadmodum eſt publica? ſi publica eſt, quemadmodum eſt tua? Relinquitur ut vel imprudens hoc titulo ſignificaſſe videare cùm Alexandri Mori fides publica ſit, adeóque non tua; rurſus cùm tua ſit, ideóque non publica, hanc quam affers fidem repugnantem & implicitam, nec publicam eſſe nec tuam. Quid ergo? aut dubiam, aut inanem, aut denique nullam. Quòd ſi contendis hanc fidem omnino eſſe publicam, quæ tua tanta impudentia eſt, More, ut cùm fidem ipſe nullam habeas quam pro te afferas, tot flagitia perpetrare fide publicâ exiſtimes tibi licere? ut nunquam aliàs dici veriùs, quàm de te verſiculus iſte videatur, quicquid peccat Morus, plectitur fides publica. Hæc tibi uni licentia ſi concedatur, non tu Alexander Morus, ſed Alexander ille Phrygius meâ quidem ſententiâ nominaberis. Beatum interim te, cui militet fides publica. Contra quem autem? contra meas nempe *calumnias*. Quas tandem illas? an quòd infamis libelli Clamoris Regii authorem te affirmaverim, nunc etiam juſtâ probatione arguerim? at verbum de iſto clamore in tua fide publica nullum. An quòd hortenſem te adulterum, domeſticum Pontiæ ſtupratorem enarraverim? at horti percautè tu quidem ac timidè mentionem facis; facta utrobique flagitia aut non omnino, aut obliquè tantùm & frigidè negas. Quid ergo fidem publicam ſollicitare opus erat iis de rebus, quas audacter ipſe negare non potes? nihil ſanè, niſi quòd circumforanei pharmacopolæ & vaniſſimi circulatoris hoc ſolum tibi defuit, ut elogiis ac teſtimoniis, neſcio quo pacto adſcitis atque correptis, & oſtentatâ fide publicâ te venditares. Tibi igitur ſi *Scurra* ſum, minus commoveor: quandoquidem is, qui ab oraculo ſapientiſſimus, ab tui ſimilibus Scurra Atticus eſt dictus. Cur autem Scurra tibi videor, More? an quòd nequitias tuas interdum ſallé perſtrinxerim? ne tu ſtultior ſis, More, & adhuc magis ridendus, ſi quenquam putas, modò emunctæ naris ſit, ad tuos fœtores, niſi ſale conſperſos, poſſe appropinquare. Sed vide, quàm tibi temperaverim, quàm leniter tecum egerim: Cùm enim in ipſa fronte libri nullo negotio potuerim tibi paria retuliſſe, & affixo tibi cognomento appoſitiſſimo atque meritiſſimo ita ſcripſiſſe, *Contra Alexandum Morum adulterum & cinædum*, cohibui me; partim tui miſertus, partim ut legentium oculis atque auribus nonnihil conſulerem, ne ſubito occurſu tantæ fæditatis atque offenſione averterentur.

Sed de his plus ſatis; ab infantiſſimo nunc titulo ad librum ipſum veniamus: id quod te, ut video, non delectat; nam rectâ eunti viam obſtruis; & ægrotantem Doctorculum neſcio quem Crantzium cum lectulo & culcitra, tanquam aggerem aut vallum obdis tibi & tranſverſum extrudis. Qui *æger*, ut ipſe ait, & ni fallor ægerrimus, id eſt maledicendi cupidiſſimus, haud ſcio an ventilatâ lodice vix ſe in cubitum erexerit, ut hæc ſua febriculoſa ſomnia deliraret. Mox quaſi teſtamento jam facto ſubjicit, *Scripſi propia manu & ſubſignavi licet æger corpore.* Age jam tu, ſi vis, animam; nos reſignemus; & Lectori imprimis quid legaveris inſpiciamus: multam, opinor, ſalutem; ne unciolam quidem; quid ergo? plorare: *Lege ſi potes & luge.* Me verò quòd ignotus minimé expectabam, ſecundum hæredem quincunce toto maledictorum aſpergis. *Lege*, inquis, *& luge ſæculi vicem, in quo maledicentia tantum licet:* Luge potiùs tot inſipientes doctorculos, quos niſi maturè caveat hoc ſæculum, vereor ne propediem & lugeat & luat. Tu verò tum luxiſſes, cum inauditâ audaciâ Salmaſius homo privatus, extraneus, nullâ injuriâ laceſſitus, in univerſam Anglicanam Remp. atque Senatum fœdiſſimis contumeliis bacchatus eſt: tum luxiſſes, cùm probroſus ille anonymus Clamorem Regii ſanguinis in nos eructavit, nec acerbiſſimis modò verborum contumeliis ad rabiem uſque furit ac ſævit, ſed nobiſcum ſic agi oportere, decere, convenire, rationibus & argumentis, ut ipſe putat, Chriſtianis defendere conatur. Cognoſce nunc, ſi potes, tuam ipſe iniquitatem: cùm externi, ad quos noſtra nihil pertinent, nobis vel acerbiſſimè maledicunt,

ledicunt, & maledicentiam ipſam defendunt, vis omnes *legant :* cùm ego & pro meo in patriam officio, & Magiſtratuum juſſu meos cives ac populares, me denique ipſum probris omnibus læſum defendo, vis omnes *lugeant.* Tum cavere Lectorem jubes, ne me *credat Hiſtoricum.* At neque tu Albertus es Crantzius; & hoc tibi edico caveas, ne ego antequam peroravero te citiùs Mendacem, quàm tu me *Fabulatorem* coarguas. *Quis & qualis ſit iſte Miltonus*, inquis, *ignoro.* Non diſplicet; neque enim tanti eſt tuum noſſe aut non noſſe: Ego verò te ſtatim novi & morbum tuum. *Quis ſit*, inquis, *ignoro; libelli ejus ſatis docent.* Indocilis ergo Crantzius, qui ignorat; temerarius item atque injurius, qui ignotum illæſus lædis, qui per calumniam ac maledicendi præproperam libidinem ex libro de divortiis, loco non citato, verbis aut non plenè aut perperam adſcriptis, Blaſphemiæ falſò inſimulas. Tu antè, quiſquis es Crantzi, in malam peſtem abieris, quàm dixiſſe me *Doctrinam Evangelii & Dom. noſtri Jeſu Chriſti de Divortio eſſe Diabolicam*, uſquam inveneris. Quòd ſi dixi fortaſſe, quam inde conficiunt vulgares interpretes doctrinam, quâ poſt divortium neceſſariò factum, omne aliud matrimonium interdicunt, eſſe Diabolicam, id eſſe Blaſphemiam quo tu pacto evincis? niſi ſi fortè Theologorum dictatis quibuſvis contradicere, nunc primùm Blaſphemia eſt credenda. Quod autem affirmas Doctrinam de Divortiis *ab omnibus patribus à Theologis veteribus & hodiernis, ab omnibus Academiis & Eccleſiis Britannicis, Hollandicis, Gallicis* eodem modo explicari, ſcito te vehementer hallucinari: & ignorantiam Doctori tibi & præſertim reprehenſori turpem prodere: quam ſi vacat, in eo libro, qui à me *Tetrachordon* eſt inſcriptus, exues. Poteris ibi, ſi libet, diſcere, quam ego tueor ſententiam, eam & Patrum aliquot, & ſummorum poſtea Theologorum Buceri, Fagii, Martyris, Eraſmi fuiſſe; quorum hic juſto tactatu Phimoſtomum quendam Doctorem, tui comparem, eademque ferè blaterantem refellit. Interea non miror laborare te tantopere de inhibendis divortiis, cùm animadverto etiam domi tuæ haud leve accidere divortium ſolere; nimirum ſenſûs communis ab loquacitate tua. Quis enim mentis compos aut ſententiæ ſuæ ſic loquitur? *In Salmaſio vix ipſi inimici aliud requirunt, quàm quod fuerit iracundior, & male conjugatus.* Patere te doceri, doctorcule, quod pueruli ſciant. Non requirebant illi quod fuit, ſed quod non fuit. Ais me *Eunuchum dixiſſe Salmaſium*, quod nunquam dixi: duos tantummodo verſus ex Eunuchi Terentiani prologo deſumpſi, ut Scenicum plorantis exordium, & lamentabile ridiculum riſu, ut par erat, exciperem. *Nihil minus quam Eunuchum* fuiſſe affirmas: id meâ nihil refert. Tu tamen, quid hac in parte ſolus tam audacter pronuncies, cave. Adeòne legum neſcius ac rudis es, ut ullam rem difficiliùs probare te poſſe ſine duobus teſtibus arbitreris? Sed minitaris deinde; *ſiquando prodibit viri ſummi poſthumus liber, Miltonius ſentiet mortuos quoque mordere.* Vos ipſi exiſtimare poteſtis, qui vivum non pertimui, eundem mortuum quàm non reformidem.

*Æternum latrans exangues terreat umbràs.*

Si mordacem in me mortuum emiſeritis, ſcitote neque melle neque mulſo placatum à me iri. Cognoſcetis an & ego λόγον ἐπιτάφιον commodè poſſim ſcribere. *Dii boni*, inquis, *quam niger eſt Miltonius, ſi fides Salmaſio?* at ipſam inferorum fuliginem ſi ſecum trahat, me, Deo benè juvante, denigrare non poterit. Tu Salmaſii in me convitia ut lætè nunc refers! quaſi pulmentum ægroto tibi hòc eſſet: contra illa convitia cùm ego me, ut par atque æquum eſt, defendam, tunc tuum illud triſte & querebundum rurſus audiemus, *Lege & luge*; & illi *Dii boni* tui tunc rurſus fortaſſè implorabuntur. Sed dic, quæſo, Sacroſanctæ Theologiæ doctor, quos tu Deos bonos colis? vereor ne Catechumenus hìc potiùs, quàm Doctor dicendus ſis. Docent ſacræ literæ unum eſſe bonum Deum. Tibi ſi Dii boni ſunt, erit fortaſſis & bona Dea; cujus tu Sacerdos & Myſtagogus Corybantem in me nunc agis. Ego quæ in Morum attuli, quanquam tu *falſiſſima eſſe* præfidenter affirmas, ſciunt illi eſſe vera, qui rebus omnibus interfuere, quique nullum Genevæ Crantzium eo tempore cognoverunt. Hoc ſanè miretur quiſpiam ſi hæc Mori fides publica eſt, quo pacto, quóve nomine tua iſta privata fides huc nobis ex grabatulo in præfationem irrepſit. Iniquitas certè in me tua fidem de illo quam infercis hìc tuam in dubium vocat, qui me accuſas, quòd *innocentiſſimo Typographo parcere non potuerim.* Ergo Vlaccus, qui me ſibi prorſus ignotum petulantiſſimis convitiis adſcripto nomine palam appetivit, tibi *innocentiſſimus* eſt. Audi ergo iterum, Theologe, cui tu ſacræ ſcientiæ vix initiatus mihi videris, audi quàm te tuóſque mores Theologia ſacra & ſapientiſſimus præceptor dedoceat: Qui abſolvit improbum, & qui condemnat juſtum, abominationi Jehovæ ſunt æquè ambò. Verùm haud ſcio utrum in me ex ignoto factum modò inimicum iniquior, an in amicum ipſum ineptior ſis Morum: cujus prædicatas virtutes tot vitiis interpunctas, & propè alternas introducis, ut non ornatum, ſed maculis tantummodo variatum, non Morum, ſed morionem demiſiſſe abs tuis laudibus videaris. Pictor ſanè eximius primam laudis lineam cum litura ducis; *ſemper magnas inimicitias exercuit cum æmulis.* Vitium narras, Crantzi, in miniſtro evangelii quam minimè tolerandum; præſertim cùm *iis inimicitiis ipſe*, quod fateris, *nimiâ loquendi libertate, locum ſæpe præbuerit.* Deinde eſt arrogans & Gallicè *Altierus*, & Spanhemii judicio & tuo. Hactenus nigro lapillo; nunc vario: *Fœlix ingenium, niſi crabrones irritaſſet.* Æmulos nimirum ſuos, non ipſe aquila, ſed ut muſcas olim ſcarabeus ille veſpæ filius. *Nullum novit Salmaſius nobiliorem genium, ſi laboris tolerantior fuiſſet:* Ignavus igitur Morus; & tamen ſemper genio ſatis indulſit. Addítque ipſe Salmaſius *variè læſiſſe uxorem ſuam:* Unde protervus in matronas etiam Morus; *præter inconſiderationem* quoque *tali homine indignam*: Salmaſio itaque judice, quid eſt Morus niſi morus? Hìc autem fateor ſatis cauſæ fuiſſe, cur *ægrum* te ſubſcriberes; manifeſtò enim febricitas. Qui ſic tibi dixiſſe Salmaſium ais, *ſiquid in* Pontiâ *peccavit* Morus *ego ſum leno & uxor mea lena.* Feſtivè tu quidem in hoc dramate perſonarum numerum auxiſti, & uberem ridendi anſam, ſicui otium eſſet, porrexiſti. Verùm ſiquid hujuſmodi Salmaſius amico tibi & privatim, ſiquid incommodius de ſe vel de uxore familiariter locutus eſt, id tu, niſi planè delirares, amicitiam ſaltem reveritus & arcanum domeſticum, non tam ſtolidè hoc in loco effutiſſes. Sed redis ad laudes, *acutum judicium Mori*; adjunge *inconſiderationem* illam *tali homine indignam*, res duas inter ſe conjunctiſſimas. *Fœlicitatem in concionando*; & infœlicitatem in ſcortando: par alterum in Mori laudibus appoſitiſſimum. Accedit corollarii loco *trium linguarum peritia:* quæ profeſſorem hunc tandem conſummat nobis trilinguem; id eſt, cum ſupradictis virtutibus paulò plus quàm triobolarem. Cum voto denique finem facis ineptiendi; ut *Deus Chriſtianorum* (modo enim reliquiſſe *Deos bonos* tuos videris) *hanc mentem inſpiret Poteſtatibus, ut hanc ſcripturiendi licentiam Chriſtianis infamem compeſcant.* Vos itaque priores compeſcant, à quibus hæc omnis licentia primò exorta eſt: mihi mei defendendi jus ac poteſtatem adverſus contumelias veſtras, uti ſpero, non eripient. Intelliges tum ipſe, quàm ego libens omni hoc genere contentionum ſuperſedeam. Atque tibi jam, ut puto, ſatisfactum eſt: ídque eò ampliùs feci, quòd Doctorem te Sacroſanctæ Theologiæ cum ampliſſimo phylacterio agnoſcerem; Doctoribus autem mirificè delector.

Nunc Vlaccum paucis dignemur: nam & Vlaccus reſponſar, Typographus meus, & neceſſarius jam factus. Reſponſa hominis breviter colligam, ut perſpiciatis quàm bellè quadrent. Es veterator, inquam, Vlacce. Sum bonus, inquit, *Arithmeticus.* Et tamen queruntur, qui tibi expenſum tulerunt, peſſimè te numerare. Ego ad probitatis normam te exigo. Hem tibi, inquit, *canonem Logarithmicum!* Sophiſtica hæc eſt, Vlacce, non Logiſtica: perinde quaſi idcirco ſolùm Arithmeticam didiciſſes, quod in ea falſi regulam doceri audiveras. Clancularius es, inquam, & obæratus aufugiſti. Tu mihi *Sinuum tabulas*, & *Tangentium*, & *Secantium* crepas. At quibus tecum ratio eſt, expenſi tabulis te urgent: ídque ipſum eſt quòd ſinuoſum te nimis, & alieni cupidiùs tangentem, & malè ſecantem queruntur. *Trigonometriam*, inquis, *converſis Sinubus in Logarithmos artificialem abſolvi.* At artificia interim tua & verſutias Creditores luunt: Non trigonometram, ſed tetragonum ſine fraude cum illis te eſſe oportuit; non angulos & obliquitates, ſed ſuum cuique metiri ac reddere. De cætero, ad tuam te confeſſionem ipſam rejicio. Londini. Pariſiis, iniqui Librarii, iniquum judicium, iniqui Judices; tu ſolus integer & caſtus: at illi contra te unum omnes cùm audientur, vera eſſe ea quæ de te dixi, nemo non fatebitur. In me autem quàm ſceleſtus fueris, facilè evincam. Primùm ſcripſiſti ad Hartlibium, petens, ut mea, ſiquid haberem, poſſes excudere; & ſimul de mea oculorum calamitate, eſſémne omnino orbus luminum, ſedulò & quaſi dolens quæſiviſti: mox proditoriè, cùm intelligeres nihil tibi à me excudendum venire, cæcitatem mihi, quam quaſi ſollicitè modò & dolenter inquirebas, eam ſtatim

ſceleratè

ſcelerate inſultans palam exprobraſti. Nam Typographus, inquit, ſum; *quid ad Typographos tam magnæ controverſiæ, niſi ut operam ſuam?* Acutum ſanè & typographicum! Non alius quiſquam typographis plus hac in parte quàm ego conceſſerim. Num ergò tu famoſiſſimo libello tuum ſubſcribere profeſſum nomen quaſi author eſſes, debuiſti? & cujus ex libris lucrari cupiebas, neque nunc primùm, ut audio, lucratus es, ejus nomen turpiſſimis contumeliis maculare, cum privilegio ſcilicet, licere tibi exiſtimaſti? *Bellum*, inquis, *erat*; & ſimul miratur tua vaſtitas, quòd, factâ pace, bacchationes in me privatim tuas & ſingularem inſolentiam impunè tibi eſſe noluerim. Neſcis enim, vappa. quid belli ratio, in cauſa etiam longiſſimè diverſa, ab temulenta tua rabie diſcrepet. An ſiquis exiſtimationem meam privatus per cauſam belli famoſo libro violaverit, ea mihi injuria devoranda eſt, ut ne poſſim, cùm viſum erit, me juſta & expectatâ defenſione vindicare? *Non me puduit*, inquis, *quanquam ignominiosè accuſatum, alteram editionem adornare*. At non omnes tibi ſimiles ſunt Vlacce, ut non pudeat fidem, pudorem, omnia lucro poſtponere; cujus fœda cupiditas adeò vilem tibi & abjectum animum ingeneravit, ut tuis ipſe typis teipſum graphicè nebulonem depinxiſſe non erubeſcas; eodémque tempore mihi maledicere, & meis ex libris quæſtum facere. In quo quid cani ſimilius fieri abs te potuit? cujus ego allatrantis capiti, cùm os illud vehementer inflixiſſem, exclamas tu quidem & quæritaris; mox ut eſculentum eſſe comperiſti, reverſus blandulè, rodis ſimul & liguris. Tu verò mea aut non omninò attigiſſe debuiſti, aut non corrupiſſe; nunc inimicus librum meum non ſolùm excudiſti, ſed ultione viliſſimâ deformatum ac mutilatum & adverſariis hinc inde obſeſſum expoſuiſti: quorum alterum rapaciſſimam lucelli cujuſvis aviditatem tuam, alterum & tuam ſingularem malitiam & tuarum mercium improbitatem declarat. Hæc tua ſunt, Vlacce. Nunc remoto te circumpede Herum tuum aggredi tandem ab latere aperto liberiùs licebit. Qui quamvis non modò intus turpis, & ſibi conſcius, ſed foris jam penè omnibus manifeſtus atque perſpicuus ſit, tamen cùm in audacia poſitam. ſibi eſſe ſpem unicam ſtatuerit, abſterſo ore, ut in proverbio ſacro ſcortum illud, & aſſumptâ non ſolum viri ſancti oratione atque perſonâ, ſed ſapientiſſimi quoque titulo Eccleſiaſtes novus cum malâ cruce, & ſacrarum literarum. Profeſſor profanus incedit. Adeò ut mirentur omnes in quo ſumma eſſe tot vitia reperirentur, in eo illa omnia potuiſſe ab impudentia tam longè ſuperari.

Ego verò eorum quæ de te ſcripſi, More, cùm *affinxerim* ſanê nihil, affirmaverim autem ea quæ & creberrimâ paſſim famâ, & mihi privatim teſtibus idoneis eſſent cognita, utrius hoc noſtri *ad ſempiternum dedecus* futurum ſit, non id tuum, quod tamen tibi arrogas, judicium erit, ſed, Dei voluntate, hominum integrorum ſententiis dirimetur. Tu interim præfationes mihi ( quid enim *tui præfatio* ſit nondum aſſequor ) vel *vaniſſimi* vel *mendaciſſimi*, quanquam uberrima tibi mendaciorum copia eſt, mitte *comparare*. Teſtimonialium ut ſis tibimet callidiſſimus æruſcator, præfationum tamen coactorem te mihi nolo. Nam quod ais, quæ de te protuli *ejuſmodi eſſe, nemo ut ſit eorum quibus paulo propius innotuiſti, quamvis iniquior eſſet, quin falſitatis perpetua coarguat*, id uſque eò veritati planè contrarium eſt, ut eorum qui te *propius* norunt multi nuntiis, non nemo literis queſtus mecum ſit huic me argumento facinorum tuorum tam uberi & copioſo parùm ſatisfeciſſe; tantum abeſſe, quicquam ut finxerim, ut permultas præclaras etiam, tuas res geſtas ſilentio præterierim: ſe, ſi adfuiſſent, quod & optabant quoq; nonnulli, largiore me palmarum tuarum acceſſione & copia facilè fuiſſe inſtructuros. Tuum ergo illud *miſerere*, quo tu & operarius tuus, par bipedum odioſiſſimum, *miſereri meam vicem* vultis ridiculè videri, vobis veſtriſque vicibus moneo reſervetis, ego à me procul arceo: miſerationes improborum cujuſmodi ſint, didici. Nam quid eſt, obſecro, quod miſerationem hanc veſtram inhumanam tandem commoverit? quòd *in te* nempe *hominem immeritum graſſatus ſim*. At ô gemina impudentia, & conſciorum par calloſiſſimum! véſne ut audeatis vos *immeritos* aſſeverare, niſi fortè vocis ambiguo colluditis, quorum alter Clamorem illum infamem atque infandum edidit, alter excudit, uterque divulgavit? Diſcant omnes, quæ vos *cum bono Deo* affirmare ſoleatis, quàm ſint pro nihilo habenda. Nec precationem felicius, quàm miſerationem adſciviſti; aut ad *juſtam nominis tui defenſionem aggredienti veram & verecundam ſuggerat tibi Deus orationem, ab omni mendacio & obſcœnitate prorſus abhorrentem:* Alterum enim nunquam es præſtiturus, ut mendaciis abſtineas; alterum iniquiſſimè precaris, ut cum tua facta obſcæniſſima ſint, orationem ſuggerat tibi Deus factis abhorrentem: quod contrà precari debuiſſes, ut ſuggereret tibi Deus non verecundam, ſed obſcœnam: ſic enim tua facta verbis ſaltem propriis & non mendacibus Deo atq; hominibus confeſſus eſſes; ſic non hypocritam egiſſes; quod Deo longè gratius fuiſſet. Nunc non Deus te, ſed tua illa Dea audit Cotytto, ſive ea Laverna, ſive utraque eſt, labra tacitè moventem:

> *Da mihi fallere; da juſto ſanctoque videri:*
> *Noctem peccatis, & ſtupris objice nubem.*

Quæris quî ſciam quæ tu tecum? dicam. Vocale quiddam, ſi neſcis, omnis, totúſque homo eſt: non lingua, non vox hominis ſola loquitur; vita ipſa, mores, facta, quid quiſque velit, tacente ſæpiùs linguâ, clamant atque teſtantur. Tu itaque hæc tacitè; illa clarè; *Orationem videlicet ob omni mendacio & obſcœnitate prorſus abhorrentem, hoc eſt inquis diſſimillimam tuæ.* De hoc utroque ſigillatim à me tuo ordine reſpondebitur. A mendaciis exordiris: *nam ut hinc*, inquis, *ordiar, quid mendacius ipſa fronte libelli tui? quem*, neſcis quare, Defenſionem ſecundam pro populo Anglicano vocem; *re quidem verâ* inquis *teterrimam contra me Satyram & ventoſiſſimum Panegyricum à te dictum tibi.* Næ tu mendacia jejunus admodum & eſuriens, ſed inani morſu captas, ſi toto libro nihil mendacius ipsâ fronte invenire potes: Quam ego & veracem eſſe, & per omnia libro conſentaneam facilè demonſtrabo; quid enim appoſitius, quid accommodatius ad defenſionem Populi Anglicani, quàm ſi ejus vitam & mores turpiſſimos eſſe convincam qui probroſiſſimo libello edito Populum Anglicanum tantâ injuriâ laceſſiſſet? eum te eſſe confirmo. Quid ſi digreſſus aliquoties eſſem, & in materiâ præſertim tam tritâ & ſæpe triſti Lectoris nonnunquam recreare animum aliunde experirer? Túne adeo preſſus & minimè laxus homo es, ut latum unguem ab argumenti cancellis diſcedere quoquam licere non putes? quæ lex Rhetorum tuorum digreſſiones iſtiuſmodi reprehendit? Ego ſi exemplis, quod poſſem, Oratorum illuſtrium explicarem quid hac in parte liceat & uſitatum ſit, efficerem ut appareret ſtatim facili negotio, quàm tu harum rerum rudis atque ignarus ſis. Nec ſolam Satyram, quod ais, in te ſcripſi, ſed ut perſpicerent omnes, libentiùs me & multo ſtudioſiùs bonos collaudare, quàm malos vituperare, clariſſimorum aliquot nominum laudes qui vel patriam armis & conſilio egregiè liberaſſent, vel mihi ſaltem facta eorum defendenti faviſſent, (cum id etiam cauſam cohoneſtaret) & paſſim admiſcui, & pleniùs introduxi. Atque adeò ne hoc quidem, quòd ſereniſſimæ Suecorum Reginæ grates potiùs, quàm laudes perſolverim tu unquam oſtenderis à Defenſione Pop. Anglicani, cui illa impensè exiſtimata eſt faviſſe, alienum fuiſſe. Quid ſi, quod objectas, me denique laudaſſem aliquantiſper digreſſus? quis ea tempora, eas perſæpe cauſas incidere non fateatur, ut propriæ laudes etiam ſanctiſſimis modeſtiſſimíſque viris indecoræ non ſint, nec unquam fuerint? hunc etiam locum uberrimum exemplorum illuſtrare copiâ ſi vellem, equidem me omnibus facilè probarem tu obmuteſceres. Sed me nuſquam laudavi; nec, quod criminaris, Panegyricum à me mihimet dictum uſquam invenies: Singulare quidem in me divini numinis beneficium quòd me ad defendendam libertatis tam fortiter vindicatæ cauſam præter cæteros evocaſſet, & agnoviſſe fateor, & nunquam non agnoſcere debere: & præclaram hinc miniméq; culpandam, ut ego quidem arbitror, exordiendi materiam ſumpſiſſe. Petitus deinde ab illo Clamore Regio convitiis omnibus atque calumniis, & infimorum numero habitus, non me laudibus, quanquam id nefas non erat, contra adverſarios deſpectores, ſed nudâ ac ſimplici rerum mearum narratione contentus, tuebar: id Populi Anglicani quem defendebam, quanti intereſſet, uti ego meam exiſtimationem non planè abjicerem nec obtrectandam quibuſvis & obculcandam relinquerem, præfatus antequam mei facerem mentionem ſedulò oſtendi: offenſionem denique ſicujus fortè hac in re incurriſſem, haud negligenter ſum deprecatus. Hæc tu ſi propter invidentiam & livorem aut non legere aut meminiſſe non vis, quid eſt reliqui niſi ut crepes? nullum enim in fronte libri mendacium, niſi abs te per malitiam atque calumniam conflatum reperietur. Quanto mendacior *Alexandri Mori fides publica?* an te omnia in illo libro ex fide publica ſcripſiſſe audes dicere? atqui aut hoc tibi neceſſariò dicendum, aut libri illius fronti nulla fides eſt. Ita tu dum in titulo tuo putidus, in meo malitioſus es, aut fides publica frontem per te, aut tua frons fidem perdidit. Pergis de mendaciis. *Alterum eſt*, inquis *authorem eſſe me libri, cui titulus, Clamor ſanguinis Regii.* Quod cum ego verum eſſe firmiſſimis teſtimoniis jam ſuprà demonſtraverim, téque illius libri certiſſimum curatorem atque editorem omnium jure gentium & legibus pro Authore habendum eſſe, ſequitur ut quæ mei fallendi ſpe nixus hoc loco vociferaris, quaſi author non eſſes, tametſi infirma per ſe, atque inania ſunt nunc fundamento illo fallaci ſubruto, ſuâ ſponte corruant atque ſubſidant: ſimú'que ut totum illud mendacium, illa omnis *temeritas, imprudentia, immanitas*, quâ me per ſummam impudentiam hinc oneras, in teipſum recidat. Exclamantem itaque & frigentem & tuo laqueo impeditum, te hîc prætereo: nugas autem quaſdam tuas ſine riſu non poſſum; per quas acutiùs & miſerabilius exclamare te putas. *Nam licet*, inquis, *ea crimina quæ in me conjicis vera eſſent, tamen contra jus & fas omne eſſet, quod nullius in nos authoritatis, quoddam tribunal excitas, criminationes publicè ſpargis.* An neſcis ergo, hominum ineptiſſime, idem hoc tribunal eſſe, eandem ſellam atq; authoritatem, jus idem criminandi & judicandi, quod ego veſtro primùm Salmaſio, mox Clamatori Regio defenſione juſtiſſima eripui? veſtrum ego nunc exemplum atque judicium in vos converto, veſtro jure utor; veſtrum ipſum tribunal, veſtra ſubſellia, quæ in nos paraſtis, de veſtris erepta manibus in vos juſtiſſimè ſtatuo. *Deinde*, inquis, *tametſi libri author illius eſſem, non tibi tamen integrum fuiſſet tot ſcommata nihil ad cauſam pertinentia huic propinare ſæculo.* Videte, quæſo, æquitatem hominis: Sibi & Salmaſio licere vult omnia, calumnias, mendacia, contumelias; nobis vera in illos crimina retorquere, quaſi ad cauſam ſcilicet minùs pertinentia, non licebit. Sanè qui res, rationéſque rerum recto judicio ponderare ſolent, non dubito quin mecum ſentiant, nihil vehementius ad cauſam pertinere, quàm quali quis vitâ atque moribus ſit qui eam acerrimè defendat. Ego cauſam Regiam, qui vehementiſſimè defenderit, ſi aut corruptum eſſe aut facinoroſum arguo, haud levi argumento impugnâſſe me cauſam Regiam ſatis intelligo: Si mendacem, ſi turpem, ſi perfidum per omnem vitam criminatorem noſtrum eſſe oſtendo, eundem quoque in nos eſſe eò faciliùs fidem facio. Tu interim cùm duo tibi propoſueris; *alterum*, ut oſtenderes *nec eſſe te libri autorem illius, nec id fuiſſe mihi perſuaſum*; alterum, *falſa eſſe quæ in te conjecta ſunt probra*, nihil horum efficis; ſed diſſolutus ac fluens, modò huc, modò illuc vagando, tum eadem inculcando, ignarus quàm in propinquo tibi effuſè nunc, pabulanti latens à tergo atque intactus hoſtis inſtet, dum neſcire me putas quid ſit libelli authorem eſſe, aut quid tu feceris, in eadem perſtas vel futilitate vel fallacia. *Quid commerui? quid peccavi? quando Populum tuum læſi?* Cavillaris etiam; *quando boves tuos aut equos abegi?* Non tu boves meos abegiſti, Cacus paſtor ut ſis; ſed alienas oves abduxiſti, tuam deſeruiſti Phryx novus Alexander, vel etiam Cataphryx Morus. At *ſciſcitari ex amicis* credo poteram, quos iſthic apud nos habes, nec *paucos nec vulgaris notæ.* Quaſi verò ego, qui *divinus*, ut ais, *non ſum*, tuos amicos quinam eſſent, ſcirem, qui ante hunc Clamorem belluinum abs te editum, ne vagiiſſe quidem adhuc te aut infantem natum ſciebam. Aut tu planè ſenſu, vel ſaltem logicâ deſtitutus es, aut ejus rudimenta non ſic dedidiciſſes, relationes in ſenſum non incurrere. Itaque & inimicos eſſe tibi tam multos eóſq; tuâ non pietate, ſed turpitudine quæſitos necdum audieram; neq; ut *ludibriis* tam eſſes *opportunus*, neque ut tu Veneris nepos, *Junonem* ſic iratam tibi haberes: quæ tibi eſſent infenſa numina æque ignorabam, & qui eſſent Crantzio *Dii boni. Anni duo ſunt*, inquis, *ex quo tuum hoc drama exornas.* Quanquam hoc perridiculum eſt, quod optaſſes nunquam editum, id ſerò editum queri, & ſum ego qui elaboratum rectè atque limatum ſiquid eſt, id diu accuraſſe ſi dicor, non reprehendendum me magis quàm Scriptores quoſque optimos putem, qui tarditatem ſcribendi imputatam ſibi à ſciolis facilè contempſere, tamen & hoc eſſe falſiſſimum ex procemio ſuperioris libri intelligitur, ubi cur maturiùs non reſpondiſſem cauſam reddidi, & errare te vehementer ſcito, ſi operis tam ardui fuiſſe credis vel inanem clamorem refutare, vel te cuivis obnoxium ludos facere. Nec mihi tot ſubciſivis horulis *dicta illa Floralia*, quæ vocas, quot tibi furtivis noctibus atque dieculis facta illa Feſcennina ſtetere. Et *periiſſet* ſanè, hic enim tecum ſentio, paradiſus ille tuus, & ficus & morus & ſycomorus, quibus nequitiam tuam, quantum potuit fieri, honeſtè adumbratam, quoniam ſunt qui rem oculis non viſam, factam credi nolint, iſtius defenſionis inanitatem ridens, vel argutè vel contemptim expoſui: periiſſent, inquam, illi omnes non ſanè floſculi, ſed arbuſculæ, niſi tu in horto mœchatus eſſes: ex hortenſi & ſuburbana cultione tua, non ex urbanitate meâ amœnitas iſta omnis effloruit. Quod autem *in frontiſpicio Satyræ in te mea* ( quæ non magis Satyra eſt, quàm quæ eſt Marci Tullii in Vatinium quemvis oratio ) *tanquam propylæum operis illuſtre collocaſſe* me ais, *quid Morus Græcè ſignificet*, fruſtrà tu quidem propylæa ſomnias; non ita eram decori neſcius, ut ſublime quicquam aut tragicum in hiſtoria tua ponerem: Ego tuguriolum illud tuum in horto, tu Palatium illud vetus, in quo hortus ille erat, fortaſſe cogitabas; & in illa olitoris cellula, haud dubiè Palatinus adulter tibi videbaris. Id ipſum autem Græcè ſignificare te dixi quod etſi lingua nulla eſſet, reipſâ te eſſe nunc dico. Illud tamen negaverim, quoties te tuo nomine Morum appello, *invidiam me velle*, quod quereris, *ex nomine facere*, & moriam tibi objicere; mihi enim id ferè in mentem non venit: ſed Profeſſori Græcæ linguæ Græcum etymon Mori ita perpetuò ſalire per cerebrum tibi ſolet, ut nemo ſalutare te poſſit More, quin tu ab eo te ſtultum appellari moroſè admodum ſuſpicêris. Hæc ſunt & hujuſmodi quæ tu paginis paulo minùs viginti, cùm Authorem te non eſſe Clamoris Regii probare debuiſſes, nugatus es: in quibus ſingulis ſi otiari tecum diutiùs & morari vellem, ipſe Morus eſſem. Nunc tandem ſeriò videris velle agere. *Non rumores, non ſermones, ſed literas teſtes dabis, admonitum me fuiſſe ne in hominem innoxium incurrerem.* Literas ergo inſpiciamus, quas in medium affers *ampliſſimi viri D. Nieuportii Fœderati Belgii Legati* ad te ſcriptas; quas tu, ut videtur, literas non ad probationis vim, quam nullam habent, ſed ad oſtentationem ſolùm legendas propoſuiſti. Is, quod ſingularem *viri ampliſſimi* humanitatem declarat ( quid enim is non viri boni, qui tui indigniſſimi cauſâ tantopere laboraret? ) ad Dom. Thurloium Secretarium adit, tuas literas communicat. Cùm nihil ſe proficere videret, ad me duos viros nobiles, amicos meos, cum literis iiſdem tuis allegat. Quid illi? Literas illas Mori recitant, rogant, & Legatum Nieuportium idem rogare aiunt, uti literis tuis, quibus authorem Clamoris Regii negares te eſſe, fidem haberem. Reſpondi non eſſe æquum quod poſtularent; neque tantâ fide Morum, neque id fieri ſolere, ut contra famam communem & rem alioqui ſatis compertam negantis de ſe rei & adverſarii ſolis literis crederetur. Illi, cùm aliud è contra nihil quod dicerent haberent, pugnare deſinunt. Si hæc non credis, tute percurre Legati literas, quibus ego nunc teſtibus in te utor. *Optabat eum non invulgare librum:* verùm id mei juris erat & poteſtatis. *Ne tibi hanc injuriam facerem, ut illud tibi opus imputarem:* At liquere ſibi, aut unde ſibi liqueret, injurium tibi hoc eſſe quòd imputaſſem, non ſcribit. Saltem ut *nihil vellem inſerere, quod te tangeret.* Quidni verò te tangeret quod ad te pertinet, niſi id ad te non pertinere demonſtraſſet? demonſtrare autem non potuiſſe, argumento firmiſſimo eſt, quòd cùm Dom. Thurloio Secretario idem denuò perſuadere vellet, nihil habuit quod mitteret, præterquam idem illud exemplum literarum tuarum; ex quo & illud facilè perſpicuum eſt, *rationes* illas ad me allatas *ob quas optabat*, ne vellem eum librum evulgare, nihil conjunctum cum Reipubl. rationibus habuiſſe. Noli itaque tu literas Legati corrumpere: nihil illic de *hoſtili ſpiritu*, nihil de *importuno tempore*; tantùm *dolere* ſe ſcribit *noluiſſe me rogatu ſuo tantillum moderationis oſtendere:* id eſt, noluiſſe me ſuo privatim rogatu tibi adverſario publico rem gratam facere; opus excuſum & jam penè editum revocare & de integro retexere. Excuſatum me habeat *vir ampliſſimus*, & præſertim Legatus, ſi injurias publicas privatis interceſſionibus condonare noluerim, nec ſanè potuerim; multóque minùs eas injurias Clamoris Regii, quæ neque ad bellum neque ad pacem recens factam ullo modo ſpectarent. Bellum illud contra Anglos, non contra Rempubl. fuit: bellum veſtrum non contra Anglos, ſed contra Rempubl. eſt. An ſiquis Regiarum partium per bellum Regium quicquam in nos commiſit, id per pacem Batavicam à nobis non erit vindicandum? ſiquis in Rempubl. noſtram contumelioſè quid ſcripſit, id poſt pacem cum Batavis factam non erit refellendum? an per alienum bellum plus Regiis in nos, quàm per noſtram pacem nobis in Regios licebit? At non nos cum Regiis aut eorum Clamatoribus, ſed cum iis Provinciis pacem fecimus, à quibus cauſa Regia longiſſimè ſejuncta eſt; eámque pacem in qua de hoſtibus noſtræ Reipubl. non modo non favendis, ſed ne tecto quidem recipiendis nominatim exceptum eſt. At enim hoc *intempeſtivum* & ἀπειρόκαλον *fuit, quod alieniſſimo tempore cùm omnia hic & iſthic feſtis ob pacem ignibus collucerent*, tu ſolus gelidâ perfunderis. Equidem non in eo poſitam ἀπειροκαλίαν exiſtimabam.

Tu lautus homo iſta meliùs: doleo non ſatis perpenſa à me officii momenta in te mei. At graviter peccatum eſt: tum enim *latis clamoribus noſtrum veſtrúmque cœlum conſonabat.* Quaſi verò te ardelione & incendiario benè multato, non multo lætiùs illi ignes pacifici & ſociales relucerent: quaſi etiam *veſtrum noſtrúmque cœlum* fauſtis clamoribus non mulò lætiùs conſonet; cùm infauſtus & feralis inimicorum clamor compeſcitur. Quod tu itaque alieniſſimum tempus; id ego opportuniſſimum fuiſſe contendo: nec *obſtrepuiſſe* me, quod ais, *Pacis articulis*, ſed acclamaſſe & plauſiſſe. Poſtremò & me prorſus ignoras, & tibimet intra paucos verſiculos manifeſtò mendax deprehenderis. *Abs te*, inquis, *quo factum ſit animo non interpretor:* Et ſtatim, quòd *depoſitis armis, animum retineres armatum.* Mirum ni ex eo bello quæſtum feci, aut ſtipendium aliquod navale, qui factam pacem uſque eò moleſtè tulerim. Dicam igitur quod me dicere neque ullum obſequium, neque neceſſitas cogit. Falleris tu quidem magnoperè, ſi quenquam eſſe Anglorum putas, qui Fœderatis Provinciis me uno ſit amicior, aut voluntate conjunctior; qui præclariùs de Republ. illa ſentiat; qui eorum induſtriam, artes, ingenium, libertatem aut pluris faciat, aut ſæpiùs collaudet; qui bellum incœptum cum iis minùs voluerit, ſuſceptum pacatiùs geſſerit, compoſitum ſeriò magis triumpharit; qui denique obtrectatoribus eorum minùs unquam crediderit. Unde tu nullam in me calumniam mendaciorem aut minùs congruentem affingere potuiſti. At *illum rerum cardinem aucupatus eſſe videor, ut prodeuntibus demum articulis pacis obſtreperem.* Tu ſcilicet cardo rerum; in te pacis articuli vertuntur; hunc ſi attingas, actum de pace eſt. At quem hominem? quo numero? civem credo egregium, Senatorem primarium, ornamentum curiæ: immò ne civem quidem, ſed inquilinum, alienigenam, & Scoto-Gallum impuriſſimum, odioſum omnibus atque offenſum, Reipubl. hoſtem, qui ſi quò expulſus, ejectus, & in rem malam amandatus eſſet, ne tantillum quidem articulis pacis noceretur; immò ſatisfieret potiùs. Tu itaque deſine, ſi ſapis, politicari; & pacis articulos cave dehinc muſſites, nequis te ex pacis articulis Regii Clamoris editorem ad ſupplicium poſcat. Pollicitus ſum, inquis, Legato, *nihil indecens exiturum è calamo meo.* Neque fefelli; vel ſiquid omnino illa in parte commiſi, in me ſolum commiſi, dum tuos excutere putores, tua tractare inquinamenta ſuſtinui: &, quòd illic etiam præfatus ſum, non tam quid me magis decuiſſet, quàm quid te dignum eſſet ſpectabam. Nec tamen indecentiùs aut acerbius in te ego, quàm olim viri graviſſimi in improbum quemque ac perditum & concionibus honeſtiſſimo quoque civitatis in loco atque conventu habitis, & ſcriptis palam editis invecti ſunt. Verùm ad illud nunc venio quod virum ſanctiſſimum & hujus ætatis longè caſtiſſimum offendit Morum; *illoto* ſcilicet *ſermone utor, verbis nudis & prætextatis.* Propudium hominis & proſtibulum! Téne illota verba reprehendere qui facta turpiſſima patrare non erubuiſti? Jam non pœniteret profectò, ſiquid in hoc genere liberiùs paulo dixiſſem; etiamſi aliud inde nihil aſſequutus eſſem, niſi ut elicerem ex te diſſimulationem hanc improbiſſimam, téque perſonatum omnibus vel hinc palam educerem hypocritarum omnium deterrimum. Quod autem tu mihi dictum libro toto oſtenderis, quod verbum illotius, quàm hoc ipſum Morus? ſed non in verbo neque in re, ſed in te vitium omne atque obſcœnitas tota eſt. Tu Fauno quovis aut nudo Satyro turpior, bona verba uti nuda eſſent tuis moribus effeciſti. Tuam nulla umbra, ne ficus ipſa quidem, velare turpitudinem potuit. Qui te dicit, tuáque flagitia, eum neceſſe eſt obſcœna dicere. Itaque ſi in tuum opprobrium vel nuda verba exeruiſſem, facilè me etiam graviſſimorum Authorum exemplo defendiſſem. Qui ita ſemper exiſtimarunt, verba nuda atque exerta cum indignatione prolata, non obſcœnitatem, ſed graviſſimæ reprehenſionis vehementiam ſignificare. Quis unquam Piſoni Annalium ſcriptori, qui propter virtutem & pudicos mores Frugi dictus eſt, vitio vertit, quòd in Annalibus queſtus eſt *adoleſcentes peni deditos eſſe.* Quis unquam Salluſtium Scriptorem graviſſimum reprehendit, quòd etiam in Hiſtoria dixit;

*Ventre, manu, pene, aleâ, bona patria dilacerari.*

Quid Herodotum, Senecam, Suetonium, Plutarchum, Authores omnium graviſſimos adducam? quos tu ſi negas verba etiam pluſquam prætextata, réſque ſatis turpes rebus gravioribus aliquoties immiſcuiſſe, ſatis declaras te iis in

Authoribus verſatum non eſſe. Hoc ſi omni tempore & loco indecens eſt, quoties tu Eraſmo doctiſſimo qui Roterodami ſtat æreus, quoties Thomæ Moro noſtro, cujus tu nomen tuo commaculas, quoties denique ipſis Eccleſiæ patribus antiquis, Alexandrino Clementi, Arnobio, Lactantio, Euſebio, dum obſcœna veterum religionum myſteria vel denudant, vel deridemt, indecentiæ & obſcœnitatis dicam ſcribere debebis? Verùm tu fortaſſè, ut ſunt ferè hypocritæ, verbis tetrici, rebus obſcœni, ne ipſum quidem Moſen iſtâ noxâ immunem abs te dimiſeris; cùm alibi ſæpiùs, tum etiam ubi Phiniæ haſta quâ parte mulierem transfixerit, ſiqua fides Hebræis, apertè narrat. Ne ipſum quidem Iiobum pudentiſſimum ac patientiſſimum, dum meretricem ſibi uxorem nudato & priſco ſermone imprecatur, ſi ipſe alienæ uxori inſidiatus unquam fuiſſet. Non te Salomonis Euphemiſmi cenſorem, non Prophetarum ſcripta tuam turpiculi immò nonnunquam planè obſcœni cenſuram effugerint, quoties Maſorethis & Rabinis, pro eo quod diſertè ſcriptum eſt, ſuum libet Keri adſcribere. Ad me quod attinet, fateor malle me cum ſacris ſcriptoribus εὐθυῤῥήμονα, quàm cum futilibus Rabinis εὐσχήμονα eſſe. Túque fruſtra Marcum Tullium inclamas; qui ſi *in aureo* illo quem citas, *de Officiis libro*, illud jocandi genus elegans, urbanum, ingenioſum, facetum arbitratur, quo genere non modò Plautus & Atticorum antiqua comœdia, ſed etiam Philoſophorum Socraticorum libri referti ſunt, id quod illic legiſſe poteras, non ille mihi quidem nimis anguſtos, non nimis ſeveros decori ſtatuiſſe fines videtur, ut cuiquam difficile ſit intra eos fines ſeſe continere; nedum ut ego me non continuerim. Noli itaque tu mihi homo inquinatiſſimus, de honeſto & decoro ineptire; non eſt tuum, mihi crede; immò tu ſic habeto, nihil minùs decere, nihil ab ratione ipſa decori magis abhorrere, quàm te talem, qualis es, lautum ſermonem uſurpare, aut illotum reprehendere. Sed videris nunc velle rem omnem in pauca redigere: *Non ſum*, inquis, *autor Clamoris*. Non ſuades. *Res patet, dilucet, eámque pluribus argumentis affirmare tam ſit ineptum, quàm in clariſſimum ſolem mortale lumen inferre*. Deſine ampullas; dic tandem aliquid. *Ipſe ego quantum poſſum reclamo*. Nempe nunc denuò; minacitèr modò & regiè; nunc miſerè. *Amici non tacent*. Ex ore tuo. *Eccleſiaſtæ admonent*. Fide tuâ. *Legati confirmant*. Ex literis tuis. Quid hoc omne aliud eſt, niſi illa initio tua ſingularis negatio, *Non ſum author?* Verùm tu, antequam ad hunc locum perveniſti, jamdiu intelligis miſer quo loco res tuæ ſint; quos in laqueos te indueris; quibus à me vinculis obſes tenearis: nunc quantum voles clama, Te non authorem Clamoris eſſe; cùm omnium gentium leges atque jura, Præconem te mihi pro Clamatore, Procuratorem pro Authore tradiderint. Quid nunc Authore fiat, aut ubi terrarum degat, nihil moror: vixerit ſanè in Gallia, & ſimul in Hollandia *jucundum fuerit videre*, quod narrat ipſe, *quibus ludibriis, quibus periculis Legati noſtri* eo tempore conflictarentur: ſit vel Satanicæ miniſter Synagogæ, non laboro; hoc ſaltem unum benè fecit, quod te tam diligentem ſibi támque fidelem diaconum, non Evangelii, ſed infamiſſimi libelli miniſtrum reliquit. Age nunc triumphos de me iſtos, quos ego flebiles tibi efficiam: profer in medium, ſi potes, mea illa *mendacia, meam illam imprudentiam, temeritatem, audaciam, pertinaciam & impudentiam*, meum illud ingens piaculum quòd te Regii Clamoris affirmaverim authorem. Clama quantum potes è longinquo ad Populum Anglicanum quem illo anteà nefario Clamore edito tam indignè læſiſti: nam accedere non audes. Vociferare, inquam, ſi ſatis in tuto es; *Quantum te, Popule Anglicane, tua de Miltono fefellit opinio!* Hæc enim ipſa dum clamas, dum plaudis tibi, & tanquam elapſo gratularis, neſcis me luſtra tua, & ſylvas anonymas indagaſſe, neſcis in plagis te meis eſſe: ſentit Pop. Anglicanus me non pœnitendum vel defenſorem juris ſui, vel venatorem ferarum ſuarum. En ego te reluctantem obtorto collo, traductum per ora omnium, peſtem populi, in Eccleſia verrem, caudâ non minus, quàm obliquo dente maleficum, in conſpectum omnium protraho. Téque belluam Pop. Anglicano inſpectandam, non Ædilitatis, ſed Defenſionis meæ gratiſſimum munus edo. Tu interea, nequid deſit ad triumphum, quem de me, ut putas, deluſo atque decepto agis, quòd authorem Clamoris te dixerim, adhibes, ut ſolet, jocos. Et *frontem*, inquis, *immeritò perfricare diceris, tota enim jamdudum frons tibi periit*. Noli nunc de me queri; noli *ſarcaſmos*, & *ſannas* & *ſcommata*, ſimulatâ rurſus gravitate, reprehendere: memineris ut hi ludi à teipſo inſtaurari & introducti nunc ſint; ut reprehenſos modò & damnatos ipſe nunc revoces. Facetus eſſe cupis; non ſuccurrit in præſentia: ſuggeram itaque ego tibi jocos quoſdam tuos; & quod triumphum maximè deceat, militares: quíque admoneant te temporis cujuſdam, in quo frons tua tam validè *perfricta* eſt, ut tibi tum multo maluiſſes totam frontem periiſſe. Meminiſti fortaſſe illius diei, immo verò diei, credo, & horæ & loci meminiſti, cùm tu Pontiam in domo Salmaſii ultimùm, ut opinor, conveniſti: tu illam, ut copulæ renunciares; illa te, ut nuptiis diem diceres. Quæ ubi è contrario pactum ſtupro conjugium diſſolvere in animo tibi eſſe videt, tum verò tua innuba, non enim dicam Tiſiphone, impatiens tantæ injuriæ in faciem tibi atque oculos, non ſectis unguibus, furens involavit. Tu qui teſte Crantzio ( præſtat enim non ſine tua fide publica tantum certamen exordiri ) qui teſte, inquam, Crantzio *Gallicè Altier*, Latinè feroculus eſſes, teſte, Deodato, *terribiles ungues ad tui tutelam haberes*, pro virili tua parte ad fœmineum hoc genus pugnæ te comparas. Stat arbitra certaminis Juno Salmaſia. Ipſe Salmaſius in conclavi proximo decumbens pedibus æger, ut prælium commiſſum audiit, riſu penè moritur. At heu nefas! imbellis noſter Alexander, & Amazoni congreſſus impar, ſuccumbit. Illa inferiorem nacta, in frontem & ſupercilia naſúmque hominis tum primùm ſupernè peccat: miris capreolis & Phrygiano opere totum jacentis vultum percurrit: nunquam tibi More lineamenta Pontiæ minùs placuere. Ipſe plenâ jam utrâque margine genarum, ſcriptus & in mento necdum finitus, ægrè tandem ſurgis: ſed ne pœniteat te, homo ad unguem factus; non jam Profeſſor, ſed tamen Doctor Pontificius: jure enim poteras tanquam in picta tabula ſcripſiſſe, *Pontia fecit*. Quid autem? Doctor? immò codex jam factus, in quo ultrix Pontia ſua adverſaria exaravit ſtilo novo. Senſiſti puto Vlacci tabulas Tangentium & Secantium ad radium Cifrarum neſcio quot lugubrium in pelle tua excudi. Tu tum More *facie non integrâ* domum te proripuiſti; fronte quidem exporrectâ, quam vix contrahere jam poteras; ſupercilioſus tamen & caperatus, quippe derepentè multò literatior; & quantum potes, abdis te quoque, reconditæ ut poſſes dici homo literaturæ. Eho noſter Eccleſiaſtes! ubi es? quid lates? expectant te jam nunc, qui *tibi aures è ſuperiore loco dicenti accommodare* ſolebant. Sed tibi miſero nunc Pontia è ſuperiore loco dixit, tuíſque auribus ungues accommodavit. Redde nunc tuum vultum nobis, Eccleſiaſtes, antiquum ſanè & rugis venerandum; cur apocryphus vis eſſe? cùm ipſâ Pontiâ Pontifice canonicus jam maximè ſis & rubricatus. Quin etiam hinc Critici, inde antiquarii ad fores te inclamant; tui videndi deſiderio ardent. Emanavit, neſcio quo pacto, novas quaſdam inſcriptiones Gruterianas apud te eſſe; alii Arabicas, alii Copticas aiunt; qui veriùs, Ponticas ex terra Taurica. Omnes uno ore conſentiunt pulcherrimas eſſe oportere, utpote in ære frontis tuæ tam graphicè, Pontiano præſertim onyche, inſculptas. Nemini reſpondet Morus, omnibus negatur, ſpernit omnium deſideria, & delibutus unguentis domi, literas dediſcere Pontianas mavult. Hæc habui, More, quoniam te mecum jocandi cupidum animadverti, quo ego tuum de me triumphum velut militari carmine exornatum volebam. Quidni enim pugnas tuas tum maximè commemorarem? quanquam palma quidem erat Pontiæ; illa tibi lemniſcos tantummodo reliquit. Etenim quod tuum non eſt, tibi non attribuo; tametſi tu id toto libro, quaſi abſurdum meum inſectaris, oblitus te procuratione & chirographo tuo fidejuſſorem mihi factum; oblitus, quod æs alienum tu eſſe dicis, id nunc legitimè non minus tuum eſſe, quàm cujum tu eſſe dicis. Tu itaque cœcitatem cyclopeam mihi exprobrâſti; & quod impudentius eſt, dum id negas feciſſe, iterum facis: Qui nulli tum fuerant oculi, nunc *exemptiles* & *Lamiarum* ſunt. *Narciſſus* nunc ſum; quia te depingente nolui Cyclops eſſe; quia tu effigiem mei diſſimillimam, *præfixam poematibus* vidiſti. Ego verò ſi impulſu & ambitione Librarii, me imperito, Scalptori, propterea quòd in urbe alius eo belli tempore non erat, infabrè ſcalpendum permiſi, id me neglexiſſe potiùs eam rem arguebat, cujus tu mihi nimium cultum objiciis. Tu itidem is es, qui clariſſimum virum, Conſilii Statûs tum Præſidem, contumeliis inceſſiſti; de quo iratior, quàm de meipſo, quæſivi ex te quid aliud eſſet calumniari perpetuò bonos, quàm eſſe Diabolum. Hinc tu pulchram nactus hypocritandi occaſionem ex Crantziana videlicet calumnia, quaſi ego *Chriſti Doctrinam de Divortio quemadmodum à Theologis explicari ſolet, diabolicam* dixiſſem, qui ater modò eras & maledicentiſſimus, nunc albus repentè factus, & mitis & patiens *agis gratias*, quòd *te communi cum cœleſti doctrina convitio honeſtem*. ——— Hyæna! aut ſiqua alia eſt bellua, tam tetrâ fraude noxia atque infamis! túne cœleſtem doctrinam tot tuorum facinorum aſylum atque perfugium ſperas fore? Sed perge quò tendis: ſi enim Theologorum quaſvis explicationes pro cœleſti doctrina amplecteris, toto cœlo, ut te dignum eſt, erras. Quin & Apoſtoli glorioſum illud cum beſtiis pugnandi martyrium tibimet tribuis nequiſſime; qui nuper non homo cum beſtia, ſed ipſe beſtia cum homine, id eſt cum fœmina, de fide connubiali abs te rupta pugnam tam inhoneſtam pugnâſti. Reverſus deinde ad mores priſtinos, ſolitámque jactantiam, dicendo me provocas. *Neque verò*, inquis, *mihi tantum derogo, quanquam nihil arrogo, ut te commodiùs aut faciliùs quàm me putem poſſe dicere.* Concedo equidem, ſi tibi iſtum in modum furari licet: hæc enim ipſa verba, quibus copiam tuam venditas, ex oratione Marci Tullii pro Roſcio Amerino apertiſſimè furatus es. Atque hinc puto eſt, quòd Francofurtanas nundinas librorum tuorum Catalogo tam copioſo nobis obtrudas cùm editorum tum edendorum: ex quibus aliqui ſunt quos videre geſtiam; & imprimis illum *de gratia & libero arbitrio*, ad amicam præſertim illam ſi ſcriptus eſt, cujus tu nunc gratiam, rejectâ pro arbitrio Pontiâ, accommodato forſitan argumento ambis: tum illum *de Scriptura ſacra*, quorum Scriptores multa humanitùs & imprudenter ſcripſiſſe ferunt te affirmare: illam deinde *pro Calvino*, quem tu veluti Prophetam extructo monumento Phariſæus exornas, vitâ & moribus jugulas: nam quæ *prodibunt* opera tua, quæ *premis & retractas, & ad umbilicum ſpectantia moliris*, ea meritó ſuſpicantur omnes eſſe turpiſſima. Illam *de piis fraudibus diſſertationem* ſanè expecto: nam de impiis abs te factis fraudibus abundè audivimus: enim verò *Commentarius ille tuus*, quinam ſit in quintum *Evangelium* futurus demiror; nam illa quatuor priora jamdudum factis abnegâſti: unde & *Theoremata illa practica* mirè deſidero, nam tu in practicis egregius homo ſine controverſia es; id quod de te tot fabulæ non fabulæ teſtantur. Ad illa autem *loca novi fœderis, & axiomata quibus ex veteri novum fœdus illuſtratur*, Pontiæ quoque notas vellem ſimul ederes. Et poſtremò iſthuc memineris, te alterum volumen operum tuorum, quod Genevæ in Bibliotheca publica etiamnum extat, totum omiſiſſe: uti etiam inſcriptiones illas, cum frontiſpicio mirabili, quas quamvis opus Pontianum, in tua tamen membrana tuas eſſe, adſtipulante etiam Juſtiniano, rectè dixerim: nam Noctes tuas, neſcio an Atticas cum Pontiâ, ſive dialogum morillum, alii ſpurium, alii duntaxat embryonem, qui ſubtiliùs non inter libros, ſed inter liberos tuos numerandum exiſtimant. Sed properabas credo ad alteram inſtituti operis partem, calumnias meas. Nam mendacia, id nempe unicum, quòd te authorem Clamoris dixerim, partem tui operis longè maximam tandem aliquando confeciſſe te ſignificas. Cùm autem leve hoc merito cuiquam videri poſſit, etiamſi falſâ aliquâ perſuaſione imbutus attribuiſſem tibi librum iſtum, alioqui nec improbatum tibi, nec tua exiſtimatione indignum, cur unum tantummodo noxam tam verboſè tam iracundè ſumma cum invidia rei per ſe leviſſimæ ſic exaggeres atque exagites, perinde quaſi in ſe omnes impietates & crimina complecteretur, niſi jam antea docuiſſem, id magis mirandum poſſit cuiquam videri. Sed ea nimirum arx erat unica, in qua ſpem omnem collocaveras; ſi perſuaſiſſes pleriſque te authorem Clamoris non eſſe, méque mentitum, in altera parte quam de calumniis vocas, de quibus quod pro te dicas nihil prorſus habes, ſperabas te facili defenſione uſurum contra me ſcilicet mendacem jam antea compertum, téque omnes vitæ maculas apud longinquos & ignotos hâc arte gratis eluiturum. Verùm ego cum præter ſpem opinionémque tuam te authorem Clamoris tergiverſantem licet & reclamantem legitimè arguerim, non dubito quin ad flagitia quoque tua, & quas tu calumnias dici mavis, accuratiùs prout res feret exequendas apud omnes rerum æquos æſtimatores fidem integram attulero. Nunc quàm frigidè, quam invitè, quàm planè ſontis in morem vafri ac vetuli has abs te dictas calumnias tractes, quámque infœliciter amoliri abs te coneris, reliquum eſt ut oſtendam. Primùm cunctabundus, & incerto pede à prioribus caſtris in hæc altera cum multis impedimentis ægrè & ne vix quidem tranſis: quippe à mendacio non ad alterum mendacium, id enim non audes dicere, ſed ad *calumnias* duntaxat & *rumuſculos*. Itaque ad mendacium illud toties jactatum, modò dimiſſum atque præteritum perpetuò recurris, cum præſens arguere, ſiquod eſſet, deberes: & adverſarii quod miſerum eſt, quàm tui ſecurior, in illo errore, quemadmodum credi vis meo, quam in tua nunc apud te recta conſcientia multò plus repoſitum tibi ſpei atque præſidii declaras. Atqui non meo, ſiquod fuit, mendacio, ſed tuâ te veritate, ſiqua fuit, munire debuiſti. At enim *authoritate propria meras calumnias intento, quas nullo argumento probo, nullo teſte confirmo.* Vis igitur dicam apertius rem ipſam? nam te, ut video, præ iſta mollitie frontis non perfrictæ, ſed inſcriptæ modò, pudet dicere; qui ne ſtuprum quidem aut adulterium toto reſponſo nominare homo prudentiſſimus & flos caſtitatis auſus es, ne *vaniſſimam fabulam* ſcilicet & obſcœnam, id eſt tua facta *retexeris.* Dicam ergo, & quia non abnuis, rerum ordinem ſequar.

Eſt Claudia Pelletta quædam, pellicem poſthac nominemus licet, neſcio an tuam ſolùm; quæ, cum ancilla in eâdem domo honeſtiſſimi viri Genevenſis eſſet, in qua tu hoſpes eras turpiſſimus, cum calone & rhedario communis tibi fuit. Eâ mulierculâ, poſtmodum nuptâ, quod ſtupri tecum habuerat commercium adulterio continuavit. Cedo *teſtes*, inquis, & *argumenta.* Nugator! quid tu teſtes ex me ubi non ſunt, quæris, quos ubi erant, fugiſti? Genevam revertere, ubi horum criminum jamdiu reus factus es. . Dic velle te modò abolendæ calumniæ causâ judicium his de rebus legitimum fieri; invenies qui tecum libentiſſimè his de criminibus experiri lege velint; qui vadari, qui ſponſionem facere non recuſent. Nec teſtes deerunt. Aderit imprimis Hortulanus ille qui te vidit, cùm in illud tuguriolum cum fæmina ſolus intrares; vidit, cùm illa Claudia tua clauderet fores; vidit poſtea egreſſum te, amplexantem palàm cùm muliere impudica, & uſque eò petulantem ut illum veterem hortorum cuſtodem obſcœnum, non ex ficu, ut olim, ſed ex moro factum conſpexiſſe exiſtimaret. Aderunt & alii quos viri graviſſimi, qui tuum nomen detulerunt, teſtes in promptu habent. Cujus tu teſtimonii vim veritus cùm dimanâſſe rem illam ſentires quam in occulto patraſſe te arbitrabaris, ut infamis ille reus Sicilienſis, non jam quid reſponderes, ſed quemadmodum non reſponderes, cogitare cœpiſti: & paulo ante ferox judiciique cupidus (nam de aliis quoque multis rebus & antea & tum etiam deferebaris) demiſſus repentè & conſternatus abeundi licentiam (id quod plerique maximè volebant, ne in rem tam fædam de Paſtore ſuo inquirere cogerentur) quaſi jamjam abiturus petîſti. Per hanc tu rationem liberatus judicii metu, cùm alibi non haberes quò te reciperes, omni munere cùm Eccleſiæ tùm Scholæ, omniq; ſtipendio privatus, octo circiter vel decem menſes in eadem urbe fœdis factis notatus detrectatâ cauſæ dictione vixiſti: quo nullum majus argumentum contra te eſſe potuit. Nunc poſteaquam oblatum tibi certamen defugiſti, tuíſque commodis carere omnibus, quam judicium de illa re pati maluiſti, poſteaquam tuo ipſius judicio temet ipſe damnâſti, à me homine longinquo teſtes & argumenta ridicule ſanè quæris. Quinimmò, ut dixi, Genevam revertere; & quando vadimonium illud tam malè obiiſti, I ſodes ad ſupplicium quod te illic manet adulterio debitum; ſi priſtina illius urbis religioſiſſimæ diſciplina nondum refrixit. Ad illa verò ſponſalitia ſtupra tua quod attinet cum Pontia, quæ te ubique decantatum & digito monſtratum inſignem hominem illis in Provinciis reddidere, multo minus eſt cur à me *teſtes* & *argumenta* poſtules. Famam ipſam communem, conſtantem, & illa centum vel potiùs mille ora, ſi vis, in judicium voca hæc totidem ſunt teſtes quibus ſi in foro ſæpe creditum eſt, cur ego de adverſario publico non crederem? cur ego ſolus quæ in ore omnibus & ſermone ſunt, adverſarius tacerem? ſed nec teſtes hic mihi, nec juſto numero nec literæ deſunt; in quibus literis & libidines tuæ & illa perjuria quorum ope elapſus ex judicio es, cum horrore ac deteſtatione maxima narrantur. Sunt & muti teſtes qui etiam ſine voce teſtantur; illa nocturna itinera quæ toties Hagacomitis Leidam cucurriſti; illi nocturni & furtivi congreſſus cum Pontia; cum qua tu muliere per cauſam, ut aiunt, impudicitiæ divortium feciſti. Si tu eam parùm pudicè verſatam interdiu cum aliis credidiſti, cur alii te continentiorem noctu cum eadem conſueviſſe crederent; an expectas dum ſervulum tuum in te producam, nequitiarum tuarum diu conſcium, donec nondum planè amiſſo pudore, auſugere abs te in bonam frugem conſpectæ ipſis oculis libidines tuæ pudefactum coegerunt? Opus utique non erit ſervum illum ad quæſtionem poſcere: Ipſe deteſtatus tanta in Eccleſiaſtico homine flagitia latè prædicat. Tu interim ut lectorum, ſi non aures, at ſaltem oculos invitare poſſis, oratiunculam neſcio quam infercis hîc putidiſſimam, Hiſtoricorum more, lunulis adnotatam, quaſi acutiſſimam nimirum & lectu digniſſimam: non orationem, ſed chorum quendam Battologorum introductum abs te aliquis putet; amicorum ſcilicet tuorum, hortantium ut *teipſum reverearis*; ut *ungues tuos*, quos tibi fatentur *non deeſſe*, ad neceſſaria magis tempora, Pontianam credo alteram dimicationem, velis potiùs reſervare: mecum ne velis *in arenam deſcendere.* Sed perdunt ſuam operam amici verboſiſſimi, ſua monita præclara, tot curta adagia, triviorum ſymbola, oleum nempe tuum Battologiæ profeſſor: illis poſthabitis me potius uſus es conſultore adverſario, ut reſponderes cum tuo magno malo. Non ut *tuum* ego *ſilentium in conſcientiam ne verterem*, ſed ut conſcientiam tuam ſuo, quod optat, ſilentio frui ne ſinerem. Nam attendite quæſo, & cognoſcite nunc, ſi unquam aliàs, hypocritam numeris omnibus abſolutum. Videt neceſſe ſibi eſſe aliquid pro ſe dicere; ſe intuetur, quamvis invitus; videt in turpi præter turpe nihil eſſe quod poſſit reſponderi; circumſpectat ecquid foris propè ſe refugii ſit, ecquid adminiculi quo inniti poſſit; ecquid quo ſe tegere, ſub quo latitare; ecquos in ſocietatem & communionem ſcelerum ſuorum poſſit attrahere, ecquem ordinem aut genus hominum ſuis privatis rationibus illigare, ut cauſam ſuam quaſi communem communi periculo & aliorum exiſtimatione defenderet; nihil magis idoneum invenire potuit, in quod omne ſuum dedecus transferret, nihil in quod deonerare ſpurcitiam ſuam commodiùs poſſet, quàm ipſam Eccleſiam Dei: *Si mea*, inquit, *propriè tantum res ageretur*, *imponere fibulam ori meo & obmuteſcere poteram exemplo Domini mei: ſed univerſus ordo noſter*, *& Eccleſia Dei per meum petitur latus.* O ſcortum & ganearum Antiſtes! cujus non ori magis, quàm inguini fibulam impoſitam oportuit; quanto tibi præſtitiſſet obmutuiſſe, *exemplo Domini tui*, cui Chriſtus Dominus ſilentium cum capiſtro imperavit, quàm Eccleſiam Dei hâc tantâ ignominiâ affeciſſe? Ais *univerſum Ordinem veſtrum à me licèt obliquè ſtigmate notari.* A me ais? dic ubi; recita, ſi potes, locum; niſi fortè quòd ego in mercenarios, id tu in Miniſtros Evangelii dictum putas. Erras More; & aliud fortaſſe multo juſtiùs haud abſimile conqueſtus eſſes; non ego veſtrum Ordinem obliquè, ſed te extra ordinem tua Pontifex & obliquo & directo & tranſverſo ſtigmate notavit. *Eccleſia*, inquis, *Dei, cui mea omnia tempora conſecravi, per meum petitur latus.* Per tuúmne latus turpiſſime? qui tantum abeſt, ut omnia tua tempora Eccleſiæ conſecraveris, ut ipſa Eccleſiæ tempora, omiſſo nonnunquam matutino concionandi munere, furtivis libidinibus conſecrâſſe haud ſemel dicaris. Ne repetam quid etiam temporis famoſis libellis Eccleſiaſtes conſecraveris. Per tuúmne latus? at nihil omnino eſt quod graviore cum vulnere Eccleſiam petat, quàm tuum ipſum impuriſſimum Eccleſiæ tam malè contiguum latus. Hoc ſi vis intelligi per tuum latus, id eſt, per tuam turpitudinem propter tua ſcelera Eccleſiam opprobriis impiorum peti, maculâ aſpergi, infamiam contrahere, hoc quidem verum eſſe non diffiteor. Itaque univerſus ordo tuus, & Miniſtri præſertim Gallici, qui te optimè norunt, ne tuo illo peſtifero latere diutius periclitentur, teipſum quantum poſſunt, tuíque contagionem amovere ab ſe atque depellere conantur: cauſam ullam aut rationem tuam communicatam ſibi nolunt; ne ſcelerum tuorum atque dedecorum participes fiant: ejectum te ex ſuo ordine, & exturbatum, ut meritus es cupiunt; & illam, quam ais *fibulam* ori tuo impudiciſſimo affigere conantur. Macte eſtote integritate veſtra atque conſtantia, viri Eccleſia digni; proſpicite, ut inſtituiſtis, Eccleſiæ puritati, exiſtimationi, diſciplinæ exemplo: amovete à lateribus veſtris immundum illud & verrinum latus, cujus non ſolùm ictu Eccleſia læditur, ſed affrictu etiam polluitur. Nolite hanc indigniſſimam contumeliam pati, ut is cùm flagitiorum ſuorum nomine meritis conviciis atque infamia petitur, non ſe peti, ſed quaſi is, quia cœnum hominis eſt, idcirco murus & munimentum Eccleſiæ eſſet, per ſuum latus Eccleſiam peti dicat. Abigite procul ab Eccleſiæ ſeptis concionantem lupum; vocem illam hircinam tot ſtupris & adulteriis impuratam, populo verba dantem, imò vendentem, ídque è ſuperiore, quod jactat, loco, ne ſiveritis in ſacro cœtu ampliùs audiri. Profectò ſi Ethnicorum legibus, verbi gratia Solonis cautum eſt, nequis Rhetor turpitudine vitæ notatus, civilem concionem habendi ad populum, ne Atticorum quidem ſi diſertiſſimus fuiſſet, jus haberet, additáque præclara ratio eſt, plus exemplo nocere turpem, quàm oratione quamvis caſtiſſimâ atque ſanctiſſimâ prodeſſe, quo etiam nomine Timarchus, vir inter primos illius Reipub. accuſante Æſchine, damnatus eſt, quanto eſt indignius ſcortatorem adulterum tanquam Dei nuntium & miniſtrum, ad Chriſtianum Populum ſacras habendi conciones jus in Eccleſia pernicioſiſſimum obtinere. Nolite committere, ut Magiſtratus Ethnicus, Deique expers, religioſior atque ſanctior in foro fuiſſe quàm Chriſti ſacra ſynodus in Eccleſia eſſe videatur. Nolite vereri, quem iſte ſcrupulum callidus injecit, ſi eum quem approbâſtis, cui ſanctas manus impoſuiſtis, cui gregem Dei commiſiſtis, perſpectum nunc adulterinum & ſpurium ejeceritis, nequis veſtrum judicium aut prudentiam deſideret; neque enim Paulus hac in parte, ut nôſtis, vidit omnia: illud veremini, ſi Paſtoris in munere talem retinueritis, ne omnes non judicium modò & prudentiam, ſed religionem quoque & pietatem & gregis denique curam in vobis requirant. Hæc ad paſtores de te, More; nunc ad gregem pro me pauca dicam. *Patriæ*, inquis, *meæ greges qui paſcuntur inter lilia, neſcio quam in invidam vocas.* Utinam ne iſta lilia, ſpinas eſſe aliquando ſentiant; verùm non ego tuæ patriæ greges in invidiam, ſed tuus Clamor Regius ad ſocietatem ſui furoris vocare cupiebat. Quem enim non irritâſſent iſtiuſmodi opprobria? *maximè omnium Galli noſtri reformati, non modo horrendo facto perculſi, ſed ejuſdem injuſta infamia preſſi, plurimum alloboraverunt, ut parricidium & parricidas cognoſcerent.* Hæc & multa alia acerba quidem & planè hoſtilia. Clamor iſte Gallorum ſub nomine Reformatorum, in nos clamitavit: ad quæ omnia reſpondi ſolum, Gallis etiam reformatis impoſitam eandem olim neceſſitatem fuiſſe, ut ſuum quoque Regem hoſtis numero haberent. Verùm ego incogitantior (quid enim de me non fatear potius, aut non indictum velim, quod Eccleſias Galliæ Reformatas, quas eſſe ſcio nobis omnibus chariſſimas, in invidiam vocare poſſit) incogitantior, inquam, fui, qui iſti inſaniſſimo Clamori vocem ullam Eccleſiarum aut fratrum interjectam eſſe credidiſſem. Scimus eos quo ſub regno vivant, quibus in periculis, quibus in anguſtiis evangelii causâ verſentur; & tamen amplum hoc ſibi eſſe, ſi tueri ſua queant. Nos [illegible]t vel minimam noſtra cauſa invidiam apud ſuos Reges aut offenſionem ſuſciperent, nunquam petivimus; ut de noſtris factis aut conſiliis ſuum ſenſum declararent, tametſi fratrum judicia plurimi ſemper fecimus, tamen ne hoc iis periculum crearet, nunquam poſtulavimus; preces eorum, non ſententias aut ſuffragia prodeſſe nobis cenſuimus, ſuam autem erga Reges fidem ex ſuo in nos odio verborúmque acerbitate perſpici aut probari non arbitramur. Multa deinde præteris, *quæ nimis meum in religione animum produnt*; & ſapis: fac & illud quoque prætereas, quòd *te hominem ſácris addictum* Cotyttiis, credo, aut Iſiacis, non Evangelicis (niſi addictum ita ut devotum intelligis) *adverſarium*, quod ego mihi honeſtiſſimum duco, nactus ſum. At enim illi *qui diverſum à nobis in religione ſentiunt*, ſic enim tibi proſpiciens, Eccleſiæ proſpicere videri velles, *ex iſta fabula Eccleſiis noſtris inſultandi anſam arripiunt, quaſi patiantur ipſæ qualia vulgò turpia dictu ſacrificulis objiciuntur ſuis:* & meritò quidem, ſi patiantur, verùm ſpes eſt, non eſſe paſſuras: ſalus certé unica rerum eſt, ſi pati noluerint. Si enim patiantur, quæ tu in me tela leviſſima conjeciſti, ea in té ego acutiſſima retorqueo. *Satanæ triumphus paratur, ſcandalum infirmioribus creatur, inimicis gaudium, ſociis dolor, fidei damnum.* Hæc vera ſunt non me accuſante, ſed te impunito. Talem eſſe quenquam in Reformata videlicet Eccleſia Miniſtrum adverſarii gaudent: accuſat aliquis? multum, mihi crede, de iſto gaudio protinus remittunt: damnatur is incorruptis & integerrimis Eccleſiarum ſuffragiis? Nihil æquè dolent: nam qui Presbyterum Reformatum flagitiorum incuſat, accuſat idem ſacerdotes omnes & ſacrificulos eorundem facinorum ſibi conſcios: qui illum abſolvit, hos multo faciliùs abſolvat neceſſe eſt. Fruſtra nos quidem opinionum quarundam & dogmatum, fruſtra etiam fidei reformationem gloriamur, niſi morum ſancta cenſura pariter quoque vigeat. Non doctrinam tantùm reformatum, ſed Doctores reformatos eſſe convenit; ſi ereptam *ſacrificulis*, ereptam *Satanæ inſultand*[illegible]*nſam* cupimus. *Magnum*, ais, *honorem habere me Ordinibus Fœderati Belgii, quos indigere putem notore me:* monitore opinor volebas dicere. Immò verò tu illis quem honorem habuiſti? quorum exiſtimatio graviſſima tam apud te parum potuit, ut eorum de te opinionem fallere turpiſſimè malueris, quàm flagitioſam vitæ tuæ licentiam refrænare; quíque ejuſmodi homo cùm ſis, arrogare tibi tantum potes, ut exiſtimes tot viros graves atque prudentes te *notore*, etiam *è ſuperiore loco* indigere; tuo *admonitu* poſſe unquam ſapere; ut idcirco os tuum è ſuggeſto importuniſſimum tantæ graviſſimorum hominum frequentiæ, & præſertim ſacræ concioni offerendum ſit. Qui denique apud quos tanto te in pretio eſſe dicis, iis nihil aliud niſi aut minimum judicium, aut maximam doctorum penuriam relinquis. Minimum profectò ipſi ſibi honorem habent, qui abs te Doctore & Eccleſiaſte meliores diſcedere ſe poſſe crediderint. Verùm tu nihilominus buccam inflas: *Quid nunc, inquis, memorem tot illuſtres ac principes viros, tot proceres, tot Eccleſias, tot Acade-*

*mias, quæ me fovent & ornant, vel optant & exambiunt.* Et ego, quid, inquam, nunc memorem tot agyrtas, tot empiricos, tot ſeplaſiarios, tot circulatores, quos Romæ aut Venetiis iiſdem penè verbis ſuas pyxides & pharmaca vendentes, præteriens audivi. Atqui *dum hæc ſcribo*, inquis, *literas accipio quibus ad Eccleſiaſtæ ordinarii munus & ſacræ Theologiæ profeſſionem invitor in urbe nobiliſſima.* Nam hoc certè habes, in quo omnes Doctores circumforaneos venalitios ambitione ſuperas. Primùm per amicos tui ſimiles occultam das operam, ut quot potes ex locis inviteris: poſteaquam id difficile repertum eſt, ex quo jam paſſim notus es, hoc ſolum (quæ tua animi egeſtas atque mendicitas vera eſt) miſerè contendis, & nonnunquam perficis ut omnino inviteris, quamvis ea diſerta lege & pactu interpoſito, ut omnino ne venias. Hoc modo invitatum te nuper in Galliam, & ni fallor, Montalbanum, invitatum & Franekeram, vel Groningham intelligo: Harum utram in urbem ſanè neſcio, in alterutram ſat ſcio: de loco enim fateor nondum mihi ſatis liquere, de re ſatis. Hanc demum rationem excogitare coacti ſunt homines importunitate tuâ fatigati & victi, quâ & abs te ſimul tanquam à peſte ſibi caverent, & tuæ miſeræ gloriolæ multo cum riſu vela panderent; téque erraticum ſophiſtam & planum tuiſmet ventis ludibrium commendarent. Sed ne cui fortè vanior quàm mendacior eſſe videaris, in illud nunc incidimus uſitatiſſimum tibi & impudentiſſimum artificium quoddam tuum maledicendi ſimul & maledicentiam vituperandi. Quoties enim ſtrenuè conviciando vel ad inopiam vel ad ravim, quaſi ad incitas redactus es exhauſto penu, dum novum virus colligis, ſubitò bonus & bellus abhorrere te fingis à conviciis omnibus: nolle te ſcilicet *luto ludere*, nolle *ſordes mihi regerendo manus tuas coinquinare*; *non placere tibi de cane latrante victoriam*; malle te *omittere latrantem caniculam.* Quid hæc quæſo niſi convicia ſunt? quæ dum deponere te dicis, totis viribus intorques; ita caudam atterere & ſimul ringere idem tibi eſt: idque ipſum agis, dum agere te negas; uſque eò totus ex mendacio conflatus, ut ne verax quidem utrovis modo ſine mendacio eſſe poſſis: ſi enim negas te nunc maledicere, quod tu negas, verba ipſa, te invito, fatentur; ſi fateris, tua eadem verba id ipſum, quod fateris, negant. Quid eſt, ſi hæc non eſt *maledicendi ars* illa, quam tu *Dæmonum Rhetoricam* infamis libelli editor *vocare te* ais *ſolere.* Sic tu nimirum homo ſanctus & veriloquus, *Chriſtum didiciſti & doces?* id eſt, dum latrare te negas, mordes. Tibimet tam apertè mendax, in me ut ſis religioſior, non expecto: tentas, ut video, omnia, captas omnia; ſiquem fortè rumuſculum, aut ſuſurrum aquilones cum fugitivis famigerantibus ad vos perferunt, aures arrigis: Hinc illud, *non is es*, inquis, *de quo mentiri fama vereatur*; minùs quidem tu hîc ſubdolus es, quàm ſoles. Famam etiam mendacem mihi minitaris; dici nempe *me aliorum ingenia ex moribus meis æſtimare, nulli non vitio quod inſequor obnoxium.* Ergo ego ſcortator, ut fama mentitur, ergo adulter; hæc enim in te crimina inſector. Fac ſanè periculum famæ; age, inſimula, dic, ſiquid habes, audacter & clare; tempus, locum, nomina ſimul ede; quod ego in te facio. Dic cum qua Claudia Pelletta, dic cum qua Pontia, dic ſiquo in horto, ſiqua in domo, noctu an interdiu, ſiquod in judicium adductus unquam ſim, ſiquod unquam recuſaverim: hæc tibi omnia dicenda ſunt, hæc ego in te omnia demonſtravi. Invenies profectò me ad injurias meas tuáque crimina perſequenda attuliſſe hanc dicendi libertatem, & anteactæ vitæ meæ certiſſimum indicium atque fructum, & agendæ poſthac firmiſſimum propoſitum. Nunquam me libertatis hujus pœnitere audies, ut Lucium Craſſum pœnituiſſe olim ferunt, quòd Caium Carbonem unquam in judicium vocaviſſet; cùm hac ſua ſeveritate præciſam ſibi aut circumſcriptam in poſterum liberius vivendi veniam apud omnes arbitraretur. Is Caium Carbonem civem improbum in judicium Senatûs populíque Rom. vocavit: ego te, More, & meo & pop. Anglicani nomine, quem tu infami Clamore edito, prior laceſſiſti, illo Carbone multò nigriorem, judicia patria detrectantem ſæculorum omnium judiciis trado. Quid tui interim famigeruli de me muſſitent aut loquantur, unicè ſecurus. Tu ſenties eam eſſe vitæ meæ & apud me conſcientiam, & apud bonos exiſtimationem, eam eſſe & præteritæ fiduciam & reliquæ ſpem bonam, ut nihil impedire me aut abſterrere poſſit, quo minus flagitia tua, ſi pergis laceſſere, etiam liberiùs adhuc & diligentiùs perſequar, téque ſimul tuáſque etiam famæ quas meditaris corruptelas & perſpexero facilè & riſero. Interea, ne cui dubium ſit, quin tu omnia perveſtigando nihil prorſus in me habeas quod verum crimen ſit, aut ſi haberes, quin id cupidiſſimè ſtatim & malitioſiſſimè diceres modíſque omnibus amplificares, videamus quàm non crimina quæ ſint, des crimini; etiam rectè facta quàm odioſè calumnieris. Prímùm *cur Clamori autoris anonymi reſponderim* quæris, *& non tot aliis qui nomen ediderunt ſuum.* Quis adverſario tam aliena & inepta interroganti rationem redderet? ego tamen ut quàm æquanimiter tecum agam videas, reddam. Cur Clamoris authori reſponderim, rogas? quia juſſus, inquam, publicè ab iis quorum authoritas apud me gravis eſſe debuit; vix alioqui manum admoturus. Deinde quia nominatim læſus: nam & tu hîc, quamvis id minimè velis ut exiſtimationis aliquam meæ quoque rationem ducam, veniam vel invitus dabis, quam omnes boni dant, ſcio, libentiſſimè. At cur *non aliis*, inquis, reſpondiſti? *Clamant & illi, nec minus fortiter*: rurſus reſpondeo, ut prius, quia ad rationes publicas non vocatus non accedo. Deinde, quia non læſus; nam & hoc, quamvis tu id maximè velles ut impunè tibi quenquam lædere liceret, non eſt leve. Deinde quia ex veſtro ipſorum judicio tantum Salmaſio tribuimus (quem Defenſorem Regium, quaſi ſolus is eſſet & inſtar omnium, nominare ſoletis) ut poſt illum poſſe quenquam alium dicere quod momenti eſſet non exiſtimaremus. Vis plura? quia liberum erat; quia non vacabat; quia denique homo ſum, humana mihi latera ſunt, non ferrea, tu licet Alexander ærarius ſis. Aliud quiddam opus eſt, ut mihi videtur, quo tot importunis Clamatoribus ora meliùs obturentur. Quàm multa tuus ille Stentor anonymus clamitabat, quæ à Salmaſio clamata priùs & conclamata erant? quibus ego toties repetitis, quamvis cùm miſeriâ ac tædio ſæpiùs reſpondiſſem, tamen quia cum iſto vociferatore verboſo certare ubique non libuit, *languet* tibi ſcilicet *oratio mea, quoties pro populo dico*: tibi, inquam, cui *Gallicâ nive frigidius eſt* non eſſe tautologum. De me ſi accuratiùs dixi, non eò id feci, quo ego minùs populo quàm mihi ſtuderem, ſed propterea quòd tuus Clamor tum quidem novum aliquid ſuppeditabat, unde poſſem ab odioſa crambe veſtra nonnunquam reſpirare. Quod itaque facetè inquis *non immeritò Defenſio pro populo ſecunda dicitur*; quoniam id fauſtum eſt, ex ore præſertim adverſarii, omen accipio. Tu licèt novum quotannis clamorem edideris, rumpas te priùs licebit, quàm clamorem ſecundum edidiſſe dicaris. Alterum meum crimen eſt quòd in Laudes Reginæ Suecorum ſereniſſimæ per occaſionem ab adverſario ipſo datam, digreſſus ſum: & inter alia dixeram (ſatis modeſtè quidem ut opinor) nequid attribuerem mihi quòd Reginam contra Regiam, ut videbatur, cauſam, tam mihi faventem reperiſſem, neſcire me planè quâ meâ ſorte id eveniſſet: malebam ad ſortem, ad ſydera, ad, ſiquis eſt occultus vel animorum vel rerum, conſenſum aut moderamen, quàm ad meum quicquid erat, vel ingenii, vel accuminis, vel copiæ referre videri. Hanc tu calumniandi ſimul & paraſitandi materiam nactus, fremere extemplo, quaſi indignum hoc eſſet; & *lutum* illud in viſceribus tuis concretum, in ore mox tibi, ut frequentiſſimè ſolet fluitare. Age, deſpue; quid eſt? *eam* inquis *propterea tam importune laudabas, ut cum ea te componeres lutum.* Túne Morus es an Momus? an uterq; idem eſt? utro te nomine appellem dubito: quis enim præter Morum aut momum tam ſiniſtrè ac perperam interpretatus hæc eſſet? quod ullum dictum modeſtiſſimum hæc tanta malitia non depravaret atq; perverteret? Tum illud ſimul depromis ex peculio tuo ſervile & paraſiticum; *neſciebat Chriſtina ſe tibi eſſe tam familiarem.* Téne ſcabellum hominis ex tuis loculis & immunditiis Chriſtinæ ſuggerere quid neſciat aut quid dicat? atqui ſciebat ſe illa pro ſua ſingulari in literatos benevolentia Salmaſio familiarem; cui me tamen arbitrio ſuo liberrimâq; ſententiâ haud ſemel dicta eſt prætuliſſe. Sed *hoc unum*, inquis, *Regina non meruit abs te laudari.* Abs te ergo illaudatiſſime? concedo libens! quis enim obſtare poteſt, ſi tibi modò libeat vel invitiſſimi cujuſvis laudes contaminare? experire ſanè; perſequere modò iſtud, quod veluti ſpecimen laudationum tuarum egregium hoc loco inſeruiſti; *quam ſupra mortalitatis modum inuſitata naturæ vis, & ſtupendum ingenii lumen evexit.* Perge, inquam, & macte iſto ore: ab iſto exorſu quantumvis in ſublime evoles per me licet: iſto enim tenore, ſi perrexeris mirificum tu quidem faſtigium ac pròpe nubiferum tam altis ſubſtructionibus impoſiturus videris. Mihi, fateor, non placet ſic altè inſurgere; unde ſtatim neceſſe erit, vel ridiculè ruam, vel inter nubes frigeſcam. Attamen *iis*, inquis, *dotibus inſignis es, quæ poſſunt etiam heroibus animum laxantibus placere.* Eſto; ſunt & tuæ dotes & præſertim ſcripta, quæ heroibus placere quiddam aliud laxantibus, poſſint. Et in primis iſta tua quæ ſequitur ſapientiſſima & miniſtello te digna ad typographos conciuncula; quam idcirco prætereo: nam ad tertium jam crimen meum perveni; quòd dixerim nimirum, uno cum famulo me peregrè fuiſſe. Crimen grave; quo ego nomine haud uno in loco perſtringor: id ſcilicet nefas erat meminiſſe, ne verſificatores veſtri, qui ex egeſtate neſcio qua emerſiſſe me per hanc rerum apud nos converſionem verſificabant, ceciniſſe falſa reperirentur. Jocum verò hic tuum, quando hæc tam rara avis eſt, non poſſum prætermittere. Non equidem vobis *Typographis litem unquam intenderim, non certè magis quàm illi ſervo qui Miltonum euntem peregrè comitabatur.* O longè & miſerè petitum! quid hac capitis cucurbita facias, ex qua, ut id maximè labores, nullam ſalis micam potis es extundere. Sed quietus homo & fugitans litium es; itaque non meo ſed ne tuo quidem ſervo litem intendis, qui domeſticæ turpitudinis tuæ fugitivus, ſecretiora flagitia & nefarias libidines tuas divulgavit. Quartum eſt, ſiquidem id crimen dici meum debet, quod tuum eſt mendacium, *in eodem* ſcilicet *libro, quem ſcatere*, ais, *diſcinctorum nepotum feſtivitatibus, auſum me cenſuram agere, & graviter concionari de Republ. deque civium officio.* Quis non germanum te nunc dicat Epicureum? cujus neque in moribus honeſtas, neque in ſcriptis urbanitas ulla reperiatur. Mirum non eſt ſi hoc nomine facetiis omnibus infenſior ſis, cùm quia negantur tibi, tum quia te pungunt: non mirum eſt inquam, ſi tibi tam ulceroſo ſal omnis inimicus eſt. Id mirum, Profeſſor cùm ſis, cur mihi ſuccenſeas qui ſic diligenter ſalarium tibi curo. At verò quos tu *jocos è luſtro popináque deſumptos* falsò ais (niſi deſumptos ex luſtris idcirco dicis, quòd te illic latitantem extraxerint) eos ſi cæteri omnes non inhoneſtos aut illiberales, ſed honeſtos atque urbanos tuámque putredinem perfricanti ſales conceſſos non negaverint, tum quidem tua profeſſoris inſulſi ignorantia, ut perſæpè aliàs, hinc ſatis manifeſta eſt, qui id parum convenire dicas, quod Marcus Tullius in oratore ſummum eſſe ſtatuit, ubi de oratione L. Craſſi in Cn. Domitium ſumma cum admiratione ſic loquitur. Nec enim concio major unquam fuit, nec apud populum gravior oratio, quàm hujus contra collegam in cenſura nuper, neque lepore & feſtivitate conditior. Et paulo infra, id uni Craſſo contigiſſe ait, ut non ſolùm venuſtiſſimus & urbaniſſimus, ſed & omnium graviſſimus & ſeveriſſimus & eſſet & videretur. Quin etiam Platoni & Socraticis nihil magis convenire aut decuiſſe viſum eſt, quàm rebus interdum ſeveriſſimis intermiſtus atque inſperſus lepos. Hæc ego viris doctis & intelligentibus quin & ſupra & nunc denuò ſatis probaverim, non dubito. Te interim non reprehendo, qui *mollior*, inquis, *debuit eſſe tranſitus à naſo ad ſupercilium:* nam digitorum Pontiæ credo adhuc meminiſti, quàm iſte tranſitus abs tuo naſo ad ſupercilia minimè mollis fuerit. Fœlicem te quidem, ſi hoc tum mulierculæ perſuaſiſſes: ſed de oratorum tranſitionibus, More, judicium longè aliud faciendum eſt. *At leges ſcribo*, hoc quintum crimen eſt, *quibus ſe teneat non populus modò, ſed illi etiam qui me præceptore nihil egent.* Quid tu mihi quo quis egeat, homo leviſſime & arrogantiſſime? téne *ſuperiore ex loco* egent Fœderati Ordines concionatore, me ex inferiore, quod omnibus ex æquo civibus licet, noſtri non tam egeant libero hortatore? non eſt, More, cur ego me natum in mea patria tam inutilem exiſtimem, cùm te in aliena tam arrogantem videam; non eſt, quam ob rem te mercede concionantem, quàm me gratis monentem rectiora putem poſſe ſuadere. Hæc mea quinque ſunt peccata mortifera; nam illa ſeptem, opinor, conficere nequiſti. Ex quo intelligitur, inania quàm fuerint quæ *condonâſſe* mihi te dicis, cùm ſint tam levia, quæ crimineris. Niſi & illud fortè criminoſum mihi vis eſſe, quòd Deum teſtem invocarim; & certè parùm abeſt ut iſtud quoq; in criminibus meis numeres. *Hinc illa*, inquis, *nimium ſane ſollicita proteſtatio.* Quænam iſta fuit, More? audies vel invitus; nec illam nunc recito, ſed iiſdem conceptis verbis (neque enim pœnitet, & hic etiam peregrinationem meam calumniaris) rurſus Deum teſtem invoco, me illis omnibus in locis, ubi tam multa licent, ab omni flagitio ac probro integrum atque intactum vixiſſe, illud perpetuò cogitantem, ſi hominum latere oculos poſſem, Dei certè non poſſe. Hæc tibi *nimium ſollicita proteſtatio* eſt, More: cui non magis ſollicitum eſt, Deum teſtem invocare, quàm invocatum pejerare. Quàm multi & quàm multis de rebus te accuſent, non ignoras: aude modò, ſiquid in te integri, ſiquid incorrupti eſt, iiſdem quibus ego nunc præivi tibi verbis, teipſum defendere. Dic age in hæc verba: Deum teſtem invoco me ab omnibus illis flagitiis quorum inſimulor, integrum atque intactum ſemper vixiſſe; me neque Claudiæ, neque Pontiæ, neque ullius omnino fœminæ ſtupratorem eſſe aut adulterum.

Non audebis, opinor, tametſi facilè perjurus eſſe diceris, in hæc verba præeuntem me ſequi. Verùm ſi Dei non audes, hominum ſaltem fidem implora. Genevam, inquam redi, permitte te illic magiſtratibus & populo; dic illis ut caſtum & innocentem hominem, falsò inſimulatum, deceat: Viri Genevenſes, multorum apud vos & graviſſimorum criminum accuſor; ſi ita vixi, ſi inter vos ita verſatus ſum, ut hæc per idoneos teſtes & argumenta probari vobis poſſint, en ſiſto me; legitimum pati judicium, quod antea recuſavi, nunc non recuſo. Hoc multo minùs audebis, ſat ſcio: malis tergiverſari, ut ſupra dixi, malis aliunde perfugia & latebras & diverticula veterani ſcortatoris in modum quærere. Veruntamen *honeſtam* fuiſſe illam *orationem* meam fateris; ſed *præcedenti parùm conſentientem.* Cuinam præcedenti obſecro? vellem recitaſſes: ego enim aliquot retrò paginis pro certo habeo, ne minimum quidem obſcœni veſtigium inveniri poſſe, quia tanto intervallo de te nulla fit mentio. Quòd ſiquem alium locum intelligis, ubi in tua vitia ſalsè animadverſum eſt, velim te ſcire, quicquid tu ex *Platone* detorſiſti, neque alienum eſſe neque inverecundum eodem in libro cum acrimonia & ſale (*profligati* enim *pudoris* verba nuſquam illic reperies) & turpia inſectari, & de *Deo cogitare.* Sanè ſi oratoris præceptum hoc verum atque honeſtum eſt, in eodem vultu convenire & pudorem & acrimoniam, quidni itidem in eodem ore conveniant? Nullius enim pudentis pudorem minuit vehemens & ſalſa turpitudinis exprobratio vel etiam irriſio, ſed pudorem, in quo prius non erat, impudenti reo nulla res efficaciùs incutere videtur. Tu vide ut cum pudore & *cogitatione Dei* tua ſtare perpetua poſſint mendacia, Eccleſiaſtes adulterine; qui ſcripſiſſe me ais *Romæ martyrii fuiſſe candidatum*; *ſtructas ab Jeſuitis vitæ meæ inſidias.* Ad quod utrumq; mendacium diluendum opus eſt nihil aliud, niſi ut quis locum ipſum libri inſpiciat: & cur ea de re aliquid omnino ſcripſerim, conjecturâ per ſe aſſequi nemo facilè non poterit, cui id modò credibile non ſit eum *ob flagitia in Italiam profugiſſe*, qui religionis ibidem confitendæ periculum toties adierit. Nugaris deinde multa; & *machæras & legiones* garris Pontiæ maſtigia. Verùm hæc ſatis riſimus: nunc luculentam & inſignem hominis calumniam quæſo attendite; ut cognoſcatis qua fide vel in ſacris etiam literis, quas cum ſumma Eccleſiæ ignominia profitetur, verſari ſoleat; quàm nulla iſti falſario Eccleſiaſtæ religio ſit verbum ipſum Dei ſacroſanctum corrumpere, ſi id commodum ſibi fore crediderit. Ego ut refellerem eos, qui Grammatiſtæ aut Critico Magni titulum & cognomen largiri ineptiſſimè ſolent, ſic ſcripſeram: Is ſolus magnus eſt appellandus, qui res magnas aut gerit aut docet, aut dignè ſcribit. Quis hac veriſſimâ ſententiâ offendatur, niſi Grammatiſta? Quid hîc noſter profeſſor? id eſt, inquit, qui res magnas docet, *ut Miltonus de divortiis*, aut dignè ſcribit *ut Miltonus idem pro Populo, bis magnus.* Lepidum ſanè interpretamentum, More! & ejuſdem planè artificii, quo Evangelii etiam locum illum de divortiis non verbo, ſed factis interpretatus es. Licet ob ſcortationem dimittere vel uxorem vel ſponſam: Morus cum deſponſata ſibi Pontia ſcortatus eſt; ergo, licet Moro ſponſam ob ſcortationem dimittere. Vos *O tot Principes, tot Proceres, tot Eccleſiæ, tot Academiæ, quæ hunc hominem fovetis & ornatis vel optatis & exambitis*, evocare nunc certatim hunc vobis, quâ ſacrarum, quâ profanarum literarum interpretem tam fidum & religioſum; ut ſacras profanare literas apud vos quà factis, quà commentis ſuis poſſit. Vel ſi id minimè vultis, nam Doctorem hunc commentitium longè latèque olfeciſſe jamdiu videmini, date ſaltem & concedite hoc palpum tumori hominis & gloriolæ: evocate quæſo per literas quàm honorificas Ludionem hunc cathedrarium; ſed cum hac cautione, ſi ſalvi eſſe vultis, clam interpoſita, cum hoc urbaniſſimo interdicto, ut nullo modo accedat. Miros profectò reddet ludos inter tot Cathedras, dum profeſſiones & prælectiones & murmura & plauſus & Pontias novas ſibi ſomniat. Sed dimitto nunc hominem, quia me prope dimittet. Aliò ſe vertit; imò verò *quò ſe vertat*, non habet. Simulat velle nunc de vita & moribus ſuis cauſam pro ſe dicere. Exordiri jam putares hominem, & velle aliquid præfari; cùm in ipſo ſtatim præfationis veſtibulo, eluſâ omnium expectatione perorat. Tam tenue ſe eſſe argumentum, tam turpe etiam dum reperit, vel ipſa rerum inopia ſubitò exareſcit, vel ipſa fœditate perculſus & quaſi ſyderatus obmuteſcit: Vultus, vox, latera deficere videntur; animus tamen veteratorius, & ut dixi antea, indurati utroq; jamdiu foro veteris & crebri ſontis artes non deficiunt. *Quò me vertam?* quò te vertas, miſelle? quis unquam nocens

reus

reus demiſſà barba ſordidatus & ſqualens tam miſerabili procemio deprecatus unquam judices eſt? quò te, ſi innocens, ſi inſons, ſi tutus undique tibi eſſes, quò te, inquam, niſi ad te verteres? tecum loquerere, te conſuleres, extra te ne quæreres? Sed heu miſerum te! diſcordia tibi tecum graviſſima jamdiu eſt. Nihil tibi inviſum magis, quàm tecum habitare, apud te eſſe; neminem libentiùs, quàm teipſum fugis. Fruſtra: tecum enim fugis miſer, te ſequeris: Quod agitat intus eſt, intus & flagellum & tortor Argus ille tuus, qui te ſemper non *Junoniis*, quod quereris, *artibus*, ſed piaculorum tuorum Oeſtro agitatum, cinctus mille oculis ac teſtibus perſequitur. Quid nunc agas? nam æſtuantem te miſerè & pendentem video. An *tuas ipſe laudes veſanus decantares?* veſanus profectò ſis, ſi id ſuſcipias; veſanus, ſi id unquam cogitabas. *Vitámne conſcribas & facinora omnia tua?* pervellem equidem; ſed vereor ne non *Morus*, ſed *Florus* nimiùm in tuis floralibus, id eſt, multo brevior quàm par eſſet, futurus ſis. Vereor ne invideas nobis tot lepidas fabellas, qui unam ſolùm *retexere*, hortenſem nimirum illam, tantopere gravatus ſis. Sanè qui illas lites Junonias omnes, qui illa jurgia Salmaſii prætermiſeris, qui prælium illud nobile Pontianum mihi tantis rebus parùm idoneo reliqueris, qui denique totam illam Pontiæ Seſtiada ſicco pede præterieris, præteribis opinor ſilentio Tibaltianam quoque illam, & illius nuper domus calamitatem, ubi tu procax in ancillam, proditor in herum extitiſti: nam ancillis, ut videtur, quocunque vadis, nullum abs te refugium eſt. Tacebitur & vidua illa, quam tu, ſolatii tum plenus, nunc inops, cùm de marito recèns mortuo velle conſolari præ te ferebas, ejus pudicitiam tentaſſe diceris: Nec dices credo quâ domo egredientem te cum ſcorto intempeſtâ nocte Amſterodami illa mulier vidit; quæ delinita primùm pollicitationibus tuis, mox decepta, noviſſimè nomen tuum ad Presbyteros detulit; qui tuum nomen recipere, quod ob priora facinora ejiciendum ex ſuo ordine & circumſcribendum ſtatuebant, ne aucto ſcelere, cùm augeri pœna tua non poſſet, augeretur ordinis infamia, recuſarunt. Quid ergo? *an quæ feciſſes uno cum ſervo itinera* nocturna illa nempe Haga Leidam *poſteris narrares?* ne hoc quidem ſat ſcio, voles: verùm illa ſervus ipſe paſſim copioſè narrat, & permulta alia præclare abs te geſta: cætera jam tritiſſima plurimíſque per ea loca teſtibus confirmata. Age verò; poſt dubitationem ſané miſeram quæ te perplexum tamdiu atque ſuſpenſum tenuit, poſt tui fugam, quò tandem fugis? quò ad extremum te recipis? *fidei*, inquis, *publica monumenta conſulamus*. Acta tua credo jam publica, quæ in Bibliotheca Genevenſium enumerata centum prope articulis tuorum ſcelerum monumenta poſteritati ſervantur. *A Geneva exorſus*, inquis, *fabellam neſcio quam poetarum authoritate ſubnixam inſtituis*. Ferax tu quidem ſæculum poetarum dicis, qui tot una in urbe, tibíque omnes infeſtos quæraris; nigrum te aliquem oportet eſſe, ipſóque moro nigriorem, quem tot poetæ oderint; feſtivum quoque hominem, qui quorum authoritas teſtium te jugulavit, eorum nunc poeticam iniquiorem in te cauſeris. Verùm iſta te feſtivitas nihil in hoc tempore adjuvabit. Permulti ſunt in illa civitate viri honeſtiſſimi nonnulli Presbyteri, Doctores, Miniſtri, neſcio an Poetæ, qui fabellam tibi hanc in foro agere cupiunt; qui non ſua carmina recitare, ſed tua crimina pro teſtimonio dicere parati jampridem ſunt. Nemo ſic unquam poetam recitantem, ut tu hos omnes contra te teſtantes & fugiſti & fugies. Adeóne verò ſingulari impudentiâ occaluiſti, ut inſtitutam in te legitimè accuſationem teſtatiſſimam, cujus vim atque authoritatem cùm ſuſtinere non poſſes, diſcedendi, & veluti in exilium abeundi licentiam exorâſti, hanc tu quaſi *fabellam neſcio quam* eludere & uno verbo leviculo ſic amoliri abs te poſſe exiſtimes? At *permulti ſunt*, inquis, *in hoc Belgio, qui me Genevæ familiariter uſi optimè omnium norunt quàm non ibi nullo in pretio fuerim*. Audi igitur quæ ſint honeſtiſſimorum hominum de te judicia primò Genevæ, deinde in Belgio. Duorum verba ipſa ex literis deſumpta, in medium proferam.

*Litera Genevæ data pridiè Id. Octob.* 1654.

Mirari certè noſtrates ſatis non poſſunt, ita te interiora ignoti aliàs hominis noſſe, tam nativis coloribus depinxiſſe, ut ne ab illis quidem, quibus familiariſſimè uſus eſt, tota hominis hiſtrionia vel certiùs vel feliciùs potuiſſet adumbrari: unde hærent meritò & ego cum illis, quà fronte ἀναίσχυντος licet homo & oris improbi, in publicum rurſus theatrum prodire ſit auſurus. Illud enim ſummum fœlicitatis tuæ hac in parte compendium, quod non vel ficta vel ignota aliàs hominis ſcelera attuleris, ſed quæ omnium & amiciſſimorum etiam ore decantata, integri cœtus authoritate & aſſenſu, immo plurium adhuc ſcelerum acceſſione luculenter poſſint corroborari.

Et infra. Credas velim vix ullum hîc reperiri amplius, ubi multos annos publico munere, ſed cum ſummo hujus Eccleſiæ dedecore fructus eſt, qui proſtituti pudoris homini patrocinium ſuum vel audeat vel ſuſtineat amplius commodare.

Hæ ſunt eorum voces, qui penitiſſimè te nôrunt: quam turpem tui memoriam Genevæ reliqueris, hæ literæ, aliæque benè multæ ſi proferrentur, docerent. Nunc in Belgio aliíſque locis quâ famâ ſis, *quo in pretio* cognoſce. Viri probatiſſimi tibíque noti non literas ſolùm, ſed quoniam abs te priùs nominatus, ídque in tua cauſa, atque laudatus eſt, nomen quoque edam. Is eſt vir graviſſimus Joannes Duræus; qui dum Ottoni ſola fide nixus interponit ſe, mecúmque agit, ut innocentem te ſcilicet miſſum facerem, non poteſt non fateri ſimul quàm longè alia de te cæterorum pænè omnium exiſtimatio, aliúſque ſermo ſit.

### *Ex Literis Duræi Baſilia, Octob. 3. 1654.*

Quod ad Mori vitia improbitatémque attinet, non videtur Ottonus ita de eo ſentire: ſcio tamen alios peſſimè de eo loqui, manus ejus in omnes penè manus omnium in eum eſſe, pleroſque etiam Gallicæ Synodi miniſtros dare operam ut ei Paſtoris munus abrogetur. Neque hîc aliam Baſileæ reperio de eo hominum opinionem, quàm quæ in Belgio eſt eorum qui eum minimè amant.

O pulchrum elogium! quo tu omnium penè mortalium judicio Iſmaeli hoſti Eccleſiæ, quàm Miniſtro pacis & Evangelii ſimilior judicaris. Hunc tuæ ubique gentium exiſtimationis teſtem integerrimum, ſi potes, rejice. Mihi credulitatem deſine objectare: *Nemo omnes, neminem omnes fefellerunt*, tua tibi verba regero. Hæc cùm ita ſint, perficiam haud multo negotio, ut intelligas, quàm exiguum tibi in aliis præſidium ſit, cùm tam exiguum tibi in teipſo fuerit. Quod enim poteſt aliena fides teſtimonium de te aliis perhibere, cùm tua fides perhibere nullum quod juvet aut cui confidas, de temetipſo poſſit tibi? Et videte quæſo quàm diſſoluto animo, quam abjecto deſertor ſui & perſuga ad patrocinium alienæ fidei ab ſe transfugiat. *Neque vero*, inquit, *tempus teram in eorum ſollicita refutatione, quæcunque tu garris.* Laudo te læti animi atque jucundi, nihil tu magis ſollicitè, quàm ſollicitudinem ipſam vitas. Mea modò *nimis ſollicita* tibi fuit ad Deum *proteſtatio:* nunc tuam non minùs *ſollicitam* putas tuorum criminum *refutationem*. Atqui ego ſi duntaxat *garrio*, haud multam ſanè ſollicitudinem tua refutatio deſiderabit. Ignaviſſimus profectò ſis, aut malè conſcius neceſſe eſt, cui tam facilis tuimetipſius defenſio, tam gravis & *ſollicita* videatur: ineptus planè & ridendus, qui nullum tempus inutilius terere te putes, quàm in eo ipſo quod ad rem, ſiquid vides, & ad cauſam maximè pertineat. Nam *quid proficiam*, inquis, *ſi fabulam hanc penitus retexuero? ſtatim aliam ordieris.* Sanè quidem difficile id eſſet nemini: neque de nihilo te urit iſta ſuſpicio. Tanta enim tu ſolus fabularum ſylva es, ut ex tuis unius rebus geſtis atque nequitiis ſuppeditare centum triviis atque circulis unde multos in dies rideant ſatis fabularum unus poſſis. Atque adeo hujus fabulæ actum jam quartum peregimus: exit Morus; aliam credo vult perſonam induere. *Ut ſemel* inquit *defungamur, quod fuerit Eccleſia Genevenſis, quod civitatis illius de me judicium hæ docebunt literæ Teſtimoniales, alia occaſione datæ.* Ita eſt; ad elogia nunc tranſit ſua; actus quintus incipit: nova planè perſona, ſed eodem tamen ſubtus latente Moro, prodit cornicula, ſed & ea quoque perſonata: miris neſcio quot repentè plumis adſcititiis atque coloribus ita indutus, ut Phœnicopterus neſcio quis potiùs, & exornati quiddam monſtri ſimile videatur. Aves Ariſtophanicas expoliaſſe hominem diceres; ſed malâ ave, ni fallor; cum ſe non jam fabulam agere, ſed apologum Æſopicum in ſe verum demonſtrare nudatus intelliget. Cùm enim haſce plumas nec tuas eſſe, More, & partim obſoletas, quæque ſuâ ſponte mox defluant, partim falſis coloribus fucatas, partim dolo, maliſque artibus ſurreptas docuero, dubium non eſt, quin deluſus abs te olim grex avium, nunc factus certior qui ſis, de repetundis plumis jure tecum ſit

acturus;

actturus; & ablato quiſque ſuo, obſcœnam ſub phœnice upupam non deplumem te modò, ſed depygem demum relinquat: Primæ omnium *literæ Genevenſium Teſtimoniales* criſtam tibi erigunt: quas illi multò mallent, ſat ſcio, aut nunquam tibi datas, qualis poſtea evaſiſti, aut abs te nunquam prolatas. Semper ego quidem de Genevenſi Civitate, pro eo ac debeo, honeſta omnia & ſentire ſoleo & loqui: religionis cultum purioris, primúmque ſtudium, in Republica deinde prudentiam, æqualitatem, moderationem, conſtantiam propè admiror; quâ ſe tam arctis finibus, inter vicinos hinc inde potentiſſimos & imminentes, ſummâ in pace ac libertate per tot jam annos conſervat & tuetur: rectiúſque in re vix mediocri & meliùs id agit quod civilis vitæ omnis principium atque finis eſt, idque populo ſuo fœliciùs præſtat, quàm ſummis opibus inſtructi, ſummis opinione hominum adjuti conſilijs reges maximi ſervientibus præſtant ſuis. De Genevenſibus igitur, quod eorum laudem, & exiſtimationem poſſit imminuere, non eſt ut quicquam velim aut queam dicere, etiamſi de his literis Teſtimonialibus ea dicerem, quæ & ab aliis dicta olim ipſi fatentur, & ad me recentiùs allata ſunt. Sed neceſſe non eſt; non dicam igitur qua occaſione ſint datæ; propterea quòd ipſe non hâc, ſed *aliâ occaſione* datas eſſe ait. Non quæram, utrùm ſumma Eccleſiæ Senatúſque voluntas honorarium hoc Moro teſtimonium ſua ſponte conceſſerit, an impudentiſſima hominis poſtulatio, cùm accuſatus graviſſimorum criminum nequiſſet ſe defendere, ab iis duntaxat abſtulerit qui Eccleſiæ Paſtorúmque communi exiſtimationi perperam metuentes, amandare ab ſe hominem quoquo modo malebant, quàm hæc publico judicio ſeveriùs perquiri, nec ſine offenſa fortaſſis infirmiorum palam agitari. Non dicam, id quod multi tamen dicunt mihíque confirmant, nec conventu frequenti, nec ſolito conveniendi die datas haſce literas: ne id quidem dicam ſcribenti adſtitiſſe Morum; unde illud fortaſſe *tralatitium*, & *exambire* ex elegantiis Mori ſelectioribus tam in promptu erant; & *rupta concionante Moro ſubſellia, gemmaque illa clariſſima*; quæ omnia uſque eo vel cupiditatem ſcribentis vel judicium non grave ſignificant, ut non ſolùm nimio laudandi ſtudio laudes ipſas corrupiſſe, quod vitium ab eo qui totius nomine Eccleſiæ ſcripſit, quam maximè abeſſe debuit, ſed indigniſſimum ornare dum ſtudet, non tam vivum decorare, quàm mortuum & putentem illis odoribus differtum funeraſſe videatur. Non dicam denique illa nomina in conventu ſubſcripta non eſſe, circum vicos curſaſſe Morum, & paſtores domi ſingulos adortum, quo ſibi faciliùs haſce ſubſcriptiones expugnaret; Propterea quòd erant in conventu qui reclamare, qui intercedere, qui obſiſtere non deſinebant, qui ſeſe non audiri graviter conqueſti ſunt. Nihil horum dicam; quod nonnulli tamen dicunt, etiam qui illo tempore Genevæ rebus illis omnibus interfuere; multi aliis in locis *Deûm hominúmque fidem implorantes atque jurati* nulla ſe *ſimultate*, *ſed officii* religione commotos, hæc dicere; adeóque illis literis fidem ſe adjungere non poſſe; quorum inter primos virum ſanctiſſimum Fredericum Spanhemium, Theologiæ profeſſorem & paſtorem reverendum fuiſſe intelligo: Hoc ſolùm dico, haſce literas, quod idem de literis reverendiſſimi viri Joannis Deodati eſt dicendum, ante ſexennium datas, multis poſtea maleficiis ab ipſo Moro obliteratas jampridem eſſe & antiquatas. Nondum increbuerat Claudia, nondum hortus, & illa, ad Claudiam neſcio an cum Claudia, Mori ſuaviſſima cohortatio:

*—— Poma alba ferebat,*
*Qui poſt nigra tulit Morus:* ——

Id quod viris proculdubio integerrimis & honeſtiſſimis, harum literarum ſubſcriptoribus, quin impoſuerit non dubito. At poſtquam illá cum muliere, primò ancilla, deinde nupta, occultari diutiùs conſuetudo iſtius nefaria non potuit, factus iterum reus, cùm honeſtam rationem defendendi ſui nullam inveniret, & manifeſtis in rebus teneretur, fractus jam animo, atque id maximè veritus, ſi judicium fieret, nequid in ſe gravius conſuleretur, quo ipſo die pronuncianda de ſe ſententia Presbyterorum, deinde Magiſtratuum erat, judicium declinat, licentiam abeundi petit. Illi neceſſitatem hanc rati ſe hoc modo effugiſſe, quam impoſitam ſibi minimè volebant, ut Eccleſiæ Miniſtrum tantorum ſcelerum damnare, & in homine Eccleſiaſtico tam triſte exemplum ſtatuere cogerentur, libenter aſſenſere. Petit inſuper literas impudentiſſimus homo commendatitias. Id verò poſtulare ab judicibus ſuis reum indignè ferentes, prorſùs

ſùs recuſant: ita bonus ille tabellarius permanere ſine literis illa in urbe, omni munere exutus, circiter decem menſes coactus eſt: Eteſiis credo ſacrificans, ut aliquam ſaltem auram commendatitiam impetrare aliquò poſſet: Donec multi graviſſimi viri ne moram quidem ejus illa in urbe ferendam rati, rurſus rem adducere in judicium cœperunt. Id autem cùm ad novas lites, &, ut ſupra dixi, offenſionem infirmorum ſpectare videretur, conſultius tandem viſum eſt, quoquo modo hominem ablegare: rurſus itaque dant literas; *non frigidulas*, quod antea dixiſſe me queritur, ſed, quod nunc dico, frigidiſſimas; non ut commendare cuiquam mortalium, ſed amandare ab ſe hominem planè viderentur. Hoc ſi ita non eſt, More, poſtulo mihi reſpondeas, cur ſuperiores illas Genevenſium literas, haud uno nomine jam obſoletas, quæque recentiora facinora tua à me tibi potiſſimùm objecta, ne attingunt quidem; quæ ego vix attigi, ut minùs mihi comperta, *blaſphemias* nempe *tuas in Spiritum ſanctum*, aliáque opinionum monſtra uberiùs commemorant, cur & illas in quibus parùm ſibi de te credi à pleriſque ſubſcriptores tui queruntur, cur, inquam, illas utraſque in medium protuleris, has noviſſimas de medio removeris? Cedo proximas haſce literas poſt alteram in te accuſationem illam graviſſimam ab aliis ægerrimè, ab aliis facilè, ſed eodem tui removendi animo ab omnibus conceſſas. Sapies opinor, non exhibebis; non delectant te iſtæ literæ: ex quibus mutatam de te Genevenſium opinionem, refrigerata amiciſſimorum ſtudia manifeſtò perſpicere poſſimus; eóſque his literis non te laudatum, ſed ab ſe, dummodo longiſſimè remotum, quaſvis in terras exportatum cupiiſſe. Hæc Mori fides publica eſt; quâ ſe in Eccleſiam credere, quàm in Spiritum Sanctum planius facit. Quæ reliqua à me dicta in eum ſunt neque diluit, neque refellit, ne oppugnat quidem. Sed quoniam, Vlacco fidejuſſore, tomum inſuper alterum fidei publicæ promittit, in quo *virorum aliquot inſignium, Senatúſque & Eccleſiæ Midelburgenſis, & Amſtelodamonſis teſtimonia* dicentur, dum volumen illud, cudendum, puto, in Gallia, excudendum Hagæ-Comitis à Vlacco expectamus, aut ne expectamus quidem, viſum eſt de toto hoc genere teſtimoniorum pauca diſſerere.

Magnum ego ornamentum quidem virtutis teſtimonium publicum eſſe fateor; argumentum perinde certum atque firmum longè abeſt ut exiſtimem; nam ut illud omittam quòd virtutis multo difficilior quàm nummorum ſpectatio eſt, hoc ſanè conſtat, privatorum privatos mores, & præſertim vitia ad aures graviſſimas, tot alioqui negotiis occupatas, rariſſimè perferri. Et teſtimonium publicum tam qui petunt, quàm qui dant, boni juxta malíque ferè ſunt; & petunt quidem mali ſæpiùs quàm boni, falſâ ſpecie proborum induti. Ut quiſque optimus eſt, ita minimè teſtimonio eget alieno: neque enim fecit quicquam vir bonus ut naſcatur, ſeipſo contentus. Si commendato eſt opus, virtutem ſemper apud ſe habet commendatricem optimam; ſi defenſo, obtrectationibus nimirum & calumniis haud raro appetitus, eandem circundat ſibi integritatem ſuam, & invictam rectè factorum conſcientiam; quo veluti munimento atque præſidio firmiſſimo, improborum hominum & impetus vanos excipit, & tela fruſtratur. Contrà hic noſter omnia: non enim virtutem, ſed opinionem duntaxat ejus integumentum vitiorum, ſibi comparaverat: ut retectus, ut deprehenſus, abſcondere diutiùs, improbitatem ſuam non poteſt, exors ipſe fidei & naufragus ad alienam fidem ſe confert: quorum oculis antea ſervierat, eorum nunc manus commendatitias implorat; & ſingulari quadam atque inauditâ hactenus impudentiâ, quorum judicium experiri non audet, eorum poſtulat teſtimonium. Propterea quòd meamet ipſius ſententia damnatus turpiſſimè diſcedo, quòd ſententias veſtras horreo atque defugio, *literas* quæſo date innocentiæ, pietatis, pudicitiæ apud vos meæ *teſtimoniales*. Si hæſitatur, ſi ambigitur, ſi ab aliis denique reclamatur indignitate rei vehementiſſimè commotis, quò non demittit ſe? quo non deſcendit? circumcurſare, ambire, prenſare, obteſtari, & quò adire non audet, eò amicorum allegationes dimittere. Aguntur fortunæ hominis, agitur caput, exiſtimatio, immò Eccleſiæ totius & ſacri ordinis exiſtimatio agitur. Expugnantur multi, partim fatigati, partim inducti, partim veriti nequid iſtius ignominiæ in publicum redundaret, partim delictis ignoſcere, literato parcere, laboranti conſulere ſuæ bonitatis eſſe arbitrati. Ita tandem victor iſte laureatas literas aufert; ita emendicata quovis tempore vel occaſione, non jam teſtimonia de ſe publica, quæ ſi fuiſſent ipſe abolevit, ſed ſua de publico reportata ſpolia ad coronam venditat; nec tam laudes videtur ſuas, quàm pœnitentiam publicam circumferre. Quem enim non pœniteat præconem ſeſe laudum ejus fuiſſe, qui ad omnes poſtea libidines tam turpem ſui auctionem fecerit: nunc ejuſdem ſeſe mangonem fieri, qui ſervus omnium nequiſſimus miniſtrum ſe licitanti cuivis Eccleſiæ ex hac laudum cataſta vendibiliorem, & ſacrarum literarum miſeris emptoribus venalem ſe pretii quantivis profeſſorem profitetur. Nam viderint per Deum immortalem, qui ex iſtius vel commendatione vel impunitate ignoſcentes & bonos haberi ſe poſtulant, ne iſta bonitas in malum deſinat; viderint ne ipſis bonis fraudi ſit. Cùm neceſſe ſit, ſerpat latiùs, ſerpat ocyùs iſta contagio paſtoris in gregem, doctoris in ſcholam; atque in ipſos fortaſſe bonorum iſtorum liberos, qui ſophiſtæ huic errabundo & infami in diſciplinam traduntur. Viderint ne tot pigmentis illita atque ornata turpitudo, tanta bonarum laudum jactura atque diſpendio dealbata labes, ſpem faciat & aliis, eámque mentem injiciat, poſſe ſe quoq; tutiſſimo hoc exemplo, eandem ſcholis, eandem eccleſiis inferre perſonam, ſine ſuo periculo cum ſumma etiam commendatione improbiſſimam. Cogitent, qui celari adverſarios noſtras maculas putant oportere, non celando ſed eluendo maculas purgari: celando apparere multo manifeſtiùs, & majorem indies fœditatem contrahere. Poſtremò viderint, ne Eccleſiaſtas hujuſmodi amovere ab Eccleſia tamdiu negligant, donec ipſa Eccleſia cum Eccleſiaſtis unà amoveatur. Sanè cùm Apoſtoli præceptum de Epiſcopo notiſſimum ſit, eum ab extraneis etiam bonum habere teſtimonium oportere, quid adverſariis lætius aut triumphandum magis poteſt accidere, quàm cùm legerint atque audierint, qui non levi atque incertâ, ſed conſtante famâ, ſumméque conſentiente, multis teſtibus, multis in locis flagitioſus atque nefarius compertus ſit, eum quaſi Eccleſiæ lumen unicum & ornamentum collatitiis Presbyterorum laudibus, & multiplici commendatione publicâ decorari. Quod hoſtibus noſtris gaudium ne diuturnum ſit, provideri non aliâ ratione poteſt, niſi ſiquis poterit exemplo, réque ipſâ demonſtrare, nullum eſſe peſtibus hujuſmodi in Eccleſia reformata conſiſtendi locum: hæc teſtimonia, has laudes tum olim datas, cùm is, cui dabantur longè alius affectaret videri, atque eſſe nunc perſpicitur, ipſum nunc irritas & nequaquam ſuas uſurpaſſe ſibi fraude peſſimâ; & amicorum de ſe elogia ſuo ipſius vitio abrogata, non ad viliſſimas merces involvendas, quo fato mala ſcripta ſolent ferè perire, ſed ad fœdiſſimas flagitiorum ipſius ſordes integendas, pro involucris abuſum eſſe. Ego certè in priore illa defenſione, & publicè juſſus & privatim læſus, niſi ſiquam dicendo peperiſſem mihi honeſtam exiſtimationem, eam ſilendo amittere, & quaſi vacuam poſſeſſore, occupandam mendaciis & opprimendam relinquere maluiſſem, & patriæ, & mihi ſimul, cùm una eadémque cauſa eſſet, communem operam ſummo ſtudio impendi. Nunc accuſatus graviter ab eodem quaſi immeritum & innoxium hominem per calumnias & mandacia infamaſſem, ut impudentiam illius redarguerem, innocentiam tuerer meam, & ſiquid vel antea jam dixi commodè, vel in poſterum quod ex uſu ſit dicturus ſum, ſi non doctrinæ & ingenii laudem, famam ſaltem integram, & colendæ veritatis fidem afferre poſſem, ad contentionem hanc per ſe minimè gratam, ſed neceſſariam tamen, denuo deſcendi. Neque verò eſt, ſi hæc non eſſent, cur hujus operæ aut pœnitere me, aut pigere quenquam alium, niſi conſcium ſibimet, debeat. Sanè improbos vituperare, & bonos laudare, quandoquidem hoc præmii nobiliſſimi, illud pœnæ graviſſimæ rationem habet, & æquè juſtum & juſtitiæ propè ſumma eſt: quin & ad vitam benè inſtituendam par ferè momentum utriuſque cernimus. Ita denique cognatæ inter ſe hæ duæ res ſunt, unóque & eodem opere abſolvuntur, ut improborum vituperatio, proborum dici laudatio quodammodo poſſit. Verùm ut jus & ratio atque uſus utrobique par ſit, non itidem eſt par gratia: nam qui alterum vituperat, duarum is uno tempore graviſſimarum rerum onus atque invidiam ſuſtinet, & accuſandi alterum, & de ſe benè ſentiendi. Itaque laudant facilè nunc boni, nunc mali dignos juxta atque indignos; accuſare nemo liberè atque intrepidè, niſi ſolus integer, vel audet vel poteſt. Nos qui adoleſcentes tot ſub magiſtris exudare in umbra eloquentiam ſolemus, vímque ejus demonſtrativam in vituperatione haud minùs, quàm in laude arbitramur eſſe poſitam, tyrannorum antiqua nomina fortiter ſanè ad pluteum concidimus. Et Mezentium, ſi ſors ferat, putidis rurſum antithetis enecamus; aut Agrigentinum Phalarim triſti enthymematum mugitu, quàm in ſuo tauro, exquiſitiùs torremus. In xyſto nimirum aut in palæſtrâ, nam in Republica plerumque tales adoramus potiùs & colimus, & potentiſſimos & maximos & auguſtiſſimos appellamus. Atqui oportuit aut non in ludicro primam ferè ætatem umbratiles

tiles conſumpſiſſe, aut aliquando cùm patriæ, cùm Reipublicæ eſt opus, relictis rudibus, in ſolem ac pulverem atque aciem audere; aliquando veros lacertos contendere, vera arma vibrare, verum hoſtem petere. Parte aliâ Suffenos & Sophiſtas; aliâ Phariſæos & Simones & Hymenæos & Alexandros, veteres quidem illos, multo mucrone inſectamur: hodiernos & in Eccleſia redivivos collatis elogiis laudamus, profeſſionibus & ſtipendiis & cathedris, incomparabiles videlicet & doctiſſimos & ſanctiſſimos viros, ornamus. Ad cenſuram ſi fortè ventum eſt, ſicui fortè perſona & ſpecioſa pellis detrahitur, ſi turpis introrſum, immò verò ſi palam atque apertè facinoroſus arguitur, ſunt qui hunc malint, neſcio quo ſtudio, quóve metu adducti, teſtimoniis publicè defenſum, quàm animadverſione debita notatum. Mea ab his fateor, quod aliquoties res ipſa jam docuit, ſatis longè disjuncta ratio eſt: ut ſiquid adoleſcens in illo otio literarum vel præceptis doctorum vel meis lucubrationibus profeci, id omne ad uſum vitæ generíſque humani, ſiquid tam latè poſſem, pro infirma parte mea conferrem. Quod ſi etiam ex privatis nonnunquam inimicitiis delicta publica animadverti & ſæpè corrigi ſolent, & adverſarium nunc non modò meum, ſed penè omnium communem, hominem nefarium, reformatæ religionis & ſacri maximè ordinis opprobrium, literatorum labem, juventutis pernicioſiſſimum præceptorem, immundum in ſacris Eccleſiaſten, impulſus omnibus cauſis juſtiſſimâ vituperatione proſequutùs ſum, eo nécne cum fructu, quo oporteat, viderint illi, quorum potiſſimùm intereſt exemplum in iſto edere, me quidem ſpero (cur enim diffidam?) rem neque Deo ingratam, neque Eccleſiæ inſalubrem, neque Reipublicæ inutilem præſtitiſſe.

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# AUTORIS
# AD
# *ALEXANDRI MORI*
# SUPPLEMENTUM
# RESPONSIO.

Hanc ego Defenſionem meam cùm ante duos menſes hactenus paraſſem, ne conſumptum fortè biennium alterum in ſe profligando clamitet Morus, tanto cum deſiderio Supplementum illud Fidei publicæ contra me promiſſum expectabam, ut nihil mihi longius videretur. Didiceram enim ex Vlacco perorante, receſſiſſe quidem in Galliam Morum, non tamen quieſcere: ſed vel diffiſum viribus Genevenſium attritis, vel quòd manu tam exiguâ vix ſatis ſibi inſtructus ad decernendum uno prælio videretur, novum contra me exercitum, & quod mirandum ſit, Medioburgicorum & Amſterodamenſium in Gallia conſcribere: Conſules etiam & Scabinos magna cum manu ſigniſque infeſtis adventare. Serò tandem erepſere novæ copiæ; ſine quibus prima acies, opinor, labare atque dehiſcere videbatur. Sed cur tam ſerò, cur ab extemporali homine tam tardè advenerint ſiquis miratur, erant ſcilicet literæ quædam mortuorum longo ſitu eruendæ; erant quoque ſubſidia hæc conſularia tam gravis armaturæ, mirâ itinerum ratione *ex Gallia*, teſte Vlacco, *tranſmittenda*: Quid ſi etiam ibidem conficienda? quibus cùm ipſe Vlaccus, homo æquiſſimus, ut habeatur fides non poſtulet, ſed quod *equum & juſtum cuique videbitur*, id ut *judicetur*, ſic omnino faciamus. *Sufficit Vlacco*, Supplementi hujus collectitii Legato, Lectorum *curioſitati*, non incredulitati *ſatisfeciſſe*: nempe fidei publicæ, ex Gallia in Hollandiam, quaſi poſtliminio quodam reverſæ, fidem defore uniuſcujuſque privatam, haud ab re ſanè ſuſpicabatur. Primùm hoc velim unicuique in mentem veniat, quod ſuprà demonſtratum eſt, publica teſtimonia quâ ambitione ferè comparentur ; in re privata quid valeant; quàm ſæpe hallucinentur : me deinde non ficta crimina in Morum, non ignota, non obſcura, ſed vera, ſed jam vulgata atque teſtata, in foro denique & judicio agitata haud ſemel, atque verſata protuliſſe. Non igitur calumniatores nos, non teſtes in ſe, ſed ſuos eſſe judices intelligat Morus: id jure æquiſſimo; quoniam ipſe in nos prior has partes ſibi ſumpſit; nos ipſe prior judicavit; ſuam in nos ſententiam iniquiſſimam edidit. Prolatis autem utrinque teſtimoniis cur ſecundùm eos meritò pronuntiemus, qui Morum graviſſimè accuſant, in cauſa eſt cùm ipſius comperta in nos audacia atque improbitas ſingularis, tum ipſius teſtimonii quamvis *publica*, tamen ambigua fides; quæ conſuetis atque tritiſſimis laudandi formulis proſequitur Morum, objecta illi crimina ab accuſatoribus tam multis non diluit. Quid enim affert vel hoc ſupplementum, More, quod ad rem pertineat? Accuſabant te Genevæ graviſſimi viri Theodorus Troncinus paſtor & Theologiæ profeſſor, duo alii paſtores Mermilliodus & Pittetus multis opinor teſtibus adductis; accuſabant multorum criminum, & commiſſi præſertim in horto quodam probri turpiſſimi. Tu hìc contrà literas producis Deodati ſenis; qui venire in conventum jamdiu deſierat; nec quid ibi gereretur, neſi ex te tuíſque fautoribus audire conſueverat. Literas deinde Sartorii, ne non ſarſiſſe omni ex parte cauſam tuam viderere; tum Gothofridi Juriſconſulti, ne non ſatis caviſſe; has omnes literas jam ante ſcriptas, quàm hæc tua flagitia vel ad Eccleſiam delatâ, vel amicis, ut ſolet, omnium ultimis, credibilia eſſent. Quæ igitur à me tibi objiciuntur, horum nihil negant. Fac autem diſertis verbis negâſſe: haud quaquam tamen iſtorum negatio affirmatione potior tot hominum probiſſimorum erit, quorum præſertim teſtium vim ac veritatem cùm ſuſtinere non poſſes, petitâ ſubitò abeundi licentiâ, non abſolutus judicio, ſed elapſus, evaſiſti. Literis deinde Genevenſium non ſine multorum gravi interceſſione atque etiam indignatione, ut ſupra dixi, conceſſis, tu quaſi Rheno amne luſtratus (quo *devectum te in Belgium* ais) & noxâ omni ablutus, utcunque commendatus, mirum non erat ſi, convocatâ illic fortè Synodo Gallo-Belgicâ, tanquam Mercurius quidam novus Gallo-Belgicus, non tu quidem illuminatus, ſed combuſtus, ut fit, in Synodo, ad tempus latuiſti. Eas autem literas cùm ſuprà dixerim fore, ut in medium nullo modo proferres, ne prioribus hìc poſitis quanto eſſent frigidiores perſpiceremus, lepidè tu quidem *exemplar earum nanciſci te non potuiſſe* cauſaris. Quod autem dixi ad tempus, non ſemper latuiſſe te, id facilè conſtat, primùm quòd in illa ipſa Synodo *Trajecti* ad Moſam habita quò primùm appuliſti rumores quoſdam *contra doctrinam* tuam & *converſationem* illis in Regionibus jam eſſe *ſparſos*, & ſuſpiciones haud leves de te paſſim vel novas haberi, vel veteres recruduiſſe, neque ita te iis abſolutum, quin ad alteram poſtea Synodum novâ rurſus commendatione opus tibi fuerit, declarat, quæ ſequitur Eccleſiæ Medioburgenæ ad Campenſem Synodum Epiſtola, declarat etiam illius Epiſtolæ ſubſcriptor primarius Joannes Longus ejuſdem Eccleſiæ paſtor, qui tuâ tum quidem larvâ inter alios deceptus, perſpectis nunc demum & exploratis moribus tuis, nunquam te niſi maximæ contumeliæ deteſtationíſque causâ dicitur nominare. Immò verba ipſa tua declarant quibus fateris poſt ſeditionem Midelburgi ortam, in qua amicus quidam tuus potentiſſimus dignitate excidit, eos qui poſt eum rerum potiti ſunt, in te non *æquè propenſâ fuiſſe voluntate*: id tu eorum ignorantiæ aſſignatum vis, quibus tu Theologiæ profeſſor celeberrimus *non æquè familiariter innotuiſſes*; cùm ad ſuſpectos jam mores tuos revera ſit referendum. Quid enim ad te advenam ſeditio? qui ſuffragiis omnium publicè accerſitus non ſtudiis partium, ſed bonâ famâ ac diligentiâ in iſto munere Theologico tueri exiſtimationem tuam notus æquè omnibus debebas. Hìc tamen quereris quòd *ejectum* te dixerim *ab Eccleſia illa*. Ego verò non *ejectum* te dixi, ſed tantummodo ablegatum; idque non de ipſa ejiciendi vel ablegandi formula, ſed de voluntate eorum abs te jam alienata intellectum volui. In hoc non admodum erraſſe me teſtis eſſe poteſt vir, ut audio, probatiſſimus, quem ſuprà appellavi, Joannes Longus ejuſdem Eccleſiæ paſtor, qui nunc, inquam, longè ſecus de te ſentit & loquitur, atque primò ſentit, cùm in tuam commendationem *omnium nomine* ſubſcripſit; Teſtis eſt vir ſpectatiſſimus Joannes Duræus, qui non unam Eccleſiam Midelburgenſem ejeciſſe te, ſed univerſam penè Synodum Gallo-Belgicam ejectum velle ſcribit. Fruſtra igitur Synodi Goudenſis actum illud ſubjungis, quod factis recentioribus irritum feciſti; fruſtra, inquam, actum illud quod apertiſſimi te mendacii coarguit: etenim illius Synodi authoritatem idcirco adhibuiſſe te ais, ut *ſciam omnia ritè & ſolemniter* in Synedrio Midelburgenſi de te *acta*: ipſa Synodus non ritè, non ſolenniter hæc eſſe acta, ſed *nonnullos defectus in modo agendi* notat. Vellem ſcire illos defectus cujuſmodi fuerint, cur tu Midelburgenſium teſtimonia ſine nonnullis defectibus in modo agendi auferre non potueris. Illud interea tenendum memoriâ eſt, quibus cum *defectibus* Genevenſium teſtimonia adeptus ſis: quanto reverà cum dedecore, quanto in ſpeciem cum honore illi te dimiſerint. Prorſus, quaſi id unum ſibi reliquum neceſſariò decreviſſent, laudandum te eſſe atque tollendum. Verùm, ut dixi, laudes illas qualeſcunque perſpecta poſtmodum & cognita vitæ tuæ turpitudo antiquavit jamdiu atque delevit: ut ad infamiam potiùs tuam hæc omnia conducere videantur, qui tam præclaram de te olim hominum opinionem, admiſſis in te poſtea tot probris, tam fœde fefelleris. Ventum tandem ad Pontiam eſt; quam ſic à me falsò nominatam contendis. Ego verò authorem Batavum & notiſſimum illud de te diſtichon, quo me facilè defendam, recito:

*Galli ex concubitu gravidam te Pontia Mori,*
*Quis benè moratam morigerámque neget?*

Bontiam, fateor, aliud apud me manuſcriptum habet. Sed prima utrobique litera, quæ ſola variat, ejuſdem ferè apud vos poteſtatis eſt. Alterum ego nomen ut notius, ut elegantius ſalvo jure Criticorum præpoſui. Satis de nomine; nunc rem ipſam conſideremus. Quis tam eſt reus, quis tam omni genere criminationum oblitus, qui, ſi ſolus audiatur, cauſam ſuam vel Caſſianis judicibus probare non queat? Tu quam attuliſti hujus rei narrationem, ejuſmodi eſt, ut nemo ſit, modò integer atque attentus accedat, quin te, etiam inauditis accuſatoribus tuis, vel planè condemnandum, vel ſuſpicione graviſſimâ non abſolvendum arbitretur. *Uxorem* ais *Salmaſii graviter tibi infenſam, & ob eas rationes quas commemorare* non vis, *nihil intentatum reliquiſſe, ut te in naſſam infauſtiſſimi matrimonii compingeret.* Primùm illud ſuſpicioſiſſimum eſt quod celas; illud nempe arcanum quod tibi tam modeſto homini & miniſtro uxorem amici ſic inimicam potuit reddere. Mirum deinde inimicitiæ genus narras, quo impulſa uxor amici tui famulam ſibi dilectiſſimam nuptum tibi dare cupiebat. Naſſa autem illud matrimonium quî potuit dici? niſi túte eam vel ſponſione aliquâ tibi induiſſes, vel eſcam avidè nimis appetiſſes, atque ita meritò infauſtiſſimum, quod ſtupro auſpicatus eſſes, matrimonium reddidiſſes. *Nihil*, inquis, *intentatum reliquit.* Quid ergo inter alia tentaverit tu ipſe nobis divinandum relinquis; immò ipſe non taces, ipſe effutire non erubeſcis; & illud ſuprà dictum à Crantzio, paulò infra quaſi palmarium quiddam pro te ex ore Salmaſii repetis; *Siquid in Pontia peccavit Morus, ego ſum leno, & uxor mea lena.* Hanc ſcilicet pulcherrimam fore defenſionem tibi apud omnes amens crediditi, ſi oſtendiſſes lenone Salmaſio, ejuſque uxore lenâ, te non ignobile ſtuprum feciſſe; & non niſi dominis perductoribus ancillam vitiaſſe. *Hoc vulgo innotuit*; tu verò *palam vehementiſſiméque reluctari.* Euge corculum pudoris, deliciæ caſtitatis! Túne reluctari verò? virginali, ut videtur, verecundiâ homo naſſâ muliebri indutus. Nam piſcis, niſi captus, non reluctatur: illa profectò mulier niſi thunnum te perſpexiſſet, niſi facilem, niſi opportunum, niſi obnoxium ancillæ ſuæ deprehendiſſet, nunquam tibi iſtos laqueos ita elimaſſet, nunquam tibi Vulcanios illos caſſes tua Juno tam facilè adaptaſſet; nunquam in virum gravem, Eccleſiaſtem, doctum, celebrem, qui mariti domum inter amiciſſimos frequentaſſet, nunquam niſi in mulieroſum & notæ incontinentiæ hominem tale quicquam moliri aut tentare auſa eſſet. At, inquis, *cum factione quadam ſe conjunxit, quæ qualis fuerit, aperire tibi nolo.* Ergo hoc etiam non minùs ſuſpitioſum nobis relinquis, quòd tuâ multùm interfuit aperuiſſe, quæ iſta factio, quo in loco te tot Eccleſiarum, tot Synodorum, tot Magiſtratuum teſtimoniis ac ſigillis loricatum hominem & cataphractum tam acritèr oppugnarit. Si ob vitæ ſanctimoniam, concionandi aſſiduitatem, profeſſoriæ facultatis præſtantiam te odio habuiſſet, nihil æquè tibi laudi ac defenſioni eſſe potuit: nunc cùm in re omnium potiſſimùm explicanda tectus atque aſtutus eſſe malueris, credendum eſt non factionem, ſed benè magnum bonorum virorum numerum ob impuros mores tuos, vitámque offenſam meritò te odiſſe. Deinde, ſi Midelburgi, ſi Amſterodami, ubi tanto in pretio atque honore apud omnes fuiſſe te prædicas, tam numeroſa te factio adorta eſt, claudicare tua fides publica videtur; eóſque demum eſſe factionem qui te tantopere laudarunt. Sin Hagæ aut Lugduni primùm iſta factio in te tam acriter eſt concitata, nihil profectò obſtat quò minùs appareat deſeruiſſe te tandiu & Paſtoris & Profeſſoris munus utrobíque ſacrum, ut Hagæ libellos famoſos miniſterium tui Evangelii miniſtrares; Lugduni Pontiam ancillam, id eſt Naſſam ipſe tuam ſectarere; tuóſque illos, poſt diurnum ſæpe diſceſſum, tot nocturnos ad eam vicina ex urbe reditus, tot cum ea furtivos, inſcientibus dominis, congreſſus vicinitati notiſſimos, tantum in te odium plurimorum commoviſſe. Hos tu *admiſſarios* uxoris Salmaſii vocas; & ignominiam defuncti amici tui matronæ, ejúſque propinquis non ferendam inuris. Hæc ſcilicet cum *Ruffino* & factione illâ, *horrenda criminationum tonitrua diſploſit, & totum inſanis clamoribus Belgium implevit.* I nunc, & à me conficta hæc eſſe clamita; dic meas has eſſe calumnias; quas ego non calumnias, ſed criminationes ab univerſo penè Belgio, te confitente, accepi. Has ego tacerem? his non crederem? próque tua in nos noſtrámque Rempubl. injuriâ, ſcelere, audaciâ veras eſſe non judicarem? quam tu factionem, eam ego probiſſimorum hominum multitudinem, teſtimonium, judicium eſſe non arbitrer? Hoccine divinâ animadverſione factum non putem, ut dum aliis famoſos libellos tam diligenter adornares, famoſus ipſe paſſim libellus fieres? Tu verò cùm *exiſtimationem* tuam *hærere*, ut ais, *ad metas* videres, & *linguis omnium vapulares*, haud inſolito audaciſſimi cujuſque conſilio, potentiorum ſtudiis fretus, quos affectatis concionibus, & Corinthii æris tinnitu illo tibi fortè conciliaveras, *prior Pontiam in jus vocas.* Contrà Salmaſius, non inſaniam, ut tu appellas, ſed *cauſam ſe uxoris deſtituere non poſſe* per amicos tibi denuntiat. Quod eum fuiſſe facturum niſi juſtam quoque cauſam crediđiſſet, tibi veriſimile eſſe non debet. Tu, *non ſine conſilio ſummorum & ſapientiſſimorum totius Belgii capitum*, quorum nimirum patrocinium vel adulando, vel ſuppliciter ambiendo ad omnes nequitiarum tuarum eventus tibi comparaveras, *litem in ſuprema Hollandiæ curia proſequeris.* Quo in loco potentiam quorundam, ut dixi, non innocentiam tuam præſidio tibi maximo fuiſſe, ſi vel teipſum audiamus cauſam hîc tuam quanto potes cum artificio & cautione dicentem, obſcurum non eſt. *Deſperabant* adverſarii *fore ſe* illa in curia *ſuperiores*: tuam *afflicturos* ſe eſſe *famam* non deſperabant. Quid ita? quia paucorum vim atque opes in foro dominari, cæteros pænè omnes favere ſibi videbant. At verò non tuam, ſed ſuam ipſi famam accuſatores tui afflixiſſent, ſi tu æquo judicio ſuperior ipſorum opinione futurus videbaris. *Omnes*, inquis, *omni ope me unum oppugnabant*; non *defuiſſe* tamen *amicos* tibi *agnoſcis*: paucos igitur & potentes fuiſſe illos neceſſe eſt: id quod etiam *miratos & conqueſtos eſſe inimicos tuos* uſque eò non diffiteris, ut ne noceret tibi iſta gratia tam aperta ac manifeſta veritus, haud ſemel ſubiraſci te ſimules amicis tuis, cúmque iis expoſtulare, quaſi parùm prudenter tibi & non ſatis cautè faviſſent. Itaque *ſuprema capita, quæ tibi ſuum in hac cauſa præſidium obtulere, enixè rogaſti, ſiquid valeres gratiâ, ne quid eorum autoritas de victoria innocentiæ tuæ delibaret.* Illius judicii exitus qui demum fuerit, non dicis; Adverſarii certè, tantum abſuit ut jure aut æquitate victos ſe eſſe arbitrarentur, ut quos tu reos modò feceras, hi nunc petitores ad Synodum provocarent; & quod obtinere à magnatibus jus ſuum non poterant, id impetrare per Eccleſiam facilè ſe poſſe ſperarent. Verùm & in illa Synodo nimis multùm valuiſſe gratiam gratis, ut aiunt, id eſt nullis omnino meritis tuis datam, etiam ex iis quæ pergis ipſe narrare, ſatis conſtat. *Adſunt Delegati Lugdunenſes*; *ſaccum producunt opletum fœdiſſimis criminationibus*: ſatis amplum, opinor, ſi tua omnia flagitia contineret, ut induendo etiam tibi, ſi egiſſes fortè pœnitentiam, ſufficere potuerit. *Urgent Delegati, ut prælegerentur omnia, quæ ſecum ſacco illo gerebantur*: vel ut latiniùs dixiſſes, portabantur in ſacco; à te enim puto, gerebantur in ſindone. Sed Synodi pars magna *reluctari, famoſos eſſe libellos.* Animadvertite quæſo novam ac ſingularem judicum æquitatem atque prudentiam; qui criminationes cum teſtimoniis in judicium allatas, neque dum perlectas, tanquam famoſos libellos, rejiciendas eſſe contendunt. Horum vicit ſententia: excurrit confeſtim unus eorum, gratulabundus Moro, & *bonum factum inquit*; *nihil contra te legetur.* En iterum ſeveros judices! quorum ſententia in Mori gratiam ſic manifeſtò lata eſt, ut unus eorum pati non poſſet quin ex ipſo judicio de ſella proſiliret, gratulatum reo. Puduit Morum ipſum tam diſſolutæ ſententiæ: perturbari denuò ſe ſimulat, & ægrè ferre, non perlegi illa volumina criminum ſuorum. Objurgatus itaque bonus ille Judex & acriter ab ipſo reo increpitus, redit in cœtum; cæteríſque facile perſuadet, ut mutatâ priore ſententiâ ſtatueretur omnia legenda eſſe. At verò, quæ iſti Judices primùm legenda non eſſe, ad arbitrium deinde Rei, converſis eâdem horâ ſententiis, legenda eſſe decreverant, de iis tandem perlectis quàm non attentè, quam non ſeverè, quam denique in reum propensè judicaverint, intellectu difficile non eſt. Conſurgunt judices; reum frequentes adeunt; *amplectuntur*; & cui palam modò gratificari, ei nunc apertè gratulari non dubitant. Quamquam ego in hoc toto judicio non tam Mori, quàm ejus perſonæ atque ordinis habitam eſſe rationem crediderim. Synodi præſes ipſe Riverius complexus te, *nunquam Æthiops, inquit, ita dealbatus eſt, quemadmodum hodiè tu fuiſti.* Túne verò adeò obesâ nare homo es, ut irriſum te potiùs, quàm abſolutum hoc proverbio non ſentias? Riverius cùm Æthiopem te lavando & operam & laticem fruſtra perdidiſſet, dealbavit. Tu jam ſalve nobis, Æthiops, aut, ſi mavis, paries dealbate; quandoquidem quo Paulus Ananiam eodem te Synodi præſes titulo decoravit. Nunc ipſum decretum Synodi perpendamus. *Lectis chartis iis quæ allatæ fuerant à Delegatis Lugdunenſibus circa litem illam quæ in ſuprema Hollandiæ curia mutilabatur, nihil in iis repertum eſt, quod valeret adimendæ Eccleſiis libertati, quâ Morum ad ſacras conciones habendas cum occaſio ſe dabat, invitare ſolebant.* Hæc etiamſi tuâ ſola fide accipiamus, quàm obſcûra, quàm tepida, quàm ægrè abſolvant reum, aut ne abſolvant quidem, quis non videt? qui te olim maximis cumulare laudibus ſolebant, nunc multis criminibus inſimulatum, ne uno quidem verbo tenuiſſimo purum aut inſontem pronuntiant. Non commendant te Eccleſiis; *libertatem* tantummodo iis non *adimunt* quâ te, non ad Paſtoris aſſiduum munus, ſed *cum occaſio ſe dabat*, ad concionandum fortuitò *invitare ſolebant.* Iſta autem occaſio ſi ſe nunquam daret, id ſibi diſplicere aut detrimenti quicquam inde capturam eſſe Eccleſiam, haudquaquam oſtendunt. Tibi interim pro ara pulpitum eſt; illa in aula te jactas buccâ notiſſimâ; & quo turpior domi, eò clamoſior in cœtu es: quicquid in occulto, quicquid in *ſacco* illo peccas, hîc tua cymbala, tua æra concrepare ſtrenuè non deſinis; & tuum illud roſtrum nuſquam impudentius, quàm in roſtris offers. *I nunc*, inquis, *& ſtupra & ſpurios tibi finge.* Immò, ito tu, inquam, & ſtupra tua ſi audes vel uno verbo diſertè nega: id quod toto hoc libro facere non es auſus. *Conſulantur acta publica*; immò conſulantur acta privata, acta furtiva, acta nocturna tua, quæ vulgatiſſima iſtis regionibus jamdiu innotuere. Unde ſpurii ſi non extiterint, non continuò tu caſtus, ſed eò fortaſsè nequior fuiſti. Hactenus quæ tu teſtimonia attuliſti aut malè parta, aut jam exoleta, id eſt aliquanto priùs data, quam patefacta ea fuerint facinora quæ à me tibi potiſſimùm objiciuntur, oſtendi. Quibus teſtimonis ſi ab innumeris paſſim viris bonis quos nunquam nominatim læſeras non eſt creditum, id quod ipſi Subſcriptores tui queruntur, de me noſtríſque hominibus, quos injuriis maximis ultrò irritaſti, ſi non credamus, non eſt meritò quod queri quiſquam poſſit. Poſtremas omnium literas Amſterodamenſium Conſulum & Rectorum, neſcio cujus operâ, quóve pacto comparatas, ex Gallia tranſmittis: neque ad tempus omni ex parte ſatis accommodatas, & ad rem certè minimè appoſitas. Ego quæ tu ipſe flagitioſa feceris, coarguo; tu quid magiſtratus in te non fecerit hoc teſtimonio duntaxat oſtendis. Scripſi equidem, &, quod tum palam teſtatus ſum, non pro certiſſimo, ſed ut nuper audiveram, ídque etiam per literas fide dignas, magiſtratum Amſterodamenſem tibi pulpitum interdixiſſe. Tu literas fateris *per omnes gentes* contra te ab *adverſariis* tuis *miſſitatas.* Et eos adverſarios nunc ſcribis eſſe tuos; ego & bonos viros eſſe eos acceperam, & te adverſarium ſciebam eſſe meum. Ex ipſis quæro Magiſtratibus Amſterodamenſium, num iſtiuſmodi quippiam allatum ad ſe de adverſario non tantum ſuo, ſed civitatis etiam ſuæ, ſilentio prætermittendum cenſuiſſent? Hoc igitur ſi verum non ſit, eſt quoque leviſſimum; de quo & ego minimè laborare, & tu minimè exultare debeas. Numquid eſt aliud quod teſtentur tibi hæ literæ? eſt aliud. Te *ex quo tempore apud ſe in publico munere verſatus es, nihil admiſiſſe quod juſtum prædictis calumniis locum dare potuerit.* Quid ſi antè admiſeris, quàm ad eos veniſti? Nam quibus Conſulibus admiſſa abs te quæque fuerint, cujus in ſcabinatum pruritiones tuæ inciderint, ſi ex ratione faſtorum non habeo dicere, id non dices, arbitror, ita magni referre. Quid, inquam, ſi ante admiſeris? quod ego quidem pro certo habeo. Tum ſanè & hoc quoque teſtimonium, ancile tuum, haud multò plus ponderis, quàm alterius cujuſquam habuerit; ut, quod de iis, quæ auditione

ditione tantum acceperat ab aliis, teſtificetur. Quod autem adjungitur te *extra culpam notámve fuiſſe*, id adeò liquidò non ita ſe habet, ut etiam reliqua in dubium vocare videatur. Non alium igitur atque teipſum tuis Conſulibus opponam; qui te culpatum, notatum, vexatum, linguis omnium toto Belgio vapulaſſe, haud ſemel, pluribúſque verbis confeſſus es. Commodùm itaque interſerunt, *ut ad nos relatum eſt*. A quibus autem? nam & ad nos longè alia & à plurimis relata ſunt: utrorum qui hæc tam variè referunt anteponenda fides ſit, ipſi noſtram æquè ac ſuam exiſtimationem eſſe ſciunt. At verò non ad ſe omnia quamvis conſules, relata eſſe ut doceam, reſpondeant mihi rogo libellus iſte in nos famoſus, à Moro editus, relatúſne ad ſe fuerit? quem libellum edidiſſe in noſtram Rempubl. non miniſtri erat Evangelici, ſed ardelionis & calumniatoris, & nebulonis maledicentiſſimi. Si negant de hoc libello quicquam ſibi perlatum, poſſe & multa alia etiam improbiſſima non perferri ad ſe de hoc Moro velim exiſtiment. Sin fateantur allatum ſibi eſſe illius libri editorem fuiſſe Morum, ſuum tamen illi teſtimonium tanquam homini reverendo, probo, inculpato perhibuerint, ſciant nos iſtiuſmodi teſtimonium etiam Conſulum & Scabinorum tanquam leviſſimum, & nullius planè authoritatis repudiare. Horum, inquis, Rectorum *gravitatem*, *fidem*, *autoritatem ſi noſſes*, *ſexcentis millenorum Miltonorum libellis retundendis parem agnoſceres*. Ego verò, mi homo, id neſcio an ita facilè agnoſcerem; quandoquidem & id neſcio, ἀριστείνδην, an πλουτίνδην virtute an cenſu magiſtratum illum in civitate ſua obtineant. Neque me latet Conſules, Prætores, illuſtriora longè quàm nunc ſunt nomina, etiam verrem, reorum omnium Romæ perditiſſimum, ſtudioſè defendiſſe, cum provincia tota, viríque boni univerſi graviſſimè accuſarent. Hoc ſummum fidei tu publicæ propugnaculum, eadémque baſis & firmamentum maximum, quàm nullo tamen negotio labefactetur & corruat vides. Sequitur Eccleſiæ Amſterodamenſis Gallo-Belgicæ teſtimonium, ſubſcriptore imprimis Hottono, Mori intimo, & quod ſuprà demonſtravimus, Regii Clamoris conſcio. Valde nobis probatum ſit neceſſe eſt hujuſmodi teſtimonium, cujus ſubſcriptionis princeps eſt Hottonus. Sed tamen quid afferat, vi eamus. *Tantum abeſſe*, ait, *ut eorum criminum eum reum eſſe ſciamus aut agnoſcamus quorum à quodam Miltone Anglo accuſatur*. — Hujus fidei vis maxima, ut video, in ignorantiæ profeſſione poſita eſt. Quid hoc teſtimonio faciamus? quid hac fide? quæ ſuâ ſe potiſſimùm ignorantiâ commendat. Reum eſſe neſcimus, non agnoſcimus: hoc quis præterea toto propemodum Belgio ignorat, quæ illi præcipuè crimina objicio, eorum ipſum in utroque foro, non reum modò diuturnum fuiſſe, ſed plurimorum judicio damnatiſſimum; nec niſi potentium quorundam ſtudiis, útque ſacro potiùs ordini quàm ipſi conſuleretur, fuiſſe abſolutum. Tantum abeſt ut reum eſſe ſciamus, *ut contrà potius ab illo aliquoties conciones ſacras rogaverimus*. Contenti nempe hoc forenſi judicio, ubi gratia plus juſto potuit; & ſuadente præſertim Hottono, quoties ipſe reſpirare & ſuis parcere lateribus decreviſſet. Verum hoc quid efficit? aut quis eſt neſcius multos in concionibus ſatis eſſe placitos, ſatis ſuaves ac tinnulos, qui in omni vita reliqua offenſioni maximæ fuerint? Etenim qui ſuis libidinibus explendis dat operam, quid obſtat quo minus idem titillandis alienis auribus commodè ſervire poſſit. Quod reliquum eſt, index potiùs operis, quàm teſtimonium dici meretur: quando enim aliud quod dicat non habet, *ſatis ſupérque teſtantur*, inquit, *de ipſo aliarum Eccleſiarum in quibus vixit diutiùs quam apud nos, publica documenta ad qua nos iis conſentiendo referimus*. Quæ vos detrectantium penè, & libenter hoc negotio expedire ſe cupientium prorſus videtur; facítque ut non immeritò ſuſpicemur, teſtimonium hoc, tametſi planè friget, non ſine ſudore tamen Mori, allaborante etiam Hottono, multis repugnantibus, impetratum ægrè fuiſſe. Epilogi loco eſt *Curatorum ſchola* teſtimonium. Verùm in ſchola quid tu declamites, quid recites, aut quemadmodum te geras, neque tanti eſſe reor ut cognoſcere curemus, neque ad hanc cauſam pertinet. Vitam & mores tuos excutimus: quos cum iſti vix attingere, & ad literas ſuperiores malle nos remittere videantur, quod ad eorum teſtimonium infirmandum ſatis ſit, ſuperiùs quoque dictum putemus. Ad finem aliquando pervenimus tuæ Fidei publicæ; quæ ex Gallico ferè ſermone in Gallico-latinum *tralatitia* inaniſſimi libri maximam partem occupat. Copias jam omnes tuas cum ſupplemento etiam luſtravimus: peramplas quidem eas, ſed ad pompam ſanè potiùs, quàm ad verum robur comparatas. Hæ ſunt plumæ tuæ, ſub quibus corniculam latitare te dixi. Hæc veſtis illa multicolor quâ Morum revera, id eſt morionem te induiſti: his tu phaleris ne populum quidem feſelleris: túque ſi ſapuiſſes, aut ullo rerum uſu præditus fuiſſes, nullius fore uſus tibi hæc omnia, quod ad tuam attinet cauſam, facilè intellixiſſes. Poteſt fortaſſe quiſpiam, cujus nomen alioqui nunquam audiſſemus, tam ſui venditandi causâ quàm tui, phalerata verba tibi dediſſe: poteſt aliorum pudor & bonitas flagitanti ac ſudanti, & agi jam tuam exiſtimationem miſerè querenti, hoc tantulum non denegaſſe. Potes tu per interpretes Hottonos multa confeciſſe? & tamen poſt hæc omnia ſcito te nihil quod ad rem pertineat in medium protuliſſe. Quid juverit, quæſo, vel in foro teſtimonia generatim dicta, quid elogia de tuis *dotibus*, quid incertas blandientium amicorum laudes proferre, ſi ego te certorum criminum accuſo? Accuſarunt te adulterii Genevæ olim viri graves; tempus, locum, adulteram nominarunt: multorum præterea criminum te detulerunt. Quid ſi iſtam faraginem pro teſtimonio Judicibus tum tuis oſtendiſſes? accepturóſne putas fuiſſe eos, téque abſolvendum iſtis criminibus fuiſſe continuò judicaturos? immò verò juſſiſſent te, ablatis hiſce nugis, appoſitè reſpondere; ullámne cum [illegible]a fœmina rem, rationémve habueris; illo in horto eámne conveneris; illo in tugurio, clauſis foribus, ſolúſne cum ſola fueris. Hæc & hujuſmodi multa ex te requiſiſſent; ad quæ ſingula, neque in illo tum judicio, quod te jure abſolvere vel ſuſpicione poſſet (judicium enim illud petitâ abeundi licentiâ commodùm prævertiſti) neque in hoc libro, tot alioqui ineptiis refertiſſimo, quicquam reſpondes. Facis idem prorſus in cauſa quoque Pontiana: quid in foro tranſactum ſit, quantopere tua gratia ad præjudicium miſeræ mulierculæ poſt Salmaſii obitum valuerit, ſuſpicioſè admodùm ipſe narras. De illis nocturnis Hagâ Leidam itineribus, de illis cum Pontia clandeſtinis atque nocturnis congreſſibus, quanquam hæc & multò plura hujuſmodi omnibus in ore ſunt, nullum verbum facis. Quid hæc prorſus alieniſſima nobis obtrudis? immò quid omnino hanc tantam literarum ac teſtimoniorum congeriem tibi ullo tempore comparaſti? an quod tuæmet ipſe conſcientiæ ſatis probatus apud te non eras? an quod de te nec tibi ipſi, nec ſpontaneis hominum ſermonibus credere audebas, niſi tot coactis nominibus ac teſtimoniis tibimet confirmatum hoc eſſet atque teſtatum, id quod alioqui nunquam crediciſſes, te virum bonum aut tolerabilem poſſe cuiquam videri? An verò tot criminibus accuſatus, cùm de te homines ubique peſſimè loquerentur, commendationibus totidem ſanare illa vulnera poſſe te exiſtimaſti? atqui vides quo ſæpius ex mala valetudine ad inanem medicinam, ex novis maleficiis & rumoribus inde natis ad novas perpetuò commendationes recurris, earum authoritatem eò ſemper minorem abs te reddi atque indies leviorem: ægrotare nimirum exiſtimationem tuam & morboſiſſimam eſſe, quæ tot purgationibus, tot medicamentis indigeat commendationum quis eſt quin ſuſpicetur? Sed fortaſſè longinquas in urbes quemadmodum prædicas, ad Profeſſiones ampliſſimas perſæpè invitatus, hoc te quaſi commeatu, iter facturus, inſtruxiſti. Optimè: quæro itaque an proficiſci in animo tibi fuerit ad eos homines qui te ignoraſſent, an qui ſatis noſſent? ſi ad illos, venuſtus profectò homo neceſſe eſt tibi fueris, qui ab illis invitatum iri te unquam credideris, qui te ignoraſſent: Si ad hos qui te jam ſatis norant, quid hoc tanto commendationum inſtrumento ac ſarcinâ ad eos opus erat, quibus jam antea commendatiſſimum te eſſe ex eo ipſo, quòd invitaſſent, ſciebas. Perſpicuum igitur eſt, nullam ob rem aliam, tantam vim teſtimoniorum commendatitiam ſic te ſtudioſè congeſſiſſe & in promptu ſemper habuiſſe, niſi vel ad oſtentationem quandam circulatoriam, ad quam artem factum te præcipuè atque natum exiſtimarim, vel impendentis ignominiæ metu, quam ex flagitiis nondum patefactis certiſſimam tibi expectabas. Ut haberes nimirum ſpecioſum aliquid & publicum & foris partum, quod privatæ atque domeſticæ erumpenti interdum ex latebris opponeres infamiæ; utque Procerum atque Doctorum ſplendidis teſtimoniis in quibus conſequendis gratia atque ambitio nunc ferè plurimum poſſunt, contra populi veras voces te communires. Verùm iſta te ſpes ut dixi, & fruſtrata jam eſt, & fruſtrabitur; cùm quia tuam obtegere improbitatem atque nequitiam, neque lux ulla neque tenebræ poſſunt, tum quia hoc ipſum quicquid eſt munimenti, quo te circumſepſiſti, per ſe ſatis infirmum atque rimoſum eſt. Id planius adhuc fiet, ſi teſtimonia hæc tua, quemadmodum per ſe ſingula conſideravimus, ita nunc poſtrema primis, prima mediis conferamus; & doctores procereſque tuos inter ſe paulisper committamus. Ut intelligi tandem poſſit, quæ fides illius fidei publicæ, illorum teſtium ſit, ubi aut alii ab aliis tam longè diſſentiunt, aut plerique tam multa vel diſſimulant vel neſciunt, quæ ſuâ ſponte alii fatentur. Illud imprimis exemplo ſit, quod in iis literis occurrit quæ Genevenſis eſſe Eccleſiæ dicuntur. *Nihil utique illi*, id eſt Moro, *vel ab infenſiſſimis hoſtibus meritò objici queat, quod juſtæ ſit reprehenſioni obnoxium.* Ego contrà non quæ hoſtes objiciunt Moro, ſed quæ amici ejus, quæ teſtes ejus & *juſtæ reprehenſioni obnoxia* fatentur, & ipſi in eo reprehendunt, ex his iiſdem teſtimoniis depromam. Quid enim Deodatus? *Non provocat quidem* Morus, *ſed terribiles ungues habet ad ſui tutelam.* Quos ungues? nam iſtiuſmodi quicquam inter Evangelici miniſtri arma non reperio; & eloquentiam nolim à viro dicto atque humano, tam truci metaphorâ ſignificari: Reliquum eſt, ut ungues illos, feritatem atque ferociam hominis interpretemur, quos non ad tutelam ſui, ſed ad injuriam aliorum, in nos certè nimiùm expeditos atque acres feræ ſimilior quàm paſtori exercuit. Apertiora haud paulò ſunt quæ Georgius Crantzius, Alberti æmulus, ne ab avunculo fortè ſuo hiſtoricâ fide ſuperetur, & quantò ægrior tantò fortaſſe veracior ultrò nobis largitur. *Ego Mori notitiam habui & Geneva & in Belgio; semp*[illegible]*agnas inimicitias exercuit cum æmulis, quibus ipſe locum ſæpe præbuit nimia libertate loquendi.* Et hoc teſte, contra quàm ab altero dictum modò eſt, & *ungues habet & provocat Morus.* *Ferox* atque *fidens, crabronum irritator* infeſtiſſimus: Beelſebubem prope alterum dicas, niſi quod ille muſcas: Laboris alioqui *intolerantior*, teſte etiam laudatore Salmaſio; cujus & *uxorem varie læſerat*, & alia quædam commiſerat *inconſideratione tali homine indignâ.* Hæc ab amicis ac teſtibus tuis vis ipſa veritatis expreſſit; quæ quamvis favore & ſtudio dicentium in molliorem partem flectantur, ejuſmodi tamen ſunt quæ ingenium tuum palam omnibus faciant, & hujus teſtimonii totius fidem infirmare haud mediocriter atque infringere videantur: cujus altera pars probum, inoffenſum, ſanctum, omni labe ac vitio carentem, altera contentioſum, turbulentum, arrogantem, garrulum, ignavum, injurium, inconſideratum denique & ſtultum nobis exhibet Morum. Sic fuit tua fides publica, id eſt, nulla: reverteris nunc iterum ad privatam, quæ nullâ minor eſt. *At vides interea*, inquis, *quàm non tralatitio me dignentur affectu, quos tu vis mihi furcas comparare.* Immò tu vide, ſi potes, irâ atque amentiâ impeditus, quàm vehementer hallucineris, quàm nihil attentè agas. Non ego hoc *de Batavis*, ſed Genevenſibus intelligi volebam; nec quid hi ſtatuiſſent, ſed quid tu meruiſſes. *Verba*, inquis, *tua recognoſce, Oreſtis æmule.* Recognoſco, inquam, Oreſtis æmule! Cujus flagitia ſi pro meritis excepiſſet Magiſtratus, jamdudum adulteria patibulo pendens luiſſes: nimirum Genevæ, ubi adulterii delatus eras; ad alios magiſtratus cognitio illius facti pertinere non potuit. Quæ ſequuntur porrò & luiturus propediem videris, & hæc non iratus tibi ominor, ſed duntaxat jus dico, facilè demonſtrant, non tum prædixiſſe me quid ſis paſſurus, ſed pronuntiaſſe quid eſſes meritus; ídque (cùm de nobis ipſe prior judicaſſes) pari jure meo feciſſe. I nunc non conſcientiæ integritate, non juſtâ defenſione, ſed ſcelerum impunitate quod facis effer te & gloriare. *Hinc*, inquis, *fungo, nuper è terra nato quem aut quos oppoſui?* Erras More, & me non noſti: mihi lentè creſcere, & velut occulto ævo ſatius ſemper fuit. Tu ille fungus qui ex ephebis modò Genevam profectus, Græcarum literarum profeſſor ſubitò emerſiſti; & tot viris natu *grandioribus Eccleſiaſtis, Jureconſultis, Medicis, illa ingenii tunc primùm efflorescentis gratia*, ut tu ſatis fungoſè narras, *palmam* præripuiſti:. mox inter fungos, & olera, & armamenta olitoria, fungo recens tuberante, non tu quidem Claudium extinxiſti, ſed Claudiam ſupinaſti. Nunc *conciliare* me jubes mea *dicta*, ſi poſſum, *& fabulas* cum Magiſtratuum *dictis atque judiciis* abs te ſcilicet emendicatis: Ego verò mea dicta cum tuis factis facilè conciliavero; de ipſorum dictis atque judiciis ipſi viderint: nos ut non porticibus, ita nec iiſdem judiciis fruimur. Tu tecum ſi potes temetipſum concilia; qui totum illud Genevenſe negotium, & graviſſimum in te crimen adulterii, quaſi fabulam refutatione prorſus indignam prætermiſiſti; hîc alteram fabulam de infenſo erga te Magiſtratuum animo, ſummâ curâ, ſummóque ſtudio refellere conaris. Cur illam quæ vehementiſſimè ad te pertinuit, tam facilè prætermittis, hanc quæ te minimè attingit corrogatis tot teſtibus tantâ mole refutare contendis? Sanè ſi ipſe tibimet conſtare vis videri, nóſque tuum inſtitutum & reſpondendi rationem intuemur, qui fabulas confutatione indignas eſſe cenſes, aut illud in te verum crimen, aut hoc de te non verum Magiſtratûs judicium credamus oportebit. At non omni ex parte vituperandus eſt Morus; habet ſuas laudes; magna vitia magnis virtutibus compenſat; facit quod in homine Eccleſiaſtico laudatiſſimum ſimul & rariſſimum eſt, ut gratis concionetur. *Nullo*, inquit, *ſtipendio actuoratus gratuitam Eccleſiæ operam rogatus præſto:* immò verò fortuitam; ex quo videlicet ampliore mercede propoſitâ, relicto Paſtoris munere, ſacrarum Hiſtoriarum Profeſſor factus es; id eſt reverà, ex ſacrario in ſcholam ad ſtipendium uberius emigraſti: tum ſi cujus rogatu fortè concionaris, hoc tanquam beneficii loco imputas; cum aſſiduum Paſtoris miniſterium deſerueris, ut hanc ſubciſivam operam deſertæ abs te Eccleſiæ non ſine maximo compendio tuo gratis impertire videaris. Tu verò More ſi Eccleſiam Medioburgenſem, quæ te, ut ais, tam honorificè invitaſſet, tanto cum fructu audiſſet, tam ægrè dimiſiſſet, ſine graviſſima cauſa reliquiſſes, & ad alium gregem, idémque munus Paſtoris te contuliſſes, reprehendendum meritò & levitatis arguendum exiſtimarim. Nunc cùm *Attalicis*, ut ipſe ais, *conditionibus* non Chriſtianis, & *emolumenti fructu* longè uberiore adductus, non de grege in gregem deſultorius tantummodo Paſtor tranſieris, ſed illo munere longè potiore poſthabito, ex Evangelii miniſtro mutatus in Profeſſorem & Hiſtoricum, ex ipſis Eccleſiæ adytis ad pomœria regreſſus ſis non mercenarii ſolum, ſed defectoris propè numero habendum te eſſe, ſi habenda veteris & ſanctiſſimæ diſciplinæ ulla ratio eſt, affirmare non vereor. At concionaris tamen: & ſtrenuè quidem, nunquam *majore cum fructu* Attalico, ad Pergamenos putà, non tuum ad gregem; quibus ſi fortè aures vix ſatis teretes pruriunt, tu, vitio cantorum planè converſo, rogatus nunquam deſiſtis: & velut ſacerdos Phrygiæ matris nondum exſectus, aut Curetum aliquis, moves libenter tua crotala; non ut vagitum quempiam fabuloſum, ſed ut rumores flagitiorum tuorum plus nimio veraces fanaticâ vociferatione obruas. Hoc tu ſeptenario ſtrepitu & doctrinâ fortuitâ, ut quivis olim cyclicus aut ſophiſta, ſi rogatus recitas, deſertum Paſtoris munus aſſiduum explere te putas? At concionator eſt bellus & facundus. Ita, credo, ut eſt orator; cui proverbia ſi demas, & inſultos verſiculorum centones, orationis ipſo filo atque contextu nihil inornatius, nihil incompoſitius, nihil verboſius atque putidius; nihil ubi venuſtatem, numerum, atque nervos paulò diſertiore homine dignos magis requiras. Unum eſt in quo graviter titubatum à me eſſe fateor: Græcarum literarum profeſſorem dixi, quem ſacrarum Hiſtoriarum dixiſſe debui: enimverò incredibile mihi prorſus, & portento ſimile videbatur, Hiſtoriarum ſacrarum eum eſſe Profeſſorem, qui tot profanarum argumentum ipſe atque materies eſſet. Tu verò mihi rectiùs, More, non Hiſtoriarum, ſed Calumniarum Profeſſor deinceps nominaberis. Quod ne quis à me ſecus atque res ipſa ſe habet dictum arbitretur, mea ipſa verba abs te prolata in medio ponam; tuam deinde horum interpretationem, quam dico eſſe Calumniam: ut quàm impudenter & malitioſè agas, quod & ſuprà idque ſæpius demonſtravi, & hinc qualem te ſacræ etiam literæ tortorem proculdubio ſentiant, præterire neminem poſſit. Reſtat jam tibi ſola Græcarum literarum profeſſio: ergo hoc ego *crimini* tibi do, quòd Græcas literas es profeſſus: ergo ego *Græcas literas, earúmque profeſſores cogo in ordinem:* Ergo ego *Græcas literas ad ima ſubſellia relego.* Quis horum quicquam ſequi præter te dixerit? ipſa malitia ſi operam tibi ſuam locaſſet, tale quippiam ex meis verbis ullam in partem torquendo exprimere quî tandem potuiſſet? tu hoc non ſolum pro veriſſimo tibi ſumis, verum etiam ut non naſutum minus conjectorem te quàm navum eſſe Calumniatorem intelligamus, *cur Græcas* inquis *literas, earumque profeſſores cogas in ordinem, niſi me fallit animus, olfeci fucum:* Nempè Salmaſius cùm eſſet Græcæ linguæ callentiſſimus, & hujus ego authoritatem elevare ſtatuiſſem, id ut quoquo modo poſſem, Græcas literas, *ejus*, ſi diis placet, *regna, ad ima ſubſellia relegavi.* Quis calumniari ſolertiùs, quàm hariolari te nunc dicat? Atqui non meus ille fucus, vir ſagaciſſime, ſed tuus mucus quem olfeciſti, tantummodo erat. Mihi enim cum Salmaſio de Græcis non magis literis quàm Calendis conteſtata lis erat; non illum literis vel Græcis vel Latinis ſed authoritatum & rationum ponderibus affligendum atque ſternendum eſſe intelligebam. Hinc tu, propterea quòd omnes cupidè ambages quæris, nequid ad rem dicere cogaris, ut olim paupertatis, ita nunc Græcarum literarum in laudes ridiculè ſanè tranſcurris. Quas ego cum neque neſciam, &, ſiquis alius, plurimi faciam nihil profectò ineptius, nihil alienius fingere potuiſti, quàm deſpectas à me eſſe Græcas literas: cùm non tibi illas, ſed te illis probro eſſe dixerim.

Sed hæc tua perpetua ferè ratio eſt; ubi non fictis criminibus urgeris, ut ne obmutuiſſe planè videaris, data tibi eſſe à me crimini quæ libet fingis, aut abſurda quævis & falſiſſima de me inſeris eaque in primis quæ dicta nunquam ſunt, reſutanda arripis: Hîc ſtrepis, hîc tumultuaris, hîc te jactas. Si adulterii te poſtulo, paupertatem ſcilicet contemno; paupertas tibi contra me toto penu loculorum tuorum defendenda eſt: Si ſtupri arguo, Græcas literas nimirum vellico; Græcarum literarum obtrectatòr oppugnandus tibi ſum: Sic tu vera fictis eludere conaris, ut hoc fumo excitato occultare turpem fugam & convictiſſimi ſontis pudorem atq; ſilentium poſſis. Vide autem, dum Græcas literas tam veteratoriè laudas, ut iraſcantur tibi Literæ Latinæ; tuumque *jecur latinum*, ut ſatis ſanum non ſit. *Quota pars hac, eſt inquis, ſputorum & alaporum?* Næ tu maſculum tibi alapum hoc ſolœciſmo meruiſti; nam fœmineas eſſe alapas quas tot ſenſiſti, mirum non eſt ſi invitus agnoſcas. Verùm hæc miſſa faciamus; levia ſunt, vetera ſunt; alius repentè homo jam factus eſt Morus; ad ſanitatem jamjamque eſt rediturus; gradum unum atque alterum fecit; paulò veracior, paulò candidior ab Rhetorica Diaboli (ſic enim calumniam ſuprà nominat) ad Rhetoricam tranſit Juliani. *Viciſti*, inquis, *Miltone.* Hanc nempe vocem, ut ille olim (ne non Apoſtata ſatis germanus per omnia videaris) veritate victus emiſiſti. Sed vide, ne ſincerum quod eſt, cauponum more, mendacio ſtatim diluas. *Confitentem*, inquis, *habes reum.* Ego verò reum quidem habeo; confitentem non habeo: niſi ſi id pro confeſſo eſt habendum quicquid tu ſilentio præteriiſti: ſic enim & libellum in nos famoſum edidiſſe, & hoſti noſtro dicaſſe, & Anglicanam Rempubl. indigniſſimis modis, méque nominatim illæſus læſiſſe, totam denique fabulam Genevenſem confiteris. Ab hac prævaricatione ad precationem quandam artificioſè compoſitam te confers; ſive ea tuæ fidei publicæ extrema confeſſio dicenda eſt; ad quam Deum teſtem invocas, tremendum fateor & teſtem & judicem. Multa confiteris, multa ploras, peccata quidem *longè graviſſima*, ſed quæ ad nos nihil attineant, quia penitùs latent, & etiamnum inconfeſſa nobis ſunt. Et iſta quidem ſi in occulto, clauſiſque foribus, ut peccare anteà, ita nunc precari in animum induxiſſes, laudaſſem equidem te, déque benignitate & clementia divina benè ſperare juſſiſſem: nunc cum in platea media orantem te hîc reperiam, ad homines potiùs quàm ad Deum concinnatas has eſſe preces, & quaſi ultima jacentis tuæ fidei publicæ ſuſpiria judicarim. *Te Deus, te teſtem invoco, an non videant homines in corde iſto qua tu non vides.* O confeſſionem claram atque ſimplicem! immò verò quid obſcurius, quid cautius, quid jureconſultius compoſuiſſe poteras, ut decem cauſidicos vel adhibuiſſe viderere, vel pertimuiſſe? Nam quid hoc eſt, obſecro? *an non videant homines in corde iſto.* Quid vident homines in corde? Urinatore hîc opus eſt Delio. Verùm quid quis in corde videat, viderit. Ego facta palam, audita, viſa, teſtata refero: quas nemo meas eſſe calumnias ſine maxima calumnia dixerit. *Longè turpior ſum*, inquis, *re quidem vera quàm illi fingunt; ob illa tot abſcondita, quorum apud te reus verè ſum.* Sic tu nota ignotis, clara abſconditis delere atque eluere conaris: occulta, incerta, latentia confiteris, ut explorata, certa, manifeſta eò impudentiùs negare poſſis: ad extremum eò deſcendis, ut confeſſionem hanc, quaſi libellum famoſum de temetipſo conſcribas, quò faciliùs veram accuſationem aliorum poſſis evadere. Tu hæc atque hujuſmodi valere apud Deum cave exiſtimes; apud homines certè vel mediocriter ſagaces, minimè valebunt. Quod ſi linguis, ut ipſe ais, atque conviciis omnium jamdiu verberatus, reſipuiſti aliquando revera, & ad bonam frugem revertiſti, gaudeo. Nos te ſic veram egiſſe pænitentiam arbitrabimur, ſi tuarum in nos injuriarum & maledicentiæ famoſæ pœnituiſſe tandem intelligemus.

JOANNIS

# JOANNIS PHILIPPI
# ANGLI
# RESPONSIO
## AD
## *Apologiam* Anonymi *cujuſdam tenebrionis pro* Rege & Populo Anglicano *infantiſſimam.*

CONtra famoſum Anonymi cujuſdam Libellum, in quo Senatus Populuſque Anglicanus turpiſſimis convitiis lacerabatur, quem jam vulgo notum eſt, Salmaſii Grammatici infame opus fuiſſe, prodiit nuper Joannis Miltoni Angli pro Patriâ ſuâ defenſio. Liber ſanè probus, omniumque doctorum virorum judicio domi foriſque multùm approbatus. Qui cùm talis eſſet, expectabatur quidem vel Salmaſii ipſius, vel alius alicujus viri literati reſponſio. Illarum certè partium magni intererat electum aliquem & deſertum virum ad cauſſam ſuam jam diu laborantem & ruentem adhibuiſſe. Cùm ecce demum ex omnibus illis rumorum montibus, quos aſſiduè fama noſtras ad aures afferebat, tandem prorepit exiguus iſte mus, qui miſerè ſtridens rodit tantummodò, aliud quidem nihil agit; vel, ut veriùs dicam, inanes quaſdam mortiunculas captat, dentemque in dente fatigat, authorem certè non lædit, ejus autem argumentorum vim & acumen nè aſſequitur quidem. Mirati primùm ſumus quis eſſet; nomen enim ignobile, futilitatis certè ſuæ conſcius, celat. Cùm verò libellus ejus, macri neſcio cujus & jejuni ingenii indicium, perlectus eſſet, in eo ſtatim, tanquam in ſpeculo, virum conſpeximus. Quis igitur ſit, pòſt videbimus. Hoc verò jam tacere non poſſum, hominem quendam valdè obſcurum, & vilem eum eſſe apparere; qui tamen arrogantiâ ſuâ mendaciiſque fretus, ut morientem & penè defunctam regis ſui cauſſam aliquantulum reſuſcitare videretur, hominúmque animos jam ſedatos, & judiciis Dei ſtatim acquieturos iterum commoveret atque irritaret, Dei Omnipotentis voluntati, ſummæque juſtitiæ ſe opponere ( quam ille tàm inſignibus & mirandis iræ ſuæ exemplis in regem, regíſque fautores editis, omnibus vult eſſe notam) & ſupremos reipublicæ noſtræ Magiſtratus accuſare, convitiiſque indigniſſimis infamare auſus eſt. Veruntamen ita obtorpeſcit, tam inſulſus eſt, támque ſomniculoſum ſe glirem præbet, ut certiſſimum cauſſæ ſuæ jam languentis, & in totum penè perditæ omen præ ſe fert. Omnium enim debiliſſimam atque iniquiſſimam certe cauſſam illam neceſſe eſt eſſe, quâ in defendendâ fautores ejus non ſolùm armis, verùm etiam ratione & argumentis inferiores ſint. Meritò igitur cúm talis eſſet, ab ipſo Miltono neglectus & contemptus eſt. Multo enim indignior ab omnibus exiſtimabatur, quam ut ſpectata jam facundia limati illius atque culti authoris ad eruenda ſterquilinia, rabidámque loquacitatem tam effrænis atque ſtulti blateronis refutandam deſcenderet. Verùm nè inter ſuos perfugas inanis iſte rabula ſe venditaret & aliquid magnum, vel quod uno ſanè prandiolo dignum ſit, ſe ſcripſiſſe crederet, equidem cùm in Patriam pietate, tum inſtauratæ nuper Libertatis apud nos amore ductus, necnon illi etiam viro mihi ſemper obſervando, quem iſte inſectatur, multis officiis devinctus, pati non poteram, quin hujus ineptiſſimi nebulonis petulantiam retundendam mihi, nè rogatus quidem, ſuſciperem. Quemadmodum igitur Romani olim Tirones in palum ſe primo gladiis & pilis excercebant, ita ego in hunc caudicem ſtylum acuere & ingenii vixdum pubeſcentis rudimenta deponere haud incommodè me poſſe confido. Cum adverſario enim tam inſipido & vulgari, exiguo ſaltem quivis ingenuo, & eruditione quantumvis leviter imbutus, etiam de improviſo congredi ſine periculo poterit. Priùs igitur quàm opus ipſum aggrediar, operæ ræ pretium videtur, authorem hujus Apologiæ illuſtrem, ſi diis placet, & diſertum, in occulto tamen latentem inveſtigare. Sunt qui dicunt nomen illi Jano eſſe, obſcuro homini & bonarum literarum rudi, ex illo grege legulejorum quos pragmaticos vocant. Verùm cùm meminiſſem bifrontem eſſe Janum, alterum ſincipitium in ejus occipitio quærendum mihi eſſe ſtatui. Itaque alteri ſincipitio nomen, uti ego indiciis quibuſdam comperi, Brammalo eſt. Is librum nuper ſtylo atque ſenſu huic penè geminum ſcripſit Anglicè in Εικονοκλάστῃ, cujus & hunc fœtum eſſe haud temerè plures autumant. Virum igitur, quanquam & hic vultum in occipitio gerit, ſi libet, cognoſcite. Nam, ut ipſe profitetur, Theologiæ doctor eſt, & Epiſcopus Hibernienſis. Is cùm ab ineunte ætate homo diſcinctus & ebrioſus, epiſcoporum, qui tunc in Angliâ dominabantur, luxum, opes, ambitionem ante oculos haberet, inediâ preſſus & latrantis ſtomachi inſtinctu, nihil ſibi utilius eſſe duxit, quàm ut ſacerdotis munere indutus, Eccleſiam, tunc quidem lupis omnibus patentem, invaderet; & conciunculis aliquot ad illorum temporum pravitatem compoſitis inſtructus, quas de ſcripto recitandas circumferre ſolebat, nobilium hominum menſas, & ſacellani pinguem aliquam mercedem, ſiqua ejuſmodi offa ſe obtuliſſet, ambiebat; ubi cœnis quàm lautiſſimis precibus quàm breviſſimis uterentur. Inter alios Derbiæ comiti ſe clanculùm offerebat. Tandem verò nequitiis coopertus, benevolentiam & favorem comitis Straffordiæ, proregis in Hibernia, quem multiplicis nomine perduellionis totus populus ad ſupplicium tandem poſcebat, aſſentationibus & impudentia turpiter aucupatus eſt. Ille hominem ſe nactum eſſe ratus ad omnia facinora paratum, quíque populum adulatoriis & aulicis concionibus ſuis ad ſuſcipiendum ſervitutis jugum paratiorem redderet, Epiſcopum eum Derrienſem in Hibernia creavit. Jam verò poſt expulſos Reges & Prælatos, ad priorem vitæ inopiam redactus, rurſus eſuriens, *Curium* nunc *ſimulat* qui *Bacchanalia* modò vixit; utque pietatis obtentu cunctam rabiem in eos effunderet, qui & ipſum & cæteros iſtiuſmodi latrones ovilibus Eccleſiæ opimis expulerunt, ſpe etiam nonnulla ampliorem aliquem Epiſcopatum, mendaciorum ſuorum & audaciæ premium ſub minore Carolo devorandi, pellem ovinam induit, nil præter pietatem & ſanctimoniam præ ſe fert; ita tamen, ut oblonga Lupi cauda infra inſtitam Sacerdotalem facilè appareat.

En virum egregium præ cæteris qui apologiam pro Rege & Populo Anglicano ſcribendam ſibi ſumit! Age verò, pro *rege* ut libet. Sed quid tu pro *Populo Anglicano*, qui Dominum tuum Straffordium, hoſtem Populi acerrimum meritis pœnis affecit, téque peſſimum ejus in Eccleſia Hibernienſi ad omnia ſcelera miniſtrum pari ſupplicio affeciſſet, niſi aut fuga aut obſcuritas tua eorum manibus, qui Dominum plectebant, te furem eripuiſſet. Cur etiam apologiam *pro Populo?* An pro iis qui Regem puniverunt? haud credo; dices, pro iis qui regi favebant periodus? At illi id non requirunt, ut qui, factâ pace, modicè multati, ſua jam bona ſecurè poſſideant, ſuámque fidem Reipublicæ noſtræ obſtrinxerint. Unde tua iſta Apologia aut abſurda planè eſt, aut nimiùm intempeſtiva. Verùm tu is homo es, qui titulum iſtum libri tui, utpote ſpecioſum, vel cum maxima quavis abſurditate arripere voluiſti. Contra *Joannis* ſcilicet *Polypragmatici* defenſionem. Sic ejus nimirum contra Claudium Anonymum, ſatis concinnè quidem dictum, ſi Claudium cum Anonymo conjunxeris, inſulſè imitaris. Verùm non is Polypragmaticus eſt, qui libertatem laudat, tyrannos damnat, civium ſuorum rectè & decorè facta defendit; ſed tu potius, tuique ſimiles verè ſic dici debent, qui cum Eccleſiaſticos eſſe vos profiteamini, & Eccleſiam veſtrâ Polypragmaticâ perdidiſtis, & rerum civilium adminiſtrationem nihil ad vos pertinentem perpetuò conturbatis. Sed cauſa ſuberat gravis cur ſcriberes, credo, contra *defenſionem* Miltoni *deſtructivam*.

*Brammale dic nobis cujum pecus? anne latinum?*
*Non, verùm monachorum, illi ſic rure loquuntur.*

Cognoſcite jam hominem in illa nempe barbarie Scholaſticorum quàm in clarorum authorum puritate & ſapientia verſatiorem, quorum lucem verſpertilio iſte ferre nunquam potuit. Unde demum prodeat Apologia iſta videamus. *Antverpiâ*; hoc enim ſolum præclarus iſte Proteſtantium Epiſcopus, aſylum, ut videtur, invenire ſibi potuit, inter Jeſuitarum & Monachorum catervas, quibuſcum tales pſeudepiſcopi libentiſſimè eſſe ſolent. Rectè igitur meo judicio &

ſe dignè faciunt Proteſtantes exteri, qui turbatores iſtiuſmodi errabundos ſuis cœtibus abigunt. Saltem non auſus eſt apud ullam Batavorum civitatem hoc ſuum opuſculum typis mandare, veritus ne Illuſtriſſimi Fœderatorum Ordines, ut Salmaſii nuper ſui libellum publicè damnarunt, ita ſe quoque extorrem & erraticum nebulonem multò ſeveriùs punirent. Quod illis quidem in laudem atque honorem, huic meritò in opprobrium cedere debet.

Jam ad lectorem quædam præfatur, & pauca ſanè, ſed quæ ſtultitiam hominis & ignorantiam illiteratam plus nimio prodant. Queritur *unam tantum* Salmaſii *impreſſionem*, idq; *magna cum difficultate in lucem erupiſſe*; ejus autem libri quem Miltonus ſcripſit *tot eſſe exemplaria, ut* neſciat *cui lectorem remitteret*. Itaq; nihil hic reperio, cur non amico noſtro gratulemur, Salmaſium ſalsè rideamus. Annon hæc ſatis ad arguendam cauſæ tuæ fœditatem viſa ſunt? Miltonum omnes cum favore & plauſu te ipſo teſte legunt; Salmaſium abjiciunt, nihili faciunt. His tua pervicacia adeò non movetur, ut omnes idcirco *mortales veritatem odiſſe, mendaciorum & convitiorum amore flagrare*, impudentiſſimè accuſes, ipſe interim non Apoſtolus, non Propheta, neque Evangeliſta, ſed ſcortator & heluo ſatis notus, & ganeonum duntaxat Epiſcopus. Vos verò lectores, quos non humaniter appellat, ſed in ipſo exordio tam petulanter perſtringit, tam docti reprehenſoris veſtri imprimis ſenſum, deinde literas vereri jam diſcite; primùm enim ait Miltoni defenſionem *invidiosè elaboratam*, deinde tot excuſis exemplaribus approbatiſſimam eſſe fatetur; hæc ſanè apud omnes qui Latinè intelligunt pugnantia ſunt. Tum *tot ſunt*, inquit, *illius exemplaria, ut neſcio cui lectorem remitterem*. Satiùs tu quidem, qui vel primâ paginâ ſolœciſmos evitare non potes, ad Orbilii cujuſvis flagra remittendus es, apud quem nulla poteris apologiâ uti, quin omnes te pueri virgis & ferulis pulchrè depexum atque ornatum dimittant. Verum te jam primò auguror hac in parte haud rarò peccaturum, qui tam rem manè incipis. Neque lectorem ſtultè alloqui ſatis habes, ſed eò etiam ulterius audaciæ proceſſiſti (quo vitio ignorantia maximè laborare ſolet) ut Leidenſi Academiæ celeberrimæ ineptias tuas fœtidiſſimas Epiſtola etiam ſtultiſſimè ſcripta dedicare auſus ſis. *Alumnum* te Academiæ *quondam* fuiſſe affirmas. Tune verò Academiæ ullius unquam alumnus, cujus infantiæ propemodùm illiteratæ quemlibet vel in agris ludum literarium puderet? Leidenſem autem *alumnum* fuiſſe unquam te dicere audere, dubium tibi ne ſit, quin illa Academia vehementiſſimè indignetur; majori enim contumeliâ urbem illam afficere non potes, cujus te *quondam alumnum* fuiſſe prædicas; quanquam illud *quondam*, ſi unquam fuit, multorum poſtea annorum crapulâ in luſtris atque popinis jam diu proluiſti. Sed & tu *eorum tutelam expetis*. Hominum ſtupidiſſime, tutelam tu tuæ barbariæ in Muſarum domicilio quæris, quarum hoc ipſum munus eſt, vinctam barbariem catenis in terras ultimas exterminare: neſcis medios dilapſus in hoſtes. Saltem dum Academicos alloqueris, ſimula te literatum quempiam eſſe, vel ad punctum temporis, ſi potes. *Salmaſius*, ais, *mibi anſam prabuit qui tamen omnibus arripuit*: quænam iſti balbuties eſt? Fac modo Academia, quam interpellas, te intelligat alumnum ſuum, vix credo annotinum. *Nec calamum*, inquis, *in manum ſumere auderem* (ſapuiſſes tu quidem ſi auſus non fuiſſes) *niſi Miltoni amentia me invitum provocâſſet*. At ille te non magis provocavit, quàm qui prætereunt importunum & improbiſſimi oris canem, quem inani latratu inſequentem ita contemnit, ut vix fuſte te dignetur aut calce. *Quid vero*, inquis, *ab extero qui inter inhoſpitales Caucaſos vitam degit, expectari poterit?* Nihil ſanè: Expectationem tu noſtram minimè fefelliſti: neque certè erat opus ut te inter Caucaſos vitam degere faterere, lingua te tua ipſíque mores barbarum clamitant; Tuáque illa Caucaſea *poma* ſi dare velles, ſcito omnes Alcinoos magnoperè aſpernari. Ad Academiam quereris inter alia, quòd *Banauſi & Mechanici in pulpitam aſcenderunt*. Perdoctus tu quidem & idoneus, qui Banauſos, & Mechanicos in pulpitum aſcendentes inſecteris, qui pariter atque illi Grammaticæ rudis, haud illis magis pulpitum declinare potes. Poſtremò *Alienigenam* te *Anglum* appellas. *Id* quidem rectiſſimè: Aliena enim ſentis, aliena loqueris, quidni alienigenam te Anglum eſſe dicas, id eſt ſpurium, quem Angli veluti purgamentum ſuæ Patriæ atque piaculum jure quidem ad Caucaſos ablegârunt.

# In Præludium ad PRÆFATIONEM.

IN præludiis eſſe ſe exiſtimat vir gravis; ludos ut videtur Epiſcopales mox editurus. Favete ſpectatores Ludioni Epiſcopo. Verum putaret quis hominem non prologum agere, ſed in ipſo Procemio Oreſtem inſanum aut Athamanta ſaltare. *Ne inſaniens Cacodæmon Joannes Miltonus, &c.* O mitem & manſuetum! quàm non iracundè, quàm humaniter exorditur! quod aliis, quamlibet furentibus, extremum maledicentiæ eſt, id huic pro levi tantùm præludio habetur. Sed hoc novum non eſt: Sic enim Phariſæi olim, veri ejus progenitores, Chriſtum ipſum à Cacodæmone agitari dicebant; ut nemo vel hoc vel pejus in ſe dici, præſertim ab hoc Epiſcopo verè Diabolico, moleſtè ferat. Offenditur imprimis quòd Miltonus Reipubl inſignia, quemadmodum Salmaſius regis in fronte Libri poſuit. Hæc ille poſita ibi ait tanquam fœnum in cornu, *ut cuncti ſibi caverent*; quid hoc ad alios neſcio. Te verò Brammale non miror fœnum in cornu uſque adeò horreſcere, quoties tot tua adulteria animo revolvis. Omitto deinde quæ de cruce furcifer atque etiam de lyra ſtultiſſimè deliras: & certè præludia profeſſus, nihil aliud niſi nugas agis. *Parlamentum & Concilium ſatis ætatis habent ſeipſos armis defendere.* Atqui tuum erat potiùs cogitare, ſatíſne ætatis haberes Latinè ut poſſis id ipſum ſcribere. *Sed ringit illum Salmaſius*, vel ut poſteà perdoctè ſanè emendavit, *ringit ille pro Salmaſio* (menda an emendatio vitioſior ſit, lectorum eſto judicium) *peregrinos veretur: num tu credis quòd tot neſanda, &c.* Væ tibi Priſciane! nam ſolæciſmos hîc non ſingulos, ſed turmatim effundit. Quàm verò Peregrinos vereatur Miltonus, & imprimis illum Thraſybombomachidem Salmaſium, qui libros ejus perlegerit abundè nôrit. *Ego*, inquis, *libertatem peto à libero ſuo populo Anglicano, ut quod in re tanti ponderis liberè proferre poſſim.* Tune ut quicquam quod liberum ſit liberè proferre poſſis, mancipium aulæ fœdiſſimum, Straffordii famulus & miniſter, gulæ etiam atque inguini turpiſſimè ſerviens Epiſcopus? Quem populus opinor Univerſus de libertate concionantem veluti obſcœnum portentum abominaretur; vel etiam lapidibus obrueret, aut ſiquid mitius, ecquis huc vincula & compedes, exclamarent; ut Romani olim, Claudii quodam aulico ad concionandum miſſo, *Io Saturnalia* repentè clamabant: Nam ſervis Romæ, niſi feſtis Saturnalibus, liberè loqui non licebat. *Nos*, inquis, *ſuper dejectos cantando epiniceia triumphamus.* Rectè quidem ſuper hoſtes qui propter commoda quædam ſua cum tyranno conjurati, patriam ad ſervitutem redigere conabantur: & epinicia nos quidem minimè omnium ſuperbè cantamus, Deo ſemper gloriam tribuimus. Verùm quid ſibi volunt *epiniceia* tua, Bardocuculle? An quia tam ſtrenuè pergræcari ſolitus es, Græcè idcircò intelligere te putas? *Angit* Miltonum, inquis, *quòd Salmaſius extraneus aliquam notitiam caperet illarum rerum, quæ nunc fiunt in Anglia:* non quòd *notitiam caperet*, ſed quòd rerum nihil ad ſe pertinentium arbitrum ſe faceret, veritatem turpiſſimis mendaciis perverteret, quos non nôrat, in eos convitiis & contumeliis inveheretur. *Fures*, inquis, *lucem timent.* Tu igitur fur omnium peſſimus qui lucem times & nomen celas. Sacra etiam impuris manibus attrectas. Prov. 29. Cùm boni regnant, populus gaudet; cùm mali dominantur, populus dolet: eâ de cauſſâ cùm Carolus dominabatur, populus dolebat. Quod omnes ſatis meminerunt. Neque leve ſignum eſt, eos jam gaudere, bonis remp. gerentibus; Carolum enim Filium, etiam cum exercitu jam venientem, & libertatem, quâ incedit, omnibus pollicentem, tanquam hoſtem averſantur ubique, & fugiunt, vi etiam & armis cum ſumma alacritate propulſant.

Quàm autem ſis ineptus nunquam clariùs perſpicitur, quàm cùm de te loqueris, ut hîc. *Fateor*, inquis, *ut huic veteratori reſpondeam, me multò inferiorem bonis omnibus & adjumentis vita ſpoliatum.* Quibuſnam bonis? Si bonis animi, doctrinâ & ingeniò ſis inferior, cur non parem tibi congreſſum potiùs quæſiviſti? Sed is puto es, qui eſſe doctum, eſſe eloquentem nihil aliud niſi eſſe divitem exiſtimes: ut bonis externis & vitæ adjumentis ſpoliatus ſi ſis, Doctrinâ quoque & ingenio ſpoliatus tibi videare. Ain' vero tu *bonis omnibus ſpoliatum te eſſe?* Callidus nimis es & vafer, cupis celare divitias tuas, verùm non potes. Indicabo ego te & facultates tuas. Præter illa bona, quæ erepta tibi eſſe dicis, reſtat adhuc tibi, non enim celabis, ingens, eóque ingentius, quòd nemo tibi eripiet, ſolœciſmorum peculium; in eo genere divitiarum, neminem te locupletiorem cognovi. Extorrem præterea te eſſe queritaris; Vah quàm indigne! Ut perſpicias igitur quàm ſum pro te ſollicitus, eſt in Cilicia oppidum Soli, antiquum, ut perhibent, & ſatis amplum; illuc omnes qui ſolœciſmos tam ſtrenuè facere ſolent, coloniam ducunt; Sarcinas igitur quàm primùm collige, eò enim te, tuáſque omnes facultates ſuadeo transferas. Permagna ibi te latifundia, mihi crede, manent, immò niſi fallor, Solœcorum omnium principatum facilè unus obtinebis. Verùm quod nullum tibi unquam fuit (ſi ingenium dicis quo inferiorem te factum fateris) id tibi nos ſcilicet eripuiſſe inſimulas. Cùm te contrà ab adverſario multas dictiones, & aptè uſitata ab eo verba ineptè ſuffurari non pudeat. *Superbire* Miltonum ais, *nominibus ſuis & titulis in Frontiſpicio ſuſpenſis.* Quæ ille nomina præter ſuum, quos ille titulos in Fronte Libri ſuos poſuit; An ideo ſuperbus, quia ſe ſui neque nominis neque cauſæ pudebat? Hæccine tibi *Phylacteria* ſunt? *Salmaſium*, inquis, Miltonus, *tanquam anonymum convitiis & ſcommatibus ſcurrilibus perſequitur.* Multò certè ſermonis lepore & facetiis in hominem jocatur, tu ſcurrile quicquam ab eo dictum nequis oſtendere. *Sed ſeculo venturo omnes Miltoni hoc nomine miſere vapulabunt, ne fortè* (id eſt ejus loquelâ, niſi fortè) *judicet mundus, &c.* Quicquid de Miltonis ſeculo venturo fiat, tu vates ventriloquus & infantiſſimus fide nullâ es dignus. *Sed nil novi viros optimos nomina ſua reticuiſſe.* Nempe quia tu ità facis. *Sic ſanctus Paulus ad Hebræos*; ſcripſit enim ad Nationem ſuo nomini infenſiſſimam, de rebus admodum novis & parum creditis; tu verò Populo Anglicano, tu exteris tibi & cauſæ tuæ, ut ipſe ais, minimè iniquis, de re notiſſimâ, & apud omnes gentes, ut idem ais, receptiſſima, & tamen malè tibi conſcius nomen occultas. *Sic Beza.* Rectè meminiſti, ſcripſit enim *Vindicias contra tyrannos*, quas tu inter *veritates* illas, *quæ, ut nunc temporis, vix hiſcere audebant*, recenſes. *Virtus*, inquis, apud nos *vitio vertitur.* Quia Brammali ſcilicet virtutes, ebrietas, voracitas, alea, ſcortatio vitia habentur. *Sed Cantabrigia & Oxonium ſuis invictis declarationibus ſe ab hoc crimine liberârunt.* At invictæ illæ Declarationes fatuitatis & væcordiæ facilè evincuntur: Academiarum enim non erant, ſed Prælatorum factionis, quæ ibi reliqua erat. Rectiùs nunc ſapiunt Academiæ. *Genevam*, inquis, *Deodatus* hoc crimine *liberavit.* Solus fortaſſe ſenſum ille ſuum, non totius Academiæ judicium explicavit. *Leydam quoque Salmaſius.* Non Leydenſis tamen, ſed externus. Leydenſes libertate priùs recuperatâ, quàm literis clari erant.

*Tot ergò doctorum & bonorum agmine circumvallatus*, vix uno videlicet atque altero, *faciam rem non difficilem, cauſam Dei omnipotentis dicturus*, Dei nimirum tui, hoc eſt ventris, aut Bacchi, qui tibi omnipotens eſt; cujus auſpiciis Brammalus

*Grammaticus, Geometra, Miniſter, Alipta, Sacerdos,*
*Augur, Scœnobates, Medicus, Magus, omnia novit.*
*Brammalus eſuriens, in cœlum, juſſeris, ibit.*

ſed eodem credo ſucceſſu, quo Grammaticatur. Nam *in tantam crevit audaciam, ut quicquid libet dicere, licet:* hac ejus ſyntaxis eſt. *Sed* Miltonius *monarchiam è mundo tollere laborat.* Dic ubi? Omnibus enim populis ſemper hoc liberum reliquit, ſive monarchiam vellent, ſive aliam regiminis formam; tantummodò nolentibus imponi noluit. Ad ſolæciſmos tuos redeo, qui jam vix intermittunt; *Quidni Salmaſio non pepercit rabula? Videtur tamen ſua canina ferocia catenis vinctus vel potiùs vinciendus, qui omnes undique mordit.* Unde tibi iſti nitores Orationis & lumina, Brammale? Fieri non poteſt, quin omnes obſcurorum virorum epiſtolas & loculos expilaveris. Crimini das Miltono, *quod is in partem adjutorii* (ejus enim Barbariſmis utor) *Deum vocet.* Facis ut te decet Epiſcopum atheum & prophanum. Sed miraris *quâ fronte* Miltonus *auſus eſt dicere, ſe hac, jubente Parlamento, evulgâſſe.* Primum Miltonus hoc nuſquam dicit; ſed dixiſſe finge, ut certè fingis, quid tu contra? *Si vera*, inquis, *narrat, ubi Brown vel Elſing, vel Scobel, Clerici Parlamentariorum?* Næ tu homo verè minutulus es, & nullius pretii: Nihilne putas jubente atque etiam libente Parlamento prodire in lucem poſſe, niſi cui nomen Clerici Parlamentarii adſcribatur? Mirum eſt tot tibi nugas cogitanti non hoc etiam in mentem veniſſe, quod vulgò dicitur, ——

*Clericus in libro non valet ova duo.*

præſertim cujus tu farinæ clericus es, qui mediocriter ſaltem latinè non intelligis; ſi enim intellexiſſes, non hæc ejus verba, *qua authoritate Parlamenti ſcripta & declarata ſunt*, de ejus libro dicta exiſtimares, verúm de publicis Parlamenti ſcriptis, & declarationibus paſſim editis. Neque te quicquam ex verbis ejus lucratum eſſe cenſiſſes, quamvis quod dixiſſe eum falsò accuſas, *factionem* rempubl. dixiſſet; factionem enim tam in bonam quàm in malam partem olim dici vel pueris notum eſt. Progrederis deinde, *Una factio erat & armis ſe tuetur ( non jure ) tui.* Quid tù hic tibi velis? Si capis ipſe, bene eſt, ego quidem non capio. Ut nec ſequentia tua de *Parlamento ſupremo, Concilio ſummo, de Grammaticâ* denique *comparandi gradibus laborante.* Id te angit potius quòd Hierarchia tua gradibus laborat. *Hunc*, inquis, *honorem Deo ceditis, ut dum vos veſtris mundanis gaudeatis, nè minimam Religionis aut animarum curam ſuſcipere velle, palàm profitemini.* En iterum fœde ſolœcum! Sed ſane dignum eſt, ut tu, qui animarum cura quid ſit, nunquam ſciviſti, eam civili gladio commiſſam crederes. Nos verò, ais *magno impetu proſternimus veræ religionis cultores.* Hoſtes quidem civiles & proditores, Religionis autem cultores Religionis causâ non proſternimus. *Salmaſium* deinde crepas: tace de Salmaſio, ille ſuos patitur manes, & in Suecorum aulâ jam diu friget. Sed Miltonus, ut omnes reſpublicas & *Illuſtriſſimos etiam Hollandiæ Ordines* in partes ſuas pelliceret, *Illorum principi* oblatrat. Advertite Hollandi, Principem nuper mortuum, veſtrum principem appellat; nec vos quidem liberos eſſe patitur. Cavete, dum licet, ne pervagante hujuſmodi aulicorum doctrina elatus, alter quiſpiam apud vos princeps ac Dominus ſuccreſcat. Tandem *Præludium* hoc grandi ſolœciſmo penè claudit, *hæreditarium regis imperium, cui totus populus per multos annos juratus conſentierunt.* Vos lectores eruditi, quotquot literas humaniores amatis, præſantem hunc Bavium, immò barbarum, odio quo dignus eſt, & ſibilo proſequimini.

## CAP. I.

PRæludiis amotis fabulam expectabamus, promiſſas nimirum illas Miltoni confutationes. Et certè hoc ſenſu reverâ fabulam agit; eorum enim quæ promiſit, nihil præſtat; ſed partim maledictis, partim inſulſis regiæ fortunæ miſerationibus totum hoc caput exhaurit. *Non ſum*, inquit, *tam audax Phormio, ut Salmaſio me compararem, quàm Miltonus, qui ſe Salmaſio opponere auderet.* Næ tu Phormio quis fuerit in Comœdia parùm videris intelligere. At quid ais? *Miltonum Salmaſio opponere ſe audere*, Grammaticorum Pyrgopolynici? Facinus ingens narras. *Nam ſi authoritate*, inquis, *dirimenda lis ſit, plus fidei uni Salmaſio, quàm mille millenis Miltonis omnes ingenui & docti darent.* At verò qui authoritatem vel Salmaſio vel Miltono dant, niſi quam eorum alteruter ratione & argumentis ſibi acquirit, ipſi neque docti, neque ingenui ſunt. Miltonum exteris antehac ignotum veritas & ratio commendavit: Salmaſium inane nomen, & multæ lectionis opinio commendare ſine ratione non valuit, quin ab amicis etiam ejus, & fautoribus longè inferior in hoc certamine ſit judicatus. Tu totam de patribus diſputationem ſatis callidè abs te amoves, ut quos nunquam conſulueris. *Miltonum in plurimis Salmaſio caſtigandum relinquis.* Munus profectò ſatis arduum Salmaſio reliquiſti, qui Miltoni reſponſum cùm legeret, ita, ut videtur, perculſus eſt & quatefactus, ut, ſolutâ alvo, in latrinam putem confugiſſe: Unde ſcripſit ad amicos, cacabundus in hæc verba: *Ego iſtum Miltonum permerdabo & perminugam.* Baliſtam ſatis validam in poſtico geras oportet, Salmaſi, qua merdas tam longè contorquere aut explodere te poſſe putas. Hinc eſt quòd tam fœtida meditantem jam diu in Aula Sueciæ fœtere te dicant: Neque mirum eſt, ſi Sueciæ regina, quamvis opinione vulgi primùm decepta, nunc ſuo acri judicio compertum te & cognitum tam olentem Mœvium à ſe abjecerit. Ferunt alii, cùm paginam unam atque alteram reſponſi illius percurriſſet, furore correptum ſic ſubitò rodomontari cœpiſſe. *Ego perdam iſtum nebulonem & totum Parlamentum.* Hæc verba ipſius ad nos delata retuli; & ſanè ſi iſtiuſmodi homo eſt, non is idoneus qui caſtiget alios, ſed qui ipſe caſtigetur, in Phreneticorum potiùs gymnaſium deportandus. Progredere, *Prætermiſſis*, ut ais, *Oratoriis & veriſimilibus ex Cicerone, Ariſtotele, Euripide, Sophocle, & aliis Ethnicorum ſcriptis. Non enim Chriſtianis neceſſariò recurrendum eſt ad Ethnicos.* Neſcis ergò Salmaſium tuum hanc priùs affectâſſe viam? Miltonus eò tantùm adverſarium ſecutus eſt provocantem. Tu verò interim hypocrita ignaviæ tuæ conſulis, qui cum nullum ſanè bonum, aut facundum authorem unquam attigeris, id ſtudio pietatis non feciſſe te ſimulas. Miltonus aiebat, *pater nos genuit, non Rex.* Tu inde nomen patris à ſpecie ad numerum detorques, ut captiones hinc quaſdam & amphibolias frigidiſſimas conſuere poſſis; quas ne recitatione quidem dignas exiſtimo, adeo ſunt ineptæ & mucoſæ. *Si verò*, inquis, *rex juvenis uxorem ambiens Papam Patrem ſanctiſſimum appellaverit, non tam acri cenſura perſtringendus.* Sic Zimri juvenis Moabiſſam uxorem ambiens à religione vera defecit; an excuſatior idcirco eſt; *Probabile*, verò, ais, *eſſe quòd literam ſecretariis ſuis ſcribendam commiſit.* Eò magis culpandus, qui rem tanti momenti, quæque religionem atque honorem ſuum in dubium vocare poterat, Secretariis tam minimè probis commiſerit. Verùm & nos *Regem Hiſpaniarum Regem Catholicum* appellamus. Iſtarum literarum exemplar æquum eſt te proferre, ſi potes, ſicuti nos Regis ad Papam protulimus. *Et quidni*, inquis, *Papam Patrem ſanctiſſimum appellaveritis, ſi in politicis vobiſcum ſentiret.* Sic ſcurræ ſolent deprehenſi; quod ſe feciſſe conſtat, id alios facere velle calumniantur. Hos mores ſcurrarum lepidiſſime depingit Plautus:

> *Nihil eſt profecto ſtultius atque ſtolidius,*
> *Neque mendaciloquius, neque perjurius,*
> *Quàm urbani aſſidui cives, quos ſcurras vocant;*
> *Qui omnia ſe ſimulant ſcire, nec quicquam ſciunt,*
> *Quod quiſquam in animo habet, aut habiturus eſt, ſciunt.*
> *Quæ neque futura, neque facta ſunt, tamen illi ſciunt.*

*Si hos vermes*, ais, *Regum auribus inſidiantes, & velut intus exiſtentes, prohibent allenum, ut neminem ſibi fidelem audire poterat, Rex radicitus extirpaſſet, &c.* Credo iſtos vermes & auribus & cerebro tuo inſidiantes, Grammaticæ rudimenta, ſiqua tibi inſculpta erant, penitùs exediſſe. Rurſus *Deodatum* affers, *qui regem noſtrum unicum Reformatæ Religionis defenſorem inſignivit.* At, inquam, longius abſuit Deodatus, quam ut Carolum in cute nôſſe poſſet; ne dicam clauſiſſe oculos, ſi poſt Rupellenſes Reformatos tam à Carolo præclarè defenſos hoc dixerit. Sed pergis, *vobis qui Carolum è mundo ſuſtuliſtis, tandem redeundi patet via in Ægyptum, ex quo ægrè detinemini.* Eja Solorum decus, quàm te jam in municipio tuo Solenſi oblectas, à quo nemo te poſſit detinere, ne ſi furcâ quidem expelleret. Miltonus, ais, *nec locum, nec librum, ubi à ſe prolata*, è ſummorum Theologorum libris *inveniemus, exhibet*, At iſta loca Miltonus facilè protuliſſet, niſi ipſe Salmaſius adverſos ſibi pleróſque reformatos Theologos haud uno in loco faſſus eſſet; quæ tamen loca eorum ſcripta legentibus ita paſſim occurrunt, ut hinc tua potiùs ignorantia conſtet, qui neque illos, neque ipſum Salmaſium prælegiſſe videris. Jam *Davidis* exemplum omnibus notum narras. Rationes autem illas, quas attulit Miltonus; cur exemplum illud ad cauſam hanc non pertineret, non attingis; tantummodò Unctum Domini, Unctum Domini ingeminas. Dic ſodes ergò, Eſtne omnis Rex unctus Domini? Omnis, ais præſertim Chriſtianus. Cur ergò dux Joſua quinque unctos Domini uno die ſuſpendit? Nam Chriſtianos ſi dices non fuiſſe, ridiculum eſt; quandoquidem Chriſtianum profiteri, cùm ſit maleficus, neminem ſupplicio debito eximere poteſt. *David*, inquis, *viam nobis monſtravit tolerantiæ, ut Deo judici relinquetur, qui impœnitentem percutiet, ut morietur.* Quid me cogis? defeſſus jam penè ſum, Solenſes tuas delitias perambulando. Ad Davidem recurris; Salmaſio reſponſum erat eadem inculcanti, Davidem privatum privatas injurias ulciſci noluiſſe. Tu Parlamentum omne privatum eſſe dicis, Regem Carolum, unctum Domini fuiſſe; nihil tamen horum probas, nihil ab adverſario dictum cum ratione oppugnas. *Si ex aura populari*, inquis, *diademata regibus auferenda, quis non vellet ſe ex infima plebe terræ filium potiùs eſſe quàm regem?* Id noli timere; utcunque non deeſſent reges.

Neque te, credo, hoc deterrebat, quò minùs Epiſcopatum turpiter ambires, quamvis populo inviſum. *At* Miltonus, ais, *dum poteſtatem populi in reges ſuos imprudenter prædicat, reges omnes eſſe tyrannos inſtruit.* Sic ſanè ut lex inſtruit homicidas, quia vetat.

> —— *Jam Troja maneret*, ais,
> *Conſilio Priami ſi foret uſa ſenis.*

At verò noſter Priamus, vel Paris potiùs, non Trojæ uſus conſilio, ſed Helenæ ſuæ, & ſe perdidit & regnum ſuum. Jam ordine perrupto ad nonum puto vel decimum caput excurris. Miltonum, ais, aſſeruiſſe, *nullum membrum Parlamenti abſque proprio conſenſu in judicium vocari poſſe, Regem* autem tu ſaltem *membrum* Parlamenti eſſe dicis. Præpropere tu quidem id ibas petitum, quod nuſquam erat, neque à quoquam, quod memini, unquam dictum. Hoc etiam reſponſum tuliſſe Regem, cùm quinque Membra poſceret, falſiſſimum eſt, quòd ex illa re geſta ſatis liquet. *Noſti*, inquis, *quod niſi à ſicariis veſtris impeditus populus eſſet, regem è veſtris manibus eripuiſſent.* Verùm quos tu populum, eſſe exiſtimas, nos non putamus. An verò Regiorum gregem illum perditum, totiéſque domitum, populum appellas? Nos ita non exiſtimamus: victi bello, quod ipſi intulerant, jus populi amiſerunt. Miltonum graviter accuſas, quod dixerit, Salmaſium Regis mortem ineptè plorantem, legentium neminem pilo triſtiorem reddidiſſe. Non ergo in Miltonum, ſed in ſtolidiſſimas Conducti ploratoris nænias culpam conferre debes.

> *Men' moveat quippe, & cantet ſi naufragus, aſſem*
> *Protulerim. —— Verum: nec nocte paratum*
> *Plorabit, qui me volet incurvaſſe querelâ.*

*Majori patientia*, inquis, *ferunt Epiſcopi convitia tua.* Epiſcoporum ſanè patientia omnibus nota eſt. Hic verò quaſi interno dolore perculſus, magno fervore & conatu, Epiſcoporum cæremonias & ambitiones aſſerere contendis. Unde apertiùs licet conjicere, te Brammalum lurconem illum, quem antea diximus eſſe, qui Epiſcopos combibones, & commeſſatores tuos, belli civilis faces, tam gnaviter defendis. *Quod duxerit Hippia mœchos*, inquis, *innumerabiles ſunt.* At multò magis innumerabiles, quot Brammalus fecerit mœchas. *Sed Rex noſter*, ais, *Templa noſtra decenter ornavit, & honoravit in honorem Dei, nunquam in equorum ſtabulos convertebat.* Nunquam, mihi crede, Templa veſtra tàm *decenter ornavit*, quàm tu Solorum Templa egregiis tuis ornaſti ſolœciſmis, quorum monumenta ſane ſempiterna nunquam interibunt. Te Deum omnis ſolœci, te patronum tam præclare de illo municipio meritum colent poſthac in ſecula, & invocabunt; in memoriam etiam eloquentiæ tuæ tam aſininæ, non Scholas diſcipulis tuis, ſed *ſtabulos* dicabunt. Regem autem veſtrum aio minimè omnium *Templa* ornaſſe, ſed ipſum potius in equorum ſtabula, atque in haras etiam convertiſſe, dum tot immundos prælatos, tot porcos Epiſcopos, te denique ſpurciſſimum in Eccleſiam introduxit. *Regias* jam *partes agi* dicis, ſi Presbyterianos graviùs incuſemus. Nec tamen Chriſtus ipſe & Apoſtoli, falſos Evangelii Doctores, fratres ſubdititios, Religiones prætextu Eccleſiæ inſidiantes, mitiùs olim increpabant. An ergò dicta eorum aut ſcripta *digladiari in ſe invicem* dices, quòd ſuos vel libentes, vel deficientes à fide atque integritate liberrimè reprehenderent? *Ubi mutatur forma reipublica ex Monarchia in aliam, non datur ſucceſſio, &c.* Non hunc Miltonus ſolùm, ſed Salmaſius *obicem Carolo ſecundo* poſuit; ejus enim verba ſunt ſi advertiſſes. Verùm tu, aut coecus aut demens, in ſocios pariter ac hoſtes incurris. *Tantâ*, inquis, *illorum aſtutiâ omnia obliterata ſunt, ut conclamatum eſt de viribus humanis; ſed nos qui per fidem in Deum expectamus reſurrectionem futuram, &c.* Apage ſis temulente. Quid tibi aut vinolentiis tuis cùm fide, quem ſi pocula tua majora ita conſopirent, ut reſurgere nunquam poſſes, feliciùs profecto conſultum tibi foret. *Scires libenter quid per populum* vellimus Scirem ego viciſſim, quid Romani per Senatum Populúmque Romanum voluerit. Quæris *quod remedium reſtat populo contra tyrannidem Parlamenti.* Tum id quoque dicam, cùm cauſæ quid erit; nunc ſupervacua ne quære.

CAP.

# CAP. II.

DEfinierat Salmaſius regem *Deo ſolo minorem, legibus ſolutum*; *ſi noſtram rempub. ſic definiret aliquis*, conſenſuros nos eſſe ais, qui tamen regis illam definitionem oppugnavimus. Inſtitutum hoc tuum eſſe video, cùm refutare nihil poſſis, poſſe ſaltem calumniari. *Et qui penetrabit* Miltoni *ſcripta*, inquis, *nil præter barbariem & inſaniam inveniet*. Dirumpi ergo neceſſe eſt te, qui tot viros doctos & probos de Miltoni ſcriptis longè aliter ſentire, invitus quotidie cernis. Barbariem verò tu cuiquam impudentiſſime? quem præter linguæ fatuitatem, cùm ſenſus belluini & ſtupor, tum etiam mores in ipſa vaſtitate barbariæ natum atque nutritum clamant. Utcunque tamen ſiquid affers audiamus. *Petrus ſupremum vocat Regem.* Supereminentem quidem vocat; ídque vulgari potiùs loquendi more, quàm verè politico, pro eorum captu ad quos ſcripſit. Sic Conſul Romanus ὕπατος eſt vocatus, id eſt ſupremus, quô modô & Poloniæ Rex, & Dux Venetiarum ſupremus vocari poteſt; qui tamen, ſi politicas rationes accuratiùs inire volumus, & multorum inſtituta regnorum, ſupremi non ſunt. Ita igitur ſupremum vocâſſe regem Apoſtolus cenſendus eſt, ut tamen leges cujuſque gentis, & jura, & reipub. formam inviolatam eſſe vellet. Et certè non tam ſupremus quis ſit, docet aut diſputat, quàm quas ob cauſas & quatenus obedientiam ſive ſupremis, ſive præſidibus præſtare debeamus: id Miltonus copioſè explicuit; tu neſcio an tuæ conſcientiâ væcordiæ, conſultò prætermittis. *Quaſi*, inquis, *triginta Athenis tyranni non plus poterant in damnum populi, quàm unus ſi maximè tyrannus eſſe voluerit.* At inquam ego contrà, nullus unquam fuit unus, *ſi maximè tyrannus eſſe voluerit*, quin tyrannos non triginta ſolùm, ſed trecentos, atque etiam multò plures in damnum populi conſtituere ſoleret: fruſtra igitur ſub uno, ſive Monarchiâ, tyranno melius populo fore ſperas: nullus enim in republica tyrannus unquam unus fuit, quin plurimos ſibi adſciſcere tyrannos neceſſe habuerit. *Rex ſi abutetur*, inquis, *poteſtate ſua in regni detrimentum, à ſuis ſubditis impediri poteſt & debet.* Rectè concedis: ſed quouſque impediri poſſit ac debeat non dicis. Poteſt enim tyrannus eouſque procedere in detrimentum regni, ut niſi vim vi repellamus, eumque pro hoſte habeamus, impedire nullo modo poſſimus. Concedis igitur ipſe, & fruſtra contendis veritate victus, ſed videri concedere non vis, pertinaciæ ſtudioſior, quam veritatis; nam quod impediri ais tyrannum debere, *non in judicium trahi & capite plecti* vel *ab uno* vel *ab omnibus*, ſed *Dei judicio relinquendum eſſe*, nugæ ſunt, & gratis dictæ; quæ ſingula, non affirmanda, ſed probanda tibi reſtant. Vis Monarchiam reipublicæ formâ eſſe perfectiorem. Id nos in præſentia non agimus. Tua tamen argumenta, quoniam vacat, videamus. *Introductam à Deo* dicis *in ultimum & præſtantiſſimum remedium populo toties ab inimicis ſubacto ſub judicibus.* Primùm cur illud præſtantiſſimum remedium non primò potiùs, quàm ad ultimum adhibitum fuerit, cùm Deus Rempub. ſuam quam præſtantiſſimis legibus formaret; deinde cùm Iſraëlitæ Regem peterent, pòſt annos circiter quadringentos ſub judicibus exactos, ſi Monarchia præſtantiſſimum illud remedium Deo viſum eſt, cur ab ea diſſuaſerit populum ſuum ac deterruerit, ſolum. Cur denique petentes eos peccati graviſſimi reos fecerit, fac quæſo intelligamus: *quòd Theocratiam*, inquis, *rejicerent*, nempe ſub judicibus. At verò illi non minùs in Monarchiâ Theocratiam retinere poterant, ac debebant: ſin minùs, tu Monarchiam dum præſtantiſſimam eſſe dicis, non Theocratiam, ſed Atheocratiam cave dixeris; in qua Deus tàm præſens regere ſuum populum quàm ſub judicibus non potuit. Certè ſi gubernantibus illis Theocratiam in Republica fuiſſe dicis, ut certe fuit, haud aliam gerendæ Reipublicæ formam præſtantiorem, ut ſunt res mortalium, invenire quiſquam poterit. *Reſpondeat mihi*, inquis, *tuus Populus Anglicanus, utrùm ligneo Caroli jugo excuſſo, aliquam miſeriarum relaxationem inveniant.* Reſpondet itaque jugum ſe Caroli ferreum à conſcientiis ſuis depuliſſe, jugum idem Epiſcoporum; ſua vectigalia, ſuoſque cenſus non nunc aulicæ luxuriæ, & libidinibus, ſed vincendis hoſtibus & propagandis imperii finibus ultrò ſe impendere. *Leges*, ais, *Moſi & regibus à Deo datas quibus regant populum*; *num populo lex data, ut Reges regeret?* Immò apertè leges tàm Moſi & regibus, quàm cætero populo ſunt datæ, ut tam ſe, quam populum regerent; ſin minùs, ita ut regerentur ab aliis, ut ne lex Dei cuivis mortalium fruſtra daretur. *Quis geret*, inquis, *gladium? populus?* Immò populus per Magiſtratum, quem ſive unum ſive plures ex omni ſuo numero elegerit. Neque ullas propterea confuſiones, quas metuis, excitari neceſſe erit, *Si vel pedem*, inquis, *figeres*, de regibus actum erit, δὸς ποῦ στήσω καὶ τὴν γῆν κινήσω. Utinam pedem ipſe tandem figeres Silene, ſi Brammalus es. Nam nos locum, ubi ſtes ebrius, dare non poſſumus, quin ea quæ fixiſſima ſunt & firmiſſima, tibi in gyrum moveri, & cum cerebro tuo ſemper madente circumnatare videantur. *Quis te*, inquis, *juramento Regi præſtito liberare potuit?* Juramentum ipſum, quo Regi non propter Regem, ſed reipublicæ cauſâ obſtricti fuimus; quam cùm perditum iret, & ſuum ipſe priùs jusjurandum violavit, & noſtrum ſolvit. Nihil enim naturæ, nihil rationi aut gentium juri contrarium magis eſſet, quàm ſi Regi jusjurandum ſuum violare ad libidinem liceret, populus ſervare fidem ad perniciem ſuam teneretur. *Ut dicto audientes Moſi fuimus, ita erimus tibi, modo Deus tecum ſit, quemadmodum fuit cum Moſe.* Sic Reubenitæ ad Jehoſuam. *Conditionem hîc nullam* vides *expreſſam.* Ad Anticyras ergò naviga, aut domi crapulam edormiſce; cras, mihi crede, nihil expreſſius videbis, neque tam ſtultè interrogabis *quid ſi Deus Joſuam deſereret*, ſed quid ſi Joſua Deum deſereret: Tum enim quid facturi eſſent Reubenitæ, tibi reſpondebimus. *Nutare mihi crede jus Regium videtur.* Hoc de jure regio, prout Salmaſius deſcribit, dictum eſt. Neque eſt hoc *Monarchiam legitimam in Carolo trucidare*, quod tu toties invidioſè & paraſiticè vociferaris. Nunc quod minimè es, vatem ſcilicet & concionatorem piiſſimum multis deinceps verbis agere cupis; dúmque adulterum videri te metuis, profers adulterinum. *Digitum Dei agnoſcimus & veneramur punientem ingratum populum.* At populo benè eſt & proſperè, quem tu nequicquam ingratitudinis accuſas; tu potiùs Dei digitum agnoſce, te tuoſque unà cum omnibus tyranni fautoribus inſigniter punientem. *Nondum*, ais, *Hiſpania & Pontificii velum abduxerunt.* Quid nobis Hiſpaniam & Pontificios toties immeritò objicis; qui non ignoremus Carolum tuum minorem in Belgio commorantem legatos ad Papam miſiſſe, ut vel ab ipſo Antichriſto Rex reformatus contra patriam & reformatos auxilium imploraret. *Perſecutio*, inquis, *jam in Anglia maxima eſt, quæ fuerat à tempore quo populus aliquis inhabitabat.* An major eâ quam Brammalus in Hiberniâ nuper excitavit, qui curiam Inquiſitionis conſcientiis hominum tàm infeſtam & tyrannicam, primus omnium in Hiberniam introduxit. Te verò illum ipſum fuiſſe ſequentia clariùs oſtendunt. In hoc enim jam totus es, ut Eccleſiaſticam tyrannidem defendas. *Nam quod tanta*, inquis, *jam patimur, hæc eſt ratio præcipua, quod in aliquibus Anabaptiſtarum & cæterorum omnium ſciſmaticorum clamoribus viam concedentes, uno dato abſurdo ſequuntur infinita.* Ipſiſſimus hic Brammalus ille antiquum obtines, qui reformatis omnibus ſciſmaticorum nomine infamatis omnem conſcientiæ libertatem adimere perpetuò ſtudebas. Nunc illorum importunitati, id eſt, conſcientiæ, etiam nonnulla unquam conceſſa fuiſſe graviter doles. *Reges Anglorum judicari poſſe à ſuis ſubditis* Miltonum ais docere, *exemplo pravorum temporum, & jure à ſapientibus damnatis chartis obſoletis, & ob multas corruptiones meritò exploſis.* Quid illo hominum genere abſurdius aut impudentius? quærunt modò quo jure, quâ lege factum quidque à nobis ſit, ſi leges non recitamus, contra eas feciſſe nos judicant; ſi leges noſtras proferimus antiquas, ratas, atque notiſſimas, hi ſtatim *obſoletas & meritò exploſas* eſſe aiunt: nec tamen quo tempore exploſæ aut abrogatæ fuerint, uſquam oſtendunt. Ita, dum tyrannidem ſine authoritate aſſerere cupiunt, & vetera & nova pariter rejiciunt. *Quidni*, inquis, Uzzias Rex leproſus *à Sacerdotibus templo deturbaretur, cum Deus lepræ probandæ, & leproſi omnis excludendi poteſtatem & mandatum ſacerdotibus dederat.* At verò idem Deus, lex eadem omnis malefici puniendi poteſtatem & mandatum magiſtratibus dederat, neque magis tamen leproſi regis exturbandi, quàm malefici regis puniendi vel hîc vel illic mentio facta eſt. Si lepræ judicio regem eximi non vis, quia nominatim non excipitur, eâdem certè ratione neque ullis aliis legibus aut judiciis regem exemeris. Sed video quid agitis, ut regem quamvis veſtrâ ſententiâ ſupremum, vobis tamen ſacerdotibus ſubjiciatis, utque rex in populum abſoluto atque ſupremo dominaretur imperio, vos ſacrificuli ſupremo ſuperiores eodem imperio dominaremini in regem. *Conſenſus*, inquis, *populi & inauguratio tantùm adjuncta neceſſaria fuêre.* Hoc in Saule, Davide, ejúſque poſteris concedo, de quibus nominatim creandis Dei mandatum præceſſerat: Tu idem de Carolo aut ullis ejus majoribus oſtende. *Rex*, ais, *nunquam pepigit* *cum populo ut illi eum caſtigarent ſi aliter quàm bene regeret.* Neque populus cum rege pepigit, ſe illi quicquid collibitum eſt facienti, in perniciem ſuam obtemperaturos. Neque verò in privato quovis ſyngrapho, ullus unquam pepigit ut creditoribus liceret, ſi is debitum non ſolveret, lege in eum agere, & in carcerem conjicere, ejúſque bona poſſidere, quoad plenè ſibi ſatisfactum eſſet. Hæc & iſtiuſmodi quæ accidere nollemus, in pactionibus & fœderibus vel honoris causâ vel boni ominis conſulto non exprimimus; quia cùm paciſcimur, talia nunquam eventura optamus; quæ etiam ſine monitis intelligere per ſe quiſque & cavere debet. Tu hic tritum illud ingeris; *per me reges regnant*; fatemur, ſicut & per eum ſunt, agunt, & moventur omnia: Tu *modo peculiari*, inquis. Tu, inquam, de tuo hoc dicis, autoritatem verbi divini nullam affers. Subjicis, *alioqui cui fini illa pracepta obedientię in novo Teſtamento.* Quoties tibi reſpondebitur obedientiam abſurdam & irrationabilem in novo Teſtamento non præcipi; ſed qualis ea, & quibus, & quam ob cauſam præſtanda ſit, luculentiſſimè doceri. Qui habet aures, audiat. *Qui repugnant*, inquis, *damnabuntur, quod proculdubio nunquam minaretur Apoſtolus, ſi privatorum tantum rationem vel paucorum habuerat.* Quaſi verò multi privati ſine Magiſtratuum authoritate ſeditioſi eſſe non poſſint; quid hoc ad populum cùm Magiſtratibus & Parlamento contra tyrannos arma ſumentem? *Hoc honore Deus dilectos ſuos decoravit, ut Gentium Reges vinculis coercerent, &c.* Id fieri dicis *Evangelicis non legalibus catenis.* Inſipidè prorſus. An vindicta ergò ſic exercetur in gentes? An ferreæ compedes Evangelii vincula ſunt, quas Pſalmus ille regibus & proceribus minatur? Tu hoc, ut ſoles, de Sacerdotibus, non de bonis Magiſtratibus & populo intelligi vis, qui pontificale quoddam regnum tuorum in omnes Laïcos futurum ſomnias. *Iſraelitę*, inquis, *quia regem rejicere, à Salmanſore in Captivitatem ſunt abducti. Judai, qui regi Rehoboamo fideles manſerant, ſub illius tutela ſecuri vivebant.* Hiſtoriam ſacræ Scripturæ ſi conſuluiſſes, non neſcires Hieroſolymas ſub ipſo ſtatim Rehoboamo à Seſako Ægyptiorum rege captas, & Theſauris ſuis ſpoliatas, longè priùs quàm Iſraëlitæ in captivitatem abducerentur. *Jeroboamo Deus decem tribus aſſignavit, quod de veſtra repub. nobis non conſtat.* Tam nobis, inquam, de noſtra repub. quàm vobis de veſtro Carolo: Immò longè plùs. *Veſtros*, inquis, *Capnomantes & Entheos pro Dei vatibus non recipimus.* Neque nos te præſertim aleatorem, ebrioſum & Scortatorem Epiſcopum: cujus vaticinia hoc capite ſolœcorum floribus ornatiſſima in gratiam tui ſtudioſorum, nequid tàm emuncti authoris deſideraretur, huc in fine congeſſimus. *Ariſtocratia nonnunquam cachiſtocratia dicenda.* Tàm orthographicè hoc abs te quàm etymologicè eſt dictum, ſiquidem duo contraria ſimul vera eſſe poſſunt. *Spes nulla reſtat ut in priſtinam felicitatem reſtituamur. Nec dubitamus quin plus apud Deum valebunt miſerię noſtrę. Regibus potius mandâſſet Apoſtolus populo obedire ne ſolio ſuo dejiciantur. Non dicimus quin Reges tenentur. Velut defeſſi reformata Religionis; In aliquibus illis viam concedentes, uno dato abſurdo ſequuntur infinita, &c.*

## C A P. III.

D*Uobus capitibus à tergo relictis.* Etiamne à fuga incipis, tergiverſator? At nos non tergum, ſed frontem, ſed nomen etiam tuum fronti inſcriptum maluimus. Manedum igitur, obverte faciem illam inſignem Brammaleam, non ferri, ſed vini vulneribus ſauciam, gemmulis cæruleis, rubeolis, purpureis & purulentiſſimis bullatam atque diſtinctam; nam quibus te quiſquam telis, niſi ſi raphanis fugientem inſequatur mœchum, neſcio. Sed fortaſſe more Parthico fugiens ſoles tela conjicere: Conjice ergo. *Qui populo*, inquis, *poteſtatem gladii aſcribit, populum impunem relinquere neceſſe habet; quis enim populum puniret leges tranſgredientem?* Fateor, ſiquidem univerſus peccat, nam univerſum punire populum, ne Rex quidem aut ſolet aut poteſt. Non magis ergò neceſſe eſt populum impunem relinquere, ſi populus, quàm ſi Rex poteſtatem gladii ſolus habeat; cùm in ſtatu populari pœnis æquè obnoxius quiſque ſit atque in Monarchiâ. *Liturgiam profligavimus.* Miſſale ſcilicet Papiſticum, paucis admodum mutatis, ex Latino duntaxat Anglicè editum, unà cum Epiſcopis qui tam fraudulenter eam & Papiſticè concinnârunt, quid ni profligaremus? nam & aliam, ut ſateris ipſe, ſubſtituimus, magis videlicet Orthodoxam, & verbo Dei conſentaneam, ut, qui requirit, habeat, ſi neceſſe eſt, quâ ſalubriter poſſit uti. *Subjecti eſtote propter dominum, quamobrem? quia conſtituitur poteſtas à Deo ad ultionem facinoroſorum, &c.* At *Rex, cui ſubjecti eſſe jubentur, erat Nero vel Claudius.* Generalem doctrinam de Magiſtratu, quis ſit aut eſſe debeat, tradit Apoſtolus, déque obedientia, quare Magiſtratui præſtanda ſit, quod tibi ſatis ſit. Nero an Claudius regnaverit, nihil refert; deſine tandem nugis iſtis nos obtundere. *Judæorum*, inquis, *caremoniis & lege judiciaria liberamur.* Incaſsûm igitur tu tantoperè laboras, ut nos regii apud illos imperii exemplo in ſervitutem regibus addicas. *Utcunque*, inquis, *de Dei inſtinctu gloriamini, ad tribunal divinum ſiſtendi, reſpondebitis, &c.* Quid alii tunc reſponſuri ſint, ne ſit tibi curæ. Tu, quid de alea, de ſcortis, de ebrietate Epiſcopali reſpondebit Brammalus, ipſe cogita. Poteſtates non legitimas, ſed quaſcunque intelligi, ais, ab Apoſtolo, quia Deus præfecit Saulem & cæteros malos Reges Judæis. At verò Paulus de poteſtate loquitur, quam & ſummè legitimam deſcribit; non loquitur de viro, qui, à Deo licet electus, ſi poſtea nequiſſimus evadit, & poteſtatem exercet longè aliam, atque à Deo accepit, & cui duntaxat nos illic obedire jubemur, id ſibi, non Deo imputandum erit. *Veriſimilius*, inquis, *quòd Anglia Carolo filio debellandi, tandem in crepitum putidiſſimum & ridiculum erupturi ſint.* Videſne jam ut Deus, omnium rerum arbiter, omen hoc tuum, ventriloque, in te tuóſque avertit? Vidéſne ut ipſe tuus Carolus in crepitum evanuit, immò ipſe crepitus fieri putidiſſimus optaret, dummodò ex hoſtium manibus hoc pacto elabi queat. *Supponemus*, inquis, *tuam rempubl. in tyrannidem degenerare, non teneris obedire illorum poteſtati?* Concede tu priùs, ſi Rex in tyrannum degeneraret, non teneri te Regi obedire; tum nos ſatis maturè tibi de republica reſpondebimus. *Potuit*, inquis, *Apoſtolus dixiſſe bonos Magiſtratus.* At verò ita dixiſſe, ex deſcriptione Magiſtratûs quam ibi poſuit, apertè liquet. *Sed nullo*, inquis, *argumento fortiùs evincitur regis poteſtas, quàm quod Apoſtoli mandant nullis conditionibus limitatam.* At rurſus inquam, ipſa poteſtatis deſcriptio, quæ copioſiſſima ibi eſt, conditiones ſapienti abundè ſuppeditat. *Rex*, inquis, *à Deo miſſus quantumvis malus ferendus, cætera mala in pœnam veniunt.* Quaſi verò Rex etiam malus in pœnam non veniret, quod tibi toties in ore eſt, *remediis* idcirco vel tuo judicio *auferendus. Multum*, inquis, *Miltono debent Orthodoxi, quòd tam ridiculam opinionem iis aſſignaret, populum ſcilicet univerſum Regi ignaviſſimo eſſe parem.* Magno ſanè acumine mendacium hoc vibras; ſed parum inde lucraris. Miltonus enim populum non ſolùm parem Regi, ſed ſuperiorem ſemper affirmavit. Hoc loco ſententiam ſuam non profert, Salmaſium tantummodo perſtringit, quod ex Sorboniſtarum ſcriptis populum Regi vel parem eſſe negaverit, quem ſuperiorem dixiſſe oportuerit. Verùm ità miſerè cœcutire ſoles, ut in Salmaſium pro Miltono impetum ſæpiuſculè facias. Hæc præter ineptias denſiſſimas, quas infra omne reſponſum eſſe judico, confutationum tuarum in hoc capite ſumma eſt; unde otium nobis hîc etiam tàm pingue accidit, ut rurſus vacet elegantias hominis nitidiſſimas gleba Solorum ubere natas ad ornandas Solœcorum porticus & ſpatia decerpere. *Tuba ſonitum incertum edit, ut nemo ſe ad colendum Deum præparare poteſt. Non dubitamus quin multi Religionem Chriſtianam amplexi ſint. Tanquam nulla erat malorum principum poteſtas. Non quin Deus omnia ita diſpoſuit. Si enim ad populum provocandum (ut vos primò feciſtis ut omnia confundaretis) nemo per diem integrum imperare poterat. Omnes patres nullius æſtimat. Sed utinam tam humaniter cùm Carolo agere voluiſtis. Populum contra Regem defendere ſuſcipis.* Et alia hujuſmodi.

## CAP. IV.

I*N præcedentibus Miltonus Leo rugiens, qui Reges omnes devoraret, hic Draco occultè inſidians, & vulpeculam agit, nam quo lapidem non poteſt, vota jacit.* Aut inſanit hic homo, aut verſus facit, novas chimæras, novas metamorphóσεις fingit ſibi lymphatus. Certè Miltonus ſi Leo rugiens vobis eſt viſus, facitis haud abſurdè, ut id ſponte fateamini. Te contrà Aſinum rudentem primâ voce agnovimus, téque riſu perinde & fuſtibus excipimus. *Semper*, inquis, *populum in adjutorium vocat Priapus in horto.* Quod Priapus in horto, id Brammalus in Sacello. Veriſſimum hoc eſſe tota ferè

Hibernia non ignorat. *Quos Populus*, inquis, *creat ſi nulla Dei ratio habeatur, potiùs obedientiam ab iis poſtularet, quàm illis præberet.* Præter illa quæ priùs reſpondi, qualem requirat obedientiam Apoſtolus, ſcias inſuper, Apoſtolos non toti Romano Senatui & Conſulibus, neque magno ullius gentis Concilio, aut ullius Regni Ordinibus conventus legitimos peragentibus obedientiam præcepiſſe, ſed privatis & ſingulis. Rex verò, ut noſti, ſingulis quidem major, univerſis verò minor eſt. Beneficia deinde Caroli in Populum enumeras, quæ nulla unquam extitere, ſed damna potiùs & detrimenta, & ſumma planè dedecora. *Vnctum Domini*, inquis, *vel Chriſtum Domini ſi dicas Chriſtianum non tam intereſt.* Atqui Salmaſius Saulem Chriſtum Domini nuncupaverat. Tibi ut videtur. Saul non ſolùm inter prophetas ſed inter Chriſtianos eſt. Dicitur autem, 1 Reg. 11. Salomon obdormivit, & Rehoboamus regnavit loco ejus. Et hoc, inquis, dicitur, *antequam Populus Sechem venit ut illum Regem facerent.* Hoc verò non aliter dictum fuiſſe, quàm ut Hiſtoriæ ſeries maniſeſtior eſſet, ex primo ſequentis capitis verſu apparet. Populus enim Sechemum venit, ut Rehoboamum Regem conſtituerent, vel regnare facerent, ut eſt Hebraïcè; ergo antea certè aut non regnavit, aut in Judæa tantùm. *Populum*, inquis, *per incendiarios fuiſſe incitatum, videlicet Jeroboamum & Comites ſuos.* At verò Jeroboamus non populum, ſed populus illum incitavit. Jeroboamus enim, audita Salomonis morte, adhuc in Ægypto morabatur. Sed Iſraëlitæ mittentes accerſiverunt eum, 1 Reg. 12. Miraris *impudentiam* ejus qui affirmaret, *non vocari rebelles qui in Roboamum arma ſumpſerunt.* Tuam potius non impudentiam ſolùm, ſed impietatem demiror, qui eos rebelles appellare auſus ſis, quos Deus eo ipſo loco fratres ſui populi nominavit. At inſtas, ibidem etiam dictum eſſe, *ſic rebellavit domus Iſraël à domo David.* At verò verbum hîc *rebellavit* mitiùs intelligi pro quacunque defectione, neque in malum ſenſum rapi debet. Propterea vertunt alii *defecit*, non *rebellavit*; cujus enim defectionis authorem ſe Deus ipſe profitetur, ſcriptura malam & illicitam proculdubiò non dicit. Sic Ezechia verbo non minùs duro rebellâſſe in Regem Aſſyriæ dicitur; quod tamen ejus factum Deus etiam auxilio cœlitùs miſſo approbavit. Deus Iſraëlitis Regem petentibus graviter iratus eſt quamvis regis petendi, ſi vellent, ex lege Moſis jus habuerit? Tu, *num iraſcitur Deus*, inquis, *Populo petenti quod ad illos jure pertinet.* Id, inquam, facilè poteſt fieri; nihil enim obſtat quo minus id ad populum jure pertineret, & tamen iraſci Deus illis meritò potuit, quod cùm in eo quod optimum erat acquieviſſe penes ipſos eſſet, deterius quod erat anteponebant. Affirmas *Deum graviore pœna puniiſſe rebelles Iſraëlitas*, quippe *veram ſui cognitionem ab iis abſtuliſſe.* At ubi id unquam legiſti, nugator, Iſraëlitas illam defectionem Idololatria luiſſe, cùm Deus ipſe Jeroboamo mox rebellaturo bona omnia pollicitus ſit, ſeque illi Iſraëlitas traditurum eſſe, ſi ejus præceptis auſcultaſſet, 1 Reg. 11. Sed Orthodoxi, inquis, *ſemper cùm Carolo fuere, nam quicquid moribus peccant nonnulli, inopia coacti, Religionem tamen reformatam non deſeruerunt.* Num verò veſtros Orthodoxos, cum Rege ſuo, inopia coëgit gentes vicinas ebrio agmine, blaſphemo, libidinoſiſſimo ac ferociſſimo oberrare, omnique impietatis genere omnes Anglos, tanquam ſui ſimiles, infames reddere? *Nobiſcum* tuâ ſententia *vitula aurea*; *vobiſcum menſa dominica, oratio dominica, ſymbolum Apoſtolorum, decem mandata.* Atqui ea ipſa ſacra quæ apud vos ſolos eſſe inaniter jactas, vobis, pro more veſtro ſuperſtitioſè & hypocriticè abutentibus, nihil aliud profectò quàm vitulæ aureæ ſunt. *Deum*, inquis, *ſibi contrarium ſtatuimus.* Quidni? An quod Argumentum Salmaſii nihil valere oſtendit Miltonus, idcircone Deum ſibi contrarium ſtatuit. Dixerat Salmaſius, omnes Reges eſſe à Deo; Miltonus non omnes Reges, ſed omnes regendi formas, ſalutis cauſâ adhibitas, cujus etiam cauſâ populi conventus, comitia, & conſilia habentur. Ergo vel ipſius argumento non magis Regi licet reſiſtere populo propter Rempubl. convocato, quàm populo licet reſiſtere Regi à Deo ordinato, quandoquidem & populi conventus legitimi à Deo quoque ſunt ut Sechemi olim contra Roboamum fuiſſe teſtificatur ipſe Deus. *Vtrum*, inquis, *ille tyrannus, qui viginti tribus annis regnans, neminem pro ſua voluntate mori coegit*; *An vos qui inter decem annos Regem ipſum & plus quàm quingentos mille hominum trucidaſtis?* Quid ais, mille quingentos? numerum ſane perexiguum narras; neque ullus unquam, credo minori jacturâ bellum tàm ſævum confecit. Profectò ſi tam ſcires latinè quàm ſcis malitioſè loqui, non quingentos mille, ſed quingenta millia, opinor te dicere voluiſſe. Quis verò Carolo pejor tyrannus, quis pœna dignior, qui per tria regna plus decies centena hominum millia partim Laniená illa Hibernica, partim bello iniquiſſimo occidit. Negas quod ſuperiore argumento dictum eſt, regem non debere populo reſiſtere: negas populum quicquam poſſe in Regem, quia populus *inferior eſt*, Rex *ſuperior.* At memineris Regem naturâ ſuperiorem non eſſe, ſed conſenſu tantùm & ſuffragiis populi ad eam eſſe dignitatem evectum, publicæ ſalutis causâ; quo ab officio ſi planè deſciverit, ſuperior eſſe deſinit; quia cur eſſet ſuperior cauſa nulla ampliùs eſt. Cùm munus Regium perperam adminiſtraverat, ob quod munus duntaxat, cùm unus è multis primò fuerit, ſactus omnium ſupremus eſt. Ad id quod dixerat Miltonus, non quod Deus juſſit tyrannum interimi, ideo bonum erat, ſed quod bonum erat, idcirco Deus juſſit, tu reſpondes, *Cujus contrarium verum eſt. Nam quicquid Deus jubet, bonum eſt, & ideo bonum, quòd Deus jubet.* Doctum verò neminem hoc latet, bonum in poſitivum & morale diviſum eſſe. Poſitivum eſt, quod antè indifferens, bonum tunc incipit eſſe, cum à Deo jubetur. Morale verò bonum, æternum & immutabile manet, ſive Deus juſſerit, ſive non juſſerit; bonum hujuſmodi eſt tyrannum perimi: ad quod facinus præclarum ducem illum Jehu, tum fortè nihil tale cogitantem, præ cæteris incitavit. Quod autem ais, *bonitatem à divina voluntate pendere*, erras, ut cætera; bonitas enim non minùs de eſſentia Dei eſt, quàm ipſa Dei voluntas. Verùm de his nimis multa cùm ſtolido & idiota. Percurrimus in hoc capite quicquid argumenti vim ullam in ſe habere videatur, ut bonis viris & intelligentibus quàm maximè ſatisfiat: cæteris ejus ineptiis & nugamentis qui movetur, eum neque moramur, neque retinemus quo minùs in caſtra adverſarii noſtri tàm diſerti atque eruditi tranſire poſſit; his etiam floribus, ſapientiæ & judicii ejus causâ, coronatus, quos Hortorum Solenſium cuſtos iſte ficulneus ſuorum fautorum capiti nectendos largiter paravit. Olfaciant modo priùs quàm ſuave olent. *Nil tam horrendum excogitari poſſit quin laudabile fiet. Populi conventus, comitia, plebiſcitus pariter à Deo. Non dicimus quin tyrannus impedire debet. Tu ad Antipodas ablegandus, Londini Conſtantinopolim. Coronam ad ſe jure pertinentem popoſciviſſe. Paſſa marem, miramur hyænam. Quos tamen rectius ſentiiſſe judicas*, cum multis aliis.

## CAP. V.

OMiſſis quæ initio hujus capitis trita jam & toties refutata ſtupidiſſimè regeris, venio nunc ad id, in quo levitatis arguis qui dixerit, jus ſucceſſionis naturâ nullum eſſe, eo quod *lex Dei primogenituræ legem tulit*; cùm divina autem lege conſentire legem naturæ dictum eſt. Tuum verò erat, non neſciviſſe quantum inter ſe differant ſucceſſio in regnum, & ſucceſſio in patrimonium: principio enim regnorum, regnandi ſucceſſio non filio ſed digniſſimo cuique ſemper delata eſt; mox regum uſurpatio, non populi conſenſus filios regum dignioribus prætulit. Hoc etiam turpe & ſervile eſt, libera hominum capita inter poſſeſſiones numerare, qui profectò dum liberi ſunt hæreditate nemini obvenire poſſunt. Túque jus hæreditarium, quicquid garris, ex lege Dei nunquam oſtenderis. Nam quod ſoli teſtatur Deus Davidi ejuſque poſteris dediſſe ſe, id univerſis accommodari regnis aut regibus nullo jure poteſt. *Jus*, inquis, *ſucceſſionis pacem & concordiam inter homines nutrit; eſt maxime naturale, ne continuis litibus mundus flagraret.* Hiſtorias ergo omnium gentium percurre; invenies in Monarchiâ diſcordias tetriores, bella ſæviora, idque ſæpius accidiſſe, quam in Rebuſp. Haud raró ipſi regum filii de ſumma rerum inter ſe bello acerrimo, mutuáque cæde contendunt. Unde apud Turcas ubi jus ſucceſſionis abſolutiſſimum eſt, nihil ad pacem publicam magis conducere putatur, quàm filio natu maximo regnum ineunte, cæteros fratres interfici. Nonnunquam de ſucceſſionis jure manifeſtò non conſtat, hinc etiam bella ſæviſſima & maximè diuturna, quarum ſub Regno calamitatum noſtra imprimis Anglia teſtis eſſe poteſt. Ità neque Monarchia per ſe neque Reſpub. concordiæ parens eſt; ſed moderatus ubique civium animus & ambitione vacuus. Sed ſumma authoritas *uni contigit ordinis ſervandi gratiâ.* At ſi tyranno, peſſimus ille ordo qui omnem ordinem, jura omnia divina & humana pervertit. *Chriſtus*, inquis, *ſuos deputatos & vicegerentes in terris Reges poſuit.* Fatemur, ſi bonos, Tyranni autem quo poſſunt modo Chriſti vicem gerere? Interea non nos *contumaciæ*, quod ais, ſed tu impietatis tuæ Chriſtum vindicem expecta; qui regnum Chriſti in terris violentum & tyrannicum blaſphemus audes exiſtimare: Vicarius enim, non Chriſti, qui ejus exemplum non imitatur, ſed diaboli eſt. Quod regem deinde confers cum patrefamilias, ſatis clarè oſtenſum eſt à Miltono, jus patris diverſiſſimum eſſe, & longè antiquius. Cùm autem non ſolum Reges mali, ſed mala omnia *in ſcelerum pœnam, vel ad probandam patientiam noſtram à Deo data ſint*; eáque omnia juſtis remediis ab hominibus ſumma cùm prudentiæ laude amoveri & poſſint & debeant, ſolos Reges vel pœnæ causâ, vel patientiæ ferre, & turpe & ridiculum & extremæ eſſet inſaniæ. *Sed variis morbis laborantibus Rex manus impoſuit & ſanavit; Angelum aureum cuilibet ægroto dedit.* Sive ſanavit, ſive excantavit nihil nunc refert; medendi enim dono nunc infideles, ut Veſpaſianus olim, ſæpiùs hypocritæ præditi fuêre. Illum angelum aureum, quem ſingulis ægrotis dedit, non illum fuiſſe, qui Betheſdæ aquas commovit; nec ſanandi vim ullam habuiſſe, ſat ſcio; quo te aureo ſcilicet angelo ſic opinor ſtupere, ut ante te Salmaſius cœlum Caroli illud aureum & ſericum obſtupuit, neque hoc cœlo quicquam altius cernere uterque videmini, aut de eo quicquam ſublimius cogitare, quàm aureum eſſe. *Florentiſſima*, inquis, *Romanorum reſpubl. exactis regibus, nunquam ſubſiſtere potuit donec in Monarchiam redintegrata fuerit.* Quod contra omnium Hiſtoriarum fidem planè eſt; quæ teſtantur omnes, Romanam Rempub. ſub Conſulibus & Senatûs authoritate ad illam magnitudinem creviſſe: ſub imperatorum verò luxuria, tyrannide, atque inertia ſtatim conſenuiſſe, Imperiúmque ſimul & gloriam belli atque juſtitiæ in illa libera civitate olim partam ſub imperatoribus citò amiſiſſe. *Sed quod Anglia*, inquis, *nimio luxu & libertate perdita fuit, non Caroli tyrannidi, ſed veſtræ nequitiæ attribuendum eſt.* Immo aulæ fœdiſſimæ regíſque voluptarii atque ignaviſſimi exemplo rectè attribuimus, ad cujùs vitæ rationem quamplurimi ſeſe compoſuêre. Jam regem defendis, qui Ducem Buckinghamiæ veneficii ſuſpectum *legibus eripuit*; *quaſi*, inquis, *hoc regibus crimini daretur, quod omnibus natura concedit, ut ſuos familiares amarent.* Itane Carnifex? ſatiſne regem excuſari putas, quod familiarem illum & amiciſſimum habuerit, qui patris ejus veneno ſublati à ſupremo Regni Concilio poſtulatus eſſet? At quid poteras in Regem atrocius dixiſſe? *Sed credibile non fuit Ducem Buckinghamiæ Jacobo inſidias ſtruere velle, qui illum in tantam poteſtatem evexit.* Quin immo ſatis notum eſt, mores Buckinghamii Jacobo tandem graviter diſplicuiſſe, unde is magnum malum ſibi metuens, duas maximè res deinceps agere inſtituit, ut & patri necem ſtrueret, & filio os ſubliniret, ejúſque gratiam omni ſtudio captaret; quod ſanè, objectis juveni molliſſimo voluptatum omnium illecebris, ſtatim perfecit. Reprehendis, quòd Carolus Neroni collatus ſit. *Nam*, inquis, *Metropolim veſtram non diripuit*, ſcilicet quia non potuit; At qui nunc Scotis, nunc ſicariis ſuis, morem ſibi modò gererent, haud ſemel diripiendam obtulit. Reſtat ut roſarum hujus Solenſium faſciculum in fine exhiberem; & poſſem quidem ubertim, ſed cum viàm jam toties digito monſtraverim, ubi germinant, ubi creſcunt, jucundius fortaſſe cuique erit proprio ungue decerpere.

## CAP. VI.

R*Egum & bonorum omnium hoſte proſtrato (ſuis telis in faciem ſuam reſilientibus) recurrere coactus eſt ad elumbes aliquot argutias, & trita argumenta.* Proſtrato hoſte, quis ſodes eſt coactus, egregie ſolœciſta? nomen enim licet attuleris nullum, cognomen certe hoc apud omnes in poſterum reportabis. Ain' verò *ſuis telis in faciem reſilientibus*? Si ſua ſponte, Dedalèa pro facto narras, aut Vulcania quædam nova automata? An vero, te retorquente, reſiliunt tela illa? Téne ergo illum proſtraviſſe hoſtem, aſine, cujus argumentum vel leviſſimum omni mole concutere, aut movere loco non vales? Exultantem Aſinum in Apologo herus verberibus malè multavit, quid triumphante hoc Aſino faciamus? præſertim qui neque purpuram indutus, neque pellem leoninam, ſed propria palam ſcabritie notus, rictu iſto Aſinino, iſtóque miſerrimo clangore, atque ridiculo triumphum canere audeat. *Omnes*, inquis, *in ſuis regnis Monarchæ abſoluti* *παμβασιλείας exercent, quòd & Galli de ſuo Rege multum gloriantur.* Ad ſcriptores Gallos ſi recurriſſes, Girardum, Hottomannum, Seſellium, plurimóſq; alios, nunquam id affirmares. Galli liberos ſe, & verè Francos paſſim gloriantur: ab omni memoria penès ſe fuiſſe, Regum ſalutis omnium cauſâ, vel eligere vel abjicere. Hac ratione Pipino, necnon poſt eum aliis imperium Galliæ delatum: quod vulgo notum eſt. Hac etiam ætate cum multæ civitates, tum etiam Burdegalenſes idem ſentire ſeſe factis oſtenderunt, dum vi & armis vel ſui Regis vel ejus præſidum παμβασίλειαν & tyrannidem ſtrennè propulſant. *Si cui Deus vult*, inquis, *populus Regnum tradit, jam dic aliquid de tribus capellis, unde tot quæſtiones & lites?* Unde niſi à te, tuique ſimilibus, qui id perpetuo contenditis, ut Regnum iis tradatur, quibus populus non vult, ac proinde nec Deus. Deus enim, ſi cui Regnum vellet, facilè perficeret, ut Regnum illi traderet populus. Jam tu dic aliquid de tribus capellis. *Quantumvis*, inquis, *nummi nobis deſint, nunquam tamen deerunt parati ad tuendam veritatem.* Nummi quidem vobis & merito deſunt, & tamen longe major apud vos virtutis, honeſtatis, ſapientiæ, pudoris penuria eſt, quàm nummorum. Id quod mores veſtri perditiſſimi exteris jam paſſim graves & odioſi teſtantur. Deeſſe autem non magis nummos quàm ad cauſam veſtram tuendam paratos, argumento ipſe maximo es, qui homo indoctiſſimus cum ſis & inertiſſimus, primus omnium & adhuc ferè ſolus, ad hoc te munus accinxeris. Dixerat Salmaſius, quamvis id falſo, *Regiminis Anglorum formam non popularem ſed militarem eſſe.* Tu hoc Miltonum *concedere coactum eſſe* dicis*: nec tamen ab Ariſtotele talem regiminis formam recenſitam uſquam meminiſti.* Vel hinc conſtat te neque Miltonum attentè ſatis, neque Ariſtotelem omnino forſan legiſſe. Apud Miltonum enim conceſſionem illam nuſquam invenies. Apud Ariſtotelem στρατηγοῦ ἀϊδίου, id eſt *ducis perpetui*, qui in quibuſdam civitatibus ſummæ rerum præficeretur, mentionem ſæpè factam eſſe meminiſſes. Jam de *diabolo porcos tondente* ſtolidè nugaris, *ubi ingens clamor, ſed nulla lana*; parciùs itaque diabolus porcos ſuos tondebat, quàm Brammalus oves Hibernicas deglubere conſuevit; à quibus & lanam & pellem multo cum clamore populi detrahere ſolebat. *Scoti*, inquis, *inaudito oſtraciſmo Montiſroſſanum interfecère.* Inauditus ille quidem oſtraciſmus qui patibulo homines affigit. Nam vel ſciolos non fugit oſtraciſmum non mortis, ſed relegationis genus fuiſſe. *Reges*, inquis, *ſub poteſtate populi collocatos pejori conditione nobis repræſentas, quam ex populo univerſo perditiſſimos.* At vel iſta conditione noli metuere ne qui Reges in poſterum eſſe velint; utcunque enim non deerunt Reges. Cætera hujus capitis, quà ſeria, quà ludicra, inſulſa adeo & inficeta ſunt, ut quamvis nihil mihi tribuam, quod non admodum exiguum ſit, pœniteat tamen nonnunquam & penè ſuppudeat, cum adverſario tam nihili manus conſeruiſſe. Poſtremò caſus ſui Regis graves ſanè & Tragicos ad Comœdiam redigit. *Jovem* adulterum, *Amphytrionem* maritum, *Mercurium & Soſiam* ſervos, *ſuper mundi Theatrum* agit. Nil poſſum rectiùs facere quam ut iſtiuſmodi phraces prætercam: nam in hominem tàm ſtultum & nullius pretii quicquid aut ſeriò dixeris aut joco, & operam perdideris & ſalem. Præſtat tamen hunc vel incaſſum defricare, quam reſponſione licet indignum, noſtro tamen ſilentio tumentem & jactabundum dimittere.

## CAP. VII.

HActenus opuſculi tui futiliſſimi dimidium percurrimus, & quamquam te plùs ſatis indoctum, inſipidum, ſolœcum, arrogantem, & languidum jamdudum invenimus, tamen quò longiùs procedimus, eo inanior, eóque jejunior ſemper occurris, & præter adagia quædam & diſticha vulgata, quæ memoriter, credo, elementarius puer didiceras, quæque ne negent forte Lectores vel ſemidoctulum te eſſe, per fas & nefas inſerere laboras, cæteram omnem Argumentorum, ſensûs, latinitatis perpuſillam annonam exhauſiſſe videris. Nihil eſt igitur in hoc capite quod agam, quàm ut captiunculas quaſdam tuas, & gryphos diſſolvam, quibus dum adverſarium capere te exiſtimas, teipſum capi oſtendam. Dixerat Miltonus jure naturali Regem quemq; bonum Senatum vel Populum habere ſibi ſemper & parem ſuperiorem. Ad hæc tu, *quis unquam*, inquis, *talia ἀσύστατα audivit? Si par eſt, non eſt ſuperior; ſi ſuperior, non par.* Quis plumbeo potuit gladio quicquam acutius? At neſcin' quid Lælius ille ſapiens apud Ciceronem? Maximum eſt in amicitia ſuperiorem parem eſſe inferiori. Quin hîc quoque vociferare, *quis unquam talia auriculis audivit?* Diſputatum eſt à multis, ſitne par Regi Populus vel Senatus. Infit Miltonus, utrumlibet Regi & parem eſſe & ſuperiorem. Cur iſta negas poſſe conſiſtere? Certè ſi juxta regulam, omne majus in ſe continet minus, ſuperior qui eſt, nihil obſtiterit quò minus idem par ſit. Jam eccum tibi *nodum hunc ſine Oedipo ſolutum*, Dave. Nunc ad ſecundam hominis tendiculam venio. *Si Davidi privato non licuit Saulem tyrannum interficere, quomodo jam cuivispiam concedis, ſi viribus plus valet.* Somnis quæ nemo eſt largitus, tyrannum fuiſſe Saulem. Non enim qui facta quædam tyrannica in unum atque alterum per iram aut libidinem perpetrat, is ſtatim eſt tyrannus; ut nec injuſtus, qui injuſta quædam. Sed qui conſilio, inſtituto, viribus, dolis hoc ſolum ſtudet atque molitur, ut potentiam legibus majorem ſibi arripiat, jus omne populi & libertatem ſubvertat, vindicare ſe contendentibus vim atque bellum inferat, is verè atque propriè tyrannus eſt; quo in genere nullus unquam Carolo pejor fuit. Qui igitur Davidem privatas adverſum ſe Regis injurias ulciſci noluiſſe dixit, potuit idem nihil ſibi repugnans dicere, tyrannum interficere cuivis licere qui viribus plus valeat. Dixerat Miltonus ad ſervitutem natas iſtas nationes quæ talem dominum agnoſcant, cui ſe ſine aſſenſu ſuo hæreditate obveniſſe credant. *Ergo*, inquis, *tu ad ſervitutem natus qui Carolum hereditarium multos annos agnoſcebas, aut cum multis aliis diſſimulabas.* Hanc tu ſententiam detruncas, ejus loco ſubdititia ponis, *quæ Regem hereditarium agnoſcunt.* Parlamenta autem Angliæ, prætereito ſæpè hæreditatis obtentu, Diadema, cui viſum eſt, ſuis liberis ſuffragiis, imponere conſueverunt; quod multis exemplis demonſtrari poteſt. Non ergo Angli ad ſervitutem nati, quod tu nequicquam probare niteris, Verna Canopi. Quartum hoc eſt, in quo adverſarium cepiſſe te ſomnias. Ob eam cauſam affirmaverat ille, homines in unum primò conveniſſe, non ut unus omnes inſultaret, ſed ut quocunque alterum lædente, ne lex deeſſet neve judex inter homines, quo læſus defendatur, aut vindicetur. Ad hæc tu. *Nemo*, inquis, *à te plus petiit quàm tu per lucida intervalla tua ſponte concedis.* Lucidum certe intervallum vel ad punctum temporis contigiſſe unquam tibi vix reor, ita ſemper falleris. Quæ enim petis, non regibus ſolùm ſed Magiſtratibus omnibus conceſſimus; quorum nihil eſt quod in tyrannum convenire poſſit. Legem enim primo conſtituimus, deinde judicem ex lege rectum & incorruptum. Horum quodcunque petis & impetraveris, tuam cauſam minimè juvabit.

## CAP. VIII.

QUod ſuperiùs prædixi fore, ut poſt tritas argutias quaſdam potius quàm argumenta & aulicorum velitationes toties profligatas, ad ſummam inopiam homuncio iſte redigeretur, neque reliquum ei quicquam fore præter maledicta & rabiem, id hoc capite manifeſtiùs liquet. Et ſanè ad priora illa quæ attulit, quamquam primò ſtatim conſpectu ſenſûs & ingenii inaniſſima ubique apparuêre veſtigia, tamen quia quandam rationis & argumenti ſpeciem præ ſe ferebant, utcunque paucis reſpondimus. In hoc autem capite cùm Miltonus antiquas Anglorum leges ac monumenta regiæ cauſæ paſſim tàm adverſa diligentiſſimè protuliſſet; iſte è contrà, cùm neque doctrinam, neque antiquitatem, neque acumen, neque authoritatem ullam, quâ ſuam tueatur cauſam, afferre poſſit, hoc tantùm habet quod reſpondeat, miſerè balbutiens jura illa noſtra notiſſima, vetuſtiſſima, & maximè rata, *obſoleta jam & nimis vetuſta eſſe.* Verùm non tam dubito quin omnes docti & intelligentes viri huic fatuo non reſponderi oportere judicent, quàm vereor ne reprehendant, ſi inſipienti & rabioſo operam dedero. Qui verò hujus mendacis & maledicentis à veritate abduci ſe patiuntur, eos profectò tam parvi pendimus, ut quamcunque ad partem acceſſerint, ſúſque dèque nobis ſit; immò contra nos iſto animo quàm nobiſcum ſtare malumus.

## CAP. IX.

HUic etiam Capiti prioris haud abſimili reſponſum prorſus idem conveniet. Nam qui contra legem Dei & naturæ dilucidè explicatam, contra rationes evidentiſſimas, juráque gentium plurimarum, tum noſtræ etiam firmiſſima, contra teſtimonia denique optimorum virorum uberrima nihil præter commenta tantùm ſua, atque deliria opponere, aut in medium proſerre poteſt, ejus profectò ita diſputantis rationem ullam ſiquis habuerit, certè non doctus, non diſertus, non diligens, non acutus, ſed malè feriatus duntaxat meritò videatur. Quod autem nos impudentiſſimè accuſare non dubitat, quaſi Papæ authoritatem in Angliam reducere meditemur, à quo & dictis & factis abhorruiſſe ſemper nos tam palàm omnibus exiſtit, id ſanè & ridendum maximè eſt, tum etiam oſtendit quantâ cæteroqui cum malitia, quàm nulla cum fide in accuſandis nobis verſetur, qui crimen omnium judicio à nobis alieniſſimum, cunctis abſolventibus, imputare atque affigere non vereatur.

## Ad CAPP. X. XI.

DE duobus quæ ſequuntur capitibus, idem quod de præcedentibus duobus dicendum eſt. Tenuiſſimus modò & inaniſſimus qui fuit, nunc eſt planè nullus, aut ſiquid nihilo minus eſt: hujus igitur inanitati reſpondere ſi vellem, reſponderem certè nemini: quidni igitur conticeſcam?

## CAP. XII.

JAm ad metam enervis & languidus properans ſolœciſta, tamen ut ultimo conatu erigere ſe paululùm videatur, ad priorem verborum ſine rebus prolixitatem & tædium redit. Quare ne quis nos propter virium aut rationis defectum priora capita tantâ brevitate percurriſſe exiſtimet, aut per ignaviam quicquam remiſiſſe, quæ alicujus modò momenti videantur, non ſum arbitratus prætereunda eſſe, *Parlamentum*, inquis, *perpetuum eſt inſtar nullius Parlamenti; hoc enim eſt funditus Parlamentum tollere.* Ecquem tu jam niſi Carolum ipſum criminaris? Qui ipſe Parlamentum hoc perpetuum eſſe juſſit, & facto gloriatus, inter ea quæ vocare acta gratiæ ſolebat, ſæpiſſimè recenſuit, non ut populum beneficio aliquo afficeret, ſed arte quadam tyrannica dum perpetuum eſſe juberet, ut quod ex temetipſo jam accipimus, funditùs tolleret. Cùm autem *catharticum remedium ſit*, quemadmodum ais, tolli certè aut diſſolvi non debet; donec morbi, quorum remedium eſt, tollantur, & libertati ſua firmitas bonáque valetudo redeat. Siquid nos Carolum peccâſſe dicimus; tu verbis totidem, velut amœbæa canens lyturgica, paria commiſiſſe Parlamentum accuſas, déque Carolo nihil non verum eſſe concedis, dummodò idem de Parlamento occinere tibi liceat: verùm hoc non eſt Carolum purgare, aut noxâ eximere, quò minùs meritas pœnas dederit. *Sed antequam Parlamentum hoc incœpit, nè verbum*, inquis, *vel minima ſcintilla de Caroli ſcilicet malefactis eluxit.* At verò populi clamores, gemitus & ſuſpiria, partim propter graviſſimas tributorum exactiones, partim propter Epiſcoporum perſecutiones, tam acerbas, ut multi patriam deſerere cogerentur, Regia item conſilia, edicta, facta, ab ipſis Regni ejus initiis, & Parlamentorum omnium quæ convocavit intempeſtiva ſemper & infenſa diſſolutio rem longè aliter ſe habere declarant; adeo ut hac de cauſa populus, ſive prudentiæ Regis, ſive voluntati diffiſus, unicam ſibi in Parlamento ſpem, præſidium, refugium, ſalutem reliquam eſſe palàm teſtaretur; unde Rex irâ & livore prorſus tyrannico exardeſcens, ut populi gemitus per vim etiam comprimeret, crudeliſſimo edicto ſanxit, nequis Parlamenti convocandi mentionem faceret, donec tandem metu populi ob hæc minimè quieſcentis Parlamentum invitiſſimus convocaret. Multa, inquis, *à vobis fingi quis non credet ut crimen veſtrum in Regem exonerare poſſitis, numquid tale apparet in ejus libro divinitus ſcripto?* Malo te libri illius admiratorem eſſe, quàm me; quid enim habet præter fucos & jactationes inaniſſimas? Diceres & tu idem, ſi Epiſtolas ejus prælio Naſibienſi captas, manu propria ſcriptas & obſignatas, incorrupto & integro judicio perlegiſſes, ubi ſe ſuaſque artes tyrannicas non celat. *Independentes* Jeſuitis ſimiles eſſe ais, *Qui Regem abrogârunt, ſtatum Reipub. mutârunt, & tamen profeſſi ſunt nunquam ſibi in animo fuiſſe hæc facere.* Quid ad nos Jeſuitæ? Quaſi verò prudentiæ non eſſet, non Jeſuitiſmi, poſteriora ſæpè Conſilia prioribus anteferre, ſiquidem meliora eſſe poſtmodum didiceris. Primò nobis prodire tenus aliquid viſum eſt, immo magnum tam ad Eccleſiæ quàm Reipub. reſtitutionem; cum à Deo ultra dari ſentiremus, an ejus nos præſentiam, & providentiam ad facta tam egregria præeuntem aſpernaremur, aut ſequi nollemus, ne progreſſus noſtros felices & planè inopinatos, hoſtis & invidus levitatis & inconſtantiæ nomine perſtringeret? Sæpè arguis quod Parlamentum pro *corpore ſolo* ſine capite ſumamus. Verùm ſi metaphoras amovere malles, rectiùs continuò ſaperes, ſcireſque Parlamentum ejuſmodi corpus eſſe, cui caput adjungi non ſit neceſſe; neque enim vel caput vel cauda, ſed commune ac liberum gentis Concilium facit, ut Parlamentum ſit atque dicatur. *Vi*, inquis, *hanc infamiam & calumniam apud exteras Nationes nobis exulantibus amoveam*, ſcilicet eorum ex numero non eſſe qui cauſam Regiam latinè ſciret defendere, *huic fabulæ reſpondeo.* Egregium ſanè reſponſorem! Tune vero lucifuga verberabiliſſime præ cæteris electus, qui nos ex latebris aggrederere, & pro tuis omnibus unus reſponderes? Doctum proculdubio gregem, præclara ingenia neceſſe eſt eſſe, quorum tu doctor es, tam grandis non Arcadicus aut Reatinus, ſed ſolœcus Aſinus. Latinè tu ut reſponderes, cujus barbariſmis & ſolœciſmis omnes paginæ, ut priorum capitum, ſic hujus ultimi refertæ ſunt? *Tam caſtus ut exemplum præbuit. Tu hæc refricas ut Regi convitiare. A famulis rimari.. Niſi fulcientur. Tanta caligine, ut juſtitiam cauſæ metiuntur. Ne milleſima pars petitionum ad eum deferrerentur. Toties purgatum ut nil præter nomen manere poteſt. Tanto acumine ut maxima pars mundi mirantur ac ſtupent. Tanto ſtrepitu ut cætera Theatra pro tempore ſilent. Non quin indies precamur. Nec mitius eorum Conſilium interpretarer. Carolum Filium reum cauſatis.* Digni profecto Regii tam ſtupido propugnatore, qui, cùm cauſam nequiſſimam ſuſceperis tuendam & literas profeſſus, tam illiteratus ſis, ab ipſis clientibus tuis quos tui pudeat, ad illa gurguſtia & tenebras, unde tam ſtolidè emerſiſti cum ſibilo & flagris reducendus es; aut certè Carnifici potiùs in diſciplinam crucis tradendus, ut cum nihil aliud percipere poſſis, elementa diſcas patibularia. *Quicquid*, inquis, *erravero in hac Apologia mea tenuitati imputandum eſt.* Ita prorſus exiſtimo: at peſſimè interim meo quidem judicio conſuluit tibi tenuitas tua, quæ te impulit, ut cui par non eras, oneri ſuccedere auderes, ſub quo prætumidum & inflatum eo faciliùs comminui te & frangi neceſſe erat. Ego certè tenuem te magis an craſſum dixerim vixdum ſcio, ita omni planè dimenſione & formâ rudis indigeſtáque moles, vacare mihi videris. Jam te aulici, qui *Regis auro veſcuntur*, ſi priùs neglexerint, quod miſerè quereris, & fame perire ſinant, poſt cauſam eorum tàm malè & ridiculè abs te defenſam multo juſtius oderint, atque contempſerint; niſi fortè periſcelide illa regia, quam tanti facis, fauces tuas de rege tam nequiter meritas elidendas potiùs quàm offis aulicis, quas eſuris, farciendas putant. Jam præſertim cum à regis laude ad regis & regiorum gravem vituperationem tranſeas, & nobis ex adverſario percommodus repente homo factus ſis; teſtis enim ipſe novus accedis, regem ſuo officio vel imparem fuiſſe, vel minimè intentum, quod *petitiones* nimirum ſubditorum raro legeret. *Quod nemo auſus eſſet de proditoribus queri, proditorum metu*, quibus maximè auſcultabat: quod *Camerariis & famulis* omnia crederet, otio ipſe deditus. Unde libet profecto exclamare cum illo ſane in fabula.

*Ita me dii amabunt ut hunc ego auſculto lubens;*
*Nimis lepidè facit verba* de regiis ſuis.
*Neque compellare volo illum, ne deſinat*
*Memorare mores* regis & regiorum.

Eorum enim plurimos qui quidem regis gratia maximè pollebant, eos ſatetur fuiſſe qui commodorum potiſſimum ſuorum & libidinum cauſâ regem ſequerentur, vel mente captum potiùs, quo vellent, ducerent. Sinam itaque & præteribo, ut & regis perjuria haud minori impietate atque inſcitiâ excuſantem, & ſtatim tam acriter damnantem. Neque occurrit præterea quod refutatione illa indigeat. Ad ultimum enim, conſumptis in nos maledictis, diris, execrationibus, charitatem neſcio quam ſuam oſtentare cupit. Verum nos cujus convitia & imprecationes non veremur, etiam vota pro nobis & preces haud pluris æſtimamus. Finiam itaque certamen hoc, haud libenter quidem à me cum iſto nugigerulo ſuſceptum; ſolum hoc eſt in quo ſi non aliis, at mihimet ſaltem aliqua ex parte placeo, eam mihi ſcribendi occaſionem primam oblatam eſſe, ex qua & patria in ſe rectum atque pium, & amici gratum ſenſerint.

# LITERÆ
# SENATUS ANGLICANI;
## Nec non
# CROMWELLII, &c.
## Nomine ac juſſu conſcriptæ.

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### *Senatus Populuſque Anglicanus Ampliſſimo Civitatis Hamburgenſis Senatui, Salutem.*

QUàm diù, quámque multis de cauſis inſtituta à majoribus noſtris cum ampliſſimâ veſtrâ civitate amicitia in hunc uſque diem permanſerit, & vobiſcum una libenter agnoſcimus, & ſæpiùs etiam recolere non eſt moleſtum. De eo autem quod ex literis veſtris 25 *Junii* datis intelligimus, homines quoſdam noſtros non eâ quâ ſoliti ſunt fide ac probitate in ſuis apud vos negotiis verſari, nos quidem ad certos ejuſmodi rerum peritos ſtatìm retulimus, ut in lanarios, cæteroſque panni opifices acriùs inquirerent; eamque porrò operam daturos nos eſſe pollicemur, ut & æqui boníque ſtudium apud nos, & noſtra omnia erga vos officia conſtare ſentiatis. Verùm & quiddam eſt quod etiam à vobis viciſſim non nos duntaxat, ſed ipſum jus & fas omne poſtulat; ut noſtræ gentis mercatoribus, veſtris hoſpitibus & ſua privilegia conſervare, & eorum vitam, atque fortunas, prout eâ civitate dignum eſt, veſtris opibus defendere velitis. Quod, ut prioribus literis enixè petivimus, ita nunc etiam ut vehementiùs efflagitemus, faciunt quotidianæ mercatorum querelæ, quas ad nos deferunt; ſuam nimirùm ſalutem atque rem omnem rurſùs apud vos in dubio eſſe. Quamvis enim literarum noſtrarum quas pridem ad vos dedimus fructum aliquem ad tempus percepiſſe ſe fateantur, & ab injuriis nefariorum hominum aliquantùm reſpiraſſe, nunc tamen poſt adventum *Cochrani* illius in urbem veſtram ( de quo etiam priùs queſti ſumus ) qui mandatam jam ſibi à *Carolo* defuncti nuper Regis filio Legationem neſcio quam prædicat, ſe omnibus contumeliis, minis, armis etiam Sicariorum petitos ſolitâ veſtrâ defenſione atque tutelâ caruiſſe. Adeò ut cum unus atque alter è mercatoribus cum ipſo etiam Societatis Præfecto, in navem quandam prædatoriam per inſidias abducti eſſent, cæterique veſtram fidem implorarent, à vobis tamen nullum auxilium impetrare potuerint, donec ipſi ſuo Marte mercatores, non ſine magno ſuorum diſcrimine captos in eo flumine, cujus veſtra urbs domina eſt, ex latronum manibus eripere cogerentur. Quos cum illi bonis auſpiciis domum reduxiſſent, & ab indignâ ſervitute veluti manu aſſeruiſſent, captos etiam piratas ipſos in cuſtodiam dedediſſent, *Cochranum* illum perſugam & perduellem eò audaciæ proceſſiſſe accipimus, ut & prædatores dimitti liberos, & mercatores tradi ſibi vinctos poſtulet. Vos autem etiam atque etiam hortamur & obteſtamur, ſi pactiones, & fœdera, & pervetuſtum utriuſque gentis commercium, id quod petitis, inviolatè ſervari ſtudetis, ut noſtri certum aliquod atque firmum ſibi præſidium in veſtrâ fide, prudentiâ, authoritate collocare demum poſſint; Vos autem uti eos his de rebus benignè audiatis; tàm de *Cochrano*, cæteriſque ſcæleris, illius ſociis, quàm de iis qui nuper in Concionatorem, impunè adhuc, impetum fecerunt ſupplicium ſumere velitis, aut è finibus exire jubeatis. Neque pulſos atque exules *Tarquinios* amicitiæ atque opibus *Populi Anglicani* anteferendos exiſtimetis. Si enim per vos non ſteterit quo minùs Reipub noſtræ hoſtes quidvis licere ſibi contra nos in urbe veſtrâ confidant, quàm non tuta aut honeſta amplius noſtrorum ibi commoratio ſit, vos cum animis veſtris cogitate. Hæc veſtræ prudentiæ & æquitati; Vos ipſos Divino Numini commendatos volumus. Valete.

*Weſtmonaſterio. Dat. Aug.* 10. 1649.

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## *Senatui Hamburgenſi.*

PErſpecta nobis æquanimitas veſtra dubiis in rebus noſtris, facit nunc ut ſanè proſperis, ac benè geſtis, de veſtrâ voluntate, & amico in nos animo nequaquam dubitemus. Nos quidem, confecto jam pœnè bello, & profligatis ubique patriæ hoſtibus, nihil æquius, aut ad pacem, remque publicam ſtabiliendam firmius eſſe duximus, quam ut illi qui vel libertatem, ductore ſemper Deo, per nos adepti ſunt, vel vitam atque fortunas poſt belli civilis facinora, noſtro dono atque gratiâ receperunt, nobis viciſſim ſuis Magiſtratibus fidem & officium, ſolenni, ſi opus eſſet, more teſtarentur, atque præſtarent. Præſertim cum tot homines inquieti & inimici, ſemel atque iterum in fidem accepti, nullum neque domi neque foris perfidioſè agendi, novaſque turbas excitandi finem faciant. Itaque formulam quandam ſponſionis perſcribendam curavimus, quâ omnes qui aut munus aliquod in Repub. ſuſtinerent, aut legum præſidio muniti incolumitate, otio, cæteriſque vitæ commodis fruerentur, conceptis verbis ſe obſtringerent. Hanc etiam per omnes Colonias & quacunque gentium noſtri cives negotiandi causâ agerunt, mittendam cenſuimus; ut eorum quibus præficimur, fidem, prout decet atque neceſſe eſt, exploratam & cognitam habeamus. Quo magis mirari ſubit quod ex urbe veſtrâ mercatores noſtri ſcribunt, ſibi mandata noſtra per unum atque alterum veſtri ordinis exequi non licere. Sanè quod *potentiſſimæ Fœderatorum in Belgio Provinciæ*, ſuarum rerum & rationum conſultiſſimæ, nihil ad ſe pertinere exiſtimaverunt, ſi peregrini ſcilicet *Angli* debitam ſuis domi magiſtratibus in hæc vel illa verba fidem aſtringant, id quo pacto veſtræ Civitati ſuſpectum aut moleſtum eſſe poſſit, fatemur planè nos neſcire. Verum hoc à privato quorundam ſive ſtudio ſive formidine profectum, quos errabundi quidem & pulſi patriâ *Scoti*, minis dicuntur impuliſſe, ut mercatores noſtros a fide ſuâ nobis obligandâ deterrerent, Civitati non imputamus. Interea tamen ſummo vos opere hortamur atque etiam rogamus (non enim mercatura jam, ſed Reſpub. ipſa agitur) ut ne quenquam apud vos patimini, cujus hoc nihil poteſt intereſſe, authoritati quam nos in noſtros populares, non Exterorum arbitrio aut judicio, ſed jure patrio obtinemus, ſuam quamcunque authoritatem interponere. Quis enim non ægrè ferat, ſi nos veſtris hîc *Hamburgenſibus* ſua erga vos fide interdiceremus. Valete.

*Dat. Jan* 4. 1649.

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## *Sereniſſimo ac potentiſſimo Principi* Philippo *Quarto Hiſpaniarum Regi, Parlamentum Reipub. Angliæ, ſalutem.*

A*Ntonium Aſcamum* Virum probum, eruditum, & luculentâ familiâ ortum, de rebus in commune, tam *Hiſpanorum*, quam *Anglorum* genti, ut ſpes eſt, valde utilibus, ad Majeſtatem Veſtram legamus. Quamobrem ut ei honeſtum iter, atque tutum in Urbem Regiam, ſicut moris eſt, necnon & reditum concedere, & præſtare velis, parem referre gratiam parata, officioſè petimus. Sin id minùs placuerit, ut quæ veſtra hac in parte ſit voluntas, ei quam primùm ſignificetur, utque tutò quo volet abeundi poteſtas fiat.

*Dat. Feb.* 4. 1649.

*Sereniſſimo ac potentiſſimo Principi* Philippo *Quarto Hiſpaniarum Regi,*
*Parlamentum Reipub. Angliæ, ſalutem.*

QUis rerum noſtratum ſtatus ſit, quamque atrocibus injuriis ſubacti, ſumptis tandem armis, capeſſendæ libertatis conſilium cepimus, conſtitutâ quâ nunc utimur Reipublicæ formâ, neque *Majeſtatem Veſtram* poteſt latere, neque alium quemvis, qui evulgata ſuper hac re ſcripta noſtra æquo animo perlegerit. Nobis profecto fidem noſtram, æquitatem, patientiam, teſtatam cunctis & probatam reddere, authoritatem etiam, honorem, & decus noſtrum adverſus infames exulum & perfugarum linguas tueri, apud idoneos rerum æſtimatores difficile non debet eſſe. Nunc quod exterarum nationum magis intereſt, deletis, aut depreſſis Patriæ hoſtibus, Deo nempe mirificè adjuti, ad pacem & amicitiam omni imperio potiorem cum vicinis gentibus habendam, paratos nos eſſe palam atque ex animo profitemur. Has ob cauſas ſpectatæ ſolertiæ & probitatis Virum *Antonium Aſchamum* in *Hiſpaniam* ad *Majeſtatem Veſtram* miſimus; qui de amicitiâ deque ſolito inter utramque gentem commercio cum *Majeſtate Veſtrâ* agat; vel etiam ad novas pactiones, ſi ita viſum fuerit, de integro ſanciendas viam muniat. Huic igitur *Veſtræ Majeſtatis* adeundi copiam ut faciatis, ejuſque incolumitati, necnon etiam honori, quoad iſto apud vos munere perfuncturus eſt, velitis proſpicere rogamus: ut & ea quæ à nobis mandata habet, utrique genti, ut ſperamus, profutura, liberè exponat; & mentis Veſtræ qui ſenſus his de rebus ſit, nos quam primùm certiores faciat.

*Weſtmonaſterio dat. Feb.* 4. 1649.

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*Sereniſſimo Principi* Joanni *Quarto Luſitaniæ Regi,*
*Parlamentum Reipub. Angliæ, ſalutem.*

MUlta nos & infidæ pacis, & inteſtini belli mala ultima perpeſſos, eò demùm loci redactos fuiſſe, ut ſi ſalvam Rempubl. vellemus, ejus adminiſtrandi ratio magna ex parte immutanda eſſet, ex iis quæ à nobis hac de re ſcripta publicè & declarata ſunt, *Majeſtati Veſtræ* jam pridem notum eſſe arbitramur. Quibus, ut par eſt, ſi fides potiùs haberetur, quàm improbiſſimis perditorum hominum calumniis, ſanè qui foris de rebus noſtris peſſimè jam ſentiunt, iis fortaſſe multò æquioribus uteremur. Nam quod nos jure noſtro, proque gentilitiâ *Anglorum* libertate, rectè & majorum more fortiter feciſſe contendimus, de eo pravas & obſtinatas nequiſſimorum hominum opiniones ex animis evellere, humanæ opis aut ingenii certè non eſt. Nunc autem quod nobis cum nationibus externis commune, & in rem utrinque magis exiſtit, amicitiam & commercium quod noſtris hominibus, cum vicinâ quacumque gente conſuevit eſſe, non imminutum, ſed auctum atque ratum magnoperè cupimus. Cumque veſtro in regno populares noſtri permagna & per utrique genti quæſtuoſa habeant negotia, iis ne impedimentum aliquod aut incommodum afferatur, quantum in nobis eſt, curabimus. Id verò prædicimus fruſtrà fore, dum piratis & defectoribus noſtris perfugium ſibi veſtris in portubus reperire, & onerariis *Anglorum* navibus, vi captis atque direptis, bona civium noſtrorum ſub haſta vendere Oliſſipone, ut nuntiatur, permiſſum eſt. Huic malo quo maturiùs occurratur, & de eâ, quam petimus, amicitiâ clariùs ut conſtet, Nobiliſſimum Virum *Carolum Vane*, Oratoris munere præditum, cum mandatis atque diplomate, commiſſi ſibi muneris teſte, ad *Majeſtatem Veſtram* legavimus. Eum itaque benignè audire, fidem ei adhibere, ejus denique incolumitati atque honori, per omnes regni veſtri fines, ut velis conſulere obteſtamur. Hæc omnia & nobis pergrata, & *Majeſtati Veſtræ*, ſi fortè uſus venerit, noſtra omnium officia mutua fore pollicemur.

*Weſtmonaſterio dat. Feb.* 4. 1649.

### *Sereniſſimo Principi* Joanni *Quarto Luſitaniæ Regi, Parlamentum Reipub. Angliæ, ſalutem.*

QUotidiani ſerè, & perquàm graves afferuntur ad nos nuntii, Claſſiarios quoſdam noſtros, & gubernatores, qui abductis per ſcelus atque proditionem, quibus præerant, navibus, ſuperiore anno à nobis defecerant, elapſos demùm ex eo portu Hiberniæ, in quo æſtate fermè totâ obſeſſi, vix pœnam ſuis flagitiis dignam effugerant, ad *Luſitaniæ* nunc oram, *Tagique* fluminis oſtium ſe recepiſſe: Ibi captis atque direptis quæ ad mercaturam ultrò citróque commeant, *Anglorum* navigiis, piraticam ſtrenuè facere, & vicina quæque maria, fretumque omne Gaditanum latrocinis infeſtum atque infame reddidiſſe. Cui malo niſi primo quoque tempore obviàm eatur, actum eſſe de commercio, quod noſtris hominibus cum *Luſitanis* peramplum & per utrique genti quæſtuoſum eſt, quis non videt? Quamobrem à *Veſtra Majeſtate* etiam atque etiam petimus, ut piratas noſtros & defectores, *Portugalliæ* finibus exire jubeas; & ſiqui à *Carolo Stuarto* pſeudolegati adſunt, eorum uti rationem ne habere digneris; noſque potius agnoſcas, ad quos *Anglicarum* jam ſumma rerum, Deo planè aſpirante, rediit; utque noſtræ amicorum Claſſi, non minus veſtris quam *Anglorum* commodis inſervienti, *Luſitaniæ* portus, atque flumina præcludi ne ſinas.

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### Philippo *Quarto Hiſpaniarum Regi.*

QUam gravitèr quámque acerbè tulerit *Majeſtas Veſtra* nefariam illam *Antonii Aſchami* oratoris noſtri cædem, & quid puniendis ejus interfectoribus hactenus effectum ſit cum ex literis veſtris, tum ex *Domino Alphonſo de Cardenas* legato veſtro percepimus. Veruntamen facinoris illius atrocitatem quoties nobiſcum reputamus quæ & ipſam vel habendi vel conſervandi commercii rationem funditùs tollit, ſi Legatorum jus apud omnes nationes ſanctiſſimum impunè tanto ſcelere violabitur, non poſſumus quin Majeſtatem veſtram ſummâ inſtantiâ iterùm efflagitemus ut ſupplicium de illis parricidis primo quoque tempore debitum ſumatur, utq; juſtitiam ullâ morâ aut obtentu religionis fruſtrari diutiùs ne ſinat. Et quanquam potentiſſimi regis amicitiam plurimì certè facimus, tamen ut tam infandi parricidii authores dignas ſuo ſcelere pœnas perſolvant omnem dare operam debemus. Humanitatem quidem illam quam juſſu veſtro in *Hiſpaniæ* portubus noſtri homines perſenſêre, præclaram etiam veſtræ Majeſtatis in nos voluntatem quam nuper ampliſſimis verbis veſtro nomine Legatus nobis expoſuit grato animo agnoſcimus, neque non voluptati nobis erit eadem pariter officia, ſi quis uſus venerit, *Veſtræ Majeſtati* & *Hiſpanorum* genti reddere. At niſi juſtitiæ ſine mora ſatisfiat quod jamdiu petimus, quo niti fundamento amicitia ſincera ac diuturna poſſit non videmus, cujus tamen conſervandæ a nobis quidem nulla honeſta occaſio facilè omittetur, cui etiam fini præſentiam Legati apud nos veſtri conducere exiſtimamus.

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### *Legato Hiſpanico.*

*Excellentiſſime Domine,*

COncilium Status, quam primùm per graviſſima Reipub. negotia licuit, in *Parlamentum* attulit quatuor illa ſcripta quæ viſum eſt *Excellentiæ Veſtræ* undevigeſimo proximi Decembris cum Concilio communicare, *Concilium* à *Parlamento* in Mandatis habet, quod ad primum ſcriptorum illorum caput, de nuperi ſcilicet *Reſidentis* ſui *Dom. Aſchami* nefariis interfectoribus, Reſponſum hoc reddere:

*Parlamentum* tamdiu, totiès, tamque merito, debitum eorum ſupplicium poſtulâſſe ut ampliùs dicere opus non ſit in re tanta ubi ( ut *Excellentia Veſtra* pulchrè meminit ) *Regiæ Majeſtatis* ipſa agitur Authoritas: Et ſine qua re omnis ratio Societatis humanæ & conſervandæ inter gentes amicitiæ tolli neceſſe erit. Neque ſane ullo ab Religione petito argumento intelligere poſſumus, innocentium ſanguinem ſceleſtiſſimâ cæde effuſum non eſſe vindicandum, Etiamnum itaque inſtat *Parlamentum* & ab *Regia Majeſtate* expectat, ut, juxta priora ſua poſtulata, ſatisfactio ſibi re ipſâ atque effectu detur.

## *Sereniſſimo Principi* Leopoldo Auſtriæ *Archiduci, Provinciarum in Belgio ſub* Philippo *Rege Præſidi.*

UT primùm ad nos non ſine graviſſimâ querelâ perlatum eſt, *Janam Puccheringam* illuſtri & opulentâ Familiâ puellam hæredem, cum adhuc propter ætatem ſub Tutoribus eſſet, haud procul eâ domo, in quâ tum fortè *Grenovici* agebat, de manibus & complexu famularum raptam fuiſſe, & parato ad id navigio in *Flandriam* ſubitò deportatam, *Walcii* cujuſdam inſidiis, qui per fas & nefas omnia molitus eſt, ut pupillam locupletem, vel oſtenſo mortis metu, ad nubendum ſibi adigeret, huic tàm atroci támque inaudito ſceleri primo quoque tempore occurrendum eſſe rati, dedimus quibuſdam negotium, ut cum præfectis Neoporti & Oſtendæ ( nam in ea fortè loca infelix illa dicebatur appulſa ) agerent de ingenuâ raptoris manibus eripiendâ. Qui utrique pro ſuâ ſingulari humanitate & honeſti ſtudio, captivæ, perque latrocinium domo abductæ opem libenter tulerunt; illa verò ut prædatorum vim quoquo modo effugeret, in Cœnobium votarum virginum veluti ſequeſtrò depoſita eſt. Quam ut ille *Walcius* inde abducaret, actionem in foro eccleſiaſtico *Iprenſis Epiſcopi* de contracto ſecum matrimonio inſtituit. Veruntamen, cum & raptor & rapta noſtrates omninò ſint, ipſum etiam facinus in noſtra ditione perpetratum, quod juratis teſtibus abundè liquet, hæreditas denique tam lauta, quam illum imprimis inhiâſſe conſtat, in noſtrâ poteſtate ſit, hujus propterea cauſæ cognitionem totam, atque judicium ad nos duntaxat pertinere arbitramur. Veniat huc igitur qui ſe ſponſum nominat, ſuam hîc litem inſtruat, quamque jure ſuam contendit eſſe uxorem, tradi ſibi poſtulet. Hoc interim à Veſtra Celſitudine vehementèr petimus, quod & per noſtrum internuntium Bruxellis commorantem jam aliquoties petivimus, ut afflictam & indignis modis habitam puellam, honeſtis parentibus ortam, ſuâ ex Patriâ prædatorium in modum abductam, quoàd potes, liberam & incolumem redire domum ſinas. Hoc abs te non nos tantùm, ſiquam Veſtræ Celſitudini parem à nobis gratiam, parque beneficium reddi poſſe acciderit, ſed ipſa etiam humanitas, ipſe pudor qui ad tuendum ſexus illus honorem & pudicitiam viris bonis atque fortibus ineſſe debet, junctis unâ precibus efflagitare videntur. Vale.

*Weſtmonaſterio Martii* 28. 1650.

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## *Sereniſſimo Principi* Joanni Quarto *Luſitaniæ Regi.*

QUod Oratorem noſtrum & honorificè acceperit *Majeſtas Veſtra*, & benignè ſtatim audierit, nullam interponendam eſſe moram ſtatuimus, quin alteris quam primùm literis noſtris intelligeres, gratiſſimum id nobis accidiſſe; noſque nihil ſanctius decreviſſe, quam pacem, amicitiam, commercium, quod nobis cum Nationibus pleriſque exteris, & inter eas cum *Luſitanis* jam diù eſt, nullo noſtro dicto aut facto, non prius laceſſiti, violare; nec aliâ mente aut conſilio claſſem *Anglicanam Tagi* fluminis ad oſtium miſiſſe, quàm hoſtes jam toties fugatos perſequendi, reſque noſtras repetendi, quas per vim & proditionem ſuis dominis ablatas, colluvies iſta perfugarum veſtras in oras, ipſamque etiam *Oliſſiponem*, tanquam ad certiſſimas latrocinii ſui nundinas, aſportavit. Verùm iſti homines cujus audaciæ, furoris, & inſaniæ ſint, ex ipſorum moribus flagitioſiſſimis omnes jam penè *Luſitanos* abundè perſpexiſſe arbitramur. Quo faciliùs à *Majeſtate Veſtrâ* impetraturos nos eſſe confidimus, primùm ut *Illuſtriſſimo* Viro *Odoardo Poppamo*, quem huic novæ claſſi præfecimus, quibus potes rebus ad prædatores hoſce debellandos adjumento eſſe velis, utque eos cum duce ſuo, non hoſpites, ſed piratas, non mercatores, ſed commercii peſtes, juriſque gentium violatores, intra regni veſtri portus, & munimenta diutiùs conſiſtere ne ſinas; ſed quâ patent *Luſitaniæ* fines, terrâ marique pelli jubeas: ſin hoc minùs, ut nobis ſaltem pace veſtrâ liceat defectores noſtros, & prædones propriis duntaxat viribus aggredi, &, ſi Deus dederit, in noſtram poteſtatem redigere. Hoc ut prioribus literis vehementer petivimus, ſic jam idem ſtudio maximo atque opere ab *Majeſtate Veſtra* contendimus. Hac ſive æquitate, ſive beneficio, non juſtitiæ ſolùm tuæ famam per omnes gentes benè moratas adauxeris, ſed & nos imprimis, populumque *Anglicanum Luſitanis* jam anteà minime adverſum, Tibi tuoque populo majorem in modum devinxeris. Vale.

*Weſtmonaſterio. Dat.* 27. *Aprilis.* 1650.

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## *Hamburgenſibus.*

De controverſiis mercatorum, nonnullis etiam aliis de rebus quæ Reipubl. noſtræ dignitatem aliquanto propiùs attingere videntur, ſcriptum inter nos haud ſemel, atque reſponſum eſt. Cum verò iſtiuſmodi negotia ſolis literis confici vix poſſe intelligamus, eſſe autem à *Carolo Stuarto* immiſſos in urbem veſtram ſeditioſos quoſdam, nullâ re magis quàm ſcelere atque audaciâ inſtructos, qui id agunt, ut noſtrorum hominum, quorum præſertìm fides in patriam perſpectior ſit, commercium tàm vetuſtum in civitate veſtrâ funditùs tollant, idcircò virum nobilem & ſpectatiſſimum *Richardum Bradſhaw* noſtrum apud vos Internuntium eſſe juſſimus: qui ſecundùm ea quæ à nobis mandata habet, de rebus iis atque negotiis quæ cum utriuſque Reipub. utilitatibus conjuncta ſunt, vobiſcum uberiùs communicare, & tranſigere poſſit. Hunc igitur ut benevolè quam primùm audiatis rogamus; utque ei per omnia fides ea, iſque honos habeatur, qui hujuſmodi munus rectè obeuntibus ubique gentium haberi ſolet. Valete.

*Weſtmonaſterio. Dat.* 2. *Aprilis.* 1650.

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## Hamburgenſibus.

*Ampliſſimi, Magnifici, & ſpectabiles Viri, Amici chariſſimi*;

Studia veſtra quibus venientem ad vos Reſidentem noſtrum accepiſtis, tàm propenſa, támque egregia extitiſſe, & libenter intelligimus, & in eadem erga nos voluntate atque animo perſeverare velitis magnoperè hortamur. Idque eò vehementiùs, quòd perlatum ad nos eſt, exules illos noſtros, de quibus jam ſæpe ſcripſimus, efferre ſe ſolito inſolentiùs in urbe veſtrâ, nec contumelias ſolùm, ſed & minas quaſdam atrociſſimas in Oratorem noſtrum palàm projicere. Hujus itaque ſalutem atque etiam debitum honorem hiſce rurſùs literis commendatiſſimum vobis eſſe volumus. In illos autem perfugas & ſicarios, tàm veteres quàm recentes, ſi maturiùs animadvertetis, & nobis gratiſſimum, & authoritate veſtrâ atque prudentiâ dignum feceritis. Valete.

*Weſtmonaſterio. Dat.* 31. *Maii.* 1650.

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## Philippo Quarto *Hiſpaniarum Regi.*

*Antonium Aſcamum* à nobis ad Majeſtatem Veſtram nuper miſſum Oratorem, eoque nomine à Præfectis veſtris perhumaniter & publicè acceptum, poſt itineris pericula tam longinqui, primo ſtatim adventu in urbem Regiam, omni præſidio nudatum, tam fædo parricidio confoſſum in diverſorio quodam, & cum *Joanne Baptiſta de Ripa* ejus interprete mactatum eſſe, magno ſanè cum dolore accepimus. De illis autem parricidis jam comprehenſis, ut fertur, & in cuſtodiam datis, qui non nos duntaxat per illius latera, ſed veſtram quoque fidem atque honorem conſauciare ac pænè transfigere ſunt auſi, deque eorum quibuſcunque hortatoribus ac ſociis ut ſupplicium tanto ſcelere dignum primo quoque tempore ſumatur, opere quam maximo à *Majeſtate Veſtra* petimus. Quanquam id nihilo minus factum iri, quod petimus, utpote à Rege ſua ſponte pio atque juſto, etiamſi nemo peteret, non dubitamus. Quod reliquum eſt, ut corpus exanime amicis ſuis atque famulis in patriam deportandum tradatur, utque eorum ſaluti qui ſuperſunt eâ, quâ par eſt, ratione conſultum atque proviſum tantiſper ſit rogamus, donec reſponſo ad haſce literas, ſi fieri poteſt, ſecum ablato, veſtræ pietatis atque juſtitiæ teſtes ad nos quam primùm redierint.

*Weſtmonaſterio. Dat.* 28. *Junii.* 1650.

## *Excellentiſſimo Domino* Antonio Joanni Ludovico *de la Cerda, Medinæ Celi Duci, Andalitiæ Præſidi;*
## *Conſilium Status Parlamenti Angliæ authoritate conſtitutum,* Salutem.

ACcipimus ab Ornatiſſimis Viris quos nuper in *Portugalliam* ad perſequendos proditores, reſque noſtras repetendas cum claſſe miſimus, ſe ab *Amplitudine Veſtra*, quoties contigit ut *Gallaciæ* oram legerent, quæ præfectura veſtra eſt, & perhumaniter illis portubus exceptos fuiſſe, & iis rebus omnibus adjutos, quæ navigantibus uſui ſolent eſſe. Ea veſtra humanitas, cum pergrata nobis omni tempore fuiſſet, tum eſt nunc præcipuè, cum aliorum iniquum in nos animum nullo merito noſtro aliquibus in locis experimur. Petimus itaque abs te *Illuſtriſſime Domine*, ut in eadem erga nos voluntate ac benevolentia permanere velis: utque noſtris hominibus, quoties ad ea littora naves appulerint pro ſolita humanitate tua ſavere & adjumento eſſe pergas: tibique perſuadeas nihil nos beneficii loco abs te petere quod non eodem ſtudio vel Tibi vel tuis reddere, ſiquando ſimilis occaſio nobis dabitur, parati erimus.

*Weſtmonaſterio.* *Dat.* 7. *Novemb.* 1650.
Signat. Conſilii ſigilli
*Jo. Bradſhaw* Præſes.

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## Illuſtri & Magnifico Civitatis Gedanenſis Senatui.

*Magnifici atque Ampliſſimi Domini, Amici Chariſſimi.*

FRequentes ad nos literæ mercatorum noſtrorum, qui Boruſſiæ per oram negotiantur, allatæ ſunt, quibus tributum grave quoddam & inſolitum nuper in magno *Polonorum* Concilio imponi ſibi queruntur; ut decimam ſcilicet facultatum ſuarum omnium partem ſublevando *Scotorum* regi, noſtro hoſti, ſuppeditarent. Quod cum juri Gentium contrarium planè ſit, tractari hunc in modum hoſpites & mercatores, iniquiſſimum etiam, ut cujus tyrannide ſint domi, divinâ ope, liberati, iidem in aliena Republica ſtipendia perſolvere cogerentur, non dubitamus quin pro illa libertate, quâ frui vos intelligimus, tam grave onus mercatoribus imperari in urbe veſtra pati nolitis; in qua amicitiam & commercium, nec ſine magno veſtræ civitatis emolumento, per tot annos habuere. Si eſt igitur ut noſtrorum hominum apud vos mercaturam facientium tutelam ſuſcipere velitis, quod quidem cùm ab æquitate & prudentia veſtra, tum etiam à dignitate ſplendidiſſimæ urbis haud dubitantér expectamus, eam operam dabimus, ut gratiſſimum id eſſe nobis omni tempore ſentiatis; quotiès in ditione noſtra *Gedanenſes* vel negotia habuerint, vel naves, quod ſæpè fit, ad portus noſtros appulerint.

*Weſtmonaſterio.* *Dat.* 6. *Feb.* 1650.

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## Internuntio Portugallico.

*Illuſtris Domine,*

LIteras tuas hujus menſis quinto decimo *Hamptonâ* ad nos datas accepimus. In quibus ſignificas te à *rege Portugalliæ* ad *Parlamentum Reipub. Angliæ* miſſum eſſe: quo autem muneris titulo, ſive Legati ſive Agentis, ſive Internuntii non dicis; id quod ex literis quas à rege habes commendatitias ſive credentiales intelligere velimus; quarum exemplar ad nos poteris quam primùm mittere; ſimul & illud ſcire, ſatiſne plenâ poteſtate inſtructus venias ad eas injurias expiandas, damnaque ea reſarcienda quæ à Rege veſtro illata huic *Reipub.* ſunt: dum hoſtem noſtrum totâ æſtate proximâ ſuis portubus tutatus Claſſem *Anglicanam* in rebelles & perfugas quos eò uſque inſecuta erat, impetum facere parantem cohibuit, hoſtem ab invadendis noſtris non cohibuit. De his omnibus ut ſatisfacias, ſi ampla & libera mandata accepiſſe te ſcripſeris, & illarum quas diximus

mus literarum exemplar unà miſeris, deincèps curabimus, ut ad nos fide publicâ primo quoque tempore tutò commeare poſſis: ubi cum regis literæ perlectæ fuerint tibi, quæ mandata porrò attuliſti, ea liberè exponendi facultas dabitur.

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## *Parlamentum* Reipub. Angliæ *Sereniſſimo Principi D. Ferdinando Secundo, Magno Duci Etruriæ, &c.* Salutem.

LIteras *Celſitudinis Veſtræ* 22 Aprilis 1651. *Florentiæ* datas, & à Reſidente Veſtro *Domino Almerico Salvetti* nobis redditas accepimus, in quibus *Anglico* nomini quantoperè faveat *Celſitudo Veſtra*, Gentemque eam quanti faciat facilè perſpicimus, id quod non ſolùm Mercatores noſtri, qui in portubus veſtris multos jam annos negotiantur, verùm etiam Adoleſcentes quique noſtræ nationis nobiliſſimi, qui veſtras per urbes aut iter fecêre, aut excolendi ingenii cauſâ commorati ſunt, teſtantur atque confirmant, quæ cum nobis pergrata ſanè ſint, & acceptiſſima, tum hoc etiam atque etiam petimus, ut quo animo, quoque ſtudio in noſtros mercatores, alioſque noſtræ *Reipub.* Cives *Hetruſcam* ditionem peragrantes, *Serenitas Veſtra* conſuevit eſſe, in eo velit perſeverare: noſque viciſſim pollicemur atque recipimus, quod ad *Parlamentum* attinet, nihil deſuturum, quod & commercio & amicitiæ mutuæ, quæ inter utramque Gentem jam diù inveteravit, firmandæ ac ſtabiliendæ poſſit conducere; quam quidem omnibus utrinque humanitatis officiis, mutuáque obſervantiâ, in perpetuum conſervari cupimus, atque optamus.

*Weſtmonaſterio.* 20 *Januarii* 1651.
*Subſcripſit & Parlamenti ſigillum apponi fecit*
Gulielmus Lenthall,
Prolocutor *Parlamenti Reipub. Angliæ.*

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## *Parlamentum* Reipub. Angliæ *Illuſtri & magnifico Civitatis Hamburgenſis Senatui*, Salutem.

*Ampliſſimi, magnifici & ſpectabiles viri, Amici chariſſimi*;

PArlamentum *Reipub. Angliæ*, cum antiquam amicitiam, mutuumque commercium, quæ inter gentem *Anglicam* Veſtramque civitatem eſt, continuatum magnoperè vellet & conſervatum, haud ita pridem *Richardum Bradſhaw* armigerum Reſidentis Munere præditum illûc miſit, eique inter alia mandata eò ſpectantia diſertis verbis mandavit, ut contra quoſdam veſtræ ditionis juſtitiam efflagitaret, qui Societatis *Anglicæ* Concionatorem interficere ſunt conati, quique Deputato Illius Societatis impias manus injecêre, & mercatoribus quibuſdam ejus Societatis præcipuis impias manus injecêre, eoſque in navem prædatoriam abduxerant, & quamvis prædictus *Reſidens* cum exciperetur primum & audiretur, accepta ab hac *Republica* mandata illa ſigillatìm vobis nota fecerit, quibus juſtitiæ veſtræ exemplum in maleficos illos edendum expectabatur, tamen cùm expectationi noſtræ reſponſum non eſſe intelligeremus, illud nobiſcum cogitantes quanto in periculo & noſtri homines & illorum facultates verſarentur, ſi de incolumitate illorum & tutela adverſus hoſtium malitiam & iniquos oppugnatores non ſatis proviſum eſſet, rurſus prædicto *Reſidenti* in mandatis dedimus, ut noſtrum ejus rei ſenſum repreſentaret: Utque hujus *Reipub.* nomine Vos ut amicitiam & neceſſitudinem inter hanc Rempub. veſtramque civitatem initam magnumque uſum qui huic Reipub. cum veſtra civitate intercedit conſervare, adeoque mercatores noſtros cum eorum privilegiis ſine ulla violatione protegere velitis hortaretur; utque nominatìm in quendam, cui nomen *Garmes* eſt, qui ſe in hanc *Rempub.* contumelioſè geſſit, certoſque ex ſocietate mercatorum *Anglica, Veſtra in urbe commorantes*, ad contumeliam hujus *Reipub.* magnamque noſtrorum mercatorum moleſtiam, in *Spirenſem* Cameram publicè citavit: quàre reparationem ejuſmodi expectamus quæ æquitati & juſtitiæ conſentanea eſt.

De hiſce capitibus, & ſi quid amplius ad hujus Reipub. cum veſtra civitate amicitiam pertinuerit, prædictum *Reſidentem* hujus *Reipub.* nomine ad vos juſſimus

mus accedere: cui, ut fidem amplam in iis quæ huc ſpectantia propoſuerit habeatis, rogamus.

*Weſtmonaſterio. Dat.* 12 *Martii.* 1651.
Subſcripſit & Parlamenti ſigillum imprimendum curavit,
*Prolocutor*, &c.

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## *Parlamentum Reipub. Angliæ ſereniſſimæ* Chriſtianæ, *Suecorum, Gothorum Vandalorumque Reginæ, &c. ſalutem.*

*Sereniſſima Regina;*

M*Ajeſtatis veſtræ* Literas ad *Parlamentum Reipub. Angliæ* 26 proximè elapſi Septembris Stockholma datas per *Petrum Spiering Silvercroon* accepimus, & perlegimus: & veterem quidem amicitiam nec non commercium magnumque uſum qui *Anglis* cum *Suecorum* gente antiquitùs intercedit permanere atque indies augere vehementer atque ex animo cupimus: Neque dubitamus quin Legatus à Majeſtate veſtra ampliter inſtructus venerit ad ea maximè proponenda quæ in rem atque decus Genti utrique futura imprimis fuiſſent, quæque nos audire ex eo paratiſſimi fuiſſemus & quod utrinque potiſſimum ſalubre atque utile videretur, id primo quoque tempore effectum reddidiſſe. Verùm ſummo rerum Moderatori Deo ita viſum eſt, ut is antequam audiri ſe petiiſſet de iis quæ *Parlamento* exponenda ab Majeſtate veſtra in mandatis habebat, evenit ut ex hac vita excederet (cujus quidem deſiderium ita ægrè atque acerbè tulimus, ut qui ſimul in divina voluntate acquieſcere debeamus) unde & Majeſtatis veſtræ quæ mens eſſet adhuc ſcire nequeamus, ejuſque rei progreſſibus in præſens injecta mora ſit: Quocircà optimum nobis viſum eſt hiſce literis quas, miſſo hac ipſa de re nuntio noſtro, dedimus, ſignificare veſtræ Majeſtati quam gratæ Literæ veſtræ, quamque acceptus veſter publicus Miniſter *Parlamento Reipub. Angliæ* fuerit; ſimulque veſtræ Majeſtatis amicitiam quantoperè expectamus; quàmque etiam, ut par eſt, tantæ principis amicitiam plurimi faciemus: deque illo quod inter hanc Rempub. & Majeſtatis veſtræ Regnum eſt commercio exaugendo, ita exiſtimabimus quemadmodum de re maximi utrobique momenti exiſtimare debemus: quod & ea de cauſa *Parlamento Reipub. Angliæ* acceptiſſimum erit. Adeóque *veſtram Majeſtatem* divinæ tutelæ recommendare volumus: Quorum nomine & authoritate,

*Datis Weſtmonaſterio die Martis ann. Dom.* 1651.
Subſcripſit & Parlamenti Sigillum imprimendum curavit
*Prolocutor Parlamenti Reipub. Angliæ.*

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## *Parlamentum Reipublicæ Angliæ Sereniſſimo Principi* Ferdinando Secundo *Hetruriæ Magno Duci*, Salutem.

LIteras Celſitudinis Veſtræ 22 Aprilis 1651. Florentiâ datas, & a Reſidente Veſtro Domino *Almerico Salvetti* nobis redditas accepimus; in quibus Anglico nomini quantopere faveat Celſitudo Veſtra, gentemque eam quanti faciat, facile perſpicimus: Id quod non ſolùm Mercatores noſtri qui in portubus veſtris multos jam annos negotiantur, verum etiam Adoleſcentes quique noſtræ nationis nobiliſſimi atque honeſtiſſimi qui veſtras per urbes aut iter fecere aut excolendi ingenii cauſâ commorati ſunt, teſtantur atque confirmant. Quæ cum nobis pergrata ſane ſunt & acceptiſſima, tum hoc etiam atque etiam petimus, ut quo animo quoque ſtudio in noſtros mercatores, alioſque noſtræ reipublicæ cives Hetruſcam ditionem peragrantes Serenitas Veſtra conſuevit eſſe, in eo velit perſeverare: noſque viciſſim pollicemur atque recipimus, quod ad Parlamentum attinet, nihil defuturum, quod & commercio & amicitiæ mutuæ, quæ inter utramque rempub. tam diu inveteravit, firmandæ ac ſtabiliendæ poſſit conducere:

ducere : quam quidem omnibus utrinque humanitatis officiis mutuâque obſervantiâ in perpetuum conſervari cupimus atque optamus.

*Weſtmonaſterio May* 22. 1651.

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*Parlamentum Reipublicæ Angliæ ſereniſſimo ac potentiſſimo Principi* Philippo *Quarto Hiſpaniarum Regi, ſalutem.*

PErmagnas nobis querelas deferunt hujus Reipub. mercatores qui in ditionibus *veſtra Majeſtatis* mercaturam faciunt, de vi multa atque injuriis ſibi allatis, deque novis etiam tributis ſibi impoſitis à præfectis aliiſque officialibus veſtrorum portuum & locorum ubi negotia habenr, & nominatim in inſulis *Canariis*, idque contra fœderis articulos quos commercii cauſa utraque natio inter ſe ſanxit. Quas eorum querelas veras eſſe jurejurando confirmavere. Nobiſque demonſtrant, niſi jus ſuum obtinere poſſint, ſuaque damna reſarciantur, niſi denique contra vim iſtiuſmodi atque injurias præſidium aliquod certum, atque tutelam & ſibi & fortunis ſuis habituri ſint, non poſſe ſe amplius iis in locis negotiari. Quibus eorum querelis graviter à nobis perpenſis, cumque facta illorum miniſtrorum iniqua, aut non omnino aut ſecus quàm res ſe habet ad notitiam *veſtræ Majeſtatis* perveniſſe exiſtimemus, viſum eſt nobis ipſas eorum querelas cum hiſce litteris ad *Majeſtatem veſtram* unà mittere; nec dubitamus quin *Majeſtas veſtra* cum ipſius juſtitiæ amore tum etiam commercii causâ quod veſtris haud minus quam noſtris hominibus fructuoſum eſt, ſuis præcipere velit ut ab iniquis illis noſtrorum vexationibus abſtineant, utque hujus Gentis mercatores expeditam juſtitiam obtinere queant, necnon debitam earum injuriarum reparationem, quæ à Domino *Petro de Carillo de Guzman*, atque aliis illatæ ſibi ſunt, contra prædictos fœderis articulos, utque perficere velit *Majeſtas veſtra* ut prædicti Mercatores fructum illorum articulorum percipere queant, in eaque veſtra tutela ſint, ut tam ipſi quam fortunæ ſuæ ab omni injuria liberæ & incolumes eſſe poſſint. Hoc autem magna ex parte conſecuturos ſe eſſe putant, ſi ademptam ſibi illam de judice conſervatore ſchedulam qui eos à novo quodam Conſulatu in ſe quidem iniquiore defendat, *Majeſtas veſtra* rurſus conceſſerit; ne ſi nullum ab injuria refugium ſibi detur, abrumpi illud commercium quod utrique genti commoda haud parva attulit, violatis hunc in modum fœderis articulis, neceſſe ſit.

*Weſtmonaſterio. Auguſti,* 1651.

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*Sereniſſimo Principi Venetiarum Duci, Senatuique Celſiſſimo, Concilium Status Parlamenti Reipub. Angliæ Authoritate conſtitutum, ſalutem.*

*Sereniſſime Princeps, celſiſſime Senatus, Amici chariſſimi*;

MErcatores quidam noſtri, quorum alteri *Joannes Dickons*, alteri *Job Throckmorton* nomen eſt, ſimulque alii apud nos queſti ſunt, quòd cum Novembris octavo & vigeſimo 1651. ex jure & authoritate Curiæ noſtræ Ammiralatus occupaſſent in navi *Hirundine* vulgo nuncupatâ, cui in Dunis conſiſtenti *Iſacus Taylor* Magiſter erat, centum dolia Caveari vulgò dicti, quæ ſua propria bona eſſent, inque ſinu Moſcovitico Archangeli dicto eandem in navem impoſita; atque in eâ Curiâ, prout lege agitur, decretum obtinuiſſent quo dicta Caveari dolia ſibi traderentur, fide ſuâ priùs interpoſitâ, ſe in illius Curiæ ſententiâ acquieturos; quodque eadem Curia, quo lis illa ad exitum perduceretur, cum pro more ſcripſiſſet ad Magiſtratus Judiceſque Venetos, literas, quibus petebant uti *Joannem Piattum* (Venetâ ſub ditione degentem, qui Cavearum illum ſibi vendicat) citarent quo re per procuratorem in Ammiralatus curia Anglica ſe ſiſteret, ubi lis iſta pendet, juſque ſuum probaret, tamen idem *Piattus*, & quidam *David Rutts* Hollandus, dum cauſa hæc in noſtro hic foro pendet, multum ſupradicto *Joanni Dickons*, aliiſque illis mercatoribus de Cavearo iſthoc negotium faceſſit; eorumque bona & facultates nexu occupandas Venetiis curat: quæ omnia ſingulatim, & quid hactenus in prædictâ noſtrâ curiâ ſit actum in literis illis requiſitoriis fuſiùs exponitur ; quas poſtquam à nobis inſpectæ eſſent, ad ſereniſſimam Venetiarum Rempub. ut Mercatoribus in hâc causâ adjumento eſſe poſſint, tranſmittendas cenſuimus ; atque ab eâ vehementèr petimus ut non ſolum illæ literæ vim ſuam atque pondus illic habere queant, ſed etiam ut bona illa & facultates Mercatorum, quas prædictus *Piattus* & *David Rutts* nexu illigandas curarunt, liberentur ; dictique rei ad noſtram hic curiam remittantur, quid ſui ſit juris in hoc Cavearo ſibi vendicando lege experturi. Qua in re Celſitudo veſtra & ſereniſſima Reſpub. fecerit & quod æquiſſimum in ſe eſt, & quod illibatâ utriuſque Reipub. amicitiâ eſt dignum, quod denique, oblata quavis occaſione, pari hujus Reipub. benevolentia atque officiis compenſabitur.

*Datis ab Albâ Aulâ die Feb.* 1652.

Subſcripſit & Concilii Sigillum imprimendum curavit,

*Conſilii Præſes.*

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## *Ad Legatum Hiſpanicum.*

*Excellentiſſime Domine,*

COncilium Status cum ex mandato Parlamenti ſecundo die menſis *Martii* accepto de charta Excellentiæ veſtræ 17 *Feb.* Commiſſariis hujus Concilii exhibita deliberationem ſeriam habuerit, in qua Excellentiæ veſtræ viſum eſt proponere uti duobus capitibus illic nominatis quaſi præviis reſponderetur, reſponſum hoc Excellentiæ veſtræ reddendum cenſet.

Parlamentum, ubi ad ea reſpondit quæ ab Excellentia veſtra cum primum audiretur propoſita ſunt tum etiam in iis literis quas ad Sereniſſimum Hiſpaniarum Regem ſcripſit, quàm ſibi grata quamque accepta illa fuerit amicitia, uſuſque mutuus qui & ab illius Regia Majeſtate & à vobis ejus nomine oblatus eſt, quam denique deliberatum ſibi fuerit parem amicitiam quod ad ſe attinet, pariaque officia reddere uberius declaravit.

Exinde viſum veſtræ Excellentiæ cum primum audita in Concilio eſt Decembris 19 ſtyli veteris, huic Concilio proponere, veluti rationem quandam auſpicandæ arctioris hujus Amicitiæ, cujus facta tum a vobis mentio erat, uti certi ex ſuo corpore nominarentur qui ea quæ attuliſſet Excellentia veſtra audirent, iis perpenſis de eorum utilitate ad Concilium referre quam primum poſſint, cui veſtro poſtulato ut ſatisfieret certos ex ſuo numero Concilium nominavit, qui Excellentiam veſtram convenirent quod & proinde factum eſt eorumque loco quæ proponenda expectabantur, Chartam illam ſupradictam congreſſio ea protulit, ad quam reſponſum hoc Concilii eſt.

Cum Parlamentum ea declaraverit, veſtraque Excellentia progreſſum eum fecerit qui ſupradictus eſt, paratos nos eſſe, cum Excellentia veſtra in colloquium venire iis de rebus quas Domini regis veſtri nomine propoſueritis, tam de amicitia jam pridem inita, quam de arctiore ineunda, aut ſi quid à nobis hujus Reipub. nomine in medium proferetur ; cumque ad ſingula ventum erit, ita reſpondebimus, ut par eſt, naturaque rei poſtulabit.

*Alba Aula. Martii* 21. 1652.

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## *Parlamentum Reipub. Angliæ, ſereniſſimo Principi* Frederico *Tertio Daniæ Regi, &c. ſalutem.*

*Sereniſſime & potentiſſime Rex ;*

LIteras veſtræ Majeſtatis undevigeſimo proximi Decembris ad Parlamentum Reipub. Angliæ ab arce regia Haphniæ datas per virum nobilem *Henricum Willemſen Roſenwing de Lyſacker* accepimus, eoque animi affectu quem res illic propoſitæ merentur libentiſſimè perlegimus, Veſtræque Majeſtati perſuaſum hoc eſſe cupimus, eundem animum, eadem veteris amicitiæ commercii, ac neceſſitudinis quæ Angliæ cum Dania per tot annos interceſſit continuandæ & conſervandæ ſtudia quæ in Majeſtate Veſtra ſunt in nobis quoque eſſe ; haud neſcientes, quamvis divinæ Providentiæ viſum ſit gentem hanc tàm benignè & placidè reſpicienti receptam apud nos prioris regiminis formam in melius mutare, eaſdem tamen utrinque rationes, eadem in commune commoda, eundem mutuò uſum atque liberum commercium, quæ pactiones priores & fœdera inter utramque nationem pepererunt, etiamnum durare vimque priorem obtinere, utraſque etiam obligare ut communem dent operam Fœdera illa quàm utiliſſima ſibi mutuo reddendo ut amicitiam quoque propriorem ac ſtabiliorem indies reddant; Cumque Veſtræ Majeſtati placuerit ea perſequi conſilia quæ in literis veſtris regiis ſcripta ſunt, Parlamentum eadem amplecti cum alacritate omni ac fide paratum erit, eaque omnia pro virili ſuâ parte conferre quæ illum ad finem conducere arbitrabuntur; ſibique perſuadent, Majeſtatem Veſtram hac de cauſa, ea iridem conſilia capturum eſſe ad hanc rempub. ſpectantia (cui etiam proviſum pactis prioribus eſt) quæ ad haſce res facere poſſint ab Majeſtate Veſtra nobis tàm cupientibus propoſitas. Parlamentum interea Majeſtati Veſtræ ac populo fœlicitatem proſperaque omnia precatur.

*Datis Weſtmonaſterio die*
*April. An. Dom.* 1652.

Sub Sigillo Parlamenti ſubſcripſit ejus nomine atque authoritate Prolocutor Parlamenti Reipub. Angliæ.

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### *Parlamentum Reipub. Angliæ illuſtribus & magnificis* Hanſeaticarum *Civitatum Proconſulibus ac Senatoribus, Salutem.*

*Ampliſſimi, magnifici & ſpectabiles Viri, amici chariſſimi;*

PArlamentum Reipubl. Angliæ literas veſtras ſexto decimo *Januarii* proximè elapſi datas, perque veſtrum publicum Miniſtrum *Leonem ab Aiſema* allatas accepit atque perlegit, eumque ex earum authoritate audivit, qui & veſtrarum Civitatum erga hanc Rempub. propenſum & amicum animum expoſuit,& antiqua illa inter eaſdem amicitia ut porrò maneat petivit. *Parlamentum* itaque pro ſe teſtatur atque confirmat pergratum ſibi eſſe, priſtinam illam amicitiam ac neceſſitudinem quæ huic Genti cum illis Civitatibus interceſſit & renovari ratamque permanere, ſeque fore paratum quâvis occaſione commodùm oblatâ quod verbis in ſe recipit id reipſâ ſolidè præſtare, eâdemque fide & integritate antiqui illi amici & fœderati ſui ut ſecum agant expectat: quæ autem prætereà Reſidens veſter ſpeciatim in mandatis habuit, cum ea ad *Concilium Status* integra à nobis remiſſa fuerint, quæque propoſuiſſet ibidem conſultata, reſponſum illic atque tranſactum cum eo ita fuit, prout quidque maximè cum æqualitate & ratione conſentire viſum eſt, quod & Reſidens Veſter renunciare ad vos poterit: cujus prudentia & ſpectata probitas collata in eum à vobis publici muneris notâ dignum prædicat.

Sub Sigillo Parlamenti ſubſcripſit, ejuſque nomine & authoritate, Prolocutor Parlamenti Reipub. Angliæ.

*Datis Weſtmonaſt. die*
*April. An. Dom.* 1652.

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### *Parlamentum Reipub. Angliæ illuſtri & magnifico Civitatis Hamburgenſis Senatui, Salutem.*

*Ampliſſimi, magnifici & ſpectabiles Viri, amici chariſſimi;*

PArlamentum Reipub. Angliæ literas veſtras quinto decimo Januarii proxime elapſi Hamburgo datas, perque nobilem Virum Dominum *Leonem ab Aiſema* veſtrum & cæterarum Civitatum Hanſeaticarum Reſidentem allatas accepit atque perlegit, eumque ex earum authoritate audivit, & quæ amplius ab veſtra Civitate mandata ſpeciatim habuit, de iis ad *Concilium Status* remiſit, quibus ut exciperent quæ ab eo proponerentur, deque iis quæ juſta & æqua viderentur, cum eo quam primum tranſigerent, authores fuimus; quod etiam exinde factum eſt. Utque Parlamentum earum rerum quæ à vobis afferentur debitam rationem ſemper ſe eſſe habiturum oſtendit, ſuumq; erga veſtra civitatem ſingulare ſtudium, miſſo illuc Reſidente ſuo, ibique manere juſſo, teſtatum reddidit; ita viciſſim expectat & meritò quidem poſtulat à vobis æqua reddi iis in rebus quæ hujus reipub. ex uſu, ab ſuo dicto Reſidente ſuoque nomine veſtræ civitati, antiquitùs amicæ nobis & fœderatæ, vel jam expoſita vel in poſterum exponenda erunt.

Sub ſigillo Parlamenti ſubſcripſit ejus nomine atque authoritate Prolocutor Parlamenti Reipub. Angliæ.

*Weſtmonaſterio dat. die*
*April. An. Dom.* 1652.

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## *Concilium Status Reipublicæ Angliæ Sereniſſimo Principi D.* Ferdinando *Secundo Magno Duci Hetruriæ, ſalutem.*

COncilium *Status* cum à *Carolo Longlando* qui in Portu Celſitudinis Veſtræ *Liburnenſi*, mercatorum Anglicorum negotia procurat, certius per literas fieret quatuordecim Naves præſidiarias Fœderatorum *Belgarum* in eum Portum nuper veniſſe, qui naves Anglorum in ipſo Portu veſtro aut incenſuros ſe eſſe aut depreſſuros minati palàm ſunt, Veſtramque Serenitatem cujus fidem atque opem Angliæ Mercatores ibi commorantes imploraverant, *Liburnienſis* Præſidii præfecto mandâſſe, uti illis Anglorum navibus auxilio eſſet ſui muneris atque officii judicavit eſſe, uti Celſitudinem Veſtram certiorem faceret, quàm huic Reipublicæ gratiſſima ſit benevolentia illa atque tutela quam mercatoribus Anglis tam benignè præbuiſtis, Veſtræque Celſitudini promittit atque in ſe recipit manſuram apud ſe in omne tempus hujus benè meriti gratiam, paratumque ſe omni occaſione fore parem amicitiam pariaque officia veſtro Populo reipſâ præſtare, omniaque facere quæ conſervandæ inter hanc Gentem atque Veſtram ſolitæ benevolentiæ, atque commercio poſſint conducere. Cumque naves Fœderatarum *Belgii* Provinciarum inter ipſa de Fœdere Colloquia à ſemetipſis oblata in Claſſem noſtram ſumma cum perfidia non ſolùm in ipſis Stationibus hoſtilia inceptaverint (quo in facinore DEUS, tanquam arbiter juſtiſſimus, adverſum ſe illis atque infenſum oſtendit) verùm etiam in exterorum portubus naves mercatorum noſtrorum capere aut demergere conatæ ſint, neceſſarium etiam cenſuimus Scriptum hoc Parlamenti Reipublicæ Angliæ ad Celſitudinem Veſtram unà mittere; cujus emittendi occaſionem dedêre Controverſiæ inter hanc Rempub. & *Belgii* Provincias in præſentiâ coortæ. Ex quo Celſitudo Veſtra facilè perſpiciat, quàm iniqua, quam contra fas omne atque jus Gentium facta illius Populi in hanc Rempub. extiterint, & quàm ex animo Parlamentum ſtuduerit publicæ Pacis causâ amicitiam eorum & ſocietatem priſtinam retinuiſſe.

*Datis ab Alba Aula*
*Julii* 29. 1652.

Subſcripſit Concilii Nomine atque
Authoritate Concilii Præſes.

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## *Ad Legatum Hiſpanicum.*

*Excellentiſſime Domine,*

C*Oncilium Status*, deliberatione habitâ de illa chartula quam $\frac{27\ \text{Maj,}}{6\ \text{Junii,}}$ 1652. ab Excellentia Veſtra accepit, tum etiam de illa quam in *Concilio Status* cum audiretur $\frac{6}{16}$ hujus menſis Veſtra exhibuit Excellentia, ad binas illas chartulas Reſponſum hoc reddit: Parlamentum Reipubl. Angliæ firmam amicitiam bonamque pacem, quæ huic Reipub. eſt cum Hiſpaniarum Regia Majeſtate conſervandi percupidum, ex quo idem primùm Regis prædicti animum eodem inclinare Excellentia Veſtra ſignificavit, paratum ſemper fuiſſe eam utriuſque gentis bono quam maximè firmare ac ſtabilire. Idque Concilium Status Parlamenti nomine atque mandato ſuis chartulis aliquoties Excellentiæ Veſtræ demonſtravit; & ſpeciatim, prout Excellentia Veſtra petiverat, Commiſſarios delegit, qui & Excellentiam Veſtram convenirent, ab eaque acciperent, quæ ad prædictum finem conducentia proponerentur; quo in conventu eorùm loco proponendorum viſum eſt vobis generatim quædam, quaſi futuro prævia colloquio, exhibere, de quibus Concilio videbatur, Parlamentum qui ſuus eſſet ſenſus chartis prioribus planum feciſſe: tamen quo cumulatiùs ſatisfieret, atque

Excellentiæ Veſtræ nequa dubitatio reſtaret iis de rebus quæ tum propoſuerat, Concilium in ea chartula quæ $\substack{31\ \textit{Martii}\\ 10\ \textit{Aprilis}}$ data eſt paratum ſe eſſe oſtendit cum Excellentia Veſtra in Colloquium venire iis de rebus quæ à parte Regiæ Majeſtatis prædictæ in mandatis haberet tàm de priſtina amicitia quàm de actione futura, de iis etiam quæ à nobis hujus Reipub. nomine exhiberentur; cumque ad ſingula veniretur ea, quæ par eſſet, reſque poſtularet, reſponſa dare: ad quæ viſum eſt Excellentiæ Veſtræ nihilum reſpondere neque per duos pene menſes in ea re ulterius progredi. Veſtramque chartulam $\substack{27\ \textit{May}\\ 6\ \textit{Junii}}$ 1652. datam Concilium ex eo tempore primam ab Excellentia Veſtra acccepit, in eaque hoc ſolum proponitis, uti pacis atque fœderis articuli inter *Carolum Regem* nuperum veſtrumque Dominum $\frac{6}{16}$ *Novembris* 1630. pacti denuò percurrantur, utque ejus capita quæque vel amplificentur vel immutentur pro temporum & rerum alio nunc Statu, necnon regendæ Reipublicæ formâ immutata, quod cum nihil amplius eſſet, quam quod & nos in prædicta noſtrâ chartula $\substack{31\ \textit{Martii}\\ 10\ \textit{Aprilis}}$ ſummatim atque dilucidè ſignificaveramus, expectabat Concilium quoſdam ſpeciatim articulos ex eo ſœdere ab Excellentia Veſtra propoſitum iri cum ea amplificatione, iiſque mutationibus quarum facitis mentionem, cum alioqui nobis impoſſibile ſit ullum aliud reſponſum hac de re dare quàm quod jam dedimus. Verùm cum Excellentia Veſtra ex charta ſua noviſſima dilationem in nos conferre videatur, Concilium idcircò chartulam Veſtram prædictam $\substack{27\ \textit{May}\\ 6\ \textit{Junii}}$ datam quodque in ea propoſitum erat denuò inſpexit, ſeque de eo quod illic eſt propoſitum, priore illâ chartulâ Excellentiæ Veſtræ plenè ſatisfeciſſe arbitratur, cui & hoc ſolum poteſt adjicere, ſe, cum Excellentiæ Veſtræ videbitur, vel ex fœderibus jam factis vel alio quovis modo ejuſmodi ferre conditiones quæ ad præſentem rerum ac temporum ſtatum erunt accommodatæ, quibus à parte Veſtra fundari amicitiam vultis, ea vobis reſponſa exinde redditurum quæ ab ſe ad ea reddi æquum erit, quæque Parlamentum in eodem perſeverare ſtudio teſtentur, illibatam atque firmam cum rege veſtro Domino amicitiam conſervandis. Eaque ut augeſcat etiam, Parlamentum omnem honeſtam ſeque dignam operam pro ſe quidem dabit.

Concilium præterea ſui officii ducit eſſe, Excellentiam Veſtram illius noſtræ chartulæ Januarii 30. 1651. ad vos datæ admoneri, cui cum Excellentia Veſtra reſponſum nondum dederit, inſtamus proinde atque expectamus ut Parlamento, de qua illic re facta mentio eſt, ſatisfactio detur.

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## *Reſponſum* Concilii Status *ad Replicationem Dominorum Legatorum Extraordinariorum ſereniſſimi* Regis Daniæ *&* Norwegiæ, *Commiſſariis Concilii traditam, ad Reſponſum illud quod reddidit Concilium ad quatuordecim eorum poſtulationes.*

PRædictis Dominis Legatis ut ſatisfiat de reſponſo Concilii ad quintum, ſextum, ſeptimum, octavum, & nonum articulum, aſſentitur Concilium huic ſequenti clauſulæ ſuo reſponſorum fine adjiciendæ. Videlicet, Præter illas colonias, inſulas, portus & loca in partis alterutrius ditione, ad quæ loca ne quis negotiandi aut commercii habendi causâ accedat, lege cautum eſt, niſi impetratâ prius ejus partis Licentia ſpeciali ad quam illa colonia, inſula, portus, aut loca pertinuerint.

Receptio cujuſquam in navem quæ in flumina, portus, aut ſinus alterutrius partis compulſa erit navem illam ulli exhibendæ moleſtiæ aut perſcrutationi ex reſponſo Concilii ad articulum undecimum obnoxiam non faciet, quemadmodum prædicti Domini Legati in replicatione ſua videntur intellexiſſe, præterquam ubi illa receptio contra Leges, Statuta, aut morem illius loci eſt, in quo illa navis portum capeſſerit, qua in re videtur Concilio nihil ſtatui quod durius ſit, ſed quod utriuſque Reipub. Saluti ſit æquè conducibile.

Quod ad probandum cujuſnam propriè naves & bona illa erunt quæ in naufragio ejici acciderint, Concilium exiſtimat neceſſe eſſe jusjurandum dari in illis curiis quæ ad hujuſmodi cauſas aut jam ſunt conſtitutæ aut erunt conſtituendæ, ubi qua illa ſibi vendicant audiri ſinguli poſſint & cujuſque jus cognoſci ac dijudicari, quod ſcriptis teſtimoniis, quæ vulgo *Certificata* nuncupantur, tam clarè atque diſtinctè fieri non poteſt, unde multi ſcrupuli ac dubitationes exiſtere poterunt, multæ etiam fraudes ac doli in illud genus probationis irrepere, quod ne eveniat utriuſque partis intereſt providere. Concilium etiam æquum eſſe arbitratur, definiri certum tempus ante quod tempus qui juſtum earum rerum dominum ſe eſſe non probaverit, excludetur ad evitandas ſine fine lites. Quod autem ad modum venundandi ea bona quæ ejecta in naufragio facile corrumpuntur, viſum eſt Concilio eum modum proponere qui ad lucernam dicitur, ut qui ſit modus maximè probabilis verum bonorum pretium eliciendi ad dominorum emolumentum; tamen ſi prædicti Domini Legati inventam aliam rationem attulerint quæ huic fini magis conducere videbitur, per Concilium non ſtabit quo minus id fiat quod æquum erit: neque intelligitur ob hanc rem huic Tractationi moram afferendi occaſio ulla præbeatur.

Quod autem ad eorum ſupplicium qui propoſitum fœdus ruperint, Concilium id adjecit, cujus in reſponſo ſuo ad articulum quartum decimum fit mentio ad majorem ejus articuli efficaciam, ipſumque fœdus eò firmius atque diuturnius reddendum.

Ad clauſulam Articuli quarti decimi extremam quod attinet reſpondere, non expedire cenſemus illis fœderibus ac Societatibus, quarum in prædictis reſponſis facta eſt mentio, quæque generatim duntaxat proponuntur aſſenſum noſtrum exhibere antequam quales illæ ſint, exploratius nobis fuerit, de quibus cum Excellentiis Veſtris viſum erit Concilium certius facere, reſponſum expreſſius ad id reddere poterimus.

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*Replicatio* Concilii Status *ad reſponſum prædictorum Dominorum Legatorum quod ad ſenos articulos à prædicto Concilio nomine* Reipub. Angliæ *exhibitos eſt redditum.*

CONcilium, inſpectis prædictorum dominorum Legatorum diplomatis quibus collata in eos poteſtas eſt tranſigendi cum *Parlamento* aut ejus Commiſſariis de iis omnibus quæ tranſigi expediverit, fœderaque vetuſta renovandi novaque jungendi, exiſtimabat quidem prædictos dominos Legatos ea authoritate eſſe præditos ut & reſponſa dare poſſent, & omnia tranſigere tam quæ à parte hujus Reipub. quam quæ à parte *Regis Daniæ* & *Norwegiæ* ferrentur, adeoque reſponſa quæ prædictis Dominis Legatis ad primam, ſecundam, tertiam & quintam Concilii poſtulationem dare libuit haud expectabat, quo factum erit ut huic præſenti tractationi neceſſario mora afferatur cum & in ſe æquiſſimum ſit & in Concilio deliberatum fœdus integrum tractando ſimul complecti tam de iis quæ ad hanc *Rempub.* quam quæ ad Regna *Daniæ* & *Norwegiæ* ſpectant. Quapropter Concilium enixè flagitat ut Excellentiæ Veſtræ reſpondere ad prædictum noſtrum primum, ſecundum, tertium, & quintum poſtulatum velint.

Ad quartum articulum de portoriis *Gluckſtadii* cum ea jam antiquata ſint, quemadmodum Excellentiæ Veſtræ in reſponſo meminerunt, inſtat Concilium uti eorum illa antiquatio etiam per hoc fœdus rata habeatur, ne forte in poſterum revocentur.

Quod ad ſextum articulum, qui de pyratica eſt, eum quidem inſeruit Concilium ut qui ad utriuſque commoda æquè pertineret, & ad commercium in commune ſtabiliendum quod à pyratis atque prædonibus perquàm turbatur atque interrumpitur; cumque reſponſum Dominorum Legatorum de hoc articulo ad hoſtes tantùm referatur, mentionem Piratarum nullam faciat, Concilium idcirco expreſſius reſponſum ad id petit.

Cumque prædicti Domini Legati in ſua replicatione ad reſponſum Concilii & decimum ſuum articulum, & ad eum Concilii reſponſum prætermiſerint, Concilio neceſſarium viſum eſt prioribus ſuis poſtulatis ſequentem hunc articulum adjungere.

Populum & incolas Reipub. Angliæ qui negotia aut commercium per ulla regna, regiones, aut ditionem *Regis Daniæ* & *Norwegiæ* habuerint portorii, tributi, cenſus, vectigalis aut ſtipendii cujuſvis plus in poſterum non ſolvere aut alio quovis modo atque populus fœderatarum *Belgii* Provinciarum, aliave quævis natio externa minimum illic ſolvens mercaturamque faciens, ſi ſolvit aut ſolutura eſt, parique frui & æquè amplâ libertate privilegiis & immunitatibus, cum in adventu, tum in reditu & quamdiu illic commorabuntur, in piſcatu etiam, mercatura, atque alio quocunque modo, quo ullius exteræ gentis populus in prædictis regnis totaque ditione dicti *Regis Daniæ* & *Norwegiæ* fruitur aut frui queat; quibus itidem privilegiis populares *Regis Daniæ* & *Norwegiæ* per omnes Provincias ac ditionem *Reipublicæ Angliæ* pariter fruentur.

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### *Concilium Status Reipub. Angliæ ſereniſſimo Principi Domino* Ferdinando *Secundo, Magno Duci Hetruriæ, Salutem.*

*Sereniſſime Princeps, Amice Chariſſime,*

C*Oncilium Status*, cognito tàm per Oratorem Celſitudinis Veſtræ hìc commorantem, quam per *Carolum Longlandum* Mercatorum Anglicorum negotia *Liburni* procurantem, quanta cum benevolentia ac fide Celſitudo Veſtra navium Anglicarum in *Liburnienſem* portum ſe recipientium tutelam ſuſceperit, contra *Belgarum* naves prædatorias exitium illis atque direptionem minitantes, literis undetrigeſimo Julii datis (quas ad Celſitudinem Veſtram, jamdudum perveniſſe ſperat) ſignificavit quam id ſibi gratum acceptumque accidiſſet, eodemque tempore ſcriptum Parlamenti Reipublicæ *Angliæ* de controverſiis inter hanc *Rempub.* & *Fœderatas Belgii Provincias* in præſentia exortis ad Serenitatem veſtram unà miſit. Cumque rurſus per eundem *Carolum Longlandum* Concilium intellexerit, quæ ulterius mandata dederit Celſitudo Veſtra de incolumitate atque tutela navibus *Angliæ* præſtanda, etiam *Belgis*, ne id fieret, importunè contra nitentibus, ne hanc quidem occaſionem prætereundam eſſe cenſuit, ſignificandi rurſus Celſitudini Veſtræ ſe veſtram juſtitiam & ſingularem in tutandis navibus ſuis conſtantiam cum plurimi facere tum ſibi etiam gratiſſimam habere. Quod cum ſolidæ amicitiæ ſtudiique veſtri in hanc rempub. haud leve indicium ſit, perſuadere ſibi poterit Celſitudo Veſtra paria officia atque ſtudia in nobis erga Veſtram Celſitudinem nunquam ſe eſſe deſideraturam. Quæque declarare poſſint quàm nobis deliberatum ſit eam amicitiam quæ huic Reipub. cum Veſtra Serenitate eſt, quam conſtantiſſimè atque diutiſſimè pro virili noſtrâ parte conſervare. Nos interim navibus noſtris omnibus, quæ veſtros portus intraverint diſertis verbis mandavimus, ut ſalutationes exploſione tormentorum conſuetas, omnemque honorem debitum veſtræ Celſitudini exhibere meminerint.

*Dat. Alba Aula Septemb.* 1652.

Et Concilii Sigillo deinde conſignand is ſubſcripſit

*Concilii Præſes.*

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### *Ad Legatum Hiſpanicum* Alphonſum de Cardenas.

*Excellentiſſime Domine,*

LIteræ *Excellentiæ Veſtræ* $\frac{5}{15}$ *Novemb.* 1652. datæ, & à Secretario veſtro *Novemb.* 8. redditæ, unà cum duobus libellis ſupplicibus ſimul involutis, in Concilio recitatæ ſunt de navibus nimirùm *Samſone* & *San Salvadore* vulgò nominatis; ad quas Concilium reſponſum hoc reddit: Navem Anglicam præſidiariam, cum in prædictas naves non in Dunis, ut ſcribit Excellentia Veſtra, ſed in alto incidiſſet, tanquam hoſtium navem prædæ habitam in portum adduxiſſe; curiamque Ammiralatus ad quam propriè de cauſis hujuſmodi attinet cognoſcere illius cauſæ cognitionem pro jure ſibi ſumpſiſſe; ubi ſinguli partis utriuſque quorum id intereſt ampliter & liberè audientur juſque ſuum quiſque obtinebit: veſtræ porrò Excellentiæ rogatum ad illius Curiæ judices [illegible]ſimus quo certiùs intelligamus quouſque iis de navibus in judicio proceſſerint. Quod ſimul ac nobis compertum erit ea dari mandata hâc de re curabimus quæ & æquum erit, & eâ dignum amicitiâ quæ huic Reipublicæ cum Rege veſtro intercedit, nec minùs confidimus

mus Regiam ejus Majeſtatem minimè paſſurum eſſe hujus Reipublicæ hoſtium bona ſub nomine ejus ſubjectorum elabi aut deliteſcere.

Subſcripſit & Concilii Sigillum apponendum curavit
*Guilielmus Maſham*, Concilii Præſes.

*Datis ab Albâ Aulâ* 11. *Novemb.*
*An. Dom.* 1652.

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## *Legato Hiſpanienſi.*

*Excellentiſſime Domine*,

ALlatum nuper ad Concilium eſt ab Navarcho noſtro *Bodileo* navium hujus Reipub. ad *Gaditanum* mare Præfecto, ſe cum tribus aliis navibus præſidiariis poſtquam undecim Belgicarum impetum continuato bidui certamine ſuſtinuiſſet, ad portum *Longonem* vulgò dictum ad ſarcienda quædam in eo prælio accepta incommoda, eaſque res comparandas quæ ſibi ad pugnam opus eſſent, in portum *Longonem* vulgò dictum ſe recepiſſe, ubi ejus loci Præfectus in eum cæteraſque ſub ejus ductu naves omnia & juſtiſſimi & humaniſſimi ſimul Viri officia implevit; cumque is locus in ditione Sereniſſimi Regis Hiſpaniarum ſit, Concilium certè ſingularem præſidii illius humanitatem reipsâ cognitam arctioris amicitiæ mutuæ tàm auſpicatò cæptæ fructum uberem eſſe exiſtimat; ſuique adeò officii ducit eſſe, ob acceptum tam opportunò beneficium ejus *Majeſtati* gratias agere, veſtramque rogat Excellentiam ut hoc *Regi ſuo* ſereniſſimo velit primo quoque tempore ſignificare, eique perſuaſum reddere *Parlamentum Reipub. Angliæ* paratum ſemper fore paria amicitiæ atque humanitatis officia oblatâ quâvis occaſione referre.

*Dat. Weſtmonaſterio* 11. *Novemb. An. Dom.* 1652.

Subſcripſit & Concilii Sigillum apponendum curavit
*Guilielmus Maſham* Concilii Præſes.

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## *Parlamentum Reipub. Angliæ, Sereniſſimo Principi D.* Ferdinando *Secundo, Magno Duci Hetruriæ, Salutem.*

*Sereniſſime Princeps, Amice Chariſſime*,

PArlamentum Reipub. Angliæ literas veſtræ Celſitudinis *Auguſti* ſeptimo decimo, Florentiâ datas, accepit: in quibus de reſtitutione navis cujuſdam agitur oryzâ onuſtæ, quæ navis à capitaneo *Cardio Liburnienſi* vendicatur. Et quamvis in noſtrâ Ammiralatus curiâ contra prædictum *Cardium* in eâ cauſâ ſententia Judicum lata jam ſit, & apud Delegatos provocatio tum penderet, tamen cum hoc Celſitudo veſtra petat, Parlamentum, quo tam amici Principis benevolentiam ac neceſſitudinem quanti faciat teſtificari poſſit, mandavit quibus curæ ea res eſt, ut navis illa cum oryzâ, vel ſaltem ejus juſtum pretium prædicto Capitaneo *Cardio* reddatur; cujus mandati fructum procurator ejus apud nos re ipsâ jam percepit. Et quemadmodum Celſitudo veſtra ſuum navibus Anglorum in portu *Liburnienſi* patrocinium atque tutelam benignè præbendo Parlamentum ſibi magnoperè devinxit (cujus rei geſtæ narratio tam ab Oratore hîc veſtro, quàm à *Carolo Longland* mercatorum noſtrorum illic procuratore delata nuper ad nos eſt) ita Parlamentum ſummo viciſſim ſtudio dabit operam, quotieſcunque occaſio dabitur, ut ſua omnia ſinceræ amicitiæ atque benevolentiæ officia in Celſitudinem veſtram ſolidè conſtare poſſint; quam adeò divinæ benignitati atque tutelæ commendatiſſimam vult eſſe.

*Datis Weſtmonaſterio die Novemb.* 1652.

Subſcripſit & Sigillum Reipub. apponendum curavit
*Prolocutor Parlamenti Reipub. Angliæ.*

*Parlamentum*

### *Parlamentum Reipub. Angliæ Sereniſſimo & Potentiſſimo Principi* Daniæ *Regi*, &c.

*Sereniſſime & Potentiſſime Rex*,

P*Arlamentum Reipub. Angliæ* poſtquam accepit ab illius Claſſis Præfecto quæ nuper ad *Hafniam* Majeſtatis Veſtræ portum miſſa eſt, ut navibus Mercatorum noſtrorum inde redeuntibus domum præſidio eſſet; prædictis navibus permiſſum non eſſe ſecum diſcedere; verùm illic Majeſtatis Veſtræ juſſu retineri; productis etiam ab eo literis Regiis veſtram ea in re ſententiam declarantibus, negat explicatas in iis literis rationes cur naves illæ retineantur ulla in parte ſibi ſatisfacere: ut igitur in re tanti planè momenti quæque ad proſperum utriuſque Gentis ſtatum tantoperè conducit ſequuturo fortaſſe majori cuipiam incommodo maturiùs occurratur, miſit *Parlamentum* Virum illuſtriſſimum & ſpectatæ fidei *Richardum Bradſhaw Armigerum*, *Hamburgi* Oratorem, qui itidem ad Majeſtatem Veſtram Oratoris munus impleat, cum iis diſertè mandatis, ut de prædicto negotio agat: Veſtramque adeò rogamus Majeſtatem eidem velit Viro & aurem benignam & fidem amplam perhibere, quicquid ſuper hoc negotio Veſtræ Majeſtati noſtro nomine propoſuerit: quam Nos divinæ Tutelæ & Providentiæ commendatam volumus.

*Datis Weſtmonaſterio 6 die Novemb. An. Dom.* 1652.
Sub Sigillo Parlamenti ejuſque Nomine atque Authoritate ſubſcripſit
*Prolocutor Parlamenti Reipublicæ Angliæ.*

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### *Parlamentum Reipub. Angliæ Sereniſſimo Principi* Venetiarum *Duci, Salutem.*

P*Arlamentum Reipub. Angliæ* literas Celſitudinis veſtræ *primo Junii* 1652. datas per *Laurentium Palutium* accepit, ex quibus cum & veſtrum, & Senatus propenſum in hanc Rempublicam animum proſpiciat, occaſionem hanc ſuum viciſſim erga Sereniſſimam Rempub. *Venetam* ſingulare ſtudium ac benevolentiam declarandi, libenter arripuit, quam & re ipſa idque ex animo, demonſtrare quoties uſus venerit, haudquaquam gravabitur, cui & omnes vel conſervandæ vel etiam augendæ amicitiæ uſuſque mutui rationes in medium allatæ erunt itidem acceptiſſimæ, veſtræque adeò Celſitudini & Reipublicæ Sereniſſimæ fauſta omnia ac proſpera exoptat atque precatur.

*Datis Weſtmonaſterio die Decemb. An. Dom.* 1652.
Subſcripſit & Parlamenti Sigillum imponendum curavit
*Prolocutor Parlamenti Reipub. Angliæ.*

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### *Parlamentum Reipub. Angliæ Sereniſſimo Principi* Ferdinando Secundo Hetruriæ *Magno Duci, Salutem.*

CUm *Parlamentum Reipub. Angliæ* antehac ſuis Navarchiis atque Præfectis navium ad loca ſub veſtræ Celſitudinis ditione appellentibus, etiam atque etiam mandaverit, ut ſe pacatè atque modeſtè gererent, eâque quâ decet obſervantiâ erga Principem Sereniſſimum cujus hæc Reſpub. & conſervare amicitiam tantoperè ſtudeat, & tantis beneficiis affecta ſit, prorſus inopinatum ſibi quidem accidit, quod à Navarcho *Appletono* in *Liburnienſi* portu inſolentiùs factum eſſe accepit; eum nimirùm ab eo vigili dùm in moleſtationem ageret, vim attuliſſe, idque tum contra fidem atque obſequium huic Reipublicæ ab eo debitum, tum contra obſervantiam atque honorem qui veſtræ Celſitudini ſuâ in ditione jure optimo debetur: quam rem totam ſicuti geſta eſt, ex literis veſtris 7. & 9. *Decembris Florentiâ* datis Parlamentum intellexit; uberiùs etiam per ſpectatiſſimum virum *Almericum Salvettum*, veſtrum hìc Reſidentem; atque veſtræ Celſitudinis honorem qui hâc in re agi videtur, uſque adeò ſibi commendatum habet,

bet, ut Concilio Status id negotii dederit, uti literas Navarcho *Appletono* quam primum ſcribendas curaret, quibus is terreſtri itinere confeſtim huc advolare juberetur, inſoliti hujus facti & extraordinarii rationem redditurus (quarum exemplum literarum his incluſum unà mittitur) qui ubi advenerit & facti poſtulabitur, de eo id ſtatutum iri pollicemur, quod teſtificari poſſit ſe veſtri juris violationem haud minùs moleſte ferre, quam ſi ipſum jus ſuum violaretur. Quinetiam de nave dictâ *Phænice Liburni* recuperatâ conſultatione habitâ, quæ res à Celſitudine veſtrâ nec non ab Oratore ſuo narratur atque urgetur, contra datam à Navarcho *Appletono* fidem fuiſſe, qua obſtrictus erat ne *Hollandos* intra conſpectum prorſus aut laternæ adoriretur, veſtramque Celſitudinem eâ fiduciâ nixam, *Hollandis* fide data de incolumitate promiſiſſe, debere proinde eorum ſatisfactioni proſpicere, quibus veſtra ſub fide damnum datum eſt, Parlamentum ab Excellentia veſtra petit, ut hoc ſibi perſuaſum habeat, hanc rem, quemadmodum ſine ſuo conſilio aut mandato eſt geſta, ita hoc etiam ab ſua voluntate ac mente longiſſimè abeſſe ut Celſitudo veſtra ullo incommodo aut honoris imminutione ex illo facto afficiatur: quin imò ſe operam daturum, ut vobis ſatisfaciendi aliqua ratio ineatur, prout ſibi quæſtione habitâ de re totâ conſtiterit: quam ut pleniùs intelligere poſſit, ipſum Navarchum *Appletonum* ab ſe audiri neceſſarium eſſe judicat; qui & eadem fide obſtrictus erat, & ab Excellentia veſtra creditur, ejuſdem violationi ſaltèm aſſenſiſſe; præſertim cum is tam brevi ſit ad nos reverſurus, atque illum poſtquam Parlamentum audiverit, & cum dicto Oratore veſtro rationes amplius contulerit, hac de re haud exigui ſane momenti eam ſententiam feret, quæ & æqua erit, ſummæque benevolentiæ qua Celſitudinem veſtram proſequitur conſentanea, collatis denique à vobis in ſe beneficiis haud indigna. De qua ne interim dubitaret Celſitudo veſtra literis per eundem hunc tabellarium ſtatim miſſis certiorem factam primo quoque tempore volebat; ſeque nullam occaſionem eſſe prætermiſſurum, qua poſſit re ipſâ teſtari, veſtram amicitiam quanti faciat.

*Datis Weſtmonaſterio* 14 *die Decembris An. Dom.* 1652.

Subſcripſit & Parlamenti Sigillum imprimendum curavit
*Prolocutor Parlamenti Reipub. Angliæ.*

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*Concilium Status Reip. Anglicanæ Sereniſſimo Principi* Frederico *Hæredi Norwegiæ, Duci Sleſvici, Holſatiæ, Starmatiæ, Ditmarſiæ, Comiti in Oldenburgh & Delmenhorſt*, Salutem.

Quanquam ſapientiſſimo Deo viſum eſt rerum omnium Moderatori clementiſſimo, præter illud onus quod nobis cum majoribus noſtris commune impoſuit, ut pro libertate noſtrâ contra tyrannos honeſtiſſima bella gereremus, iis nos etiam auſpiciis eaque divinâ ope præ illis inſigniter adjuvare, ut non ſolum civile bellum reſtringuere, ſed & cauſas ejus in futurum præcidere, nec non & hoſtium externorum inopinatos impetus propulſare valuerimus, eundem tamen ſupremi numinis in nos favorem ac benignitatem gratiſſimis quantum poſſumus animis agnoſcentes, non ita rerum noſtrarum ſucceſſibus efferimur, ut non ſingularem potiùs Dei juſtitiam ac providentiam edocti, atque noſmet largiter experti, & bellum omne quantum licet averſemur, & pacem cum omnibus cupidiſſimè amplectamur. Quemadmodum igitur quæ amicitia, quæque fœderum jura nobis cum populis quibuſcunque ac Principibus antiqua interceſsêre, ea hactenùs cuiquam nec violavimus priores, nec violata voluimus, ita & Celſitudo veſtra pro vetuſtâ ſuâ cum *Anglis* & à majoribus acceptâ amicitiâ poterit certiſſimâ animi perſuaſione de nobis æqua omnia atque amica, & ſibi & ſuis polliceri. Denique ut delata à Celſitudine veſtrâ nobis ſua ſtudia atque officia plurimi ut par eſt facimus, ita operam dabimus ut neque noſtra ullo tempore vel ſibi vel ſuis deeſſe ſentiat: Veſtramque adeò Celſitudinem Omnipotentiæ numinique Dei Omnipotentis quàm maximè commendatam cupimus.

*Datis in Alba Aula die Julii An.* 1653.

Subſcripſit & Concilii Sigillum imprimendum curavit
*Concilii Præſes.*

## Comiti Oldenburgico.

*Illuſtriſſime Domine*;

P*Arlamentum Reipub. Angliæ* plurimam ſalutem ab Amplitudine veſtra officioſiſſimè atque humaniſſimè ſibi dictam, per *Hermannum Mylium*, Juriſconſultum Deputatum & Conſiliarium veſtrum accepit: qui & fauſta omnia Parlamento reique *Anglicæ* veſtro nomine precatus eſt, & hujus Reipub. amicitiam ut vobis ſarta tecta permaneret ſimul expetivit: literas etiam liberi commeatus, quibus veſtræ ditionis populus eò tutiùs negotiaretur, navigaret, & commercia exerceret, nec non & noſtra ad publicos foris miniſtros mandata uti Amplitudini veſtræ rebuſque veſtris, ſuis officiis atque conſiliis opitularentur, idem à nobis petivit. Nos & petitis hiſce libenter annuimus, & cùm amicitiam, tùm etiam literas illas expetitas, illaque ad miniſtros publicos mandata ſub Parlamenti ſigillo conceſſimus. Et quanquam aliquot jam menſes abierunt, ex quo Veſter Publicus Miniſter ad nos primum acceſſit, ea tamen dilatio neque ex eo orta eſt, quo nos petitioni, Amplitudinis Veſtræ nomine factæ, aſſentiri gravaremur neque quo Veſter Deputatus nos aſſiduè ſollicitare ullo tempore deſtiterit (qui certe omni cum diligentia, nec non officioſa ſimul inſtantia, ut confecto negotio, compos voti dimitteretur, quotidiè nos efflagitavit) verùm ex eo ſolùm accidit, quòd maxima quidem & graviſſima Reipub. negotia, quæque ad eam vehementer pertinere, aut agitarentur per hoc totum fere tempus, aut tranſigerentur. Qua de re dignitatem veſtram Illuſtriſſ. certiorem faciendam eſſe cenſuimus, ut ne quis dilationem hanc ſecùs interpretando, gravatim aut ægrè impetratum hoc eſſe exiſtimet, quod à Parlamento Reipub. *Angliæ* libentiſſimè conceſſum eſt. Cujus nomine conſignare hæc juſſus eſt

Henricus Scobell, *Clericus Parlam.*

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Parlamentum Reipub. Angliæ *Illuſtribus & Ampliſſimis Conſulibus, Scultetis, Landam. & Senatoribus Cantonum Helvetiæ Evangelicorum, Tigurini, Bernenſis, Glaronenſis, Baſileenſis, Schaffuſienſis, Abbatiſcellani, nec non ejuſdem Religionis Confœderatorum in Rhætia, Genevæ, Sanctogalli, Multuſii & Biennæ, Amicis noſtis chariſſimis*, Salutem.

LIteras veſtras, *Illuſtres Domini atque Amici Chariſſimi*, *Decembris* 24. 1652. ad Nos datas accepimus, omni humanitate, benevolentiâ, ſtudioque erga nos noſtramque Rempub. egregio refertas; quodque nobis ſemper majus & antiquius debet eſſe, charitatem fraternam & verè chriſtianam ſpirantes. Deoque imprimis Optimo Maximo gratias agimus, qui vos totque veſtras *Civitates* nobiliſſimas, non tam illis montium clauſtris quàm inſitâ veſtrâ fortitudine, pietate, & prudentiſſimâ æquiſſimâque rerum civilium adminiſtratione, mutuâ denique fœderum fide circumvallatas atque munitas, firmiſſimum univerſis orthodoxis præſidium illis in locis excitavit atque conſtituit: vos deinde, qui per omnem Europam primi fere mortalium poſt invectas ab Aquilone Barbarorum Regum tyrannidos, Deo veſtram virtutem proſperante, libertatem vobis peperiſtis, partam haud minore prudentiâ ac moderatione, tot per annos, illibatam conſervaſtis; de nobis noſtrâque libertate nuper vindicatâ tàm præclarè ſentire, tamque ſinceros Evangelii cultores de noſtro in orthodoxam fidem amore ac ſtudio, tàm conſtantèr perſuaderi, id quidem longè nobis gratiſſimum eſt. Quod autem ad pacem nos piè ſanè & affectu, ut nobis eſt perſuaſiſſimum, verè chriſtiano adhortamini, permagnum certè pondus apud nos ea adhortatio habere debet; cum propter ipſam rem, quam ſuadetis, maximè expetendam, tùm propter ſummam etiam authoritatem, quæ Vobis præ cæteris hac in parte meritò tribuenda eſt, qui inter maximos circumquaque bellorum tumultus, & ipſi ſummam pacem boni foriſque tamdiu colitis, & aliis omnibus pacis colendæ ſimul hortatores & exemplum optimum extitiſtis; cùm id denique ſuadeatis, quod nos deditâ operâ, idque haud ſemel, non tam noſtris rationibus, quàm univerſæ [illegible] Evangelicæ proſpicientes, per Legatos alioſque publicos Miniſtros

niſtros petivimus, amicitiam nimirùm & arctiſſimum fœdus cum fœderatis *Belgarum Provinciis* feriendum. Verùm illi (ſive illa perpetuò nobis infeſta, regiis addicta partibus, tyrannidis & ipſa apud ſuos affectatæ comperta *Auraſiana* factio potiùs dicenda eſt) quo pacto Legatos noſtros, non de pace, ſed de fraternâ amicitiâ ac fœdere arctiſſimo venientes acceperint, quas poſtea belli cauſas præbuerint, ut nos, inter ipſa Legatorum ſuorum de fœdere colloquia, inſtructâ claſſe nihil tale cogitantes, in ipſis navium ſtationibus noſtris, ultrò laceſſerint, ex illo à nobis eâ de re publicè ſcripto, & nunc unà cum hiſce literis ad vos miſſo, abundè intelligetis. Nos autem in id ſedulò incumbimus, Deo benè juvante, quamvis re hactenùs tàm proſperè geſtâ, ut neque noſtris quicquam viribus aut copiis tribuamus, ſed Uni Omnia Deo, neque ſucceſſibus inſolentèr efferamur: Eundemque animum retinemus conficiendæ juſtæ atque honeſtæ pacis omnes occaſiones amplecti paratiſſimum. Vos interim, *Illuſtres ac præſtantiſſimi Domini*, quibus pium atque præclarum hoc ſtudium eſt, ſolo Evangelico amore impulſis, fratres inter ſe certantes componere atque conciliare, & omni apud homines laude digni, cœleſtis illius pacificorum præmii apud Deum haud dubiè compotes futuri, cujus ſummæ benignitati atque gratiæ vos veſtroſque omnes ex animo commendatos volumus, ſi quâ in re vobis uſui eſſe poſſumus, ad omnia cum amicorum tùm fratrum officia promptiſſimi.

*Datis Weſtmonaſterio die Octobris An. Dom.* 1653.

Subſcripſit & Parlamenti Sigillum imprimendum curavit

*Prolocutor Parlamenti Reipub. Angliæ.*

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## Legato Hiſpanico.

*Illuſtriſſime Domine*;

Cum graves ad nos allatæ eſſent querelæ *Philippi Noelli*, *Joannis Godelli*, & ſocietatis mercatorum in Anglia *Foienſium*, Navem quandam ſuam *Annam Foyenſem* dictam, navem *Anglicam* à ſeſe inſtructam, ſuis mercibus onuſtam, cum domum ſuam ad portum *Foyenſem*, curſum teneret circa Feſtum *Michaelis Archangeli*, à nave quadam præſidiaria *Oſtendenſi*, cui præfuit *Eraſmus Bruerus*, oppreſſam injuſtè & ſine cauſa captam fuiſſe, inque ea nautas indignè & barbarè tractatos, Conſilium Status ea de re ad *Marchionem Ledæ* ſcripſit, (quarum literarum exemplar Amplitudini veſtræ unà cum his mittimus) expectabatque ab eo ſine mora mandatum iri ut ex jure & æquo iſta in re quam primum ageretur. Verùm cum denuò prædictus *Noellus* unà cum illa ſocietate graviter queratur, quamvis literæ noſtræ *Marchioni* redditæ fuerint, & mercatores illi ab eo tempore ſe *Brugas* ad maritimarum cauſarum curiam contulerint, ibique jus ſuum ſuæque cauſæ veritatem probaverint, juſtitiam tamen ſibi denegari, tamque iniquè ſecum agi ut quamvis per tres ampliùs menſes cognitioni matura res fuerit, tamen ab illa curia ſe impetrare non poſſe ut ſententiam tandem ferat; quin navis eorum & bona nihilo minus retineantur, ſeque per hanc moram in perſequendo jure ſuo magnos ſumptus feciſſe. Non ignorat *Amplitudo Veſtra* & juri Gentium & commercii & amicitiæ, quæ inter Anglos & Flandros eſt, contrarium eſſe, ut navis aliqua *Oſtendenſis* navem aliquam *Anglicam* caperet, ſi quidem mercibus *Anglicis* onuſta *Angliam* petat; quæque ab illo Præfecto in nautas *Anglicos* inhumaniter ac barbarè commiſſa ſunt pœnam gravem mereri. *Concilium* itaque hanc rem Amplitudini veſtræ commendat, petitque ut de ea in *Flandriam* ſcribere velitis, eamque operam primo quoque tempore dare ut ne hoc negotium diutiùs extrahatur, ſed uti ea juſtitia fiat, ut prædicta navis & bona, unà cum damnis, ſumptibus & fœnore quæ *Angli* iſti propter illam injuſtam interceptionem ſuſtinuerunt, Authoritate Curiæ maritimæ *Brugenſis*, aut alio modo bono iis reddantur, utque curetur nequa ejuſmodi interceptio deinceps fiat, quin amicitia quæ noſtris hominibus cum *Flandris* intercedit ſine ulla violatione conſervetur.

*Obſignatum nomine & juſſu Concilii Status Parlamenti authoritate conſtituti.*

## *Marchioni Ledæ.*

*Illuſtriſſime Domine;*

GRaves ad nos allatæ ſunt querelæ, à *Philippo Nöello*, & *Joanni Godallo*, & Societate mercatorum *Foyenſium*, de nave quadam ſua, cui nomen *Anna Foyenſis*, quæ cum eſſet Navis Anglica, ab illis inſtructa, & ipſorum ſolummodo mercibus onuſta, circiter feſtum *Michaelis Archangeli* ad portum ſuum renavigans, à nave præſidiaria quæ ad *Oſtendam* pertinebat, cujus erat Præfectus *Eraſmus Bruerus*, de improviſo capta fuit. Nuntiatum porrò eſt, *Oſtendenſes*, cum in ſua poteſtate navis eſſet, nautas omnes nimis inhumaniter tractâſſe, accenſo fune digitis admoto, & navis magiſtrum undis immerſiſſe, atque pœne ſuffocaſſe, ut minimè veram ab ipſo confeſſionem extorquerent, de navi atque mercimoniis illis, quaſi Gallorum eſſent. Quod tametſi Magiſter ille cæterique ſocii navis firmiter pernegabant, *Oſtendenſes* tamen, & navim & mercedes in portum ſuum abduxerunt. Hæc in *Curia Navali Angliæ*, inquiſitione factâ, teſtibuſque adhibitis, vera eſſe apparuere, ut ex autographis teſtimoniorum quæ cum his literis ſimul miſimus manifeſto liquebit. Cum itaque illa Navis, *Anna Foyenſis* dicta, atque mercimonia omnia peculiariter verè ac propriè ad *Anglos* pertineant, adeo ut nulla cauſa appareat cur *Oſtendenſes* vel illam vel ea vi caperent, multò minùs auferrent navis Magiſtrum, aut ſocietatem tam durè tractarent; cumque ſecundùm leges Nationum atque amicitiam inter *Anglos Flandroſque*, navim illam atque mercimonia reddi oporteat, magnoperè petimus ab Excellentia veſtra, ut jus ſuum *Anglicani* maturè obtineant, atque illis ſatisfiat qui damnum acceperunt, utque commercium, & Amicitia quæ inter *Anglos Flandroſque* eſt, diù atque firmitèr conſervetur.

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## *Legato Hiſpanico.*

P*Arlamentum Reipub. Angliæ* cum intelligat, plurimos ex populo in hâc urbe tàm Excellentiæ veſtræ, quàm aliorum Legatorum & miniſtrorum ab exteris regionibus publicorum hic verſantium domos *Miſſæ* audiendæ cauſâ frequentare, *Concilio Status* mandavit, uti Excellentiæ veſtræ ſignificaret, cùm hoc gentis hujus legibus damnatum, ac in hâc noſtrâ Republica mali admodum exempli ſit, offenſioniſque plenum, cenſere ſe, ſui planè officii eſſe, ne quid tale dehinc fiat providere; cœtuſque ejuſmodi in futurum prorſùs interdicere. Quâ de re Excellentiam veſtram admonitam nunc eſſe cupimus, ut ne quem ex populo hujus Reipublicæ *Miſſæ* audiendæ causâ ſuam in domum poſthàc velit admittere. Et quemadmodum *Parlamentum* diligenter curabit ut Legati jus & privilegia quæque veſtræ Excellentiæ inviolata ſerventur, ita hoc ſibi perſuaſiſſimum habet, *Excellentiam* veſtram, quamdiu hìc commoratur, leges hujus Reipub. per ſe ſuoſve nolle ullo modo violatas.

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## *Summarium damnorum ſingulorum & haud fictorum quibus* Societas Anglicana *multis* Orientalis Indiæ *Locis à* Belgica Societate *affecta eſt.*

| | l. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. DAmna illa ſedecim Articulis comprehenſa & pridem exhibita, quorum ſumma eſt 298555 *Regiorum* $\frac{8}{8}$ quæ eſt monetæ noſtræ | 74638 | 15 | 00 |
| 2. De *Pularonis* Inſulæ fructibus ſatisfactionem dari poſtulamus ab anno 1622, ad hoc uſque tempus, ducenties millenum *Regiorum* $\frac{8}{8}$ præter diſpendium futurum donec jus ditionis in illam Inſulam nobis reſtituatur eo rerum ſtatu in quo fuit cum erepta nobis eſt, prout fœdere ſancitum erat: quod eſt noſtræ monetæ | 50000 | 00 | 00 |
| 3. Satisfactionem poſtulamus de omnibus illis mercimoniis cibariis & apparatibus, qui ab Agentibus Societatis *Belgiæ* apud *Indos* ablati ſunt, aut iis traditi, aut ulli ex eorum navibus eo curſum tenentibus aut inde redeuntibus, quorum ſumma eſt 80635. *Regiorum*: noſtræ monetæ | 20158 | 00 | 00 |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 4. Satisfactionem poſtulamus ob portoria *Mercium Belgicarum* quæ in *Perſide* aut navibus impoſitæ ſunt, aut in terram expoſitæ ab anno 1624. prout nobis à Rege *Perſarum* conceſſum erat, quæ minoris æſtimare non poſſumus quam Octogies millenis *Regiis* | 20000 | 00 | 00 |
| 5. Satisfactionem poſtulamus ob quatuor ædes malitioſiſſimè & iniquiſſimè *Joccatra* incenſas, unà cum mercium Apothecis repoſitoriis & apparatibus, cui rei Prætor illic *Belgicus* occaſionem dedit, de quibus omnibus ex eo ipſo loco certiores poſtea facti ſumus quam priores querelas exhibueramus, cujus damni ſumma eſt ducenties millenum *Regiorum* | 50000 | 00 | 00 |
| 6. Satisfactionem poſtulamus ob 32899 *Libras piperis* ex nave *Endimione* vi ablatas *anno* 1649. cujus damni ſumma eſt | 6000 | 00 | 00 |
| | 220796 | 15 | 00 |

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## *Summarium Damnorum aliquot particularium quibus etiam à* Belgica Orientalis Indiæ Societate *affecti ſumus.*

| | l. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. PRopter damna quæ per eos fecimus qui *Bantamum* obſederunt, unde factum eſt ut per ſex annos continuos eo commercio excluſi ſimus, & conſequenter occaſione ſexcenties mille Regios in coëmendo pipere locandi pro rata noſtra portione, quo multas naves noſtras in reditu onerare potuiſſemus, quo onere cum carerent paſſim per *India* littora cariem traxere: interea ſors noſtra apud *Indos* quæ vel pecuniæ vel bonorum erat ſtipendio nautico commeatu alioque apparatu imminuta & exhauſta eſt, adeo ut prædictæ Jacturæ haud minoris æſtimari queant vicies centies & quater millenis Regiis, id eſt noſtræ monetæ | 600000 | 00 | 00 |
| 2. Plura etiam propter damna ex amiſſa parte noſtra debita fructuum in *Inſulis Moluccis, Banda* & *Amboyna*, ex quo tempore per cædem noſtrorum ibi factam pulſi inde ſumus ad uſque illud tempus quo de jactura hac atque diſpendio nobis ſatisfiat, quod ſpatium temporis ab anno 1622. ad hunc annum præſentem 1650. pro reditu annuo 25000. *Librarum*, annis 28. Summam conficit | 700000 | 00 | 00 |
| 3. Reparationem inſuper poſtulamus centies & bis millenum nongentorum quinquaginta novem *Regiorum Suratta* à Populo *Mogulli* nobis ablatorum, quos *Belga* eum in modum tutati ſunt, ut neque ex pecuniis neque ex bonis ejus populi quæ in ipſorum *Juncis* ſeu Navibus erant damna noſtra reſarcire poſſemus, quod quidem perficere & conati ſumus & in manu noſtra ſitum erat, niſi eos *Belgæ* iniquiſſimè defendiſſent, quæ pecunia amiſſa ad impenſas faciendas jamdudum in Europa triplum peperiſſet: quod nos æſtimamus | 77020 | 00 | 00 |
| 4. Ob Portoria *Perſidis* quorum dimidia pars ab Rege *Perſarum Anglis* conceſſa eſt anno 1624. quæ uſque ad annum 1629. ſupputata æſtimatur octies millenis *Regiis*, quemadmodum prius exponitur qua ratione ſubducta quatuor mille Librarum in annos ſingulos præbere tenentur ab anno 1629. à quo unus & viginti anni ſunt, atque indè ſumma conficietur | 84000 | 00 | 00 |
| *Ab altero ſummario* | 220796 | 15 | 00 |
| *Summa totalis* | 1681816 | 15 | 00 |

Locus Figuræ
Regii.

O

*Debitum ab eo tempore fœnus ſortem ipſam longè ſuperabit.*

# LITERÆ Oliverii Protectoris Nomine ſcriptæ.

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## *Comiti Oldenburgico.*

*Illuſtriſſime Domine*;

PER literas veſtras *Januarii die vigeſimo* 1654. datas certior ſum factus, nobilem virum *Fridericum Matthiam Woliſogum* Secretarium veſtrum, & *Chriſtophorum Griphiandrum* cum certis mandatis ab illuſtriſſimâ dignitate veſtra in *Angliam* miſſos fuiſſe. Qui cum ad nos acceſſiſſent, & ſuſceptam *Anglicana Reipublica* adminiſtrationem nobis veſtro nomine gratulati ſunt; & uti vos veſtráque ditio in hanc pacem, quam cum *Fœderatis Belgii Ordinibus* proxime fecimus, aſſumeremini: ut denique *Salvam-Guardiam* illam quam vulgo vocant, à *Parlamento* nuper vobis conceſſam, noſtrâ nunc authoritate confirmaremus, petiverunt: ob iſtam itaque gratulationem tam amicam maximas, ut æquum eſt, gratias agimus: & illa duo poſtulata libenter conceſſimus; nulli etiam occaſioni in poſterum defuturi, quæ ſtudium in vos noſtrum poterit ullo tempore declarare. Idque ex ſupradictis Oratoribus veſtris pleniùs vos arbitror intellecturos; quorum fides, ac diligentia in hoc veſtro apud nos negotio præclarè conſtitit. Quod reliquum eſt, vobis, rebuſque veſtris felicitatem, atque ex voto pacem omnem exopto.

*Weſtmonaſterio.* *Jan.* 27. 1654.

Illuſtriſſimæ Dignitatis veſtræ ſtudioſiſſimus

*Oliverius, Angliæ, Scotiæ, Hiberniæ, &c. Protector.*

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## *Comiti Oldenburgico.*

*Illuſtriſſime Domine*;

LIteras veſtras *Maii* ſecundo die *Oldenburgo* datas accepi haud uno nomine gratiſſimas; cùm quòd eſſent ipſæ ſingulari erga me humanitate ac benevolentiâ refertæ; tum quod illuſtriſſimi Domini Comitis *Antonii* perdilecti Filii veſtri manu redditæ. Id quod eò magis honorificum mihi duco, ex quo illius virtutes tantâ ſtirpe dignas, moreſque eximios, ſtudium denique in me egregium, non tam acceptum ab aliis, quàm re ipsâ cognitum atque perſpectum jam habeo. Neque dubium eſſe poteſt, quin eandem quoque ſuis domi ſpem faciat, fore ſe Patris optimi præſtantiſſimíque ſimillimum; cujus præclara virtus atque prudentia perfecit, ut tota illa ditio *Oldenburgica* permultis ab annis, & ſummâ pace frui, & pacis commoda percipere inter ſæviſſimos undique circumſtrepentium bellorum tumultus potuerit. Talem itaque amicitiam quidni ego quamplurimi facerem, quæ poteſt inimicitias omnium tam ſapienter ac providè cavere. Pro munere denique illo magnifico eſt, *Illuſtriſſime Domine*, quòd gratias habeo; pro jure eſt ac merito tuo, quòd ex animo ſum

*Illuſtriſſimæ dignitatis veſtræ ſtudioſiſſimus*

Oliverius, Angliæ, Scotiæ, Hiberniæ, &c. Protector.

*Weſtmonaſterio.*
29 *Jun.* 1654.

*Illuſtriſſimo Domino* Antonio Gunthero, *Comiti in Oldenburgh, & Delmenborſt, Domino in Jehvern, & Kniphauſen.*

Oliverius *Protector Reipub. Angliæ, Scotiæ, Hiberniæ, &c. Sereniſſimo Principi* Carolo Guſtavo *Suecorum, Gothorum, Vandalorumque Regi, Magno Principi Finlandiæ, Duci Eſthoniæ, Careliæ, Bremæ, Verdæ, Stetini, Pomeraniæ, Caſſubiæ & Vandaliæ, Principi Rugiæ, Domino Ingriæ, Wiſſmariæ, necnon Comiti Palatino Rheni, Bavariæ, Jul. Cliviæ & Montium Duci, &c.* Salutem.

*Sereniſſime Rex*;

CUM Suecorum Regnum per hoſce dies ſummis populi ſtudiis, omniumque ordinum ſuffragiis liberrimis tranſlatum ad vos eſſe, toto orbe terrarum percrebuerit, id maluiſſe Majeſtatem veſtram ſuis literis amiciſſimis, quàm vulgatâ famâ nos intelligere, & ſummæ benevolentiæ erga nos veſtræ, & honoris inter primos attributi argumentum haud leve eſſe ducimus. Illam itaque veſtris meritis egregiis acceſſionem dignitatis, præmiumque virtute tantâ digniſſimum, & ſponte, & jure vobis gratulamur: idque ut *Majeſtati* veſtræ, *Suecorumque* Genti, reique toti *Chriſtianæ* bonum atque fauſtum ſit, quod & vobis maximè in votis eſt, junctis precibus Deum oramus. Quòd autem fœderis inter hanc Rempublicam, *Sueciæque* Regnum recens icti conſervationem Majeſtas veſtra, quod ad ſe attinet integerrimam, uſque eò curæ ſibi fore confirmat, ut quæ nunc intercedit amicitia, non permanere ſolum, ſed, ſi id fieri poteſt, augeſcere etiam indies poſſit, id vel in dubium vocare nefas eſſet, tua tanti Principis fide interpoſita, cujus eximia virtus non ſolùm in peregrina terra Regnum tibi hæreditarium peperit, ſed tantùm etiam potuit, ut auguſtiſſima Regina, *Guſtavi* filia, cui parem omni laude Heroinam multa retrò ſæcula non tulére, poſſeſſione imperii juſtiſſima inopinanti tibi ac nolenti ultrò cederet. Veſtrum denique tam ſingulare erga nos ſtudium, tamque præclaram animi ſignificationem nobis eſſe gratiſſimam omni ratione perſuaſum eſſe vobis cupimus; nullumque nobis pulchrius certamen fore, quàm ut veſtram humanitatem noſtris officiis nullo tempore defuturis, ſi id poteſt fieri, vincamus.

*Weſtmonaſterio, die*
4 *Julii*, 1654.

*Majeſtatis veſtræ Studioſiſſimus*
Oliverius, Reipub. Angliæ, Scotiæ, Hiberniæ, &c. Protector.

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*Illuſtriſſimo Domino* Ludovico Mendezio de Haro.

QUod accepi ex literis tuis, *Illuſtriſſime Domine*, conſtitutum ac nominatum jam eſſe ab Sereniſſimo *Hiſpaniarum* Rege Legatum, qui de ſuſcepta à me *Anglicana* Republica gratulatum huc primo quoque tempore veniret; cùm eſt meritò per ſe gratum, tùm tu id, qui ex te imprimis hoc me cognoſcere voluiſti, ut eſſet mihi aliquanto gratius atque jucundius, ſingulari tuo ſtudio atque officii celeritate effeciſti. Sic enim diligi atque probari me abs te, qui virtute tua atque prudentia tantam apud Regem tuum authoritatem tibi conciliaſti, ut vel maximis illius Regni negotiis par animo præſis, haud minori profectò mihi voluptati debet eſſe, quàm judicium præſtantiſſimi viri ornamento mihi intelligo fore. De meo autem in Sereniſſimum *Hiſpaniarum* Regem propenſo animo, & ad amicitiam cum iſto regno conſervandam, atque etiam indies exaugendam promptiſſimo, & huic qui nunc adeſt Legato ſatisfeciſſe me ſpero, & alteri, cùm advenerit, cumulatè ſatisfacturum. De cætero, *Illuſtriſſime Domine*, qua nunc flores apud regem tuum dignitate ac gratia, eam tibi perpetuam exopto; quaſque res geris bono publico & adminiſtras, volo tibi proſperè feliciterque evenire.

*Albâ Aulâ, Septembris*
*die*, 1654.

*Amplitudinis tuæ Illuſtriſſimæ Studioſiſſimus*,

Oliverius, Protector Reipub. Angliæ, Scotiæ, Hiberniæ, &c.

*Sere-*

## *Sereniſſimo Principi* Carolo Guſtavo Adolpho, *Suecorum, Gothorum, Vandalorumque Regi, &c.*

CUM de voluntate veſtræ Majeſtatis in me ſingulari ex veſtris ſim nuper literis perſuaſus, quibus & ipſe pari ſtudio reſcripſerim, videor mihi ex ratione prorſus amicitiæ noſtræ deinceps facturus, ſi quemadmodum quæ grata acciderint ad lætitiam mutuam communicem, ita quæ contraria, de iis vobis tanquam amiciſſimis, animi mei ſenſum doloremque aperiam. De me equidem ſic exiſtimo, eo me in loco Reipub. jam eſſe conſtitutum, ut communi Proteſtantium, paci imprimis & quantum in me eſt conſulere debeam. Quo gravius neceſſe eſt feram quæ de *Bremenſium* & *Suecorum* præliis mutuiſque cladibus ad nos perferuntur. Illud primum doleo, amicos utroſque noſtros tam atrociter tamque Proteſtantium rationibus periculoſè inter ſe decertare; pacem deinde illam Monaſterienſem quæ Reformatis omnibus ſummo præſidio credebatur fore, ejuſmodi peperiſſe infœlix bellum: ut nunc arma *Suecorum* in eos converſa ſint quos inter cæteros paulo ante religionis cauſâ acerrimè defenderent: idque potiſſimum hoc tempore fieri, cum Pontificii per totam fere Germaniam Reformatos ubique rurſus opprimere, & ad intermiſſas pauliſper injurias vimque priſtinam redire palam dicantur. Cum itaque intelligerem dierum aliquot inducias ad *Bremam* urbem jam eſſe factas, non potui ſane quin Majeſtati veſtræ, occaſione hac datâ, ſignificarem quàm cupiam ex animo quamque enixè Deum pacis orem, uti iſtæ induciæ utrique parti feliciter cedat; utque in pacem firmiſſimam ex compoſitione utrinque commoda poſſint deſinere: quam ad rem ſi meam operam conferre quicquam aut uſui fore Majeſtas veſtra judicaverit, eam vobis libentiſſimè ut in re Divino Numini procul dubio acceptiſſimâ polliceor atque defero. Interea Majeſtatis veſtræ conſilia omnia ut ad communem *Chriſtianæ* rei ſalutem dirigat Deus atque gubernet, quod idem non dubito, quin & vos maximè velitis, animitùs exopto.

Majeſtatis veſtræ ſtudioſiſſimus

*Alba Aula Oct. 26. 1654.* *Oliverius*, Prot. Reip. Angliæ, &c.

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## *Magnificis Ampliſſimiſque Conſulibus ac Senatoribus Civitatis Bremenſis.*

EX literis veſtris per Oratorem veſtrum *Henricum Oldenburgum* ad nos datis, coortum civitati veſtræ cum vicino potentiſſimo diſſidium, quaſque exinde ad anguſtias redacti ſitis, eò majore cum moleſtia ac dolore intelligo, quo magis *Bremenſem* Civitatem præter cæteras Orthodoxâ religione præſtantem diligo atq; amplector; neque in votis quicquam habeo antiquius, quàm ut univerſum Proteſtantium nomen fraterno conſenſu atque concordiâ in unum tandem coaleſcat. Lætari interim communem Reformatorum hoſtem hiſce noſtris contentionibus & ferocius paſſim inſtare certiſſimum eſt. Ipſa autem controverſia, cum deciſionis noſtræ non ſit quæ vos jam nunc exercet, Deum itaque oro ut quæ cœptæ ſunt induciæ poſſint fœlicem exitum ſortiri. Eqnidem quod petiſtis ad *Suecorum* Regem ea de re ſcripſi ſuaſor pacis atque concordiæ, Deo nimirum imprimis gratæ, meamque operam ut in re tam pia libens detuli, vos uti æquum animum, neque ab ullis pacis conditionibus, honeſtis quidem illis, abhorrentem ſuadeo geratis; veſtramque civitatem divinæ tutelæ ac providentiæ commendo.

*Amplitudinis Veſtræ Studioſiſſimus*

*Albâ Aulâ Octob. 26. 1654.* Oliverius *Protector Reipub. Angliæ, &c.*

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## Oliverius *Protector Reip. Angliæ Illuſtriſſimo Principi Tarentino S. P. D.*

PErſpectus ex literis tuis ad me datis Religionis amor tuus, & in *Eccleſias Reformatas* pietas eximia, ſtudiumque ſingulare, in iſtâ præſertim generis nobilitate ac ſplendore, eoque ſub Regno in quo deficientibus ab Orthodoxa fide tot ſunt nobiliſſimis quibuſque ſpes uberes propoſitæ, tot firmioribus incommoda ſubeunda, permagno me planè gaudio ac voluptate effecit. Nec minus gratum erat placuiſſe me tibi eo ipſo Religionis nomine, quo tu mihi dilectus atque charus inprimis eſſe debes. Deum autem obteſtor ut quam de me ſpem Eccleſiarum & expectationem eſſe oſtendis, poſſim ei aliquando vel ſatisfacere, ſi opus erit, vel demonſtare omnibus, quàm cupiam non deeſſe. Nullum equidem fructum laborum meorum, nullum hujus quam obtineo in Repub. meâ ſive dignitatis ſive muneris, nec ampliorem exiſtimarem, nec jucundiorem, quàm ut idoneus ſim, qui Eccleſiæ Reformatæ vel amplificationi vel incolumitati, vel, quod maximum eſt, paci inſerviam. Te verò hortor magnopere ut religionem Orthodoxam qua pietate ac ſtudio à majoribus acceptam profiteris, eâdem animi firmitate atque conſtantiâ ad extremum uſque retineas. Nec ſanè quicquam erit te tuiſque Parentibus religioſiſſimis dignius, nec quod pro tuis in me meritis, quanquam tuâ causâ cupio omnia, optare tibi melius, aut præclarius queam, quàm ſi ſic te pares atque inſtituas, ut Eccleſiæ, præſertim patriæ, quarum in diſciplina tam felici indole tamque illuſtri loco natus es, quanto cæteris præluces, tanto firmius in te præſidium ſuis rebus conſtitutum eſſe ſentiant. Vale.

*Albâ Aulâ die Aprilis 1655.*

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## Oliverius *Protector Reip. Angliæ Sereniſſimo Principi* Immanueli Sabaudiæ *Duci*, Pedemontii *Principi*, *Salutem*.

*Sereniſſime Princeps*,

Redditæ ſunt nobis *Genevâ*, nec non ex *Delphinatu* aliiſque multis ex locis ditione veſtræ finitimis literæ, quibus certiores facti ſumus, Regalis veſtræ Celſitudinis ſubditis *Reformatam* Religionem profitentibus, veſtro Edicto atque authoritate imperatum nuper eſſe, uti triduo quàm hoc edictum promulgatum erit ſuis ſedibus atque agris excedant pœnâ capitis, & fortunarum omnium amiſſione propoſita, niſi fidem fecerint ſe derelictâ religione ſuâ, intra dies viginti *Catholicam* Religionem amplexuros: Cumque ſe ſupplices ad Celſitudinem veſtram Regalem contuliſſent, petentes uti edictum illud revocetur, utque ipſi priſtinam in gratiam recepti, conceſſæ à Sereniſſimis Majoribus veſtris libertati reſtituantur, partem tamen execitus veſtri in eos impetum feciſſe multos crudeliſſime trucidaſſe, alios vinculis mandaſſe, reliquos in deſerta loca monteſque nivibus coopertos expuliſſe, ubi familiarum aliquot centuriæ, eo loci rediguntur ut ſit metuendum ne frigore & fame, brevi ſint miſerè omnes perituræ. Hæc cum ad nos perlata eſſent, haud ſane potuimus quin, hujus afflictiſſimi populi tanta calamitate auditâ, ſummo dolore ac miſeratione commoveremur. Cum autem non humanitatis modo ſed ejuſdem religionis communione, adeoque fraternâ penitus neceſſitudine cum iis conjunctos nos eſſe fateamur, ſatisfieri à nobis neque noſtro erga Deum officio, neque fraternæ charitati, neque religionis ejuſdem profeſſioni poſſe exiſtimavimus, ſi in hac fratrum noſtrorum calamitate ac miſeria ſolo ſenſu doloris afficeremur, niſi etiam ad ſublevanda eorum tot mala inopinata, quantum in nobis eſt ſitum, omnem operam noſtram conferamus. Itaque à veſtra imprimis Celſitudine Regali majorem in modum enixè petimus & obteſtamur, ut ad inſtituta Sereniſſimorum Majorum ſuorum, conceſſamque ab iis omni tempore & confirmatam ſubditis ſuis *Vallenſibus* libertatem velit animum referre. In quâ concedendâ atque confirmandâ, quemadmodum id præſtiterunt, quod Deo per ſe gratiſſimum proculdubio eſt, qui conſcientiæ jus inviolabile ac poteſtatem penes ſe unum eſſe voluit, ita dubium non eſt quin Subditorum etiam ſuorum meritam rationem habuerint, quos & in bello ſtrenuos ac fideliſſimos & in pace dicto ſemper audientes experti fuiſſent. Utque Serenitas Veſtra Regalis in cæteris omnibus & benignè & glorioſè factis Avorum ſuorum veſtigiis optimè inſiſtit, ita in hoc nolit ab iiſdem diſcedere etiam atque etiam obſecramus; ſed & hoc edictum, & ſi quod aliud inquietandis *Reformata* Religionis causâ ſubditis ſuis rogatum ſit, uti abroget; ipſos patriis ſedibus atq; bonis reſtituat; conceſſa jura ac libertatem priſtinam ratam iis faciat; accepta damna ſarciri, & eorum vexationibus finem imponi jubeat. Quod ſi fecerit Regalis Celſitudo veſtra, & rem Deo acceptiſſimam fecerit, miſeros illos & calamitoſos erexerit & recrearit, & à ſuis omnibus vicinis, quotquot *Reformatam* Religionem colunt, maximam gratiam inierit; nobiſque potiſſimùm, qui veſtram in illos benignitatem atque clementiam obteſtationis noſtræ fructum arbitrabimur. Quod & ad omnes officiorum reddendas vices nos obligaverit; nec ſtabiliendæ ſolùm verum etiam augendæ inter hanc Remp. veſtramque ditionem neceſſitudinis & amicitiæ fundamenta firmiſſima jecerit. Neque verò hoc minus ab juſtitia veſtra & moderatione animi nobis pollicemur: quam in partem Deum Opt. Max. oramus uti mentem veſtram & cogitationes flectat: vobiſque adeo veſtroque populo pacem ac veritatem & ſucceſſus rerum omnium felices ex animo precamur.

*Albâ Aulâ. May* 1655.

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## Oliverius *Protector Reip. Angliæ, &c. Sereniſſimo Principi Tranſylvaniæ, Salutem.*

*Sereniſſime Princeps,*

EX literis veſtris *ſexto decimo Novembris* 1654. ad nos datis, ſingularem erga nos benevolentiam veſtram atque ſtudium perſpeximus; & Internuntius veſter qui illas nobis literas dedit de contrahenda nobiſcum ſocietate & amicitia voluntatem veſtram ampliùs coram expoſuit. Nos certè occaſionem hanc eſſe datam, unde noſtrum quoque erga vos animum, & quanti Celſitudinem veſtram meritò faciamus declarare atque oſtendere poſſimus, haud mediocriter ſanè gaudemus. Cum autem Veſtra in Rempublicam Chriſtianam præclara merita laboreſque ſuſcepti ad nos uſque famâ pervenerint & hæc omnia certiùs, & quæ amplius rei *Chriſtianæ* vel defendendæ vel promovendæ cauſa in animo habeatis Celſitudo veſtra ſuis literis communicata nobis amiciſſimè voluerit, ea uberiorem inſuper lætandi materiam nobis attulere: Deum nempe iis in regionibus excitaſſe ſibi tam potentem atque egregium ſuæ gloriæ ac providentiæ miniſtrum; qui, cum virtute atque armis tantum poſſit, de religione communi *Proteſtantium* tuenda, cui nunc undiq; malè & dictum & factum eſt, nobiſcum unà ſociare conſilia cupiat. Deus autem qui utriſque nobis tametſi locorum intervallo tam longè disjunctis, eundem Religionis Orthodoxæ defendendæ ſtudium atque animum injecit, dubium non eſt quin earum præcipue rationum author nobis futurus ſit, unde & nobis & inter nos & Reformatorum reliquis principibus ac civitatibus hac in re maximo eſſe adjumento atque uſui poſſimus, occaſionibus certè omnibus intenti, ſi quas Deus obtulerit, iis quod ad nos attinet, eodem Deo benè juvante, non deerimus. Interea Celſitudini Veſtræ ſine ſummo dolore commemorare non poſſumus quanta inclementia Dux Allobrogum ſubditos ſuos Alpinarum quarundam Vallium incolas Orthodoxam Religionem retinentes perſequutus ſit. Quos non ſolùm ſeveriſſimo Edicto quotquot Romanam Religionem ſuſcipere recuſarunt ſedes avitas, bonaque omnia relinquere coëgit; verùm etiam ſuo exercitu adortus eſt, qui multos crudeliſſime concidit, alios barbarè per exquiſitos cruciatus necavit, partem verò maximam in montes expulit fame & frigore abſumendam, exuſtis domibus, & ſiqua eorum bona ab illis carnificibus non ſint direpta. Hæc ut ad vos jamdudum nuntiata ſunt & Celſitudini Veſtræ tantam crudelitatem graviter diſplicuiſſe, & veſtram opem atque auxilium, quantum in vobis eſt, illis miſerrimis, ſiqui tot cædibus atque miſeriis adhuc ſuperſunt, non defuturum, nobis facilè perſuadetur. Nos literas Duci *Sabaudiæ* ad deprecandum ejus inſenſum in ſuos animum jam ſcripſimus; ſicut & Gallorum Regi, idem ut is etiam velit facere; vicinis denique Reformatæ Religionis Principibus uti de illa ſævitia tam immani quid nos ſentiamus intelligere poſſint: quæ quanquam in illos inopes primum cœpta eſt, idem tamen omnibus eandem religionem profitentibus minatur: eoque majorem illis proſpiciendi ſibi in commune ſuiſque omnibus conſulendi neceſſitatem imponit: quam & nos eandem rationem, prout Deus nobis in animum induxerit, ſemper ſequemur. Id quod Celſitudo veſtra perſuadere ſibi poterit quemadmodum & de ſingulari noſtro erga ſe ſtudio atque affectu, quò proſperos rerum omnium ſucceſſus vobis animitùs exoptamus; & veſtra incoepta omnia atque conatus, quibus Evangelii cultorumque ejus libertati ſtudetis fœlicem exitum ſortiri volumus.

*Alba Aula. May* 1655.

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### Oliverius *Protect. Sereniſſimo Principi* Carolo Guſtavo Adolpho, *Suecorum Regi, Salutem.*

PErveniſſe nuper in regna veſtra illius Edicti acerbiſſimi famam quo dux *Sabaudiæ* ſubjectos ſibi Alpinos incolas, *Reformatam* Religionem profitentes, funditus afflixit, & niſi religione *Romanâ* ſuam mutare fidem à Majoribus acceptam intra dies viginti velint, patriis ſedibus exterminari juſſit, unde multis interfectis, cæteri ſpoliati, & ad interitum certiſſimum expoſiti, per incultiſſimos montes, hyememque perpetuam fame & frigore confecti cum conjugibus ac parvulis jam nunc aberrant, & hæc graviter tuliſſe Majeſtatem veſtram nobis perſuaſiſſimum eſt. Nam Proteſtantium nomen atque cauſam, tametſi inter ſe de rebus non maximis diſſentiunt, communem tamen & penè unam eſſe, adverſariorum par in omnes *Proteſtantes* odium facile demonſtrat. Et *Suecorum* Reges, ſuam cum *Reformatis* conjunxiſſe ſemper cauſam illatis etiam in Germaniam armis ad *Proteſtantium* religionem ſine diſcrimine tuendam, nemo eſt qui ignoret: petimus imprimis igitur, idque majorem in modum, à Majeſtate veſtra (niſi id jam fecerit, quod & Reformatorum aliæ Reſpublicæ & nos fecimus) ut cum *Sabaudiæ* Duce per literas velit agere; ſuaq; authoritate interpoſitâ, & hanc tantam edicti atrocitatem ab hominibus cum innocuis tum religioſis deprecando, ſi fieri poteſt, avertere conetur: etenim hæc initia tam ſæva quo ſpectent, quid nobis omnibus minentur, admonere veſtram Majeſtatem ſupervacuum eſſe arbitramur. Quod ſi is iræ ſuæ, quam noſtris omnium precibus auſcultare maluerit: Nobis profecto, ſiquod eſt vinculum, ſiqua religionis charitas aut communio credenda atque colenda eſt, communicato prius veſtra cum Majeſtate, cæteriſque Reformatorum primoribus conſilio, alia quamprimùm ineunda ratio erit, qua provideri maturè poſſit, ne tanta innocentiſſimorum fratrum noſtrorum multitudo omni ope deſtituta miſerrimè pereat. Quod idem quin Majeſtati veſtræ viſum jam ſit atque decretum cum nullo modo dubitemus, nihil conſultius, ut noſtra quidem fert ſententia, eſſe poterit quam ut gratiam, authoritatem, conſilia, opes, & ſiquid aliud neceſſe eſt, in hanc rem primo quoque tempore conferamus. Interea Majeſtatem veſtram Deo Opt. Max. commendatam ex animo volumus.

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### Oliverius *Protector Reip. Angliæ, &c. Excelſis & Præpotentibus Dominis Fœderati Belgii Ordinibus.*

EDictum *Ducis Sabaudiæ* nuperrimum in ſubjectos ſibi *Alpinos* incolas, Orthodoxam Religionem antiquitùs profitentes, quo illi edicto, ni intra dies viginti fidem *Romanam* amplectantur, exuti fortunis omnibus, patriæ quoque ſedes relinquere jubentur, & quantâ crudelitate in homines innoxios atque inopes noſtroſque, quod maximè refert, in *Chriſto* fratres illius edicti auctoritas graſſata ſit, occiſis permultis ab exercitus parte contra eos miſſa, direptis reliquis atque domo expulſis, unde illi cum conjugibus ac liberis fame & frigore conflictari inter aſperrimos montes niveſque perpetuas jamdiu coacti ſunt, rumore & vicinis undique ex locis creberrimis literis ac nuntiis cognoviſſe vos jamdudum exiſtimamus. Qua autem animi commotione, quo ſenſu fraternæ calamitatis hæc vos affecerint, facilè ex dolore noſtro qui certe eſt graviſſimus intelligere videmur. Qui enim eodem religionis vinculo conjuncti ſumus, quidni iiſdem plane affectibus in tam gravi atque indigna fratrum noſtrarum commoveremur. Et veſtra quidem in Orthodoxos ubicunq; locorum disjectos atq; oppreſſos ſpectata pietas atque in multis Eccleſiarum difficultatibus & adverſis rebus jam ſæpe cognita eſt. Ego certe, niſi me fallit animus, quavis in re potius, quàm ſtudio & charitate erga fratres religionis cauſâ violatos atque afflictos vinci ſuſtineam:

quandoquidem Eccleſiarum ſalutem atque pacem incolumitati etiam propriæ libens prætulerim. Quod igitur hactenus potuimus, ad *Sabaudiæ Ducem* ſcripſimus; ſuppliciter penè rogantes ut in hos homines innocentiſſimos & ſubditos & ſupplices ſuos placatiorem animum ac voluntatem ſuſcipiat, ſuas ſedes atque fortunas miſeris reddat, priſtinam etiam in religione libertatem concedat. Scripſimus præterea ad ſummos *Proteſtantium* Principes & Magiſtratus, ad quos hæc maximè pertinere judicavimus, ut in *Sabaudio Duce* exorando ſuam conferre operam nobiſcum unà velint. Hæc eadem, & plura forſitan vos quoque feciſtis. Nam exemplum hoc tam periculoſum, & inſtaurata nuper in Reformatos tanta crudelitas ſi auctoribus benè cedat, quantum in diſcrimen adducta religio ſit veſtram commonefacere prudentiam nihil attinet. Et is quidem ſi flecti noſtris omnium precibus & exorari ſe paſſus erit præclarum nos atque uberem ſuſcepti hujus laboris fructum ac præmium reportabimus. Sin ea in ſententia perſtiterit, ut apud quos noſtra Religio vel ab ipſis Evangelii primis Doctoribus tradita per manus & incorruptè ſervata, vel multo antè quàm apud cæteras Gentes ſinceritati priſtinæ reſtituta eſt, eos ad ſummam deſperationem redactos, deletos funditùs ac perditos velit, paratos nos eſſe commune aliquod vobiſcum cæteriſque *Reformatis* fratribus ac ſociis conſilium capere, quo & ſaluti pereuntium juſtorum conſulere commodiſſimè queamus, & is demum ſentiat Orthodoxorum injurias atque miſerias tam graves non poſſe nos negligere. *Valete.*

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## *Civitatibus Helvetiorum Evangelicis.*

NON dubitamus quin ad aures veſtras aliquanto citius quàm ad noſtra illa nuper calamitas pervenerit *Alpinorum* hominum religionem noſtram profitentium, qui *Sabaudiæ Ducis* in fide ac ditione cùm ſint, ſui Principis edicto patriis ſedibus emigrare juſſi ni intra triduum ſatiſdediſſent ſe *Romanam* Religionem ſuſcepturos, mox armis petiti & ab exercitu *Ducis* ſui occiſis, etiam permultis in exilium ejecti, nunc ſine lare, ſine tecto, nudi, ſpoliati, afflicti, fame & frigore moribundi, per montes deſertos atque nives cum conjugibus ac liberis miſerrimè vagantur. Multo eſt mimus cur dubitemus quin hæc, ut primum vobis nuntiata ſunt pari atque nos tantarum miſeriarum ſenſu eoque fortaſſe graviore quo illorum finibus propiores eſtis, dolore affecerint. Veſtrum enim in primis Orthodoxæ fidei ſtudium egregium ſummamque in eâ cum retinendâ conſtantiam tum defendendâ fortitudinem abundè novimus. Cum itaque religionis arctiſſimâ communione Fratres, vel potius unum corpus, cum his miſeris vos pariter nobiſcum ſitis, cujus membrum nullum affligi ſine ſenſu, ſine dolore, ſine detrimento atque periculo reliquorum poteſt, ſcribendum ad vos hac de re & ſignificandum cenſuimus quanti noſtrum omnium intereſſe arbitremur, ut Fratres noſtros ejectos atque inopes communi ope atque auxilio, quoad fieri poteſt, juvemus & conſolemur; nec eorum tantummodo malis & miſeriis removendis, verum etiam nequid ſerpat latius, nequid periculi exemplo atque eventu vel nobis omnibus creari poſſit, maturè proſpiciamus. Literas nos quidem ad *Sabaudiæ Ducem* ſcripſimus, quibus uti cum Subditis ſuis fideliſſimis pro clementiâ ſuâ lenius agat, eoſque jam prope perditos ſuis ſedibus ac bonis reſtituat, vehementer petivimus. Et his quidem noſtris, vel noſtrûm potius omnium conjunctis precibus, exoratum iri Principem Sereniſſimum quodque ab eo tanto opere petivimus, facile conceſſurum ſperamus. Sin illi in mentem ſecùs venerit, cummunicare vobiſcum conſilia parati ſumus, qua potiſſimum ratione oppreſſos tot injuriis atque vexatos innocentiſſimos homines, nobiſque chariſſimos in *Chriſto* fratres, ſublevare atque erigere, & ab interitu certiſſimo atque indigniſſimo conſervare poſſimus. Quorum ſalutem atque incolumitatem pro veſtra pietate vobis quam maxime cordi eſſe confido: Ego eam certe vel graviſſimis meis rationibus, immò incolumitati propriâ potiorem habendam eſſe exiſtimem. Valete.

*Weſtmonaſterio. May* 19. 1655. O. P.

Superſcript.

*Illuſtribus atque ampliſſimis Dominis, Helveticorum Pagorum Proteſtantium & Conſœderatarum Civitatum Conſulibus ac Senatoribus, Salutem.*

*Sere-*

## *Sereniſſimo potentiſſimoque Principi* Ludovico *Galli Regi.*

*Sereniſſime Potentiſſimeque Rex,*

EX Literis Majeſtatis Veſtræ, quibus illa ad meas *quinto & vigeſimo Maii* proximi datas reſcribit, facilè intelligo nequaquam feſelliſſe me eam opinionem, quâ mihi quidem perſuaſum erat, cædes illas immaniſſimas, barbaramque eorum hominum ſtragem, qui Religionem Reformatam in *Sabaudia* profitentur, à cohortibus quibuſdam veſtris factam, neque juſſu veſtro neque mandato accidiſſe. Quæ quantum Majeſtati veſtræ diſplicuerit, id vos veſtris militum Tribunis, qui hæc tam inhumana ſuo ſolo impetu injuſſi perpetraverant, ita maturè ſignificaſſe, deque tanta crudelitate *Ducem* ipſum *Sabaudiæ* monuiſſe, pro reducendis denique iſtis miſeris exulibus unde pulſi ſunt, veſtram omnem gratiam, neceſſitudinem, authoritatem tanta cum fide atque humanitate interpoſuiſſe, majorem equidem in modum ſum lætatus. Ea nempe ſpes erat, illum Principem voluntati ac precibus Majeſtatis veſtræ aliquid ſaltem hac in re fuiſſe conceſſurum. Verùm cum neque veſtro, neque aliorum Principum rogatu atque inſtantiâ in Miſerorum cauſa quicquam eſſe impetratum perſpiciam, haud alienum ab officio meo duxi, ut hunc nobilem virum extraordinarii noſtri Commiſſarii munere inſtructum ad *Allobrogum Ducem* mitterem; qui tantæ crudelitatis in ejuſdem nobiſcum Religionis cultores, idque ipſius Religionis odio adhibitæ, quo ſenſu afficiar, uberiùs eidem exponat. Atque hujus quidem Legationis eo feliciorem exitum ſperavero, ſi adhibere denuò & adhuc majore cum inſtantiâ ſuam authoritatem atque operam Majeſtati Veſtræ placuerit; & quemadmodum fideles fore illos inopes dictoque audientes Principi ſuo ipſa in ſe recepit, ita velit eorundem incolumitati atque ſaluti cavere, ne quid iis hujuſmodi injuriæ & calamitatis atrociſſimæ innocentibus & pacatis deinceps inferatur. Hoc cum in ſe juſtum ac verè regium ſit, nec non benignitati veſtræ atque clementiæ, quæ tot ſubditos veſtros eandem illam Religionem ſequentes ubique ſalvos & incolumes præſtat, ſummè conſentaneum, à Majeſtate Veſtra, ut par eſt, non poſſumus quin expectemus. Quæ hac ſimul operâ, cum univerſos per ſua Regna *Proteſtantes*, quorum ſtudium erga vos ſummaque fides maximis in rebus perſpecta jam ſæpe & cognita eſt, arctiùs ſibi devinxerit, tum exteris etiam omnibus perſuaſum reddiderit, nihil ad hoc facinus contuliſſe Regis conſilium, quicquid Miniſtri Regii atque Præfecti contulerunt. Præſertim ſi Majeſtas Veſtra pœnas ab iis Ducibus ac Miniſtris debitas repetiverit, qui authoritate propria, ſuaque pro libidine tam immania patrare ſcelera ſunt auſi. Interea cum Majeſtas Veſtra factum hoc inhumaniſſimum, quo dignum eſt odio, averſari ſe teſtetur, non dubito quin miſeris illis atque ærumnoſis ad vos confugientibus, tutiſſimum in Regno ſuo receptum atque perfugium ſit præbitura; nec Subditorum ſuorum cuiquam, ut contra eos *Duci Allobrogum* auxilio adſit, permiſſura. Extremum illud eſt, ut Majeſtatem Veſtram, quanti apud me ſua amicitia ſit, certiorem faciam: Cujus rei neque fructum ullo tempore defuturum confirmo.

*Albâ Aulâ. Julii* 29. 1655.
*Majeſtatis Veſtræ Studioſiſſimus*
*Oliverius* Prot. Reip. Angliæ, &c.

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## *Eminentiſſimo Domino* Cardinali Mazzarino.

*Eminentiſſime Domine Cardinalis,*

CUM nobilem hunc virum cum literis, quarum exemplar hic incluſum eſt, ad Regem mittere neceſſarium ſtatuiſſem, tum ei, ut Eminentiam veſtram meo nomine ſalutaret, ſimul in mandatis dedi, certaſque res vobiſcum communicandas ejus fidei commiſi: Quibus in rebus Eminentiam rogo veſtram, uti ſummam ei fidem habere velit, utpote in quo Ego ſummam fiduciam repoſuerim.

*Albâ Aulâ. Julii* 29. 1655.
*Eminentiæ veſtræ ſtudioſiſſimus*
*Oliverius* Protector Reipublicæ Angliæ.

## Oliverius *Protector Reip. Angliæ Sereniſſimo Principi* Frederico III. *Daniæ, Norwegiæ, &c. Regi,* Salutem.

QUam ſevero nuper, & inclementi edicto *Allobrogum* Dux *Immanuel* ſuos ipſe Subditos *Alpinarum Vallium* incolas, innoxios homines & religionis cultu purioris jam multis ab ſæculis notos ac celebres, religionis cauſâ finibus patriis exegerit, &, occiſis permultis, reliquos per illa deſertiſſima loca malis omnibus & miſeriis inopes ac nudos expoſuerit, & audiſſe jamdudum arbitramur Majeſtatem Veſtram, & graviſſimum ex ea re, prout tantum *Reformatæ* Fidei Defenſorem ac Principem decuit, dolorem percepiſſe. Siquidem pro inſtitutis *Chriſtianæ Religionis* quæ mala atque miſerias pars aliqua noſtrorum patitur, earum ſenſu penitus eodem tangi omnes debemus; & ſanè omnibus nobis & univerſo *Proteſtantium* nomini hujus facti eventus atque exemplum, quid periculi oſtendat, nemo Veſtrâ Majeſtate, ſi nos ejus pietatem atque prudentiam rectè novimus, melius videt. Scripſimus itaque libenter, ut quem dolorem ob hanc Fratrum innocentiſſimorum calamitatem, quam ſententiam, quod judicium de re tota veſtrum eſſe ſperamus, idem planè & noſtrum eſſe ſignificemus. Itaque ad *Ducem Sabaudiæ* literas dedimus, in quibus uti miſeris atque ſupplicibus parcat, illudque atrox edictum porrò eſſe ratum ne ſinat, magnopere ab eo petivimus. Quod ſi Majeſtas Veſtra, cæterique *Reformatorum* principes fecerint, ut jam feciſſe credimus, ſpes eſt leniri poſſe Sereniſſimi Ducis animum, & hanc iram ſuam tot ſaltem vicinorum Principum interceſſioni atque inſtantiæ condonaturum; ſin perſeverare in inſtituto ſuo maluerit, paratos nos eſſe teſtamur cum Majeſtate Veſtra, cæteriſque Religionis Reformatæ ſociis eam inire rationem quâ tot miſerorum hominum ſubvenire quamprimum inopiæ, providere ſaluti ac libertati pro virili parte noſtra poſſimus. Veſtræ interea Majeſtati bona omnia atque fauſta à Deo Opt. Max. precamur.

*Weſtmonaſterio. Maii* 1655.

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## Oliverius *Protector Reip. Angliæ, &c. Ampliſſimis Conſulibus & Senatoribus Civitatis Genevenſis,* Salutem.

SUmmum dolorem noſtrum quem ex maximis & inauditis *Proteſtantium* calamitatibus *Valles* quaſdam *Pedemontanas* incolentium percepimus, quos *Allobrogum Dux* tanta crudelitate perſequutus eſt, jampridem vobis expoſuiſſemus, niſi id magis operam dediſſemus ut eodem tempore intelligeretis tantis eorum miſeriis non affici nos ſolum, verum etiam de ſublevandis iis atque ſolandis, quantum in nobis eſt proſpicere. Quapropter *Eleemoſynas* per hanc totam *Rempublicam* colligendas curavimus: quas ejuſmodi fore haud immeritò expectamus, quæ nationis hujus affectum erga fratres ſuos tam immania perpeſſos demonſtrare poſſint, & quemadmodum religionis eadem utrinque communio eſt, ita ſenſum quoque eundem calamitatum eſſe; interea dum pecuniæ collectio maturatur, quod ſine ſpatio temporis fieri nequit, & miſerorum iſtorum egeſtas atque inopia pati moram non poteſt, neceſſarium duximus duo millia librarum Anglicarum quanta fieri potuit celeritate præmittere inter eos diſtribuenda qui præſentiſſimâ ope atque ſolatio indigere maximè videbuntur. Cum autem neſcii non ſimus innocentiſſimorum hominum miſeriæ atque injuriæ quantopere vos affecerint, nec vobis quicquam labori aut moleſtiæ fore quod illis adjumento atque auxilio eſſe poſſit, prædictam pecuniæ ſummam illis calamitoſis curandam ac numerandam ad vos transferre non dubitavimus; idque vobis negotii dare, ut pro veſtrâ pietate ac prudentiâ providere velitis qua ratione æquiſſimâ quam primum illa pecunia egentiſſimis quibuſque diſtribui queat, ut quamvis ſumma ſane exigua ſit, aliquid tamen ſit ſaltem quo illi inopes recreari ac refici in præſens aliquantum poſſint, donec uberiorem iis copiam ſuppeditare poterimus: vos hanc vobis datam moleſtiam æqui bonique conſulturos eſſe cum non dubitemus, tum etiam Deum Opt. Max. oramus uti populo ſuo Religionem orthodoxam profitenti det animum ſui in commune defendendi, ſibique mutuò opem ferendi contra hoſtes ſuos immaniſſimos; qua in re noſtram quoque operam Eccleſiæ utcunque uſui fore lætaremur. *Valete.*

Mille quingentæ Libræ de prædictis bis millibus à *Gerardo Henſh* Pariſiis, quingentæ reliquæ per literas à Domino *Stoupio* curabuntur.

*Junii* 8. 1655.

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## Oliverius *Protector Reip. Angliæ Sereniſſimo Principi* Venetiarum *Duci.*

*Sereniſſime Princeps*;

CUm rebus veſtris omnibus contra hoſtem præſertim Chriſtiani nominis proſpere geſtis lætari ſemper conſuevimus, tum & illo navalis prælii noviſſimo ſucceſſu nequaquam ſanè dolemus, quamvis id aliquo noſtrorum cum detrimento accidiſſe intelligamus. Oſtenderunt enim nobis per libellum ſupplicem Negotiatores quidam noſtri *Gulielmus* & *Daniel Gulielmi* nec non *Edoardus Bealus* navem ſuam, cui nomen *Princeps magnus*, *Conſtantinopolim* ab ſe commercii cauſâ miſſam nuper fuiſſe; eam navem ab aulæ *Turcicæ* miniſtris ad commeatum & milites in Cretam inſulam deportandos retentam, dum in illa claſſe *Turcarum* coacta eo navigaret quæ à claſſe *Venetorum* oppugnata in itinere & ſuperata eſt, captam & *Venetias* abductam, ab maritimarum cauſarum judicibus adjudicatam publico fuiſſe. Cum itaque inſcientibus dominis & nullo modo probantibus navis illa *Turcis* operam dare invitiſſima coacta ſit, ſeque ex ea pugna explicare militibus referta non potuerit, Serenitatem Veſtram magnopere rogamus, ut ſententiam illam maritimæ curiæ velit noſtræ amicitiæ condonare, navemque illam ſuis dominis, de Veſtra Republica nullo ſuo facto malè meritis, reſtituendam curare. Qua in re impetranda nobis præſertim petentibus, cum mercatores ipſos de veſtra clementia benè ſperare videamus nos utique de ea dubitare non debemus: qui & præclara veſtra conſilia remque *Venetam* terrâ marique maxima uti pergat fortunare Deus omnipotens ex animo optamus.

*Serenitatis veſtræ Venetæque Reip. ſtudioſiſſimus,*
Oliverius Protector Reipub. Angliæ, &c.

*Weſtmonaſterio. Decemb.* 1655.

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## Oliverius *Protector Reip. Angliæ, &c. Sereniſſimo Principi* Ludovico *Galliarum Regi.*

*Sereniſſime Rex*;

MErcatores aliquot noſtrates, quorum nomina ſunt *Samuel Mico*, *Gulielmus Cocainus*, *Georgius Poynerus*, aliique complures per libellum ſupplicem nobis oſtenderunt ſe anno 1650. in navem quandam, cui inſigne *Unicornus* erat, permagnas rationes ſuas contuliſſe: eam navem bombyce, oleo aliiſque mercibus onuſtam, quæ, plus minus, triginta quatuor millibus librarum noſtrarum ab iiſdem æſtimata ſunt, ab nave prætoria, & proprætoria *Majeſtatis Veſtræ* in *Mediterraneo Mari Orientali* oppreſſam atque captam fuiſſe: noſtros autem illa in navi, propterea quod nobis eo tempore cum *Gallis* illibata pax erat, cum contra naves regias vi ſe defendere noluiſſent, promiſſis *Pauli* & *Terrerii Navarchorum* inductos, qui velle ſe noſtros dimittere aiebant, prolatis onerum libellis, maritimis legibus paruiſſe: Mercatores proinde ſuprà dictos procuratorem ſuum, qui navem illam ac bona reſtituenda ſibi peteret, in *Galliam* miſiſſe: ibi poſt triennium eoque amplius conſumptum, cum ad ſententiam de reſtitutione ferendam perventum jam eſſet, *Cardinalis Mazarini* Eminentiam eorum procuratori *Hugoni Morello* factam mercatoribus iſtis injuriam agnoviſſe; datumque iri ſatiſfactionem, ut primùm confirmata pax inter utramque gentem, fœduſque, quod tum agitabatur, confectum atque ratum eſſet, in ſe recepiſſe: immò recentiùs Majeſtatis Veſtræ apud nos Legatum Excellentiſſimum Dominum *de Bordeaux* ex mandato veſtro veſtrique Concilii, diſertis verbis confirmaſſe, hujus navis atque bonorum peculiari exceptione habitum iri rationem, etiam ſeorſim ab iis controverſiis, de quibus in commune decidendis ex fœdere proviſum eſt: hujus promiſſi Legatum ipſum, qui nunc percommodè negotiorum quorundam ſuorum cauſâ ad vos tranſmeavit, teſtem eſſe poſſe locupletem. Quæ cum ita ſunt, juſque horum mercatorum in repetendis rebus ſuis tam præclarè conſtet, à Majeſtate Veſtrâ majorem in modum petimus, ut in eo obtinendo nulla iis mora diutiùs afferatur, velitque noſtro rogatu has nobis redintegratæ amicitiæ & inſtaurati recèns fœderis eſſe primitias. Quod & fore confidimus, vobiſque fauſta omnia veſtroque regno à Deo Opt. Max. precamur.

*Majeſtatis veſtræ ſtudioſiſſimus*
*Weſtmonaſterio. Decemb.* 1655. Oliverius Protector Reipub. Angliæ, &c.

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## *Civitatibus* Helvetiorum *Evangelicis*.

EX veſtris ad nos tam actis publicis per Commiſſarios noſtros *Genevâ* tranſmiſſis, quàm literis 27 *Decembris Tyguri* datis, quo in loco res veſtræ ſint, cum non ſint optimo, ſatis ſuperque intelligimus: In quo etſi pacem veſtram, tamque diuturnum Sociale fœdus ruptum dolemus, tamen cum id veſtrâ culpâ nequaquam accidiſſe appareat, novam hinc vobis ex Adverſariorum iniquitate & pertinacia illuſtrandæ fortitudinis, conſtantiæque veſtræ in *Evangelica* fide jam olim cognitæ parari rurſus materiem confidimus. Nam *Suitenſes*, qui Religionem noſtram ſi quis amplectatur, Capitale cenſent, quid moliantur, quibus hortatoribus tam hoſtiles Spiritus in *Orthodoxam Religionem* ſuſceperint, latere neminem poteſt, cui modò indigniſſima illa fratrum noſtrorum in *Pedemontio* facta ſtrages animo nondum excidit. Quapropter, Dilectiſſimi Amici, quod ſoletis eſſe, aſpirante Deo fortes eſtote; jura veſtra atque fœdera, immo conſcientiæ libertatem, Religionemque ipſam idolorum cultoribus obculcandam concedere nolite; voſque ita parate ut non propriæ duntaxat libertatis atque ſalutis propugnatores eſſe videamini, ſed ut fratribus quoque vicinis, *Pedemontanis* præſertim illis ærumnoſiſſimis, quibus proteſtis rebus, opitulari atque adeſſe poſitis: hoc certò perſuaſi per illorum corpora ac neces ad veſtra latera illum nuper aditum fuiſſe patefactum. De me ſcitote, incolumitatem veſtram reſque proſperas non minùs mihi curæ ac ſolicitudini eſſe quàm ſi in hac noſtra Rep. coortum hoc incendium, quam ſi in noſtras cervices expeditæ *Suitenſium* ſecures illæ (ſicuti reverâ ſunt in omnes Reformatos) ſtrictique enſes eſſent. Ut primum itaque à vobis de ſtatu rerum veſtrarum, & obſtinato hoſtium animo certiores facti ſumus, adhibitis in Conſilium viris quibuſdam honeſtiſſimis & Eccleſiæ aliquot Miniſtris pietate ſpectatiſſimis, de ſubſidio vobis mittendo, quantum quidem rationes noſtræ in præſentia ferre poſſunt, ea decrevimus, quæ Commiſſarius noſter *Pellus* vobiſcum communicabit. De cætero veſtra omnia conſilia cauſamque imprimis hanc veſtram juſtiſſimam ſive pace ſive bello tuendam, Deo Opt. Max. fautori commendare non deſinimus.

*Veſtrarum Amplitudinum ac Dignitatum ſtudioſiſſimus*
*Weſtmonaſterio. Jan.* 1655. Oliverius Protector Reip. Angliæ, &c.

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## Oliverius *Protector Reip. Angliæ, &c. Sereniſſimo Principi* Carolo Guſtavo, *Dei Gratia Suecorum, Gothorum, Vandalorumque Regi, Magno Principi Finlandiæ, &c.*

*Sereniſſime Rex*;

CUm amicorum inter ſe mutua omnia, tam adverſa quam proſpera, atque communia debere eſſe nemo non intelligat, quòd jucundiſſimam amicitiæ partem Majeſtas Veſtra, gaudium nempe ſuum impertitum nobis per ſuas literas voluerit, non poteſt in quidem nobis non eſſe longè gratiſſimum: quandoquidem & hoc ſingularis indicium humanitatis, verèque Regia eſt, ut nec vivere, ita ne gaudere quidem ſibi ſoli velle niſi amicos quoque & fœderatos eâdem, quâ ſe, lætitiâ affectos eſſe ſentiat. Itaque Regi tam præſtanti & natum eſſe

Filium Principem, quem Paternæ virtutis atque gloriæ ſperemus hæredem, meritò gaudemus, & idem quod Regi olim fortiſſimo, *Philippo Macedoni* ſive felicitatis ſive decoris domi ſimul & foris contigiſſe gratulamur: Cui eodem tempore & natus *Alexander* filius, & *Illyricorum* gens potentiſſima ſubacta memoratur. Nam & *Poloniæ Regnum* veſtris armis ab imperio *Papano* quaſi cornu quoddam avulſum & cum *Duce Brandenburgico* pax piorum votis omnium exoptata, frendentibus licet adverſariis, facta, quin ad Eccleſiæ pacem atque fructum permagnum ſit momentum habitura non dubitamus. Det modò finem Deus tam præclaris initiis dignum; det modò filium, virtute, pietate, rebuſque geſtis patri ſimilem: id quod & auguramur ſanè & à Deo Opt. Max. tam veſtris rebus jam antè propitio, ex animo precamur.

*Majeſtatis Veſtræ Studioſiſſimus*

*Weſtmonaſterio. Feb.* 1655. Oliverius Prot. Reip. Angliæ, &c.

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## Daniæ Regi.

*Sereniſſime ac Potentiſſime Princeps*;

QUeſti ſunt per libellum ſupplicem ſuo aliorumque mercatorum *Londinenſium* nomine nobis exhibitum *Joannes Fremannus* & *Philippus Traveſius* hujus Reip. cives, ſe circiter menſem *Octobris* 1653. cum in navem quandam *Sunderburgenſem*, cui nomen *Salvatori*, *Nicolao Weinſhinks* magiſtro, merces varias, pannum laneum, aliamque veſtem textilem ac mercimonia plus tribus millibus librarum æſtimata impoſuiſſent, magiſtro mandaſſe, ut per *Fretum Balticum* recto curſu *Dantiſcum* navigaret utque ad *Elſenoram* vectigal ſolveret, eique etiam pecuniam ad eam rem curaſſe: ſupradictum tamen magiſtrum perfidioſè, & contrà quàm ipſi à mercatoribus mandatum erat, prætervectum *Elſenoram* nullo portorio ſoluto *Balticum* pernavigaſſe. Naviſque per hanc cauſam cum toto onere non ſine magno mercatorum damno publicata atque retenta eſt. Quorum in gratiam jampridem ad Legatum Majeſtatis veſtræ *Londini* tunc temporis commorantem ſcripſimus; qui, ut ipſi aiunt, pollicitus eſt, ut primum ad Majeſtatem veſtram rediiſſet, daturum operam, uti ratio mercatorum haberetur. Verum cum is poſtea aliis in regionibus Majeſtatis Veſtræ negotia obiret, & ante diſceſſum ejus & poſtea fruſtra ſe eum adiiſſe oſtendunt: unde procuratorem ſuum mittere coacti ſunt, qui jus ſuum *Hafniæ* perſequeretur, navemque illam ac bona liberari, ſibique reddi flagitaret: verum exinde nullum ſe fructum percepiſſe, niſi ut ad damna vetera novas impenſas, & ſuſceptum fruſtra laborem adjungerent: cum fiſco damnata, & retenta hactenus ſint bona, tametſi ex lege *Daniæ*, quemadmodum ipſi in libello ſuo demonſtrant, magiſter quidem navis ob ſuum delictum eſt ipſe puniendus, naviſque, non bona, proſcriptioni ſunt obnoxia: eoque gravius accidiſſe ſibi hoc malum exiſtimant, quòd, ſicuti nobis perlatum eſt, vectigal illud quod *Elſenoræ* ſolvere debuiſſet eſt admodum exiguum. Quapropter, cum mercatores noſtri nullam proſcriptioni cauſam præbuiſſe videantur, confeſſuſque ipſe magiſter paulo ante obitum ſit, ſuo ſolum delicto illatum hoc mercatoribus detrimentum eſſe, cumque Pater defuncti jam magiſtri ipſe per libellum ſupplicem Majeſtati Veſtræ exhibitum, ſicuti nos accepimus, culpam omnem in filium ſuum contulerit, mercatores abſolverit, haud ſane potuimus quin navis illius bonorumque retentionem iniquiſſimam eſſe arbitraremur; adeoque confidimus, ſimulatque Majeſtas Veſtra hac de re certior facta erit, fore ut non modo has miniſtrorum ſuorum injurias improbet, verum etiam ipſos rationem reddere, bonaque illa ſuis Dominis eorumve procuratoribus quamprimum reſtitui damnaque inde data ſarciri jubeat. Quod & nos à Majeſtate veſtra majorem in modum petimus, utpote rem uſque adeo æquam & rationi conſentaneam, ut æquiorem petere aut expectare in cauſa tam juſta noſtrorum civium non poſſe videamur, haud minus æqua veſtris ſubditis, quoties data occaſio erit, reddituri.

### *Sereniſſimo Principi* Joanni Quarto *Luſitaniæ, &c. Regi.*

*Sereniſſime Rex*;

QUam pacem & amicitiam cum *Anglicanâ Republicâ* Majeſtas Veſtra, Legatione ampliſſimâ ac ſplendidiſſimâ jampridem ad nos miſſâ, expetivit, eam à Parlamento, quæ tum poteſtas rebus præfuit, inchoatam, & à nobis ſummo ſemper ſtudio exoptatam, Deo imprimis favente, proque eâ quam accepimus Reipublicæ adminiſtratione, feliciter tandem confecimus, & in perpetuum, uti ſpes eſt, ſanximus. Itaque Legatum veſtrum extraordinarium Dominum *Joannem Rodericum de Saa Meneſes*, Comitem *Pennaguiadanum*, virum cum Majeſtatis veſtræ judicio comprobatum, tum humanitate, ingenio, prudentiâ, fide præſtantiſſimum à nobis repertum, cum expleti muneris egregiâ laude, & reportatâ ſecum pace, vobis reddimus. Quòd autem per literas ſecundo die *Aprilis Ulyſſipone* datas, Majeſtas veſtra quanti nos faciat quamque impenſè dignitati noſtræ faveat, noſque Rempublicam ſuſcepiſſe gubernandam quantopere lætata ſit, haud obſcuris indiciis ſingularis benevolentiæ teſtatur, id vero mihi gratiſſimum eſſe, ex meis in Majeſtatem veſtram paratiſſimis omni tempore officiis, dabo operam ut facilè poſthac omnes intelligant. Neque ſegniùs interea pro incolumitate veſtrâ, veſtrique regni felici ſtatu, rerumque proſpero ſucceſſu conceptis ad Deum precibus contendo.

*Majeſtatis Veſtræ Studioſiſſimus*

Oliverius Reipub. Angliæ, Scotiæ, Hiberniæ, &c. Protector.

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### Oliverius *Protector Reipub. Angliæ, &c. Excelſis & Præpotentibus* Fœderati Belgii *Ordinibus S. D.*

*Excelſi & Præpotentes Domini, amici chariſſimi*;

OStendunt nobis mercatores quidam, cives noſtri *Thomas Buſſelus*, *Richardus Bearus*, aliique ſocii navem quandam ſuam *Edmundi* & *Joannis* nomine inſignitam dum ab ora *Braſiliana Olyſſiponem* contenderet ab navi quadam prædatoria *Fliſſingenſi* cui nomen *Rubro Leoni*, Magiſter *Lambertus Bartelſonus*, oppugnatam ſe dedidiſſe; verum ea lege & pacto (id quod ipſum *Lamberti* chirographum obſignatum teſtabitur) ut navis, & quæcunque in illa fuiſſent *Anglorum* bona, *Fliſſingæ* reſtituerentur: eò cum appulſum eſt, navem quidem & nauticorum peculia reddita, mercatorum *Anglicorum* bona adempta eorumque auctionem ſtatim eſſe factam: ſe mercatores nempe quibus hoc damni datum eſt, cum in foro *Fliſſingenſium* ſuas res repeterent, iniquiſſima ſententia lata, litem cum grandibus impenſis poſt quinquennium perdidiſſe, ab iis nimirum judicibus abjudicatam, quorum nonnulli cum in illa navi prædatoria ſuas rationes collatas habuiſſent; & judices & adverſarii & rei ſimul erant: nihil jam ſibi ſupereſſe ſpei niſi in veſtra æquitate & incorrupta fide, ad quam nunc demum confugiunt: eam ſibi fore propenſiorem exiſtimarunt, ſi noſtra commendatio acceſſiſſet. Et hominibus condonandum hoc ſane eſt, ſi in hac tanta fortunarum ſuarum dimicatione omnia timentibus, quid ab ſumma auctoritate atque potentia veſtra ſibi metuendum, quam quid apud integros præſertim judices de ſua cauſa ſit bene ſperandum ſæpius in mentem veniat: nos quin religione, juſtitiâ, integritate veſtrâ potius quam rogatu noſtro adducti, quod æquum, quod juſtum, quod vobis denique dignum eſt judicaturi ſitis, non dubitamus. Deus vos veſtramque Rempub. ad gloriam ſuam, ſuæque Eccleſiæ præſidium conſervet.

*Weſtmonaſterio. April.* 1. 1656.

Oliverius *Protector Reip. Angliæ, &c.*

### Oliverius *Protector Reip. Angliæ, &c. Sereniſſimo Principi* Carolo Guſtavo *Suecorum, Gothorum, Vandalorumque Regi, Magno Principi Finlandiæ, Duci Eſthoniæ, Careliæ, Bremæ, Verdæ, Stetini, Pomeraniæ, Caſſubiæ & Vandaliæ, Principi Rugiæ, Domino Ingriæ, Wiſſmariæ, necnon Comiti Palatino Rheni, Bavariæ, Jul. Cliviæ & Montium Duci, &c.*

*Sereniſſime Princeps* ;

PErfunctus Legatione ſuâ apud nos *Petrus Julius Coictus*, atque ita perfunctus ut ſuâ debitâ laude non inornatus à nobis dimittendus ſit, ad Majeſtatem veſtram revertitur. Fuit enim cùm veſtro præcipuè nomine, quod jure apud nos plurimi eſſe debet, nobis gratiſſimus, tum ſuo etiam merito, ſuo nempe munere diligentiſſimè obito, haud parum acceptus. Quam igitur commendationem veſtram de eo accepimus, eam (ſi quid ad eam accedere teſtimonio ullo poteſt) & ab ipſo impletam, & à vobis meritiſſimè datam, libentes utique teſtamur: quemadmodum & is poterit noſtrum erga Majeſtatem veſtram ſingulare ſtudium & obſervantiam, eâdem fide atque integritate ad vos referre, veriſſimeque exponere. Extremum illud eſt ut Majeſtati veſtræ felicitatem omnem victoriarumque curſum contra omnes Hoſtes Eccleſiæ perpetuum, à Deo Opt. Maximoque optemus.

*Weſtmonaſterio. April* 17. 1656.

*Majeſtatis veſtra Studioſiſſimus*,
Oliverius, Protector Reip. Angliæ, &c.

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### Oliverius *Protector Reip. Angliæ, &c. Sereniſſimo ac Potentiſſimo Principi* Ludovico *Galliæ Regi, S. D.*

*Sereniſſime Princeps* ;

ADierunt ad nos per libellum ſupplicem, *Joannes Dethic* urbis *Londini* in hunc annum præfectus, & *Gulielmus Wakefield* Mercator, conqueſti, ſe anno 1649. *Calendas* circiter *Octob.* navem quandam cui nomen *Jona Londinenſi*, *Jona* quoque cognomento *Lighthaghe* Magiſtro, ſuis mercibus, quæ *Oſtendam* mitterentur, oneraſſe: eam navem à prædone quodam *Barkingenſi*, cui nomen *White* (is filii Regis *Caroli* defuncti nomine piraticam faciebat) in ipſo *Thameſis* oſtio oppreſſam, atque inde *Dunkirkam*, quæ eo tempore in ditione *Gallorum* erat, fuiſſe abductam; cum autem edicto Majeſtatis veſtræ ann. 1647. & ann. rurſus 1649. aliquot etiam conſilii Regii decretis, in gratiam *Parlamenti Anglicani*, cautum eſſe intelligerent, ne naves ullæ aut merces, illius belli tempore, quoquo obtentu *Anglis* ereptæ, in Majeſtatis veſtræ portus quoſcunque aſportarentur, venaleſve eſſent, miſiſſe ſe ſtatim *Dunkirkam* procuratorem ſuum *Hugonem Morellum* negotiatorem, qui à Domino *Leſtrado* illius oppidi per id tempus præfecto, reddi ſibi ſuam navem cum mercibus poſtularet, cum eas præſertim magnâ ex parte adhuc integras, neque dum permutatas aut divenditas, in ipſo oppido deprehendiſſet: reſpondit Præfectus, ſe Regis *Galliæ* dono, ob navatam Reipub. operam, præfecturam eam accepiſſe; curaturum proinde, uti ea ſibi pretium cperæ ſit. Hoc reſponſo fruſtratus, poſt magnum cum temporis tum pecuniæ diſpendium, procurator domum revertitur. Petitores, quæ reſtat ſibi ſpes, eam in veſtra ſola clementiâ atque juſtitia repoſitam eſſe vident; ad quam per noſtras literas faciliorem ſibi aditum fore crediderunt: ea ne deſit hominibus contra jus omne, & repetita veſtra interdicta ſpoliatis, rogamus. Quod tamen ſi impetrabimus, quandoquidem hoc ſanè æquiſſimum videtur, ab inſitâ æquitate veſtrâ, potius quam rogatu noſtro, impetratum id eſſe ſtatuemus.

*Weſtmonaſterio. Maii*, 1656. *Majeſtatis veſtra Studioſiſſimus*,

Oliverius, Protector Reip. Angliæ, &c.

## Oliverius *Protector Reip. Angliæ, &c. Excelſis & Præpotentibus Dominis* Foederati Belgii *Ordinibus S. D.*

*Excelſi & præpotentes Domini, amici chariſſimi;*

DEmonſtrarunt nobis per libellum ſupplicem *Joannes Brunus*, *Nicolaus Gulielmius*, aliique *Londinenſes*, ſe, cum in navem, cui *Bona Eſperantza Londinenſi* nomen inditum erat, in *Orientalem Indiam* navigaturam, ſortem quiſque ſuam contuliſſet, procuratori ſuo negotium dediſſe *Februario* menſe 1644. ut bis mille quadringentas libras *Belgicas* ad illius navis periculum præſtandum *Amſterodami* curaret: ea navis cum in itinere ad oram ipſam *Indiæ* ab *Hollandica* quadam, quæ ex navibus *Orientalis* illius ſocietatis erat, capta eſſet; qui præſtando periculo ſe obligaverant pactam pecuniam numerare recuſaſſe; & ſextum jam annum poſſe noſtros, qui ſumma cum aſſiduitate maximiſque impenſis jus ſuum perſecuti ſunt, dilationibus variis eludere. Quod cum petitoribus grave admodum atque iniquum videatur, & nonnulli ex iis qui ſe obligarunt vel jam diem obierint vel ſolvendo non ſint, nequid fortè ad priora damna ſummi diſcriminis accedat, magnopere à vobis petimus, ut per tot annos in foro jactatis ac propriè naufragis iſtis veſtram æquitatem portum eſſe atque perfugium velitis; utque de cauſa ſua, quam illi juſtiſſimam eſſe confidunt, primo quoque tempore judicium fiat. Vobis interim omnia ad Dei gloriam Eccleſiæque præſidium fauſtè atque feliciter evenire volumus.

*Excelſarum & præpotentium Dominationum veſtrarum Studioſiſſimus,*

*Weſtmonaſterio.*
*Maii*, 1656.

Oliverius Protector Reipub. Angliæ, &c.

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## Oliverius *Protector Reipub. Angliæ, &c. Excelſis & præpotentibus Dominis* Foederati Belgii *Ordinibus S. D.*

*Excelſi & præpotentes Domini, amici chariſſimi;*

COnqueruntur apud nos graviter iidem, de quibus antea circa idus *Septemb.* ſuperioris anni literas ad vos dedimus, *Thomas & Gulielmus Lower* defuncti *Nicholai Lower* hæredes legitimi, ſe adverſariorum ſuorum ſive gratiâ ſive opibus oppreſſos, quamvis cauſa ſua imprimis optima, &, cum id ſatis non eſſet, literis etiam noſtris ter deinceps commendati fuiſſent, impetrare hactenus nullo modo poſſe ut relictam teſtamento hæreditatem adire ſibi liceat: Ab *Hollandiæ* foro ubi primùm actio inſtituta erat veſtram ad Curiam rejecti, inde in *Zelandiam* tranſmiſſi (quæ tria in loca totidem noſtras literas attulerunt) ab *Zelandia* nunc rurſus ad veſtrum ſummum judicium haud inviti remittuntur: ubi enim poteſtas ſumma eſt, ibi æquitatem quoque ſummam eſſe ſperant: ſi ea ſpes fallat, eluſi atque irriti, poſt hanc tantam juris obtinendi cauſâ concurſationem ſuam, quem demum conſiſtendi locum habituri ſint, neſciunt: nam de literis noſtris, ſi his jam quartis nos viderint nihil proficere, non eſt ut in poſterum quicquam ſibi polliceantur. Nobis certè gratiſſimum erit, ſi poſt tot rejectiones, facto ſine mora judicio, hæredes plurimum quidem in æquitate atque juſtitiâ veſtrâ, aliquid etiam in authoritate apud vos noſtrâ præſidii ſibi fuiſſe intellexerint. Quorum de altero non dubitamus, alterum vel amicitiæ noſtræ daturos vos eſſe confidimus.

*Excelſarum & præpotentium Dominationum veſtrarum Studioſiſſimus,*

*Weſtmonaſterio. Maii*, 1656.

Oliverius Protect. Reipub. Angliæ, &c.

## Oliverius *Protector Reip. Angliæ, &c. Sereniſſimo Principi* Joanni *Luſitaniæ Regi.*

*Sereniſſime Rex,*

CUM mercatoribus quibuſdam *Anglis* à nonnullis mercatoribus *Luſitanis* ex ſocietate *Braſilienſi* vecturæ commorationiſque nomine *Ann.* 1649. & 1650. grandis pecunia debeatur, quæ pecunia à ſupradicta ſocietate juſſu Majeſtatis Veſtræ retinetur, expectabant quidem dicti mercatores uti ea pecunia ex conditionibus proximi fœderis jampridem ſibi numerata eſſet. Verùm ne amputetur ſibi ſpes omnis ac ratio recuperandi ſua debita verentur, ex quo intelligunt ſtatuiſſe Majeſtatem Veſtram ut quam pecuniam *Braſilienſis* ſocietas ipſis debuiſſet, in ærarium veſtrum inſerretur, utque portorii dimidia pars ſolvendis iis debitis impenderetur; atque hoc pacto mercatores legitimum duntaxat lucrum, ſive fœnus pecuniæ ſuæ accepturi eſſent; ipſâ ſorte interim funditùs intereunte. Quod nos nobiſcum reputantes quam durum ſit, eorumque juſtiſſimis precibus victi, has noſtras ad Majeſtatem veſtram literas ipſis conceſſimus: hoc potiſſimum à vobis poſtulantes uti præſtandum curetis, ut ſupradicta ſocietas *Braſilienſis* hujus *Reipub.* Mercatoribus quamprimum ſatisfaciat tam de ſummâ pecuniæ cuique eorum debitâ, quam de fœnore quinquennali: cum hoc & per ſe juſtum ſit, & fœderi nuper vobiſcum inito conſentaneum: quod & nos eorum nomine à Majeſtate Veſtra peramicè petimus.

*Majeſtatis Veſtræ Studioſiſſimus*
Oliverius *Prot. Reip. Angliæ, &c.*

*Ex Palatio noſtro Weſtmonaſterio. die Julii.* 1656.

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## Oliverius *Protector Reip. Angliæ, &c. Sereniſſimo Principi* Carolo Guſtavo *Suecorum, Gothorum, Vandalorumque Regi, &c.*

*Sereniſſime Rex,*

CUM amicitiam Majeſtatis Veſtræ tanti Principis rebuſque geſtis tam clari meritò plurimi faciamus, tum is cujus operâ fœdus inter nos arctiſſimum ſancitum eſt, Illuſtriſſimus Dominus *Chriſtiernus Bondus* Legatus Veſter Extraordinarius neceſſe eſt gratus nobis & commendabilis hoc nomine imprimis fuerit. Hunc itaque hac Legatione laudatiſſimè perfunctum non ſine ſumma cæterarum etiam virtutum egregiarum laude ad vos dimittendum cenſuimus: ut qui antea in pretio apud vos atque honore fuit, nunc uberiores aſſiduitatis atque prudentiæ ſuæ fructus ex hac noſtra commendatione percepiſſe ſe ſentiat. Quæ reliqua tranſigenda ſunt, de iis Legationem brevi mittendam ad Majeſtatem Veſtram decrevimus: quam interim Deus incolumem defendendæ Eccleſiæ ſuæ Reique *Sueciæ* columen conſervet.

*Majeſtatis Veſtræ Studioſiſſimus*
Oliverius *Protector Reipub. Angliæ, &c.*

*Ex Palatio noſtro Weſtmonaſterii, Julii An. Dom.* 1656.

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## Oliverius *Prot. Reip. Angliæ, &c. Sereniſſimo Principi* Ludovico *Galliæ Regi* S. D.

*Sereniſſime Rex, Amice ac Fœderate chariſſime,*

DEtulerunt ad nos per libellum ſupplicem Mercatores quidam *Londinenſes Richardus Baker* ejuſque ſocii, navem quandam Anglicanam ab ſe conductam, cui nomen vernaculum *The Endeavour* Magiſter *Gulielmus Joppus*, trecentis atque tredecim vini optimi culeis ex *Tenariſſâ Inſula Londinum* advehendis onuſtam, dum inter *Palmam* & ſupradictam *Inſulam* curſum teneret, à quatuor navibus *Gallicis*, in ſpeciem quidem onerariis, ſed prædatorium in modum armatis, quibus *Ægidius de la Roche* Navarchus erat, *primo ac vigeſimo Novembris die An. Dom.* 1655. occupatam fuiſſe, atque in *Orientalem Indiam*, quo is iter ſibi eſſe prædicabat, cum omni onere ac pleriſque nautarum abductam; reliquis quatuordecim ad *Guineam Nigritarum* in littus quoddam expoſitis. Quod eo conſilio *Ægidius* feciſſe ſe dictitabat, nequis eorum ex terra tam longinqua & inhumana forte elapſus teſtimonio læderet. Fatebatur enim, ſe neque mandatis inſtructum, ut *Anglorum* naves caperet, neque alias quas poterat antea cepiſſe, ut propterea quod inter *Gallos* noſtramque *Remp.* per eos ipſos dies conveniſſe pacem non ignorabat: ſed cum in *Portugallia* conſtitutum ſibi eſſet commeatus accipere, & ab adverſis ventis rejectus attingere ea loca non potuiſſet, coactum ſe, ad ſupplendum quæ opus ſibi eſſent, iis uti quæ in iſta nave reperiſſet: credere ſe proinde, illarum navium dominos de damno ſatisfacturos. Damnum autem conſtat ſupra ſedecim mille libras Anglicas, id quod ex juratis teſtibus facile apparebit, Mercatoribus noſtris datum. Verùm ſi tam levibus de cauſis temerare acta principum religioſiſſima & quaſi ludibrio habere negotiatoribus quibuſvis ob ſua commoda licuerit, concidet profecto omnis poſthac fœderum ſanctitas, omnis Principum fides atque authoritas obſoleſcet, proque nihilo habebitur. Quapropter non rogamus tantum, ſed Majeſtatis Veſtræ quàm maximè intereſſe arbitramur, ut qui Regis ſui fœdus, juſque jurandum ſanctiſſimum primi omnium tam facile violare ſunt auſi, quamprimum dent pœnas tantæ perfidiæ atque audaciæ debitas; utque illarum interea navium Domini de damno, etiam ipſo ſuorum præjudicio, mercatoribus noſtris ſummam per injuriam illato, ſatisfaciant. Deus Majeſtatem Veſtram diutiſſimè conſervet, Remque *Gallicam* contra communem utriuſque noſtrum hoſtem tueatur atque ſuſtineat.

*Majeſtatis Veſtræ Studioſiſſimus*
Oliverius *Protector Reipub.*

*Ex Palatio noſtro Weſtmonaſterii, die Auguſti An. Dom.* 1656.

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## Oliverius *Protector Reip. Angliæ Eminentiſſimo Domino* Cardinali Mazzarino.

*Eminentiſſime Domine*,

CUM dandæ mihi literæ ad Regem eſſent, eandem quoque ad Eminentiam veſtram ſcribendi occaſionem arbitrabar mihi oblatam: cujus enim unius viri prudentia ſingularis *Gallorum* res maximas, ſummaque Regni negotia pari fide, conſilio, ac vigilantiâ moderatur, eum celari qua de re ſcriberem non convenire exiſtimabam. Fœdus enim à vobis, quod dubitare nefas eſſet, ſanctiſſime percuſſum, eodem penè die ſpretum ac violatum à *Gallo* quodam *Ægidio* quatuor navium præfecto ejuſque ſociis nequaquam inſcientibus querimur: quemadmodum & ex literis noſtris ad Regem datis, & ex ipſis mercatorum noſtrorum poſtulatis facile poterit cognoſcere Eminentia veſtra; quam præter cæteros non fugit, quanti non magiſtratuum duntaxat, verum etiam ipſius Regiæ Majeſtatis interſit violatores fœderum primos eos ſeveriùs puniri. Verum illi fortaſſe, quo tendebant, in *Orientalem Indiam* jam nunc appulſi, noſtrorum bona contra jus omne atque fidem in recentiſſimo fœdere erepta, veluti prædam ab hoſtibus captam ſibi habent. Illud eſt interea quod Eminentiam Veſtram rogamus, ut quæ ab navium præfecto, tanquam itineri ſuo neceſſaria, noſtris ablata ſunt, ea ab illarum navium Dominis, id quod ipſi prædatores æquum eſſe cenſebant reſtituantur: qua in re Veſtram Eminentiam, qua valet authoritate, plurimum poſſe intelligimus.

*Ex Palatio noſtro Weſtmonaſtii.*
*die Auguſti An.* 1656.

*Eminentiæ Veſtræ Studioſiſſimus*
Oliverius *Prot. Reip. Angliæ &c.*

Oliverius

# Oliverius *Protector Reip. Angliæ, &c. Excelſis & præpotentibus Dominis Fœderati Belgii Ordinibus*, S. D.

*Excelſi & Præpotentes Domini, Amici ac Fœderati chariſſimi*;

NON dubitamus nos quidem quin omnes teſtimonium hoc nobis perhibituri ſint, nullas in contrahendis externis amicitiis rationes defendendâ Religionis veritate potiores unquam nobis fuiſſe, nec conjungendis eorum animis, qui *Proteſtantium* vel amici ac defenſores, vel ſaltem non hoſtes eſſent, antiquius nos quicquam habuiſſe. Quo graviore animi dolore commovemur, quoties annuntiatum eſt, *Proteſtantium* Principes ac Civitates quæ ſibi mutuo amiciſſimæ ſumméque concordes eſſe deberent, ſuſpectos inter ſe eſſe & non optimè animatos; vos præſertim Regemque *Sueciæ*, quibus fortiores *Orthodoxæ* fides defenſores non habet, neque ſocios noſtra *Reſpub.* ſibi conjunctiores, videri non æquè ac conſueviſtis vobis invicem confidere, immo indicia quædam vel naſcentis inter vos diſſidii, vel vacillantis amicitiæ haud obſcura apparere. Cauſæ quæ fuerint utrinque, & uſque quo progreſſâ animorum alienatio ſit, ignotum eſſe nobis profitemur: veruntamen haud potuimus quin gravem ſane moleſtiam animo caperemus ex ipſis initiis vel minimæ diſſenſionis inter fratres coortæ, ex qua tantum creari *Proteſtantium* rebus diſcrimen neceſſe ſit; quæque ſi ingraveſceret ( quod Deus ne ſiverit ) quantum inde *Reformatis Eccleſiis* periculum impenderet, quanta triumphandi materies inimicis noſtris, & *Hiſpanis* potiſſimum daretur, latere veſtram prudentiam uſumque rerum ſolertiſſimum non poteſt. *Hiſpano* certe, tantum hinc fiduciæ tantum ſpiritûs acceſſit, ut non dubitaverit per Legatum ſuum apud vos commorantem, ſua vobis conſilia, idque de ſumma *Reip.* veſtræ audaciſſimè obtrudere: & partim injecto renovandi belli metu terrere, partim oſtentatâ utilitatis falsâ ſpecie ſollicitare veſtros animos eſt auſus, ut relictis ejus hortatu amicis vetuſtis ac fideliſſimis, *Gallo*, *Anglo*, atque *Sueco*, arctiſſimam cum hoſte ac tyranno quondam veſtro, pacato nunc ſcilicet, &, quod maxime metuendum eſt, blandiente, coire ſocietatem velletis. Sane qui ex hoſte inveteratiſſimo, arreptâ tam levi occaſione pro conſiliario repente veſtro ſe gerit, quid eſt quod iſte ſibi non ſumeret, quò non audaciæ progredetur, ſi cernere id ſemel oculis poſſet quod nunc animo duntaxat concipit atque molitur, diſcordiam nempe inter *Proteſtantes* ac bellum inteſtinum. Neſcii non ſumus, vos, pro ſapientia veſtra, qui ſit *Europæ* univerſæ ſtatus, quæ *Proteſtantium* præſertim conditio ſæpius cum animis veſtris cogitare; *Helvetiorum* Pagos *Orthodoxam* fidem ſequentes novorum motuum à popularibus ſuis fidem *Papæ* ſequentibus jam jamque ciendorum expectatione ſuſpenſos teneri, ex eo vix dum bello emerſos quod Religionis planè causâ ab *Hiſpano*, qui hoſtibus eorum & duces dederat & pecuniam ſuppeditaverat, conflatum eſt atque accenſum; *Vallium Alpinarum* incolis conſilia *Hiſpanorum* eandem rurſus machinari cædem atque perniciem quam ſuperiore anno crudeliſſimè intulerunt; *Proteſtantes Germanos* ſub ditione *Cæſaris* graviſſimè vexari, ſedeſque Patrias ægrè retinere; Regem *Sueciæ* quem Deus, uti ſperamus, fortiſſimum religionis *Orthodoxæ* propugnatorem excitavit, cum potentiſſimis Reformatæ fidei hoſtibus bellum anceps atque aſperrimum totis regni viribus gerere; veſtris *Provinciis* infeſta vicinorum *Papiſtarum*, quorum princeps *Hiſpanus* eſt, nuper icta fœdera minitari; nos denique indicto *Hiſpanorum* Regi bello eſſe occupatos. In hac rerum inclinatione ſiqua inter vos *Regemque Sueciæ* diſcordia exiſteret, *Reformatarum* tota *Europæ Eccleſiarum* quam miſeranda conditio eſſet quæ immanium hoſtium crudelitati ac furori objicerentur? Hæc nos cura haud leviter tangit; eundemque veſtrum eſſe ſenſum confidimus, proque veſtro in communi *Proteſtantium* cauſâ præclaro ſemper ſtudio, utque pax inter fratres eandem fidem eandem ſpem ſequentes intemerata ſervetur, vos veſtra conſilia ad has rationes eſſe accommodaturos, quæ cæteris quibuſcunque anteponendæ ſunt, nec quod paci inter vos *Sueciæque* Regem ſtabiliendæ poſſit conducere, quicquam eſſe omiſſuros. Qua in re ſi nos uſus ullius eſſe poſſumus, quantum apud vos vel authoritate vel gratiâ valemus, noſtram vobis operam libentiſſimè profitemur, *Sueciæ* quoq; Regi eandem deferre paratiſſimi, ad quem etiam Legationem quamprimùm mittere in animo habemus, quæ hac de re quid noſtræ ſententiæ ſit, exponat. Deumque veſtros utrinque animos ad moderata conſilia flexurum eſſe ſperamus, voſque cohibiturum, nequid ab alterutrâ parte fiat quod irritare poſſit, remque ad extrema deducere: ſed ut contrà, pars utraque removere velit quicquid alterutri offenſum aut ſuſpicioſum eſſe queat. Id ſi feceritis, & hoſtes fruſtrabimini, & amicis ſolatio eritis, & veſtræ denique ſaluti *Reipubl.* quàm optimè proſpicietis. Hoc etiam uti perſuaſiſſimum ſit vobis rogamus, daturos nos eſſe operam, quoties facultas oblata erit, uti noſtrum erga *Fœderatas Belgii Provincias* ſummum ſtudium benevolentiaque appareat. Deum proinde aſſiduis precibus obteſtamur, ut veſtram *Remp.* pace, opibus, libertate, atque imprimis *Chriſtianæ* fidei amore ac vero cultu florentiſſimam conſervare perpetuò velit.

*Veſtrarum Celſitudinum Potentium Studioſiſſimus*
*Ex Palatio noſtro Weſtmon.* Oliverius Protector Reip. Angliæ, &c.
*die Aug.* 1656.

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## Oliverius *Protector Reip. Angliæ, &c. Sereniſſimo Principi* Joanni *Luſitaniæ Regi*, S. D.

*Sereniſſime Rex*;

DIe undecimo *Julii* proximi ſtylo veteri ſanctionem pacis à Majeſtate Veſtra jam ratæ, à Legato veſtro Extraordinario *Londini* tranſactæ, nec non arcanorum & præliminarium articulorum per *Thomam Maynardum* accepimus: perque literas à *Philippo Meadow* noſtro *Olyſſiponi* Internuntio eodem tempore datas, noſtram etiam dictæ pacis & articulorum ſanctionem, pro iis mandatis quæ à nobis eâ de re acceperat, Majeſtati Veſtræ ab ipſo redditam intelligimus: cum ſupradicta ſanctionis inſtrumenta ineunte *Junio* proximo viciſſim data acceptaque fuiſſent, adeo ut nunc inter utramque gentem pax firmiſſima ſancita ſit. Quâ ex pace nos quidem voluptatem haud mediocrem percipimus; propterea quòd eam & communi utriuſque gentis utilitati fore arbitramur, hoſtiumque communium haud levi detrimento: qui ut prioris fœderis turbandi rationem aliquam primò invenerunt, ita nunc ne idem inſtaurari fœdus poſſet, intentatum nihil reliquerunt. Neque dubium nobis eſt quin ſuſpicionum utrinque offenſionumque inter nos materiam creandi occaſionem nullam prætermiſſuri ſint. Quas nos quidem, quantum in nobis eſt, quàm longiſſimè amovere animo noſtro ita conſtanter decrevimus, immo ut majorem indies mutuam fiduciam hæc noſtra pariat neceſſitudo, tam vehementer cupimus, ut eos pro hoſtibus habituri ſimus, qui ullis artibus amicitiam noſtram imminuere conabuntur inter nos noſtroſque populos hac pace ſtabilitam; eundemque eſſe Majeſtatis Veſtræ animum ac voluntatem facilè nobis perſuademus: Cumque placuerit Majeſtati Veſtræ ſuis in literis ad nos *quarto* & *vigeſimo Junii ſtylo novo* datis, & diebus aliquot poſt inſtrumentum confirmatæ pacis datum atque acceptum noſtro Internuncio traditis, clauſularum quarundam hujus fœderis mentionem facere quas aliquantum immutatas velit, ut quæ huic *Republica*, quemadmodum Majeſtas Veſtra cenſet, levis admodum ſint momenti, *Portugalliæ* Regno maximi, peculiari tractatione agere iis de rebus quæ à Majeſtate Veſtra proponuntur, & ſi quid præterea fœderi ſtabiliendo vel etiam arctiùs obſtringendo conducere alterutri parti videbitur, parati erimus: in qua Majeſtatis Veſtræ, ſuique populi haud ſecus atque noſtri, ut utriſque æquè ſatisfiat, rationem habebimus: atque hæc omnia *Olyſſiponi* an *Londini* agitanda ac tranſigenda ſint, veſtra optio erit. Verùm hoc fœdere jam rato, ſigniſque gentis utriuſque ritè obſignato, dato denique viciſſim atque accepto, immutare partem ejus ullam idem eſſet atque totum reſcindere; quod Majeſtatem Veſtram minimè velle pro certo habemus. Majeſtati Veſtræ fauſta omnia ac proſpera exoptamus.

*Ex Palatio noſtro Weſtmonaſterii.* *Majeſtatis Veſtræ Studioſiſſimus*
*Auguſti die* 1656. Oliverius Protector Reip. Angliæ, &c.

Oli-

## Oliverius *Protector Reip. Angliæ, &c. Sereniſſimo Principi* Joanni *Luſitaniæ Regi*, S. D.

*Sereniſſime Rex*;

PErlatum ad nos eſt facinus illud inhumanum ac nefarium, quo cædes *Philippi Meadowes* Internuntii apud vos noſtri, tranſigendæ pacis cauſâ à nobis miſſi attentata eſt: cujus atrocitas tanta fuit, ut Divino plane Numini atque tutelæ ejus conſervatio attribuenda ſit. Noſque ex literis Majeſtatis Veſtræ *ſexto & vigeſimo Maii* proximi ad nos datis, perque *Thomam Maynardum* nobis redditis, permotam facti indignitate Majeſtatem Veſtram de authoribus juſſiſſe quæri intelligimus, ut ſupplicium de iis, pro eo ac meriti ſunt, ſumatur. Verùm comprehenſos eſſe ullos ex iis, aut juſſa veſtra hac in parte quicquam effeciſſe nondum accepimus. Quapropter noſtrum eſſe duximus palam ſignificare, tentatum illud facinus barbarum, & partim commiſſum quàm indignè feramus: atque adeo à Majeſtate Veſtra poſtulamus, ut ab illius facinoris authoribus, ſociis, adminiſtris ſupplicium debitum repetatur: Et quo hoc maturiùs fiat, ut honeſtiſſimi integerrimique viri, quique gentis utriuſque paci quàm maximè ſtudent, huic quæſtioni præficiantur, quo res penitùs inveſtigari, tamque in authores ſceleris quam in miniſtros ſeveriùs animadverti poſſit. Id niſi fiat, neque Majeſtatis Veſtræ juſtitia, neque noſtra hujuſque Reipub. exiſtimatio vindicari, neque conſervandæ inter utramque gentem amicitiæ ulla ratio firma eſſe poterit. Majeſtati Veſtræ fœlicia fauſtaque omnia precamur.

*Ex Palatio noſtro Weſtmonaſterii*
*Aug. die* 1656.

*Majeſtatis Veſtræ Studioſiſſimus*
Oliverius Protector Reipub. Angliæ, &c.

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## Oliverius *Protector Reip. Angliæ, &c. Illuſtriſſimo Domino* Comiti Mirano, S. D.

*Illuſtriſſime Domine*;

SIngulare tuum erga me atque hanc Rempub. ſtudium haud mediocriter nos demeruit, tibique devinxit: id veſtris ex literis 25 *Junii* proximi ad me ſcriptis facile perſpexi, tum etiam ex iis quas ab Internuntio noſtro *Philippo Meadow* conficiendæ pacis cauſâ ad *Luſitaniæ* Regem à nobis miſſo, accepi: quibus is de eximio veſtro ſtudio atque opera in hac pace tranſigenda abundè nos docuit: hujus noviſſimam ſanctionem & accepi libentiſſimè, mihique perſuadeo fore, ut neque collatæ in hanc pacem operæ tuæ, neque in *Anglos* benevolentiæ, neque fidei erga Regem hac in re ſpectatæ unquam te pœniteat: quandoquidem, annuente Deo, ſperandum eſt, hanc pacem & utrique genti permagna emolumenta, & hoſtibus incommoda haud exigua eſſe allaturam. Quod ſolum in hoc negotio triſte atque infauſtum accidit, fuit illud facinus in Internuntium noſtrum *Philippum Meadowes* nefariè ſuſceptum atque tentatum: Cujus in occultos auctores haud ſegnius inquiri oportuit quam in manifeſtos ſceleris miniſtros: neque de Regis veſtri juſtitia ac ſeveritate in tanto ſcelere puniendo neque de tuâ cum primis ad eam rem operâ, ut qui fas piumque colas, & pacis inter utramque nationem ſtudioſus fueris dubitare poſſum: quæ quidem ſtare nullo modo poteſt, ſi facta hujuſmodi nefaria impunita atque inulta ibunt. Verùm tua facinoris illius nota deteſtatio facit ut neceſſe mihi non ſit plura de hac re in præſentia dicere. Cum itaque de meâ erga te benevolentiâ quam & rebus omnibus demonſtrare paratiſſimus ero, certiorem te fecerim, extremum illud eſt, ut te tuaque omnia Divinæ benignitati ac tutelæ à me ſcias eſſe commendatiſſima.

*Ex Palatio noſtro Weſtmonaſterii.*
*Aug. die* 1656.

*Amplitudinis Veſtræ Studioſiſſimus*
Oliverius Prot. Reip. Angliæ, &c.

## Oliverius *Protector Reip. Angliæ, &c. Sereniſſimo Principi* Carolo Guſtavo *Suecorum, Gothorum, Vandalorumque Regi, &c.*

*Sereniſſime Rex, amice ac Fœderate chariſſime;*

CUm eundem nobiſcum animum, idem conſilium in Majeſtate Veſtrâ ineſſe animadvertam, *Proteſtantium* fidei defendendæ contra hoſtes ejus, hoc tempore, ſi unquam aliàs, infeſtiſſimos, unde eſt quòd tam proſperis ſucceſſibus veſtris victoriarumque nuntiis penè quotidie lætemur, tum illud ſanè vehementer doleo, quòd unum lætitiam hanc noſtram turbat atque corrumpit, perferri ad nos, inter læta cætera, veſtram cum *Fœderatis Belgii Provinciis* amicitiam priſtinam non ſatis conſtare; remque eo deductam inter vos, in mari præſertim *Baltico*, ut ad diſcordiam ſpectare videatur. Cujus cauſas quidem ignorare me fateor; eventum certe (niſi Deus avertat) *Proteſtantium* ſummæ rei periculoſiſſimum fore facile perſpicio. Quapropter pro illâ arctiſſimâ neceſſitudine quæ cum utriſque veſtrum nobis intercedit, proque eo, quo duci omnes imprimis debemus, Religionis Reformatæ ſtudio atque amore, noſtrum eſſe cenſuimus, quemadmodum *Fœderatos Belgii Ordines* ad pacem & æquanimitatem magnopere hortati ſumus, ita nunc Majeſtatem veſtram hortari. Satis ſuperque hoſtium *Proteſtantibus* ubique eſt: nunquam acrioribus odiis inflammati conſpiraſſe in exitium noſtrum undique videntur. Teſtes *Alpinæ Valles* haud ita pridem miſerorum cæde ac ſanguine redundantes; teſtis *Auſtria* edictis nuper & proſcriptionibus *Cæſariis* concuſſa; teſtis *Helvetia*; quid enim attinet pluribus verbis tot calamitatum recentium memoriam luctumque revocare? Hæc omnia loca quis neſcit *Hiſpanorum* & *Romani Pontificis* conſilia incendiis, cladibus, vexationibus Orthodoxorum per hoc biennium miſcuiſſe? Si ad hæc tot mala *Proteſtantium* Fratrum inter ſe diſſenſio acceſſerit, inter vos præſertim quorum in virtute, opibus, conſtantia præſidium *Eccleſiis Reformatis* conſtitutum eſt maximum, quantum humanæ opis eſt, periclitari *Religionem* ipſam *Reformatam*, atque in ſummo diſcrimine verſari neceſſe erit. Quod contra, ſi univerſum *Proteſtantium* nomen eâ quâ decet inter ſe fraternâ conſenſione perpetuam pacem coluerit, nihil omnino erit quod pertimeſcamus quid hoſtium vel artes vel vires incommodare nobis poſſint, quos ſola noſtra concordia vel propulſabit vel fruſtrabitur. Quapropter Majeſtatem veſtram majorem in modum oro atque obſecro, ut ad confirmandam cum *Fœderatis Provinciis* amicitiam priſtinam, ſi qua in parte collapſa eſt aut imminuta, propenſum atque benignum animum afferre velit. Siquid eſt in quo mea opera, fides, diligentia ad compoſitionem uſui eſſe poſſit, eam omnem vobis profiteor atque defero. Deus modò aſpiret, fauſtumque eſſe jubeat, quod cum ſumma felicitate curſuque perpetuo rerum proſperarum Majeſtati veſtræ exopto.

*Ex Palatio noſtro Weſtmonaſterii, die* *Aug.* 1656.

*Majeſtatis veſtræ Studioſiſſimus,*
Oliverius Protector Reipub. Angliæ, &c.

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## Oliverius *Protector Reip. Angliæ, &c.* Ordinibus Hollandiæ.

*Excelſi & Præpotentes Domini, amici chariſſimi;*

DEmonſtratum eſt nobis à *Gulielmo Coopero* Paſtore *Londinenſi*, civéque noſtro, *Joannem le Maire Amſterodamenſem* ſocerum ſuum, ante annos circiter triginta tres rationem quandam excogitaſſe, qua *Reip.* veſtræ reditus, ſine ullo populi onere, multo auctiores fierent; factaque cum *Joanne van den Brook* ſocietate partiendi inter ſe præmii quod ex illo invento ſuo reportaſſent, id autem erat parvi Sigilli in *Provinciis* conſtitutio, ob hoc *Celſitudines Veſtras Præpotentes* ſupradicto *van den Brook* ejuſque poſteris tria millia Geldricorum (quæ trecentas libras valent) in ſingulos annos penſitanda ſpoſpondiſſe: jam verò, etſi inventa illa parvi ſigilli ratio facilis admodum & expedita reperta eſt, magnoſque ex eo tempore reditus *Celſitudinibus Præpotentibus* veſtris, nonnulliſque veſtris *Provinciis* retulit, tamen ad hodiernam uſque diem, quamvis multâ ſollicitatione petitum, illius pacti præmii nihildum adnumeratum eſſe: unde poſtquam ſupradictis *van den Brook* & *le Maire* longarum dilationum pertæſum eſt, actionem illam in ſupradictum *Gulielmum Cooperum* civem noſtrum jure eſſe tranſlatam : qui cum fructum induſtriæ Soceri ſui percipere cupiat, ad nos per libellum ſupplicem ſe contulit, ut hanc ejus poſtulationem *Celſitudinibus veſtris Præpotentibus* commendare vellemus ; quod ei non eſſe denegandum cenſuimus. Quapropter *Celſitudines Veſtras Præpotentes* amicè rogamus, uti petitionem ſupradicti *Gulielmi Cooperi* ea de re benignè audire velitis, pactumque induſtriæ præmium atque ſtipendium tam juſtum, & pro numero tot annorum præteritorum & annua deinceps penſione ſolvendum curare. Quod cum non dubitemus quin *Celſitudines Veſtræ Præpotentes* libenter facturæ ſint, utpote & juſtum & munificentiâ veſtra dignum, parati & nos viciſſim erimus, veſtris quoque popularibus in poſtulatis ſuis, quoties nobis edentur, æquè propenſo animo favere,

*Veſtrarum Celſitudinum Præpotentium Studioſiſſimus*
*Ex Palatio noſtro Weſtmonaſterii,* Oliverius Protector Reip. Angliæ, &c.
*die Septemb. An.* 1656.

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## Oliverius *Protector Reipub. Angliæ, &c. Sereniſſimo Principi* Ludovico *Galliæ Regi.*

*Sereniſſime Rex, amice ac Fœderate chariſſime ;*

INviti facimus ut Majeſtatem Veſtram de ſuorum injuriis poſt pacem inſtauratam toties interpellemus : verùm & vos factas nolle confidimus, & nos noſtrorum querimoniis deeſſe non poſſumus. Navem *Antonium Diepenſem* ante foedus jure captam, ex Judicum ſententia Curiæ noſtræ maritimæ præſidentium facile conſtat. Ejus prædæ partem quatuor millia plus minus coriorum *Robertus Brunus* Mercator *Londinenſis* ab iis qui auctioni præfuerunt, quod & ipſi teſtantur, coëmit : ex iis circiter ducenta cum *Diepam* advecta poſt ratam pacem Coriario cuidam *Diepenſi* vendidiſſet pecuniamque redegiſſet, eâ pecuniâ in manibus procuratoris ſui occupata atque retenta, litem ſibi impingi, ſuumque jus illo in foro ſe obtinere non poſſe queritur. Quocirca Majeſtatem Veſtram rogandum cenſuimus, ut ad Conſilium ſuum de re tota referri velit, pecuniamque illam iniquiſſima lite extricari. Etenim ſi ante pacem facta & judicata, poſt pacem rurſus in controverſiam atque judicium vocabuntur, quis ſit fructus fœderum futurus, non videmus. Verùm hujuſmodi querelarum nullus finis erit, niſi in foedifragos hoſce tam frequentes exemplum aliquod ſeveritatis maturè ſtatuatur ; id quod Majeſtati Veſtræ quamprimùm curæ fore ſperamus ; Quam Deus interim tutelâ ſua ſanctiſſima dignetur.

*Ex Palatio noſtro Weſtmonaſterii.* *Majeſtatis Veſtræ Studioſiſſimus*
*die Septemb. An.* 1656. Oliverius Protector Reip. Angliæ, &c.

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## Oliverius *Protector Reip. Angliæ, &c. Sereniſſimo Principi* Joanni *Luſitaniæ Regi.*

*Sereniſſime Rex ;*

TRanſacta jam feliciter inter hanc Rempub. *Luſitaniaque* Regnum pace, nec non ad commercium quod attinet, recte atque ex ordine cautum atque ſancitum cum ſit, neceſſarium eſſe duximus *Thomam Maynardum*, à quo hæ literæ perferuntur, ad Majeſtatem Veſtram mittere ; qui Conſulis munere negotiatorio veſtra in ditione, ad mercatorum res rationeſque ordinandas fungatur. Cum autem hoc ſæpius uſu venire poſſit, ut adeundi Majeſtatem Veſtram fieri ſibi copiam nonnunquam poſtulet, tam de commercio quam aliis de rebus quæ noſtra hujuſque Reip. intereſſe poſſint, à Majeſtate veſtra petimus, ut illi, quoties audito opus ſit, bengnum velitis aditum atque aurem præbere ; id veſtræ erga nos benevolentiæ pro argumento ſingulari atque indicio habebimus ; interim Majeſtati veſtræ Deum Opt. Max. fortunare omnia volumus.

*Ex Aula noſtra Weſtmonaſterii,* *Majeſtatis veſtræ Studioſiſſimus*
*die Octob.* 1656. Oliverius Protector Reipub. Angliæ, &c.

## Suecorum Regi.

*Sereniſſime Potentiſſimeque Rex ;*

TAmetſi ea eſt ſolita Majeſtatis veſtræ & ſpontanea in viros bene meritos benevolentia, ut omnis eorum commendatio ſupervacanea poſſit videri, tamen nobilem hunc virum *Gulielmum Vavaſorem Equitem auratum*, Majeſtatis Veſtræ ſub ſignis merentem, & ad vos jam proficiſcentem noluimus ſine noſtris ad Majeſtatem Veſtram literis dimittere. Quod eo libentiùs fecimus, poſteaquam ſignificatum nobis eſt, jampridem eum, Majeſtatis Veſtræ auſpicia ſecutum, multis in præliis veſtra causâ ſuum ſanguinem profudiſſe ; adeo ut *Suecorum* Reges proximi ob militarem ejus peritiam, operam que ſæpe in bello ſtrenuè navatam, eum agro & annuis penſionibus veluti virtutis præmio remuneraverint. Neque verò dubitamus quin Majeſtati veſtræ in hodiernis bellis permagno ſit uſui futurus, cum ſit fide ac bellicarum rerum ſcientia jamdiu ſpectata. Eum itaque Majeſtati Veſtræ, pro eo ac meritus eſt, commendatum cupimus ; ſimulque rogamus, ut quæ illi præterita ſtipendia proceſſerint, ſolvantur. Hoc nobis erit gratiſſimum ; nec gratificari viciſſim Majeſtati Veſtræ, quoties facultas erit, gravabimur, cui fauſta omnia ac proſpera exoptamus.

*Ex Palatio noſtro Weſtmonaſterii.* *Majeſtatis veſtræ Studioſiſſimus*
*die Octob. An.* 1656. Oliverius Protector Reip. Angliæ, &c.

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Oliverius *Protector Reip. Angliæ, &c. Sereniſſimo Principi* Joanni *Luſitaniæ Regi.* S. D.

*Sereniſſime Rex, Amice ac Fœderate Chariſſime,*

EXhibuit nobis libellum ſupplicem *Thomas Ewans Nauclerus*, civis noſter, in quo oſtendit, ſe An. 1649. & 1650. cum navi ſua, cui nomen *Scipioni*, quadringentarum amphorarum, & cui ipſe præfuit, ſocietati *Braſilienſi* operam navaſſe ; eam navem cum onere toto & apparatu, Majeſtatis Veſtræ juſſu ereptam ſibi eſſe : unde damnum homini factum, præter amiſſum ex tanta ſorte ſexennii lucrum, Commiſſarii ex fœdere ad decidendas controverſias utrinque dati plus ſeptem millibus librarum noſtrarum, ſive bis totidem *Milreis Luſitanicis* æſtimarunt, quemadmodum & ad nos retulerunt. Quod detrimentum tam grave cum ſupradictum *Thomam* vehementer afflixerit, coactus ad repetendas ex fœdere res ſuas, *Olyſſipponem* navigare, petiit ſuppliciter à nobis, ut literas noſtras hac de re ad Majeſtatem veſtram ſibi daremus : nos, tametſi in communi cauſa mercatorum, quibus à Societate *Braſilienſi* debebatur, ſuperiore anno ſcripſimus, tamen ne cui noſtram opem poſcenti defuiſſe videamur, Majeſtatem veſtram pro amicitia rogamus, ut hujus nominatim hominis ratio habeatur ; utque velit Majeſtas veſtra ſuis omnibus ita præcipere, ut ne quid obſtare poſſit quo minus is in ea urbe, quod ſibi à Societate *Braſilienſi* vel aliunde debetur, ſine ullo impedimento exigere, & ſine morâ poſſit recuperare. Deus Majeſtatem veſtram perpetua felicitate augeat ; noſtramque amicitiam faxit, quàm diuturnam.

*Ex Palatio noſtro Weſtmonaſterii* *Majeſtatis Veſtræ Studioſiſſimus*
*die Octob. An.* 1656.

Oliverius Protector Reipub. Angliæ, &c.

## Oliverius *Protect. Reipub. Angliæ, &c. Illuſtri & Magnifico Civitatis Hamburgenſis Senatui, S. D.*

*Ampliſſimi, magnifici & ſpectabiles Viri, Amici chariſſimi*;

GRavem detulerunt ad nos querimoniam *Jacobus* & *Patricius Hays* cives hujus *Reip.* ſe, ſui fratris *Alexandri*, qui inteſtatus diem obiit, hæredes legitimum cum ſint, atque ita ipſius Curiæ veſtræ ſententiâ ante annos duodecim ſecundùm ſe latâ contra fratris viduam pronuntiati fuiſſent, bonaque defuncti fratris cum fructibus exceptâ ſolùm viduæ dote, adjudicata ſibi ex eo judicio eſſent, non potuiſſe tamen hactenus, neque pro ſuo jure, neque literis *Caroli* olim Regis eadem de re ſcriptis ullum laborum ſuorum ac ſumptuum ex ea ſententia fructum conſequi: obeſſe ſibi ſcilicet potentiam atque opes *Alberti van Eizen Decurionis* apud vos primarii, apud quem bonorum pars maxima depoſita eſt; eum agere omnia, ne ea bona hæredibus reſtituantur. Eluſi, ac dilationibus confecti, ſummam denique ad inopiam redacti ſupplicant nobis ne ſe negligamus tantis injuriis fœderatâ in civitate oppreſſos. Quod nos cum officii imprimis noſtri intelligamus eſſe, ut nequis civis noſter præſidium ſuis rebus, atque ſuſceptum patrocinium in nobis requirat, petimus quod a civitate veſtra videamur facile impetrare poſſe, ut ſententiam ipſimet veſtram hiſce fratribus ratam eſſe velitis; neque per cauſam provocationis ad *Spirenſem Cameram*, vel primò ſimulatæ vel nunc irritæ, moram juſtitiæ fieri diutius patiamini. Nam de ſumma ipſius cauſæ juriſperitorum noſtrorum ſententias requiſivimus; unàque deſcriptas obſignataſque ad vos miſimus. Quod ſi rogando nihil proficitur, erit neceſſariò, idque ex conſueto jure gentium, quod tamen minimè vellemus, ad reciproca deveniendum: id ne accidat, vos pro veſtra prudentia proviſuros eſſe confidimus.

*Amplitudinum veſtrarum ſtudioſiſſimus*,

*Ex Palatio noſtro Weſtmonaſterii,*
*die Octob.* 16. *an.* 1656.

Oliverius, Protector Reipub. Angliæ, &c.

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## Oliverius *Protector Reipub. Angliæ, Sereniſſimo ac potentiſſimo Principi* Ludovico *Galliæ Regi, S. D.*

*Sereniſſime potentiſſimeque Rex, Amice ac Fœderate chariſſime*;

PErveniſſe ad Majeſtatem veſtram literas noſtras arbitramur, *Maii quarto decimo* ſuperioris anni datas: in quibus *Joannem Dethicum*, eodem anno *Londini* urbis præfectum, & *Gulielmum Wakefeild* mercatorem, per libellum ſupplicem nobis oſtendiſſe ſcripſimus, navem *Jonam* ſuis mercibus onuſtam, quæ *Oſtendam* veherentur, *Dunkirkam*, quæ tum temporis in *Gallica* ditione erat, à prædone quodam *Caroli Stuarti* filii auſpiciis piraticam faciente ex ipſo *Thameſis* oſtio fuiſſe abreptam: ſe, cum ex edictis veſtris veſtrique conſilii decretis, quibus erat cautum, nequa navis *Anglorum* ab hoſtibus *Parlamenti* capta veſtris portubus reciperetur, venaliſve eſſet, à Domino *Leſtrado* illius oppidi præfecto poſtulaſſent ut reddi ſibi navem ſuam atque bona juberet, reſponſum ab eo taliſſe, ſanè neque viro primario dignum, neque eo qui Regi ſuo ſatis dicto audiens videretur, ſe ſcilicet ab Rege *Galliæ* ob navatam in bello operam hanc præfecturam præmio accepiſſe; curaturum proinde uti ea quàm maximè quæſtui ſibi ſit: per fas videlicet ac nefas; id enim minime laborare videbatur. Quaſi verò hanc præfecturam atque Provinciam Majeſtatis veſtræ dono accepiſſet, ut ſocios juxtà ſpoliaret, veſtraque edicta in eorum gratiam promulgata pro nihilo haberet. Quod enim Rex *Galliæ*, ſi maximè ab hoſtibus factum contra nos voluiſſet, facti tamen participes ſuos eſſe vetuit, id regius præfectus contra regium interdictum non modo fieri eſt paſſus, ut nos veſtris in portubus diriperemur, prædæque eſſemus, verum etiam ipſe diripuit, ipſe prædæ habuit, ſeque facti authorem palam profeſſus eſt. Hoc itaque reſponſo mercatores infecto negotio irriti atque eluſi diſceſſêre: noſque hæc itidem ſuperiore anno Majeſtati veſtræ per literas ſignificavimus ſucceſſu licet haud multo meliore; nihildum enim reſponſi ad eas literas habuimus. Quod non habuerimus accidiſſe id credimus, propterea

rea quòd eo tempore Præſectus ille apud exercitum in *Flandria* fuit; nunc in urbe ipſa *Pariſiorum* degit, vel potius per urbem perque aulam noſtrorum ſpoliis locupletatus impunè volitat. A Majeſtate igitur veſtra nunc denuò id petimus quod ipſius Majeſtatis veſtræ intereſt in primis providere, nequis ad ſociorum injurias edictorum regiorum contemptionem audeat adjungere: ſed neque ad Legatos ſive Commiſſarios de controverſiis communibus utrinque dandos rejici propriè hæc cauſa poterit; quandoquidem hìc non ſociorum jus duntaxat, ſed auctoritas ipſa veſtra Regiique nominis reverentia agitur. Illud enim mirum ſit, ſi mercatores damna ſua moleſtiùs quàm Majeſtas veſtra ſui ſerat imminutionem. Eam ſi non ſerat, eadem operâ ſimul perficiet, ut neque amiciſſimorum de Repub. noſtra edictorum pœnituiſſe, neque in ſuorum injuriis conniviſſe, neque noſtræ poſtulationi non tribuiſſe quod par ſit videatur.

*Ex Aula noſtra Weſtmonaſterio,*
*die Novemb. an.* 1656.

*Majeſtati veſtra voluntate, amicitia, fœdere*
*devinctiſſimus,*

Oliverius Protector Reipub. Angliæ, &c.

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Oliverius *Protect. Reipub. Angliæ, &c. Sereniſſimo potentiſſimoque Principi* Frederico III. *Daniæ, Norvegiæ, Vandalorum, Gothorumque Regi; Duci Sleſvici, Holſatiæ, Stormariæ, & Dithmarſiæ; Comiti in Oldenburg & Delmenhorſt, &c. S. D.*

*Sereniſſime potentiſſimeque Rex, Amice ac Fœderate chariſſime;*

Literas Majeſtatis veſtræ ſexto decimo *Februarii Hafniâ* datas ab ornatiſſimo viro *Simone de Petkum*, Oratore apud nos veſtro, accepimus. Iis perlectis, & voluntatis erga nos veſtræ præclarâ ſignificatio, & ipſius rei, de qua ſcriptum erat, pondus uſque eò nos permovit, ut ſtatim ad Majeſtatem veſtram mittere qui mandatis noſtris inſtructus, noſtra conſilia vobis hac de re pleniſſime exponeret, in animo haberemus. Et quanquam idem nobis etiamnum animus manet, hactenus tamen idoneum aliquem cum iis mandatis dimittere, quæ graviſſimum hujuſmodi negotium poſtularet, non potuimus; quemadmodum jam brevi facturos non eſſe ſperamus. Interea non omittendum diutiùs exiſtimavimus Majeſtatem veſtram certiorem facere, præſentem rerum in *Europa* ſtatum haud mediocri nos curâ ac cogitatione ſollicitos tenuiſſe: cum ab aliquot jam annis ſummo cum dolore videamus *Proteſtantium* Principes ac civitatum Primores (quos ex communi *Religionis* atque ſalutis vinculo omnem ſeſe mutuò confirmandi ac defendendi inire rationem oporteret) inter ſe indies magis magiſque infirmè animatos, quid quiſque moliatur, quidve ſtruat, ſuſpectum habere; metum amicis, ſpem hoſtibus præbentes, inimicitias atque diſſidia potius hac rerum inclinatione portendi, quam firmum invicem animorum conſenſum, ad præſidium mutuum ac defenſionem. Atque hæc quidem ſollicitudo eo altiùs animo noſtro inſedit, quo magis in Majeſtate veſtra, Regeque *Suecia* adhuc aliquid reſidere mutuæ ſuſpicionis videtur; vel ſaltem non eam exiſtere voluntatum conjunctionem quam communis noſtrum omnium in *Orthodoxam* religionem amor ac ſtudium flagitaret; dum Majeſtati veſtræ injecta forte aliqua ſuſpicio eſt, fore ut ab Rege *Suecia* detrimentum aliquod ditionis veſtræ commerciis afferatur; ſuſpicante viciſſim *Suecorum* Rege, ne per vos & bellum, quod nunc gerit, difficilius, & contrahendarum ſocietatum ratio impeditior ſibi reddatur. Non præterit Majeſtatem veſtram, pro ea ſumma prudentia quam adhibere ſuis omnibus in rebus ſolet, quantum diſcriminis *Proteſtantium* ſummæ rei impendat, ſi iſtiuſmodi ſuſpiciones inter vos diu verſentur; quanto magis, quod Deus avertat, ſiquod hoſtilitatis indicium erumperet. Utcunque hæc ſe habeant, nos, quemadmodum & *Suecorum* Regem, & *Fœderati Belgii Ordines* ad pacem & moderata conſilia magnopere hortati ſumus (adeoque redintegrari inter eos pacem atque concordiam vehementer gaudemus, nam & capita quoque illius fœderis à *Dominis Ordinibus* tranſmiſſa ad nos ſunt) ita noſtras eſſe partes duximus, noſtræque amicitiæ quam maxime convenire, ut qui ſenſus noſter his de rebus ſit, Majeſtatem veſtram ne celaremus (præſertim cum ut ita faciamus, Majeſtatis veſtræ literis amiciſſimis tam ſtudioſe invitemur; id quod etiam benevolentiæ erga nos veſtræ pro argumento ſingulari ſanè habemus atque amplectimur) veſtræque Majeſtati ante oculos poneremus, quantam nobis neceſſitatem, qui *Proteſtantium Religionem* ſequimur, divina providentia impoſuerit colendi inter nos pacem, idque nunc maximè, cum hoſtes noſtri acerrimè, ſi unquam alias, rem gerere, & conjuraſſe undique in perniciem noſtram videntur. *Valles Alpinas* miſerorum nuper incolarum cæde ac ſanguine madentes commemorare nihil attinet; nec conquaſſatam per eoſdem dies *Cæſareis* proſcriptionibus atque edictis *Auſtriam*; nec denique contra *Helvetios Proteſtantes Helvetiorum Papiſtarum* infeſtos impetus. Quis neſcit *Hiſpanorum* dolos ac machinationes per hoſce aliquot annos hæc loca omnia incendiis, ruinis, cladibus *Proteſtantium* permiſcuiſſe? Si ad hæc mala *Reformatorum* Fratrum inter ſe diſſenſio velut cumulus accedat, inter vos præſertim qui noſtrarum virium tanta pars eſtis, & in quibus tantum præſidii ac roboris *Proteſtantium* dubiis temporibus comparatum atque repoſitum eſt; quod ad opem humanam attinet, peſſum ire *Proteſtantium* res, & in extremo diſcrimine atque occaſu verſari neceſſe erit. Quod contra, ſi pax conſtet inter vos vicinos, cæteroſque *Orthodoxos* Principes, ſi concordiæ fraternæ omni ex parte ſtudeatur, non erit cur, Deo bene juvante, vel vim vel verſutiam noſtrorum hoſtium pertimeſcamus; quorum conatus noſtra ſola conſenſio vel diſſipabit vel fruſtrabitur. Neque vero dubitamus quin Majeſtas veſtra ad hanc pacem beatam impertiri ſuam operam, quam poteſt maximam, & libens velit & velle deſitura non ſit. Qua in re ipſe etiam communicare conſilia cum Majeſtate veſtra atque conjungere paratiſſimus ero; utpote & veram amicitiam profeſſus, & cui non ſolum pactam inter nos tam auſpicatò ſervare pacem deliberatum omnino ſit, verum etiam neceſſitudinem hanc, quæ nunc intercedit, prout Deus facultatem dabit, arctiori vinculo conſtringere. Idem Deus interim Majeſtati veſtræ ſecunda ac proſpera omnia concedat.

*Majeſtati veſtræ amicitiâ, fœdere ac voluntate conjunctiſſimus,*

*Dabantur ex Aula noſtra Weſtmonaſterii. Decemb. an.* 1656.

Oliverius Protect. Reipub. Angliæ, &c.

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Oliverius *Protect. Reipub. Angliæ, &c. Sereniſſimo Illuſtriſſimoque Principi ac Domino, Domino* Gulielmo *Haſſiæ Langravio, Principi Herſfeldiæ, Comiti in Cattimeliboco, Decia Ligenhain, Nidda & Schaumburgo, &c.*

*Sereniſſime Princeps;*

AD literas Celſitudinis veſtræ non ſic altero pòſt anno, quod prope jam pudet, reſcripſiſſemus niſi nos admodum invitos permulta ſanè, eaque graviſſima, quorum curam, pro noſtro in Repub. munere, differre non potuimus, interpellaſſent. Quæ enim literæ debebant eſſe nobis gratiores, quàm quæ à Principe religioſiſſimo, majoribus quoque religioſiſſimis orto, de pace Religionis, deque concordia Eccleſiarum concilianda ſunt ſcriptæ; quæ etiam literæ eundem planè animum, idem pacis Chriſtianæ promovendæ ſtudium non ſolum ſuo, verum etiam univerſi ferè orbis Chriſtiani opinione ac judicio, & ipſæ nobis tribuunt, & univerſim attributum eſſe gratulantur? Et nos quidem per tria hæc olim regna quid hac in parte ſimus conati, quidque hortando, ferendo, præeundo, divino maximè auxilio, effecerimus, & norunt noſtri plerique, & in ſumma conſcientiæ tranquillitate ſentiunt. Eandem præſertim *Germaniæ* totius *Eccleſiis*, ubi acriùs ferè, jamque diu nimis diſſidetur, pacem optavimus; perque noſtrum *Duræum* hoc idem multos jam annos fruſtra molientem ſiquid eam in rem noſtrâ operâ conferre poſſet ex animo detulimus. In eadem nos etiamnum ſententia permanemus; eandem illis Eccleſiis fraternam inter ſe charitatem optamus: ſed quam ſit hoc arduum conciliandæ pacis negotium inter ipſos pacis, ut præ ſe ferunt, filios, ſummo cum dolore ſatis ſuperque intelligimus. Nam ut utrique *Reformati* nempe & *Auguſtani*, in unius Eccleſiæ communionem aliquando coaleſcant, ſperandum vix eſt; ſuam utrique ſententiam ne poſſit vel voce vel ſcriptis defendere, prohiberi ſine vi non poterunt; vis autem cum pace Eccleſiaſticâ conſiſtere non poteſt: hoc tantùm ſe ſinant exorari qui diſſentiunt, ut humanius ſaltem & moderatius velint diſſentire, nihiloque minus inter ſe diligere; utpote non hoſtes ſed fratres in levioribus licet diſſentientes, in ſumma tamen

men fidei conjunctiſſimos. Hæc nos inculcando, hæc ſuadendo nunquam deſatigabimur; quod ultrà eſt, humanis neque viribus neque conſiliis datur: Deus quod ſuum ſolius eſt ſuo tempore perficiet. Tu interim, Sereniſſime Princeps, præclaram in Eccleſias declarationem animi tui, ſempiternum ſanè monumentum & majoribus tuis dignum & omnibus poſthac principibus imitandum reliquiſti. Nos Celſitudini veſtræ, pro eo ac merita eſt, felicitatem cæteris in rebus quantum ipſa cupit, mentem, ea quam nunc habes, haud meliorem (quid enim poteſt eſſe melius?) à Deo Optimo Maximo precamur.

*Weſtmonaſterio, die  Martii, an.* 1656.

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## Oliverius *Protector Reip. Angliæ, &c. Sereniſſimo Principi Duci* Curlandiæ.

*Sereniſſime Princeps*;

DE benevolentia Celſitudinis erga nos veſtræ & aliàs, & tum quidem abunde nobis conſtitit cùm Oratorem noſtrum ad *Moſcoviæ Ducem* iter facientem, & in ditione veſtra per aliquot dies commorantem hoſpitio benignè accepiſti: nunc juſtitiæ & æquitatis ſuæ haud leviora indicia daturam eſſe Celſitudinem veſtram & ſuopte ingenio & noſtro rogatu confidimus. Cùm enim *Joannes Jameſonius Scotus*, navis cujuſdam veſtræ Magiſter, fidelem naucleri operam ſeptennioque cognitam vobis navaverit, ſeque illam navem *Balenam* ſibi commiſſam, in oſtio fluminis, ut mos eſt, Gubernatori veſtro appellendam in portum tradidiſſet, eumque imperitè ſuo munere fungentem quod ſolum potuit ſæpius monuiſſe multis teſtibus probaverit, non ejus profecto culpâ, ſed Gubernatoris vel imperitia vel pervicacia fractam eſſe navem nemini non liquet. Quod cum ita ſit, à Celſitudine veſtra majorem in modum petimus, ut ſupradicto *Joanni* Magiſtro neque illud naufragium imputare, neque eum idcirco ſtipendio debito velit privare; cujus ſpe ſolâ, jam altero naufragio bonis omnibus amiſſis, ſe utcunque in extrema inopia ſuſtinet & ſolatur.

*Ex Aula noſtra Weſtmonaſterio,*
*die Martii  an.* 1657.

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## Oliverius *Protector Reip. Angliæ, &c. Ampliſſimis Conſulibus ac Senatoribus Reip.* Gedanenſis, *S. P. D.*

*Ampliſſimi, magnifici viri, amici chariſſimi*;

URbem veſtram induſtriâ, opibus & optimarum artium ſtudiis florentem cum nobiliſſimis quibuſque urbibus ſemper eſſe duximus conferendam: nunc poſteaquam in hoc bello, quod veſtris jamdiu in finibus geritur, *Polonorum* ſequi partes quàm *Suecorum* maluiſtis, ſanè & Religionis causâ quam colitis & commercii, quod cum *Anglis* vetuſtum jam habetis, optavimus ut ea vobis maxime conſilia placerent, quæ cum Dei gloria urbiſque veſtræ dignitate ac ſplendore viderentur eſſe conjunctiſſima. Quocirca petimus pro amicitia quæ vobis cum *Anglorum Gente* multo uſu firmata jamdiu conſtat, & ſiqua in gratia apud vos noſtrum quoque nomen eſt, ut inſignem inter primos *Suecorum Duces Coniſmarcum*, egregium præſertim bello virum, caſu & ſuorum proditione mari interceptum belli lege, non acerbiſſimè adhuc geſti, dimittere velitis, ſin id minus veſtris rationibus convenire arbitramini, ut leniore ſaltem ac liberiore cuſtodiâ habendum cenſeatis. Utrum horum vobis faciendum decreveritis, id profecto imprimis quod exiſtimatione urbis veſtræ dignum eſt decernetis; deinde ab omnibus præclaris belli ducibus magnam gratiam inibitis; nos denique, quicquid id veſtra intereſſe putatis, haud mediocri ſanè beneficio devincietis.

*Ex Aula noſtra Weſtmonaſterio.*
*Aprilis  an.* 1657.

*Veſtrarum amplitudinum Studioſiſſimus,*
Oliverius Protector Reipub. Angliæ, &c.

Oliverius *Protector Reip. Angliæ, Scotiæ, Hiberniæ, &c. Sereniſſimo ac Potentiſſimo Principi ac Domino Imperatori Ducique magno univerſæ* Ruſſiæ, *Soli Domino Voladomari, Moſchoæ, Novogrodi, Regi Cazani, & Aſtracani, Syberiæ, Domino Vobſcoæ, Magno Duci Smolenchi, Tuerſcoiæ, & aliarum, Domino ac Magno Duci Novogrodæ, Inferiorumque Regionum Chernigoi, Rezanſcoæ & aliarum, Domino omnis Plagæ Septentrionalis, item Domino Everſcoæ, Cartalinſcæ, aliarumque permultarum.* S. P. D.

*Anglorum Genti* cum imperii veſtri populis, vetus amicitia, magnuſque uſus, id quod nemo neſcit, ampliſſimumque commercium jamdiu fuit; illa verò virtus ſingularis, *Imperator Auguſtiſſime*, qua majoribus ſuis Majeſtas veſtra longè prælucet, & quæ de ea eſt vicinorum omnium Principum opinio, potiſſimum nos movet, ut Majeſtatem veſtram & eximio ſtudio colamus, eique communicata cupiamus, quæ & rei *Chriſtianæ* & rationibus veſtris haud parum conducere, nec minus nominis veſtri gloriæ ſervire poſſe exiſtimemus. Quapropter ornatiſſimum virum Dominum *Richardum Bradſhaw*, ſumma fide, integritate, prudentia, uſuque rerum, ex aliis etiam Legationibus, nobis cognitum, ad Majeſtatem Veſtram miſimus Oratorem; qui & ſingulare erga vos noſtrum ſtudium, ſummamque obſervantiam vobis exponat, & ſupradictis de rebus agere cum Majeſtate Veſtra poſſit. Eum itaque ut benignè noſtro nomine accipiatis, eique ut, quoties commodum erit, liberum aditum, aureſque benignas, fidem deniq; in iis omnibus quæ propoſuerit aut tranſegerit, eandem atq; nobiſmetipſis, ſi coràm adfuiſſemus, præbere velitis rogamus; adeoque Majeſtati veſtræ atque *Imperio Ruſſico* fauſta omnia à Deo Opt. Max. precamur.

*Ex Aula noſtra Weſtmonaſterii.*
*die April. An. Dom.* 1657.

*Majeſtatis Veſtræ Studioſiſſimus*
Oliverius *Protector Reip. Angl. &c.*

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Oliverius *Protector Reip. Angliæ, &c. Sereniſſimo ac Potentiſſimo Principi* Carolo Guſtavo *Suecorum, Gothorum, Vandalorumque Regi, Magno Principi Finlandiæ, Duci Eſthoniæ, Careliæ, Bremæ, Verdæ, Stetini, Pomeraniæ, Caſſubiæ & Vandaliæ, &c.*

*Sereniſſimè Potentiſſimeque Rex, Amice ac Fœderate chariſſime,*

VIR nobiliſſimus *Gulielmus Jepſonus, Militum Tribunus, & Parlamenti noſtri Senator*, cui hoc munus honori erit, quòd Majeſtati Veſtræ haſce literas dabit, certiorem eam faciet quanta cum perturbatione ac dolore nuntium accepimus belli illius funeſti inter *Majeſtatem* veſtram *Daniæque Regem* coorti; quamque nobis cordi ac ſtudio ſit, nullam noſtram operam aut officium prætermittere, quoad Deus facultatem dederit; ut huic ingruenti malo remedium aliquod maturè afferatur, eæque ſimul calamitates avertantur, quas inferri ex hoc bello religionis cauſæ communi neceſſe erit; hoc præſertim tempore, quo adverſarii noſtri contra *Orthodoxæ* fidei profeſſionem & profeſſores cum conſilia pernicioſiſſima tum vires arctiſſimè conjungunt. Hæc atque alia nonnulla permagni ad utriuſque gentis commoda rationeſque publicas momenti adduxere nos, ut hunc virum ornatiſſimum Internuntii extraordinarii prædictum munere ad Majeſtatem veſtram mitteremus: Quem uti amicè recipiatis, eique, iis in rebus quas cum Majeſtate veſtra noſtro nomine communicaverit, ſummam fidem adhibeatis rogamus; cum is ſit cujus fidei atque prudentiæ nos quoque plurimum tribuamus. Simul & illud petimus, ut Majeſtas veſtra noſtram erga ſe reſque ſuas benevolentiam ſingularem, atque ſtudium perſuaſiſſimum ſibi habeat; cujus nos argumenta certiſſima per omnem occaſionem & propenſo animo & officiis paratiſſimis præbebimus.

*Ex Aula noſtra Weſtmonaſt.*
*Aug. An. Dom.* 1657.

*Majeſtatis veſtræ amicus & Fœderatus conjunctiſſimus*
Oliverius *Protector Reipub. Angl. &c.*

## *Excellentiſſimo Domino* Domino de Bourdeaux, *Sereniſſimi Regis* Galliarum *Legato extraordinario.*

*Excellentiſſime Domine,*

MErcatores quidam *Londino-derrienſes Samuel Dauſonus, Joannes Campſeju*, & *Joannes Nevinus*, per libellum ſupplicem Sereniſſimo Domino Protectori ediderunt, ſe, poſteaquam fœdus inter hanc *Rempub. Regnumque Galliæ* redintegratum intellexerant, An. Dom. 1655. navem quandam cui nomen *Anglicè The Speedwell*, melioris ominis cauſâ, quam eventus ferebat, impoſitum, *Joannes Ker* Magiſter erat, mercibus quibuſdam ex portu *Derrienſi Burdegalam* convehendis oneraſſe; eam navem illic onere expoſito, vinoque aliiſque mercibus inde impoſitis, captam in reditu die 24 *Novembris* anni ſupradicti à duabus *Breſtenſum* Navibus armatis, quarum alteri *Adrianus Vindmian Swart*, alteri *Jacobus Jonſonus* præfuit, ab iiſdem etiam in portum *Brivatem*, vulgo *Breſtenſem*, fuiſſe abductam; ibique & jure captam judicatam eſſe, & auctione venditam, cum mille centumque libras noſtras æſtimatione juſtà valuiſſet, extra damnum mille librarum præterea datum: de quibus recuperandis omni ſe honeſta ratione cum illius loci præfectis egiſſe; id ſibi hactenus fruſtra fuiſſe: ſe etiam moribus edictum curiæ maritimæ conſecutos eſſe, quo citarentur in judicium qui navem illam cepiſſent, autem jure eſſe captam defendere ſtatuiſſent. Edictum hoc & recte atque ordine promulgatum & redditum: idque ab ejuſdem curiæ miniſtris publicis maturè *Domino Legato Galliæ* ſignificatum eſſe: cum nemo contra comparuiſſet, teſtes aliquot juratos de re judicanda interrogatos eſſe. Quæ res cum à Petitoribus ad Celſitudinem Domini *Protectoris* delata ſit, ab eoque cognitioni atque ſententiæ Concilii mandata, cumque de facto ex teſtimoniis juratis libello ſupplici adjunctis abunde conſtet, Petitoribuſque liberum commercium *Burdegalæ* ſit datum, merceſque illic emptæ atque impoſitæ vi ſint in reditu ereptæ & occupatæ contra fœderis fidem, ut ſupra demonſtratum eſt, quis non videt hoc eſſe æquiſſimum, aut navem cum onere Petitoribus reſtitui, aut de damno cùm captæ navis tum juris perſequendi plene ſatisfieri? Peto igitur ab *Excellentia veſtra* atque etiam Sereniſſimi Domini *Protectoris* nomine peto omnem velit operam dare, omnique operæ authoritatem etiam ſui muneris adjungere ut primo quoque tempore horum alterutrum fiat. Cum neque in cauſa æquiore laborare poſſit, neque mihi gratiore; qui eo diligentius curaſſe quod mandatum mihi eſt videbor, quo Excellentia veſtra maturiùs quod ſuum eſt præſtiterit.

*Ex Alba Aula Auguſti An. Dom.* 1657.

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## Oliverius *Protector Reip. Angliæ, &c. Sereniſſimo Principi D.* Frederico Wilhelmo *Marchioni Brandenburgenſi, Sacri Romanii Imperii Archi-Camerario, ac Principi Electori Magdeburgi, Pruſſiæ, Juliæ, Cliviæ, Montium, Stetini, Pomeraniæ, Caſſubiorum Vandalorumque, nec non in Sileſia Croſnæ & Carnoviæ Duci, Burggravio Norinbergenſi, Principi Halberſtadii & Mindæ, Comiti Marcæ & Ravensbergi, Domino in Ravenſtein.* S. P. D.

*Sereniſſime Princeps, Amice ac Fœderate Chariſſime,*

CUM ea ſit Celſitudinis veſtræ ſingularis virtus & pace & bello terrarum orbe toto jam clara, ea magnitudo animi atque conſtantia, ut amicitiam veſtram omnes fere Principes vicini ambiant, amicum & ſocium nemo fideliorem ſibi aut conſtantiorem cupiat, ut nos quoque in eorum numero eſſe intelligatis qui de vobis veſtriſque egregiis de *Rep. Chriſtiana* meritis quam optimè quamque præclarè ſentiunt, nobiliſſimum virum *Gulielmum Jepſonum, Tribunum Militum, & Parlamenti noſtri Senatorem*, ad vos miſimus, qui vobis noſtro nomine & plurimam ſalutem dicat, & rebus veſtris felicitatem omnem ominetur atque exoptet; noſtram denique benevolentiam ſummumque ſtudium erga veſtram Serenitatem verbis ampliſſimis exponat: eique proinde fidem, iis in rebus de quibus vobiſcum egerit, eandem habeatis rogamus, ac ſi à nobiſme ſis teſtata omnia atque confirmata coram eſſent. tip

*Ex Aula noſtra Weſtmonaſterio. Auguſti An. Dom.* 1657.

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Oliverius *Protector Reip. Angliæ, &c. Ampliſſimis Civitatis Hamburgenſis Conſulibus ac Senatoribus*, S. P. D.

*Ampliſſimi, magnifici & ſpectabiles viri, amici chariſſimi,*

CUM Vir ornatiſſimus *Gulielmus Jepſonus, Tribunus Militum, & Parlamenti noſtri Senator*, ad *Suecorum Regem* Sereniſſimum à nobis miſſus veſtram per urbem iter faciat, in mandatis dedimus, uti vos quoque ne præteriret noſtro nomine inſalutatos; neque non rogatos, ut ſi qua in re veſtra authoritate, conſilio aut præſidio opus ſibi eſſe judicaverit, ei quibus rebus poteſtis præſtò eſſe velitis. Id quo libentius feceritis, eo majorem à nobis iniiſſe vos gratiam intelligetis.

*Ex Aula noſtra Weſtmonaſterio. die Auguſti An. Dom.* 1657.

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*Ampliſſimis Civitatis Bremenſis Conſulibus ac Senatoribus* S. P. D.

*Ampliſſimi, magnifici & ſpectabiles viri, amici chariſſimi,*

QUI noſter animus erga veſtram civitatem, quæque benevolentia cum propter puriorem apud vos Religionis cultum etiam propter urbis celebritatem ſit, & ſenſiſtis aliàs, & quoties facultas dabitur ſentietis. Nunc, cum ornatiſſimus vir *Gulielmus Jepſonus, Tribunus Militum*, & *Parlamenti noſtri Senator*, ad Sereniſſimum *Regem Sueciæ* per urbem veſtram Oratoris munere inſtructus iter faciat, hoc tantum in præſentia voluimus, ut & vos ille peramanter perque amice noſtro nomine ſalutet, & ſiquid acciderit in quo veſtra ope atque amicitiâ uſus ſibi eſſe poſſit, id uti à vobis pro noſtra neceſſitudine peteret. Qua in re non magis defuturos vos eſſe confido quam de noſtro erga vos amore ſingulari ac ſtudio dubitare debetis.

*Weſtmonaſterio ex Aula noſtra. die Aug. An. Dom.* 1657.

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Oliverius *Protector Reip. Angliæ, &c. Ampliſſimis Civitatis Lubecenſis Conſulibus ac Senatoribus*, S. P. D.

*Ampliſſimi, magnifici & ſpectabiles viri, amici chariſſimi,*

GUlielmus *Jepſonus* vir nobiliſſimus, *Militum Tribunus*, & *Parlamenti noſtri Senator*, ad Sereniſſimum *Suecorum Regem* ab urbe veſtra haud longe caſtra habentem publico munere ornatus proficiſcitur. Quapropter ei per urbem veſtram aut ditionem iter facienti ut omni adjumento, ſi opus erit, atque præſidio, pro noſtra amicitia commercio, adeſſe velitis rogamus. De cætero & ſalutatos vos eſſe noſtro nomine peramice volumus, deque noſtro erga vos propenſo animo ac voluntate eſſe perſuaſiſſimos.

*Weſtmonaſterio ex Aula noſtra. die Aug. An. Dom.* 1657.

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Oliverius *Protector Reip. Angliæ, &c. Ampliſſimis Civitatis Hamburgenſis Conſulibus ac Senatoribus*, S. P. D.

*Ampliſſimi, magnifici & ſpectabiles viri, amici chariſſimi,*

QUI haſce ad vos literas perfert *Philippus Meadowes* Oratoris munere à nobis inſtructus ad Sereniſſimum *Daniæ Regem* per Urbem veſtram proficiſcitur. Eum, ſiquid erit, in quo veſtram authoritatem adjumento ſibi fore aut præſidio exiſtimaverit, commendatum vobis magnopere volumus. Noſtraque commendatio quo ſolet eſſe apud vos pondere, eodem uti nunc ſit rogamus: vobis viciſſim, ſiquid ejuſmodi occurrit non defuturi.

*Ex Aula noſtra Weſtmonaſterio. die Aug. An.* 1657.

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Oliverius *Protector Reip. Angliæ, &c. Sereniſſimo Principi* Frederico *Hæredi Norwegiæ, Duci Sleſvici, Holſatiæ, Stormariæ, Ditmarſiæ, Comiti in* Oldenburg *& Delmenhorſt.*

*Sereniſſime Princeps, amice Chariſſime,*

MIſſus à nobis Vir domi nobilis *Gulielmus Jepſonus, Militum Tribunus,* & *Parlamenti noſtri Senator*, ad Sereniſſimum *Suecorum Regem*, quod paci communi, Reique *Chriſtianæ* felix fauſtumque ſit, Legationem obit. Ei inter alia negotium dedimus, ut cum in itinere ſalutem plurimam Serenitati Veſtræ noſtro nomine dixiſſet, priſtinamque noſtram benevolentiam & conſtantiſſima ſtudia ſignificaſſet, ab ea quoque peteret, ut authoritate veſtrâ munitus iter tutum atque commodum habere per veſtram ditionem poſſit. Quo beneficio Celſitudo veſtra nos noſtraque viciſſim officia majorem in modum demerebitur.

*Weſtmonaſterio ex Aula noſtra. die Aug. An.* 1657.

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Oliverius *Protector Reip. Angliæ Sereniſſimo Principi* Ferdinando *Magno Duci Hetruriæ.*

*Sereniſſime Dux magne, amice chariſſime,*

OStendit nobis per libellum ſupplicem Societas Mercatorum noſtrorum qui ad oras *Mediterranei Maris Orientales* negotiantur, Præfectum quendam navis *Lodoviculi*, ſive *Anglicè The Little Lewis*, nomine *Gulielmum Ellum*, cum *Alexandriæ* in *Egypto* eſſet, conductum à Satrapa *Memphitico* ut Oryzam, Saccharum & Caphiam, ipſius *Turcarum* Principis in uſum *Conſtantinopolim* aut *Smyrnam* comportaret, claſſi ſe *Ottomanica* in itinere ſubduxiſſe, &, contra datam fidem, navis totum onus *Liburnum* avertiſſe: ibi prædâ potitum nunc agere. Quod facinus, peſſimi ſanè exempli, cum *Chriſtianum* nomen probro, Mercatorum fortunas degentium ſub *Turca* direptionis periculo objiciat, petimus à Celſitudine Veſtra, ut illum hominem comprehendi, & in cuſtodiam tradi, navemque & bona retineri jubeat, quoad ſignificatum à nobis erit curaſſe nos res illas *Turcarum* principi reddendas. Veſtræ Celſitudini ſicubi noſtris officiis uſus viciſſim erit, paratiſſima omnia tempore ſore profitemur.

*Weſtmonaſterio ex Aula noſtra*
*die Sept. An.* 1657.

*Celſitudinis veſtræ ſtudioſiſſimus,*
Oliverius *Prot. Reip. Angliæ, &c.*

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Oliverius *Protector Reip. Angliæ, &c. Sereniſſimo Principi ac Domino D.* Frederico Wilhelmo *Marchioni Brandenburgenſi, Sacri Romani Imperii Archi-Camerario, ac Principi Electori Magdeburgi, Pruſſiæ, Juliæ, Clivıæ, Montium, Stetini, Pomeraniæ, Caſſubiorum, Vandalorumque, nec non in Sileſia, Croſnæ & Carnoviæ Duci, Burggravio Norinbergenſi, Principi Halberſtadii & Mindæ, Comiti Marcæ & Ravensbergi, Domino in Ravenſtein.*

*Sereniſſime Princeps, amice ac Fœderate chariſſime,*

ALteris ad Celſitudinem veſtram literis per Oratorem noſtrum *Gulielmum Jepſonium* aut redditis aut brevi reddendis Legationis ipſi à nobis mandatæ fidem fecimus; idque ſine veſtrarum virtutum aliqua mentione, noſtræque erga vos benevolentiæ, ſignificatione facere non potuimus. Verum nequis veſtra de rebus Proteſtantium egregiè merita, quæ ſummâ omnium prædicatione celebrantur, nos obiter tetigiſſe tantùm videamur, reſumendum nobis nunc idem argumentum, noſtraque officia non libentiùs quidem aut animo propenſiore, aliquanto tamen prolixius deferenda Serenitati veſtræ cenſuimus. Et meritò ſanè, cum ad aures noſtras quotidie perferatur, fidem veſtram atque conſtantiam omnibus tentatam machinis, ſollicitatam technis, labefactari tamen, & ab amicitia fortiſſimi Regis ac ſocii, nullo modo poſſe dimoveri: idque cum eo loco Suecorum res nunc ſint, ut in retinenda eorum ſocietate Celſitudinem veſtram Reformatæ potius Religionis cauſa communi, quàm ſuis commodis duci manifeſtum ſit: cumque hoſtibus vel occultis vel jam prope imminentibus cincta undique & penè obſeſſa ſit, copiæ ut ſint validæ non tamen ſint maximæ, eâ tamen firmitate animi ac robore eſſe, eo conſilio ac virtute imperatoriâ, ut unâ veſtrâ voluntate niti totius rei ſumma ac moles, bellique hujus maximi exitus pendere videatur. Quapropter nihil eſt quod dubitet Celſitudo veſtra quin de amicitia noſtra ſummoque ſtudio polliceri omnia ſibi poſſit; qui vel ipſi ab omni laude derelicti nobis videremur, ſi præclarâ iſtâ fide atque conſtantiâ, cæteriſque veſtris laudibus minùs delectaremur, aut vobis ipſis communi Religionis nomine minus deberemus. Quòd ſi rebus ab ornatiſſimo Viro *Joanne Friderico Schlezer* Conſiliario & Oratore apud nos veſtro propoſitis reſpondere, pro eo ac ſtudemus, hactenus non potuimus ( quanquam is omni aſſiduitate ac diligentia id agit atque contendit ) conditioni rerum noſtrarum hoc velit imputare Celſitudo veſtra rogamus; ſibique imprimis perſuadere nihil nobis eſſe antiquius aut optatius, quam ut veſtris rationibus cum Religionis cauſa tam conjunctis uſui quam plurimùm atque ſubſidio eſſe poſſimus. Interim tam clara virtus ac fortitudo ne ullo tempore deficiat aut opprimatur, dignáve laude aut fructu careat Deum Opt. Max. precamur.

*Ex Aula Noſtra Weſtmonaſterio.* *Celſitudinis Veſtræ Studioſiſſimus*
*die Sept. An.* 1657. Oliverius *Protector Reip. Angliæ, &c.*

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## *Excellentiſſimo Domino, Domino de* Bourdeaux, *Sereniſſimi Galliarum Regis Legato extraordinario.*

*Excellentiſſime Domine,*

POſtulavit à Sereniſſimo Domino *Protectore*, *Lucas Lucius* Mercator *Londinenſis* de ſua quadam navi, cui nomen *Maria*, quæ cum ab *Hibernia Bajonam* peteret, vi tempeſtatis ad *ſanum divi Joannis de Luz*, appulſa, ibi retenta & occupata eſt actione *Martini* cujuſdam *De Lazon*; nec reſtituta donec à procuratoribus Mercatoribus illius ſatiſdaretur, ſe de illa navi atque onere cum *Martino* lege experturos. Tulit enim præ ſe *Martinus* deberi ſibi grandem à *Parlamento Angliæ* pecuniam, mercium quarundam ſuarum nomine quæ in navi quadam *Sancta Clara anno* 1642. *Parlamenti* Auctoritate ſunt retentæ. Verùm cum ſatis conſtaret, *Martinum* illum earum mercium verum dominum non eſſe, ſed cum *Antonio* quodam *Fernandez* verorum dominorum *Richaldi* & *Iriati* jus perſequi, diſſidentibuſque inter ſe *Martinio* & *Antonio*, decreverit Parlamentum uti merces illæ retinerentur quoad lege eſſet deciſum utri eorum reddendæ eſſent, paratuſque fuerit ſemper *Antonius* lege agere; contrà, neque *Martinus* neque pro eo quiſque in judicio hactenus comparuerit, quæ omnia ex *Lucæ* Petitoris libellis libello ſupplici annexis liquent; iniquiſſimum ſanè eſt, ut is, qui jus ſuum ſuppoſititium cum *Antonio* collegâ ſuo de alienis bonis experiri apud nos recuſat, cogeret noſtros homines veroſque dominos de ſuis bonis in aliena ditione contendere: Quin idem æquitati veſtræ atque prudentiæ videatur, non dubitat Sereniſſimus Dominus *Protector*; à quo ſum juſſus hanc *Lucæ Lucii* cauſam æquiſſimam *Excellentiæ Veſtræ* ſingularem in modum commendare: ne *Martino* qui jus alienum apud nos perſequi negligit, eo obtentu aliis eripiendi jus ſuum apud vos poteſtas detur:

*Weſtmonaſterio. die Octob. An.* 1657. *Excellentiæ Veſtræ Studioſiſſimus.*

Oliverius

## Oliverius *Protector Reip. Angliæ, &c. Sereniſſimo Duci ac Senatui Reip. Venetæ.*

*Sereniſſime Dux atque Senatus, amici chariſſimi*;

NUntii rerum veſtrarum contra *Turcas* feliciſſimè geſtarum tam crebri ad nos perferuntur, ut nobis non ſæpius ulla de re ad vos ſcribendum, quam de inſigni aliqua victoria gratulandum ſit. Hanc recentiſſimam, & Reip. veſtræ quam maxime lætam atque opportunam cupimus, &, quod glorioſiſſimum eſt, *Chriſtianorum* omnium ſub *Turca* ſervientium quam maxime liberatricem. Nominatim *Thomam Galileum* navis, cui nomen *The Relief*, olim præfectum, *Serenitati veſtræ ac Senatui*, tametſi non nunc primum, nunc tamen eo libentiùs, quo latiori tempore, quinquennalem captivum commendamus. Ei cùm à vobis imperatum eſſet, ut cum navi ſua Reip. veſtræ operam navaret, ſolus cum multis hoſtium triremibus congreſſus, nonnullas depreſſit, magnamque ſtragem edidit; tandem combuſtâ navi captus vir fortis, deque *Veneta Rep.* tam benè meritus, quintum jam annum in miſera ſervitute *Barbarorum* degit. Unde ſe redimat facultatum nihil eſt; nam quicquid erat, id à *Celſitudine veſtra* & *Senatu*, vel navis vel bonorum vel ſtipendii nomine deberi ſibi oſtendit. Verùm ut facultates non deeſſent; hoſtes tamen non alia lege dimiſſuros ſe eum profitentur, quam ſi ſuorum aliquis, qui illis in pretio æquè ſit, permutetur. Petimus itaque magnopere à *Veſtra* atque *Senatus Celſitudine ſereniſſima*, petit per nos ſenex miſerrimus, captivi pater, mœroris & lachrymarum plenus, quæ nos quidem permoverunt, ut primùm quoniam ex tot proſperis præliis *Turcarum* tanta copia captorum vobis eſt, unum aliquem ex eo numero, quem illi accipiant, hoſtem veſtro milite fortiſſimo, noſtro cive, ſenis mœſtiſſimi filio unico commutare velitis. Deinde, ut quod ſtipendii, vel aliis nominibus ipſi à Rep. debetur, id quam primùm velitis patri aut procuratori ipſius annumerandum curare. Priori quidem rogatu noſtro, vel potius æquitate veſtrâ effectum eſt, ut ſtatim re cognitâ, putatiſquè rationibus conſtitutum eſſet quid debeatur: verum illum ſupputationem, urgentibus fortaſſe aliis negotiis, nulla ſolutio ſecuta eſt. Nunc miſeri conditio dilationem ſalutis diutiùs non fert: eum, ſi omnino ſalvum vultis, danda opera eſt, ut ſqualore illo carceris teterrimo quamprimùm liberetur. Id ſine mora, ſine hortatu etiam noſtro humaniſſimâ voluntate veſtrâ facturos vos eſſe confidimus: quandoquidem juſtitiâ, moderatione, atque prudentiâ non minus quam belli gloriâ victoriiſque floretis: Atque ut diutiſſimè floreatis, devicto hoſte potentiſſimo, Deum Opt. Max. precamur.

*Weſtmonaſterio ex Aula noſtra.*
*die Octob. An.* 1657.

*Celſitudinum veſtrarum ſtudioſiſſimus*
Oliverius *Prot. Reip. Angl. &c.*

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## Oliverius *Protector Reip. Angliæ, &c. Excelſis & præpotentibus Dominis* Fœderati Belgii *Ordinibus*, S. P. D.

*Excelſi & præpotentes Domini, Amici ac Fœderati chariſſimi*,

REdit ad vos Vir illuſtriſſimus *Gulielmus Nuport* Legatus veſter annis jam aliquot apud nos extraordinarius: ſed ita redit, petito ad tempus duntaxat à vobis commeatu, ut eum brevi reverſurum ſperemus. Eâ enim eſt fide, vigilantiâ, prudentiâ, æquitate apud nos in ſuo munere verſatus, ut majorem in unoquoque genere virtutem ac probitatem neque nos deſiderare in Legato, viroque optimo neque vos poſſitis; eo animo ac ſtudio ad pacem inter nos & amicitiam ſine fuco & fraude conſervandam, ut illo hanc Legationem obeunte quid inter nos offenſionis aut ſcrupuli ſuboriri queat, aut pullulare, non videamus. Et diſceſſum ſanè ejus moleſtiore animo ferremus, hac præſertim rerum ac temporum inclinatione, niſi perſuaſiſſimum nobis hoc eſſet, neminem melius poſſe aut fidelius vel rerum utrobique ſtatum, vel noſtram erga *Celſitudines veſtras* benevolentiam ſtudiumque integrum coràm exponere. Quapropter hunc ut Virum undiquaque præſtantiſſimum, deque Rep. & ſuâ & noſtrâ optime meritum accipere redeuntem velitis rogamus: ſicuti & nos veriſſimo noſtrarum

rum laudum teſtimonio ornatum abeuntem dimiſimus prope inviti. Deus ad ipſius gloriam eccleſiæque præſidium *Orthodoxa* veſtris rebus felicitatem, noſtræ amicitiæ perpetuitatem concedat.

*Celſitudinum veſtrarum ſtudioſ.*

*Weſtmonaſt. ex Aula noſtra. die* *Nov. An.* 1657.

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## Oliverius *Protector Reip. Angliæ, &c. Excelſis & Præpotentibus Dominis* Fœderati Belgii *Ordinibus*, S. P. D.

*Excelſi & præpotentes Domini, amici noſtri ac Fœderati chariſſimi*;

G*Eorgius Duningus* Vir nobilis, nobis eſt multis ac variis negotiis ſummâ fide, probitate ac ſolertiâ perſpectus jam diu & cognitus. Eum, ut apud vos Oratoris munere fungatur, mittendum cenſuimus, mandatiſque noſtris ampliſſimè inſtruximus. Eum itaque amico, ut conſueviſtis, animo recipiatis rogamus; & quoties habere ſe ſignificaverit, quod noſtro nomine veſtrum cum *Excelſis Ordinibus* agat, amicè audire, fidemque adhibere; & quæ vos viciſſim communicanda nobis cenſebitis, ea omnia, ſicuti rectè poteſtis, perinde ac ſi nos ipſi coram eſſemus, ei committere velitis. De cætero vobis veſtræque Reip. ad Dei gloriam eccleſiæque præſidium ſecundas res omnes ex animo precamur.

*Celſitudinum Veſtrarum ſtudioſiſſimus*
Oliverius, *&c.*

*Weſtmon. ex Aula noſtra. die*
*Decemb. An. Dom* 1657.

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### *Ordinibus Hollandiæ.*

CUM ea noſtræ Reip. cum veſtra intercedat neceſſitudo, ea ſint utrinque negotia, ut ſine Oratore atque interprete vel hinc vel inde miſſo res tantæ ad utilitatem utriuſque gentis conſtitui commodè vix poſſint, ex uſu communi fore arbitrati ſumus, ut *Georgium Duningum* Virum nobilem, multis ac variis negotiis ſummâ fide, probitate ac ſolertiâ ſpectatum, jam diu nobis & cognitum, eo munere inſtructum mitteremus: qui noſtro nomine apud vos maneat, iis maxime officiis intentus, quibus noſtra amicitia ſarta tecta conſervari poſſe quam diutiſſimè videatur. Hac de re cum ad Excelſos & Præpotentes Ordines ſcripſimus, tum vos quoque qui in Provinciâ veſtrâ ſummæ rei præſidetis & Fœderati Belgii tanta pars eſtis, certiores faciendos per literas duximus; ut & noſtrum Oratorem eâ ratione quâ convenit accipiatis, & quæ ille cum *excelſis Dominis Ordinibus* tranſegerit, ea vobis perſuadeatis peræque firma ac rata nos eſſe habituros, acſi ipſi rebus tranſactis coràm interfuiſſemus. Deus conſilia veſtra & facta omnia ad gloriam ſuam & eccleſiæ pacem dirigat.

*Weſtmonaſterio &c. Decemb.* 1657.

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## Oliverius *Protector Reip. Angliæ, &c. Sereniſſimo Principi* Ferdinando *Magno Duci Hetruriæ.*

*Sereniſſime Dux Magne, amice noſter plurimum colende,*

PErmagnam nobis attulere voluptatem literæ *Celſitudinis* Veſtræ decimo *Nov. Florentiâ* datæ; in quibus benevolentiam erga nos Veſtram eo vidimus perſpectiorem, quanto res ipſæ verbis, facta promiſſis certiora benevolentis animi indicia ſunt: quæ nempe rogavimus *Celſitudinem* veſtram, juberet illum navis *Lodovici parvi* præfectum *Gulielmum Ellam*, qui fidem *Turcis* datam turpiſſimè fregerat, & ipſum comprehendi, & navem cum mercibus in portu retineri, quoad *Turcarum* quæ eſſent redderentur, ne nomen *Chriſtianum* per iſtiuſmodi furta labem aliquam ſuſciperet, ea omnia, & ſummo quidem ſtudio, quod ſatis intelligimus, ſcripſit *Celſitudo Veſtra* ſe præſtitiſſe. Nos itaque cum pro accepto beneficio gratias agimus, tum hoc porrò nunc petimus, quandoquidem ſatisfactum iri *Turcis* Mercatores in ſe receperunt, ut & Præfectus ille cuſtodiâ liberetur, & navis cum mercibus quamprimum dimittatur; ne Turcarum forte rationem potiorem, quam noſtrorum civium habuiſſe videamur. Interim *Celſitudinis veſtræ* ſpectatâ voluntate erga nos ſingulari, & ſanè gratiſſimâ ſic libenter fruimur, ut ingratitudinis notam non recuſemus, niſi pari promptitudine vobis viciſſim gratificandi occaſionem quam primum dari nobis exoptamus, ex qua noſtram quoque in reddendis officiis promptitudinem animi rebus ipſis erga vos demonſtrare poſſimus.

*Celſitudinis veſtræ Studioſiſſimus,*

*Weſtmonaſterio ex Aulâ noſtrâ.*
*Decemb. an.* 1657.

Oliverius, &c.

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## Oliverius *Protector Reip. Angliæ, &c. Sereniſſimo ac potentiſſimo Principi* Carolo Guſtavo *Suecorum, Gothorum, Vandalorumque Regi.*

*Sereniſſime potentiſſimeque Rex, Amice ac Fœderate invictiſſime;*

MUlta ſimul attulere nobis literæ Majeſtatis veſtræ 21 *Feb.* in *Caſtris Selandicis* datæ, cur, & privatim noſtrâ, & totius Reipub. *Chriſtianæ* causâ, lætitiâ haud mediocri afficeremur: primum quod Rex *Daniæ*, non ſuâ credo voluntate aut rationibus, ſed hoſtium communium artibus factus hoſtis, repentino veſtro in intimum ejus regnum adventu, ſine multo ſanguine, eò ſit redactus, ut, quod res erat, utiliorem ſibi pacem bello contra vos ſuſcepto tandem judicaverit: deinde cum is eam nullâ ſe ratione citius poſſe conſequi exiſtimaret, quam ſi delata ſibi jamdiu ad conciliandam pacem noſtrâ operâ uteretur, quòd Majeſtas veſtra ſolis Internuntii noſtri literis exorata, tam facili pacis conceſſione oſtenderit, quantum noſtrâ amicitiâ atque gratiâ interpoſitâ apud ſe valeret: meumque imprimis in hoc tum pio negotio officium eſſe voluerit, ut pacis tam ſalutaris Proteſtantium rebus, uti ſpero, mox futuræ ipſe potiſſimum unus conciliator atque auctor propemodum eſſem. Cum enim Religionis hoſtes conjunctas opes veſtras alio pacto frangere ſe poſſe deſperarent, quàm ſi vos inter vos commiſiſſent, habebunt nunc, profectò quod pertimeſcant, ne armorum animorumque, ut ſpero, veſtrorum hæc inopinata conjunctio ipſis belli hujus conflatoribus in perniciem vertat. Tu interim, Rex fortiſſime, macte tuâ egregiâ virtute; & quam felicitatem in rebus tuis geſtis victoriarumq; curſu contra Regem nunc ſocium hoſtes Eccleſiæ nuper admirati ſunt, eandem in ſuâ rurſus clade, Deo benè juvante, fac ſentiant.

*Weſtmonaſterio ex Palatio noſtro,* 30 *die Martii,* 1658.

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## Oliverius *Protector Reip. Angliæ, &c. Sereniſſimo Principi* Ferdinando *Magno Duci Hetruriæ.*

*Sereniſſime Princeps,*

QUOD ſatisfacturum arbitramur Celſitudini veſtræ de noſtro claſſis præfecto qui ad portus veſtros nuper eſt delatus, veſtro apud nos Oratori reſpondimus: Interim per libellum ſupplicem nobis oſtendit *Joannes Hoſierus Londinenſis*, cujuſdam navis, cui *Dominæ* nomen, Magiſter, ſe, cùm anno 1656. menſe Aprili, navem ſuam ex ſyngrapha (chartam partitam Jus noſtrum vocat) *Joſepho Armano Italo* cuidam locaſſet, iſque factas in ſyngrapha pactiones ter apertè fregiſſet, coactum eſſe demùm, ne navem ſuam, totumque onus ejus, ſortem denique totam amitteret, more mercatorio declarata publicè ejus fraude, & in tabulas publicas relata, *Liburni* in jus eum vocare: eum autem, ut fraudem fraude tueretur, adhibitis in ſocietatem duobus aliis negotiatoribus litigioſis, de pecunia *Thomæ* cujuſdam *Clutterbuxi* ſex mille octonos, conficto quodam obtentu, petitoris hujus nomine occupaſſe: ſe, poſt multas impenſas conſumptumque tempus, jus ſuum *Liburni* obtinere non poſſe; ne audere quidem, propter adverſariorum minas atque inſidias, in judicio illic comparere. Petimus itaque à Celſitudine veſtra, ut cùm huic homini oppreſſo ſubvenire, tum hujus adverſarii inſolentiam pro conſueta ſua juſtitia velit coercere: fruſtrà enim authoritate Principum leges eſſent civitatibus latæ, ſi vis atque injuria, cùm, ne omnino ſint leges, efficere non poſſint, poſſint efficere terrore ac minis, ne quis ad eas audeat confugere. Verum in hujuſmodi audaciam quin maturè animadverſura ſit Celſitudo veſtra, non dubitamus; cui pacem proſperaque omnia à Deo Opt. Max. precamur.

*Weſtmonaſterio, ex Aula noſtra,*
*die* 7. *April. an.* 1658.

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## *Sereniſſimo potentiſſimoque Principi* Ludovico *Galliarum Regi.*

*Sereniſſime Potentiſſimeque Rex, Amice ac Fœderate auguſtiſſime*;

MEminiſſe poteſt Majeſtas veſtra quo tempore inter nos de renovando fœdere agebatur; quod optimis auſpiciis initum multa utriuſque populi commoda, multa hoſtium communium exinde mala teſtantur, accidiſſe miſeram illam Convallenſium occiſionem, quorum cauſam undique deſertam atque afflictam veſtræ miſericordiæ, atque tutelæ ſummo cum ardore animi ac miſeratione commendavimus. Nec defuiſſe per ſe arbitramur Majeſtatem veſtram officio tam pio, immo verò tam humano, pro eâ quâ apud *Ducem Sabaudiæ* valere debuit vel auctoritate vel gratia: nos certè aliique multi Principes ac Civitates, Legationibus, Literis, Precibus interpoſitis, non defuimus. Poſt cruentiſſimam utriuſque ſexus omnis ætatis trucidationem, pax tandem data eſt, vel potius inducta pacis nomine hoſtilitas quædam tectior: conditiones pacis veſtro in oppido *Pinarolii* ſunt latæ; duræ quidem illæ, ſed quibus miſeri atque inopes dira omnia atque immania perpeſſi facilè acquieſcerent, modo iis, duræ & iniquæ ut ſint, ſtaretur; non ſtatur; ſed enim earum quoque ſingularum falſa interpretatione variiſque diverticulis fides eluditur ac violatur; antiquis ſedibus multi dejiciuntur, religio patria multis interdicitur, tributa nova exiguntur, arx nova cervicibus imponitur, unde milites crebro erumpentes obvios quoſque vel diripiunt vel trucidant: ad hæc nuper novæ copiæ clanculum contra eos parantur; quique inter eos *Romanam Religionem* colunt, migrare ad tempus jubentur; ut omnia nunc rurſus videantur ad illorum internecionem miſerrimorum ſpectare, quos illa prior laniena reliquos fecit. Quod ego per dextram tuam, *Rex Chriſtianiſſime*, quæ fœdus nobiſcum & amicitiam percuſſit, obſecro atque obteſtor, per illud *Chriſtianiſmi* Tituli decus ſanctiſſimum, fieri ne ſiveris: nec tantam ſæviendi licentiam non dico principi cuiquam (neque enim in ullum Principem, multo minus in ætatem illius principis teneram, aut in muliebrem matris animum tanta ſævitia cadere poteſt) ſed ſacerrimis illis ſicariis ne permiſeris; qui cum Chriſti Servatoris noſtri ſervos atque imitatores ſeſe profiteantur, qui venit in hunc mundum ut peccatores ſervaret, ejus mitiſſimo nomine atque inſtitutis ad innocentium crudeliſſimas cædes abutuntur: eripe qui potes, quique in tanto faſtigio dignus es poſſe, tot ſupplices tuos homicidarum ex manibus, qui cruore nuper ebrii, ſanguinem rurſus ſitiunt; ſuæque invidiam crudelitatis in Principes derivare conſultiſſimum ſibi ducunt. Tu verò nec titulos tuos aut Regni fines iſta invidiâ, nec Evangelium *Chriſti* pacatiſſimum iſta crudelitate fœdari te regnante patiaris. Memineris hos ipſos avi tui Henrici Proteſtantibus amiciſſimi dedititios fuiſſe; cum *Diguierius* per ea loca, quâ etiam commodiſſimus in *Italiam* tranſitus eſt, *Sabaudum* trans *Alpes* cedentem victor eſt inſecutus: deditionis illius inſtrumentum in actis regni veſtri publicis etiamnum extat; in quo exceptum atque cautum inter alia eſt, Ne cui poſtea *Convallenſes* traderentur, niſi iiſdem conditionibus quibus eos avus tuus invictiſſimus in fidem recepit. Hanc fidem nunc implorant, avitam abs te Nepote ſupplices requirunt: tui eſſe, quàm cujus nunc ſunt, vel permutatione aliquâ, ſi fieri poſſit, malint atque optarint: id ſi non licet, patrocinio ſaltem, miſeratione atque perfugio. Sunt & rationes regni quæ hortari poſſint ut *Convallenſes* ad te confugientes ne rejicias; ſed nolim te, Rex tantus cùm ſis, aliis rationibus ad defenſionem calamitoſorum quàm fide à majoribus data, pietate, regiaque animi benignitate ac magnitudine permoveri. Ita pulcherrimi facti laus atque gloria illibata atque integra tua erit, & ipſe Patrem miſericordiæ ejuſque filium *Chriſtum Regem*, cujus nomen atque doctrinam ab immanitate nefaria vindicaveris, eo magis faventem tibi atque propitium per omnem vitam experieris. Deus Opt. Max. ad gloriam ſuam, tot innocentiſſimorum hominum *Chriſtianorum* tutandam ſalutem, veſtrumque verum decus *Majeſtati veſtræ* hanc mentem injiciat.

*Weſtmonaſterio. Maii an.* 1658.

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### *Civitatibus* Helvetiorum *Evangelicis.*

*Illuſtres atque ampliſſimi Domini*, *Amici chariſſimi*;

DE *Convallenſibus* Vicinis veſtris afflictiſſimis, quàm ſint à Principe ſuo gravia & intoleranda religionis cauſâ paſſi, cùm propter ipſam rerum atrocitatem horret prope animus recordari, tum ad vos ea ſcribere quibus notiora multo ſunt, ſupervacuum duximus. Exempla etiam literarum vidimus quas Legati veſtri pacis jamdudum *Pinaroliana* hortatores atque teſtes ad *Allobrogum* Ducem illiuſque *Taurinenſis* conſilii Præſidem ſcripſerunt; in quibus ruptas eſſe omnes pacis conditiones, illiſque miſeris fraudi potiùs quàm ſecuritati fuiſſe ſingulatim, oſtendunt atque evincunt. Quarum violationem ab ipſâ ſtatim pace datâ in hunc uſque diem continuatam, & indies graviorem niſi æquo animo patiuntur, niſi ſe conculcandos planè & peſſumdandos proſternunt atque abjiciunt, religione etiam ejuratâ, impendet eadem calamitas, eadem ſtrages, quæ ipſos cum conjugibus ac liberis tertio abhinc anno ſic miſerabilem in modum attrivit atque afflixit, & ſubeunda iterum ſi eſt, funditus eradicabit. Quid agant miſeri? quibus nulla deprecatio, nulla reſpiratio, nullum adhuc certum perfugium patuit; res eſt cum feris aut cum furiis, quibus priorum cædium recordatio nullam pœnitentiam, aut ſuorum civium miſerationem, nullum ſenſum humanitatis aut fundendi ſanguinis ſatietatem attulit. Hæc ferenda planè non ſunt, ſive fratres noſtros *Convallenſes Orthodoxæ Religionis* cultores antiquiſſimos, ſive ipſam Religionem ſalvam volumus. Et nos quidem locorum intervallo plus nimio disjuncti, quod opis aut facultatis noſtræ fuit, & præſtitimus ex animo, & præſtare non deſinemus. Vos qui non modo fratrum cruciatibus ac penè clamoribus, verum etiam eorumdem furori hoſtium proximi eſtis, proſpicite per Deum immortalem idque maturè quid veſtrarum nunc partium ſit; quid auxilii, quid præſidii vicinis ac fratribus alioqui mox perituris ferre poſſitis ac debeatis, prudentiam veſtram ac pietatem, fortitudinem etiam veſtram conſulite. Cauſa certè eadem eſt Religio, cur iidem hoſtes vos quoque perditos velint, immo cur eodem tempore, eodem ſuperiore anno, fœderatorum veſtrorum inteſtino Marte perditos voluerint. Veſtra duntaxat in manu poſt opem divinam videtur eſſe, ne purioris ipſa ſtirps Religionis vetuſtiſſima in illis priſcorum fidelium reliquiis excindatur: quorum ſalutem in extremum jam diſcrimen adductam ſi negligitis, videte ne voſmetipſos paulo poſt proximæ vices urgeant. Hæc dum fraternè ac liberè hortamur, ipſi interea non langueſcimus: quod ſolum nobis conceditur tam longinquis, cùm ad procurandam periclitantium incolumitatem tùm ad ſublevandam egentium inopiam, omnem operam noſtram & contulimus & conferemus. Deus det utriſque nobis eam domi tranquillitatem ac pacem, eum rerum ac temporum ſtatum, ut omnes noſtras opes atque vires, omne ſtudium ad defendendam eccleſiam ſuam contra hoſtium ſuorum furorem ac rabiem, convertere poſſimus.

*Weſtmonaſterio ex Aula noſtra, Maii die, an.* 1658.

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### *Eminentiſſimo Domino Cardinali* Mazarino, *Salutem.*

*Eminentiſſime Domine*;

ILlatæ nuper *Proteſtantibus*, qui *Valles* quaſdam *Alpinas* in ditione *Ducis Sabaudiæ* incolunt, graviſſimæ calamitates cædeſque cruentiſſimæ fecêre ut incluſas has literas ad Majeſtatem Regiam, haſque alteras ad Eminentiam veſtram ſcripſerim.

ſerim. Et quemadmodum de Rege Sereniſſimo dubitare non poſſum quin hæc tanta crudelitas, quâ in homines innoxios atque inopes tam barbarè ſævitum eſt, vehementer ei diſpliceat atque offenſa ſit; ita mihi facilè perſuadeo quæ ego à Majeſtate Regiâ illorum cauſa miſerorum peto, ad ea impetranda veſtram quoque operam atque gratiam, velut cumulum, acceſſuram. Cum nihil planè ſit quod *Francorum Genti* benevolentiam apud ſuos omnes vicinos *Reformatæ Religionis* cultores majorem conciliaverit, quam libertas illa ac privilegia quæ ex edictis ſuis atque actis publicis permiſſa Proteſtantibus atque conceſſa ſunt. Et hæc quidem Reſpublica cum propter alias tum hanc potiſſimum ob cauſam *Gallorum* amicitiam ac neceſſitudinem majorem in modum expetivit. De qua conſtituenda jamdiu cum *Legato Regio* apud nos agitur ejuſque tractatio jam penè ad exitum perducta eſt. Quid! quod etiam ſingularis benignitas Eminentiæ veſtræ, ac moderatio, quam in ſummis Regni rebus gerendis erga *Proteſtantes Galliæ* ſemper teſtata eſt, à prudentia veſtra & magnitudine animi ut hoc ſperem atque expectem, facit; qua ex re & fundamenta arctioris etiam neceſſitudinis inter hanc *Rempublicam, Regnumque Gallicum Eminentia veſtra* jecerit, meque ſibi privatim ad officia omnia humanitatis ac benevolentiæ viciſſim reddenda obligaverit: adeoque hoc velim Eminentia veſtra ſibi perſuaſiſſimum habeat.

*Eminentiæ veſtræ Studioſiſſimus.*

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### Oliverius *Protector Reip. Angliæ, Sereniſſimo ac potentiſſimo Principi* Ludovico *Galliarum Regi.*

*Sereniſſime potentiſſimeque Rex, Amice ac Fœderate auguſtiſſime;*

THomam Vicecomitem *Falconbrigium* generum meum in *Galliam* proficiſcentem, & ad teſtificandum obſequium ſuum & obſervantiam, qua Majeſtatem veſtram colit, venire in conſpectum veſtrum, Regiamque manum oſculari cupientem, tametſi propter conſuetudinem ejus jucundiſſimam invitus dimitto, tamen cùm non dubitem quin ab aula tanti Regis, in quâ tot viri prudentiſſimi fortiſſimique verſantur, multo inſtructior ad res quaſque laudatiſſimas, & quaſi conſummatus ad nos brevi ſit reverſurus, obſiſtendum eſſe ejus animo ac voluntati non ſum arbitratus. Et quanquam is eſt, niſi ego fallor, qui per ſe ſatis commendatus, quocunque acceſſerit, videri poſſit, tamen ſi ſe meâ gratiâ Majeſtati veſtræ aliquanto commendatiorem fuiſſe ſenſerit, eodem me quoque beneficio affectum atque devinctum arbitrabor. Deus Majeſtatem veſtram incolumem, noſtramque amicitiam firmiſſimam communi orbis Chriſtiani bono quam diutiſſime conſervet.

*Weſtmonaſterio ex Aula noſtra. Maii die, an.* 1658.

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### Oliverius *Protector Reip. Angliæ, &c. Eminentiſſimo Domino Cardinali* Mazarino.

*Eminentiſſime Domine;*

CUM *Thomam* Vicecomitem *Falconbrigium* generum meum proficiſcentem in *Galliam* Sereniſſimo Regi commendaverim, non potui quin ea de re Eminentiam veſtram certiorem facerem, nec non vobis etiam eundem commendarem: id quantum ponderis atque momenti ad ſuperiorem quoque commendationem allaturum ſit non neſcius. Quem certè fructum commorationis apud vos ſuæ, ſperat autem non mediocrem hunc fore, percepturus eſt, ejus maximam partem favori veſtro ac benevolentiæ non poterit non debere; cujus prope ſola mens ac vigilantia res tantas eo in regno ſuſtinet ac tuetur. Quicquid ei gratum Eminentia veſtra fecerit, id mihi feciſſe ſe exiſtimet; id ego in multis veſtris erga me humanitèr & amicè factis numerabo.

*Weſtmonaſterio. Maii an.* 1658.

## Oliverius *Protect. Reipub. Angliæ, &c. Eminentiſſimo Domino Cardinali* Mazarino.

*Eminentiſſime Domine*;

CUM illuſtriſſimum virum *Thomam Bellaſiſum* Vicecomitem *Falconbrigium* generum meum Sereniſſimi Regis adventum in caſtra ad *Dunkirkam* gratulatum mitterem, eidem præcepi ut veſtram quoque Eminentiam adiret, meoque nomine & plurimam ſalutem dicat, & gratias vobis agat, cujus potiſſimum fide, prudentiâ, vigilantiâ perfectum eſt, ut res Gallica tam diverſis in partibus, & præſertim in vicinâ Flandriâ contra Hiſpanum hoſtem communem tam proſperè geratur: à quo nunc celeriter, uti ſpero, fraudum & inſidiarum, quibus ſe maxime tuetur, aperta atque armata virtus pœnas repoſcet: quod uti fiat quàm citiſſimè, nos certe neque copiis, quantum poſſumus, neque votis deerimus.

*Weſtmonaſterio ex Aulâ noſtrâ.*
*Maii an.* 1658.

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## Oliverius *Protector Reip. Angliæ, &c. Sereniſſimo ac potentiſſimo Principi* Ludovico *Galliæ Regi*.

*Sereniſſime potentiſſimeque Rex, Amice ac Fœderate auguſtiſſime*;

UT nuntiatum eſt veniſſe in caſtra Majeſtatem veſtram, tantiſque copiis infame illud oppidum piratarum atque aſylum *Dunkirkam* obſediſſe, & magnam cepi voluptatem, & ſpem certam, fore nunc brevi, Deo bene juvante, ut infeſtum minus poſthac latrociniis mare tutiùs navigetur; fore ut *Hiſpanicas* fraudes, ducem alterum ad Heſdenæ proditionem auro corruptum, alterum ad Oſtendam dolo captum virtute bellicâ Majeſtas veſtra nunc brevi vindicet. Mitto itaque nobiliſſimum virum *Thomam* Vicecomitem *Falconbrigium* generum meum, qui & adventum veſtrum in tam propinqua nobis caſtra gratularetur, & coràm exponat quanto nos ſtudio Majeſtatis veſtræ res geſtas non junctis ſolum viribus noſtris, ſed votis etiam omnibus proſequamur, uti Deus Opt. Max. & ipſam incolumem, & noſtram amicitiam firmiſſimam communi orbis *Chriſtiani* bono quam diutiſſimè conſervet.

*Weſtmonaſterio ex Aula noſtra. Maii an.* 1658.

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## *Sereniſſimo Principi* Ferdinando, *Duci Magno Hetruriæ*.

*Sereniſſime Dux Magne*;

CUM Celſitudo veſtra in omnibus quidem literis ſuis ſummam erga nos benevolentiam ſuam nobis ſemper ſignificaverit, dolemus id præfectis veſtris ac miniſtris aut tam obſcurè ſignificatum, aut tam malè eſſe intellectum, ut in Portu *Liburnenſi*, ubi maximè quæ veſtra ſit erga nos benevolentia intelligi oporteret, nos nullum ejus fructum aut indicium percipere queamus; immo alienum potius & hoſtilem veſtrorum in nos animum indies experiamur. Quàm enim non amicis noſtra claſſis *Liburnenſibus* uſa nuperrime ſit, quàm nullis adjuta rebus, quàm hoſtiliter denique accepta bis ab illo oppido diſcedere coacta ſit, cùm ex eo ipſo loco multis teſtibus fide dignis, tum ex ipſo Navarcho noſtro, cui cùm claſſem credamus, narrandi fidem derogare non poſſumus, ſatis videmur nobis nimiſque certò cognoviſſe. Priore ejus adventu *Cal. Jan.* poſt redditas Celſitudini veſtræ literas noſtras, veſtraque omnia humanitatis officia noſtris hominibus ultro delata, petentibus ut portus *Ferrarii* commoditate uti liceret, reſponſum eſt, id concedi non poſſe, ne Rex *Hiſpaniæ* ſcilicet noſter hoſtis offenderetur. Et tamen quid eſt quod princeps amicus amico præbere communius poſſit, quàm littoris ac portus aditum? quid eſt quod nos expectare ab hujuſmodi amicitia poſſimus quæ hoſtium noſtrorum animum ne offendat, incommodare nobis quàm commodare, aut vel minimis rebus ſubvenire paratior ſit. Et primo quidem ex ſingulis navibus duobus vel tribus nautis duntaxat excenſus in terram, ſive commercium (quam vos Practicam vocatis) eſt datum: mox ut auditum eſt in oppido, navem quandam *Belgicam*, quæ frumentum in *Hiſpaniam* portabat, à noſtris eſſe interceptam, quod erat antea commercii ſtatim adimitur; *Longlandius* qui noſtris illic Mercatoribus præſidet, claſſem adire non permittitur; aquatio, quæ omnibus non planè hoſtibus libera eſt, non niſi ſub armatis cuſtodibus iniquo pretio, & quidem egerrimè præbetur: tot noſtris Mercatoribus qui non ſine maximo veſtrorum emolumento illic verſantur, ſuos ne inviſant populares aut ulla re adjuvent interdicitur. Poſteriore ejus adventu ſub exitum menſis *Martii*, egreſſus ex navibus nemini datur: quinto poſt die cùm naviculam quandam *Neapolitanam* prætoria navis noſtra incidentem in nos fortè excepiſſet ducenta plus minus tormenta ab oppido claſſem verſus diſploduntur quorum nullum ictu nos læſit ne attigit quidem: quod argumento eſſe poteſt quàm longè hæc à Portu atque caſtelli ditione in alto gererentur, quæ veſtros quaſi portu violato ſic ſine cauſa irritarunt: confeſtim aquatorum noſtrorum ſcaphæ intra portum oppugnantur; una capitur, detinetur; repoſcentibus neque ſcapham neque homines redditum iri reſpondetur, niſi capta illa navis *Neapolitana* reddatur quam conſtat libero mari captam, ubi capi licuit. Ita noſtri multis modis incommodati ſine illo commeatu, quem numeratâ pecuniâ coemerant, abire denuo coguntur. Hæc ſi Celſitudinis veſtræ voluntate ac juſſu quod ſperamus non fiunt, petimus id oſtendat præfecti illius ſupplicio, qui amicitias Domini ſui violare tam facile in animum induxit: ſin eſt ut ſciente ac volente veſtra Celſitudine commiſſa hæc ſint, cogitet nos, ut benevolentiam veſtram plurimi ſemper fecimus, ita apertas injurias à benevolentia dignoſcere didiciſſe.

*Weſtmonaſterio ex Aula noſtra* *Veſter quoad licet amicus*
*Maii die An.* 1658. *Oliverius* Protector Reip. Angliæ, &c.

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### Oliverius *Protector Reip. Angliæ, &c. Sereniſſimo Potentiſſimoque Principi* Ludovico *Galliæ Regi.*

*Sereniſſime Potentiſſimeque Rex, Amice ac Fœderate Auguſtiſſime*;

QUòd tam celeriter illuſtri miſſâ Legatione *Majeſtas Veſtra* meum officium cumulo rependit, cúm ſingularem benignitatem, animique magnitudinem teſtata eſt ſuam, tum meo etiam honori ac dignitati quantopere faveat, non mihi ſolùm declaravit, verum etiam univerſo populo Anglicano: quo nomine Majeſtati Veſtræ, pro eo ac de me merita eſt, gratias & ago & habeo maximas. De victoria quam conjunctis noſtris copiis Deus contra hoſtes feliciſſimam dedit, vobiſcum unà lætor; noſtroſque in eo prælio neque ſubſidiis veſtris, neque majorum ſuorum bellicæ gloriæ, neque ſuæ denique virtuti priſtinæ defuiſſe perquàm etiam gratum eſt. De *Dunkirka*, quam deditioni proximam *Majeſtas Veſtra* ſperare ſe ſcribit, eam nunc deditam tam citò poſſe me reſcribere inſuper gaudeo: neque unius Urbis jactura duplicem perfidiam *Hiſpanum* propediem eſſe luiturum ſpero; quod captâ urbe altera effectum eſſe, velim *Majeſtas* etiam *veſtra* tam citò poſſit reſcribere. Quod reliquum pollicetur meas rationes curæ ſibi fore, de eo regi optimo atque amiciſſimo pollicenti, ejuſque Legato excellentiſſimo atque ornatiſſimo viro *Duci Crequienſi* idem confirmanti, non diffido; Deumque Opt. Max. *Majeſtati veſtræ Reique Gallicæ* domi bellique propitium exopto.

*Weſtmonaſterio. die Junii. An.* 1658.

## Oliverius *Protector Reip. Angliæ, &c. Eminentiſſimo Domino* Cardinali Mazarino.

*Eminentiſſime Domine;*

Cum *Regi Sereniſſimo* per literas gratias agam qui honoris & gratulationis reddendæ cauſâ, ſuæque lætitiæ de nobiliſſima recenti victoria mecum communicandæ Legationem Splendidiſſimam miſit, ingratus tamen ſim, niſi *Eminentiæ* quoque *veſtræ* debitas ſimul gratias per literas perſolvam; quæ ad teſtandam ſuam erga me benevolentiam, meique rebus omnibus quibus poteſt ornandi ſtudium, nepotem ſuum præſtantiſſimum atque ornatiſſimum adoleſcentem unà miſit, & ſiquem haberet apud ſe propinquiorem aut quem pluris faceret, eum potiſſimum fuiſſe miſſurum ſcribit: additâ etiam ratione, quæ ab judicio tanti Viri profecta ad meam haud mediocrem laudem atque ornamentum pertinere exiſtimo; nempe ut qui ſanguine conjunctiſſimi ſibi ſunt in me honorando atque colendo *Eminentiam ſuam* imitarentur. Et humanitatis quidem, candoris, amicitiæ veſtrum in me diligendo exemplum haud poſtremum fortaſſe habuerint; ſummæ virtutis ſummæque prudentiæ alia in vobis longe clariora; quibus regna reſque maximas ſumma cum gloria adminiſtrare diſcant. Quare uti poſſit *Eminentia veſtra* quam diutiſſimè quamque feliciſſimè gerere ad totius *Regni Gallici*, immo totius *Reip. Chriſtianæ* commune bonum, veſtrumque proprium decus, non deſutura mea vota polliceor.

*Weſtmonaſterio ex Aula noſtra*
*die Junii An.* 1658.

*Eminentiæ Veſtræ Studioſiſſimus.*

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## Oliverius *Protector Reip. Angliæ, &c. Sereniſſimo Potentiſſimoque Principi* Carolo Guſtavo *Suecorum, Gothorum, Vandalorumque Regi, &c.*

*Sereniſſime Potentiſſimeque Rex, Amice ac Fœderate Chariſſime;*

Quoties communium Religionis hoſtium importuna conſilia variaſque artes intuemur, toties nobiſcum reputamus, quàm neceſſarium orbi *Chriſtiano*, quamque ſalutare ſit futurum, quo faciliùs adverſariorum conatibus iri obviam poſſit, Proteſtantium Principes inter ſe, & potiſſimùm *Majeſtatem veſtram* cum *Repub.* noſtra arctiſſimo fœdere conjungi. Id à nobis quantopere ſit, quantoque ſtudio expetitum, quàm denique gratum nobis accidiſſet, ſi *Suecorum* noſtræque res ea conditione ac loco fuiſſent, ut fœdus illud ex utriuſque animi ſententia ſanciri, alterque alteri opportuniſſimo auxilio eſſe potuiſſet, Oratoribus veſtris, ex quo primùm illi hoc apud nos egerunt, teſtatum reddidimus. Neque vero illi ſuo muneri defuerunt; ſed quam cæteris in rebus conſueverunt, eandem hac quoque in parte prudentiam ac diligentiam adhibuerunt. Verùm ea nos domi improborum civium perfidia exercuit qui in fidem ſæpius recepti, res novas tamen moliri, & cum exulibus, etiam cum hoſtibus *Hiſpanis* diſcuſſa jam ſæpe & profligata conſilia repetere non deſinunt, ut in propulſandis periculis propriis occupati, neque curam omnem, neque integras opes quod in votis erat, ad communem *Religionis* cauſam tuendam convertere hactenus potuerimus. Quod licuit tamen, quantumque in nobis ſitum erat, & anteà ſtudioſè præſtitimus, & ſiquid in poſterum *Majeſtatis veſtræ* rationibus conducere videbitur, id non velle ſolùm, verùm etiam ſummâ ope vobiſcum unà agere per occaſiones non deſiſtemus. Interea *Majeſtatis veſtræ* rebus prudentiſſimè fortiſſiméque geſtis gratulamur atque ex animo lætamur: eundemque uti velit Deus felicitatis atque victoriæ curſum eſſe quam diuturnum ad ſui numinis gloriam aſſiduis precibus exoptamus.

*Weſtmonaſterio ex Aula noſtra. Junii die An.* 1658.

## Oliverius *Protector Reip. Angliæ, &c. Sereniſſimo Principi Luſitaniæ Regi.* S. P. D.

*Sereniſſime Rex, Amice ac Fœderate,*

OStendit nobis per libellum ſupplicem *Joannes Buffield* Mercator *Londinenſis*, ſe anno 1649. merces quaſdam *Antonio Joanni* & *Manueli Ferdinando Caſtaneo Tamirenſibus* tradidiſſe, uti iis divenditis earum rationem mercatorum more ſibi redderent: tum in *Angliam* dum navigaret, in piratas incidiſſe, ſpoliatumque ab iis damnum haud mediocre accepiſſe: hoc audito, *Antonium* & *Manuelem* eò quod hunc interfectum credebant, traditas ſibi merces ſtatim pro ſuis habuiſſe, adhuc etiam retinere, rationemque omnem de iis recuſare; atque huic fraudi ſubſecutam paulo poſt *Anglicarum* mercium proſcriptionem obtendere; coactum ſe demum ſuperiore anno, hyeme mediâ in *Luſitaniam* redire, ſua repetere; ſed fruſtra; hos enim neque bona neque rationem ut reddant adduci poſſe; & quod mirum ſanè videatur, privatam illarum mercium poſſeſſionem proſcriptione publicâ defendere: cùm videret ſe hominem longinquum deteriore conditione cum *Tamirenſibus* in ſua patria contendere, ad *Majeſtatem Veſtram* ſe confugiſſe; Conſervatoris judicium, qui judicandis Anglorum cauſis conſtitutus eſt, ſupplicem popoſciſſe; à Majeſtate Veſtra rurſus ad forenſem illam cognitionem, unde confugerat, rejectum eſſe. Quod etſi per ſe iniquum non eſt, tamen cùm perſpicuum ſit *Tamirenſes* iſtos veſtro edicto publico ad ſuam privatam fraudem abuti, à Majeſtate Veſtra majorem in modum petimus, ut cauſam hujus multis caſibus afflicti, ad inopiamque redacti, ad Conſervatorem potius judicem proprium velit pro ſua clementia integram remittere: quo poſſit inops fortunarum ſuarum quod ſupereſt ab illorum hominum infida ſocietate recuperare: id, recognitâ, quin Majeſtati veſtræ nobiſcum unà maximè placeat non dubitamus.

*Weſtmonaſterio ex Aula noſtra, die    Auguſti An.* 1658.

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## *Sereniſſimo Principi* Leopoldo *Auſtriæ Archiduci, Provinciarum in Belgio ſub Philippo Hiſpaniarum Regi Præſidi.*

*Sereniſſime Domine,*

C*Arolus Harbordus*, vir *Equeſtris* apud nos *Ordinis*, per libellum ſupplicem ad nos detulit, ſe bona quædam & ſupellectilem cum ex *Hollandiâ Brugas* in ditionem veſtram aſportaſſet, de iis, ne ſibi per vim atque injuriam eripiantur, inopinatò periclitari. Ea nempe, cum à *Comite Suffolchienſi* pro quo ſe grandi ære alieno obſtrinxerat, ex *Angliâ* An. 1643. miſſa ad ſe idcirco fuiſſent, ut haberet, quo ſibi ſatisfaceret, ſiquid pro illo diſſolvere cogeretur, à *Richardo Grenvillo*, qui & ipſe *Equeſtris Ordinis* eſſe fertur, occupari, & quo in loco cuſtodiebantur, effractis foribus atque arttculis poſſideri: hoc ſolo titulo, deberi ſibi neſcio quid à *Theophilo Suffolchienſi Comite* defuncto, ex quodam noſtræ *Curiæ Cancellariæ* decreto, eaque proinde bona quaſi *Theophili Comitis* eſſent, eique decreto obnoxia, ſe referenda in tabulas curaſſe: cùm ex noſtris legibus neque ipſe Comes, qui nunc eſt, & cujus hæc bona ſunt, eo decreto teneatur, neque bona ejus occupari aut retineri debeant: id quod ex ſententiâ ejuſdem Curiæ unà cum hiſce literis ad vos miſſâ, declaratur, quas quidem literas ſupradictus *Carolus Harbordus* à nobis petiit, uti per eas *Celſitudinem veſtram* rogatam vellemus, ut bona illa & recentione omni, & iniquâ iſtâ *Richardi Grenvilli* actione, primo quoque tempore liberentur: cúm hoc contra morem juſque Gentium planè ſit, at cuiquam in aliena ditione eâ de re actio detur, quæ in ea regione, ubi cauſa actionis orta eſt, legitimè dari non poſſit. Hanc cauſam ut Celſitudini veſtræ commendaremus, & ipſa juſtitiæ ratio, & prædicata paſſim veſtra æquanimitas permovit. Quod ſiquo tempore uſus venerit, ut de jure aut commodis veſtrorum apud nos agatur, haud remiſſa profecto noſtra ſtudia, immo omni tempore propenſiſſima experturos vos eſſe polliceor.

*Celſitudinis Veſtræ Studioſiſſimus,*

*Weſtmonaſterio.*

Oliverius, Protector Reip. Angliæ, &c.

### *Supremæ Curiæ Parlamenti Pariſienſis.*

NOS *Commiſſarii* Magni Sigilli *Angliæ, &c.* Supremam *Curiam Parlamenti Pariſienſis* rogatam volumus curare velit uti *Miles*, *Gulielmus*, & *Maria Sandys* defuncti nuper *Gulielmi Sandys* & *Eliſabethæ Soamæ* Uxoris ejus liberi, natione *Angli*, ætate nondum adultâ, *Pariſiis*, ubi nunc in ſupradictæ *Curiæ* tutela ſunt, ad nos quamprimum redire poſſint; eoſque liberos *Jacobo Mowato Scoto*, viro probo atque honeſto velit committere, cui nos hanc curam delegavimus, ut eos & inde acciperet, & ad nos huc adduceret: recipimuſque, occaſione hujuſmodi oblatâ, jus idem atque æquum ſubditis *Galliæ* quibuſcunque ab hac *Curia* redditum iri.

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# LITERÆ
# Richardi Protectoris
## Nomine ſcriptæ.

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### Richardus *Protector Reip. Angliæ, &c. Sereniſſimo ac Potentiſſimo Principi* Ludovico *Galliarum Regi.*

*Sereniſſime ac Potentiſſime Rex, Amice ac Fœderate,*

CUM Sereniſſimus Pater meus glorioſæ memoriæ *Oliverius Reip. Angliæ Protector*, omnipotente Deo ſic volente, ſupremum jam diem tertio *Septembris* obierit, Ego Succeſſor ejus in hoc magiſtratu legitimé declaratus, tametſi in ſummo mœrore ac luctu, non potui tamen quin de re tanta primo quoque tempore *Majeſtatem Veſtram* per literas certiorem facerem, quam & mei patris & hujus Reip. amiciſſimam hoc nuntio repentino haud lætaturam eſſe confido. Meum nunc eſt à Veſtra Majeſtate petere, de me ſic velit exiſtimare, ut qui nihil deliberatius in animo habeam, quam ſocietatem & amicitiam quæ glorioſiſſimo meo parenti veſtra cum Majeſtate fuit, ſummâ fide atque conſtentiâ colere; ejuſque fœdera, conſilia, rationes vobiſcum inſtitutas eodem ſtudio ac benevolentiâ obſervare rataſque habere: Legatum proinde apud vos noſtrum eadem qua prius poteſtate præditum volo: quicquid id noſtro nomine vobiſcum egerit, ita accipere velitis rogo quaſi à me ipſo actum id eſſet. Veſtræ denique Majeſtati comprecor fauſta omnia.

*Weſtmonaſterio ex Aula Noſtra.* 5. *Septemb.* 1658.

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### *Eminentiſſimo Domino* Cardinali Mazarino.

*Eminentiſſime Domine;*

QUanquam nihil mihi acerbius accidere potuit, quàm de Sereniſſimi & præclariſſimi Patris mei obitu ſcribere, tamen cum ſciam quanti ille fecerit *Eminentiam Veſtram*, quanti vos illum, neque dubitem quin *Eminentia Veſtra*, cui ſumma Rei *Gallicæ* commiſſa eſt, amici ac fœderati tam conſtantis tamque conjuncti mortem moleſtiſſime latura ſit, permagni referre arbitratus ſum, ut eam quoque, ſimul cum Rege, de hoc caſu graviſſimo per literas monerem; vobiſque etiam, quoniam id æquum eſt, confirmarem, me ea omnia ſanctiſſimè præſtiturum ad quæ præſtanda vobis, rataque habenda Sereniſſimæ memoriæ Pater meus fœdere tenebatur: perficiamque ut illum, utpote vobis amiciſſium omnique laude florentem, cùm amiſſum meritò doletis, quàm minimè tamen quod ad ſervandam ſocietatis fidem attinet, deſideretis: cui etiam ad utriuſque Gentis commune bonum veſtra quoque ex parte ſervandæ Deus *Eminentiam Veſtram* quàm diutiſſimè conſervet.

*Weſtmonaſterio. Septemb.* 1658.

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### Richardus *Protector Reip. Angliæ, &c. Sereniſſimo ac Potentiſſimo Principi* Carolo Guſtavo *Suecorum, Gothorum, Vandalorumque Regi, &c.*

*Sereniſſime Potentiſſimeque Rex, Amice ac Fœderate;*

CUM videar mihi paternam virtutem vix ſatis poſſe imitari, niſi eaſdem quoque amicitias colam & retinere cupiam, quas ipſe & virtute ſibi quæſivit, & ſibi eſſe maxime colendas ac retinendas judicio ſingulari duxit, non eſt quod dubitet *Majeſtas Veſtra* quin eodem ſe proſequi ſtudio ac benevolentia debeam.quâ Pater meus memoriæ ſereniſſimæ eſt proſecutus. Tametſi igitur in hoc magiſtratus ac dignitatis initio non eo loco res noſtras reperiam ut in præſentia poſſim ad quædam capita reſpondere, quæ Oratores veſtri in medium protulerunt, tamen & inſtitutum à patre ſœdus cum *Majeſtate Veſtra* continuare & arctius etiam conjungere mihi quidem magnopere placet; rerumque utrinque ſtatum ſimulac pleniùs intellexero, ad ea tranſigenda quæ cum utriuſque reip. commodis potiſſimum conjuncta eſſe videbuntur, ero equidem ſemper, ad me quod attinet, promptiſſimus. Deus interim *Majeſtatem Veſtram* ad gloriam ſuam, & *Orthodoxæ Eccleſiæ* tutelam atque præſidium quam diutiſſimè conſervet.

*Weſtmonaſterio ex Aula noſtra. Octob.* 1658.

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### Richardus *Protector Reip. Angliæ, &c. Sereniſſimo ac Potentiſſimo Principi* Carolo Guſtavo, *Suecorum, Gothorum, Vandalorumque Regi, Magno Principi Finlandiæ, Duci Scaniæ, Eſthoniæ, Careliæ, Bremæ, Verdæ, Stetini, Pomeraniæ, Caſſubiæ & Vandaliæ, Principi Rugiæ, Domino Ingriæ, & Wiſmariæ, necnon Comiti Palatino Rheni, Bavariæ, Juliaci, Cliviæ & Montium Duci.*

*Sereniſſime, Potentiſſime Rex, Amice ac Fœderate;*

BInas accepi à *Majeſtate Veſtra* literas; alteras per nuncium ſuum, alteras Legato noſtro *D. Philippo Meadows,* ad me tranſmiſſas. Ex quibus non ſolum dolorem ſuum de obitu Patris mei Sereniſſimi veris animi ſenſibus expreſſum, deque ipſo *Majeſtas Veſtra* quàm præclarè ſenſerit, verum etiam de me quoque ejus in locum ſuſpecto quantam ſpem ceperit cognovi. Et ad paternæ quidem laudis cumulum nihil poſthac amplius aut illuſtrius tanto authore accedere poteſt meis certe in capeſſenda *Repub.* auſpiciis nihil felicius tanto Gratulatore, ad virtutes denique patrias tanquam hæreditatem optimam adeundas nihil quod accendat vehementius tanto hortatore potuit accidere. Ad rationes *Majeſtatis Veſtræ* de communi *Proteſtantium* cauſa nobiſcum initas quod ſpectat, ſic velim exiſtimet, me quidem ex quo ad hæc gubernacula acceſſi, quanquàm eo loco res noſtræ ſunt, ut ſummam diligentiam, curam, vigilantiam domi potiſſimum requirant, nihil tamen antiquius aut deliberatius habuiſſe aut habere quam paterno fœderi cum *Majeſtate Veſtra* percuſſo quantum in me erit non deeſſe. Claſſem itaque in mare *Balticum* mittendam cum iis mandatis curavi quæ Internuncius noſter quem ad hoc totum negotium ampliſſimè inſtruximus, *Maje-*

*ſtati Veſtræ* communicabit. Quam Deus Opt. Max. incolumem proſperiſque rerum ſucceſſibus fortunatiſſimam ad *Orthodoxam fidem* tutandam diutiſſime conſervet.

*Weſtmonaſterio ex Aula noſtra, die* 13 *Octob.* 1658.

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Richardus *Protector Sereniſſimo ac Potentiſſimo Principi* Carolo Guſtavo, *Suecorum, Gothorum, Vandalorumque Regi, &c.*

*Sereniſſime Potentiſſimeque Rex, Amice ac Fœderate*;

MItto ad Majeſtatem Veſtram, quo nihil dignius aut præſtantius poſſum mittere, Virum verè egregium, vereque Nobilem *Georgium Aiſcoum, Equitem auratum*, non ſolùm belli, & navalis præſertim ſcientiâ multis ex rebus fortiter geſtis cognitum jam ſæpe atque ſpectatum, verum etiam probitate, modeſtiâ, ingenio, doctrinâ præditum, moribus ſuaviſſimis nemini non charum, &, quod nunc caput rei eſt, ſub ſignis *Majeſtatis Veſtræ* virtute bellicâ toto orbe terrarum florentiſſimæ jam diu mereri cupientem. Velimque ſic habeat *Majeſtas Veſtra*, quicquid huic Viro muneris commiſerit, in quo fides, fortitudo, experientia conſtare vel etiam prælucere poſſit, neque fideliori neque fortiori, nec facile peritiori poſſe ſe quicquam committere. Quæ autem ego illi negotia dedero communicanda *Veſtræ Majeſtati*, in iis expeditum aditum, aurem benignam velit rogo præbere, eamque fidem, quam nobiſmetipſis coràm fuiſſet habitura; eum denique honorem, quem tali viro & ſuis meritis & noſtrâ commendatione ornatiſſimo convenire judicaverit. Deus res veſtras ad gloriam ſuam & *Orthodoxæ Eccleſiæ* præſidium felici exitu fortunet.

*Weſtmonaſterio ex Aula noſtra, die Octob.* 1658.

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Richardus *Protector Reip. Angliæ, &c. Sereniſſimo Potentiſſimoque Principi* Carolo Guſtavo, *Suecorum, Gothorum, Vandalorumque Regi, &c.*

*Sereniſſime Potentiſſimeque Rex, Amice ac Fœderate Chariſſime*;

DEtulit ad nos per libellum ſupplicem *Samuel Piggottus, Londinenſis* Mercator, ſe nuper naves duas ( quarum alteri nomen *Poſtæ*, magiſter *Tiddeus Jacobus*; alteri *The Water-Dog*, magiſter *Garbrand Peters* ) *Londino* in *Galliam* negotiandi cauſa miſiſſe; eas inde ſale onuſtas *Amſterodamum* petiſſe; *Amſterodamo* alteram ſaburrâ tantùm, alteram halece impoſitas cujus cum *Petro* quodam *Heinsbergo* Societas erat in mare *Balticum Stetinum* uſque *Pomeraniæ*, quæ in veſtra ditione eſt, ad exponendam illic halecem navigaſſe; verùm utraſque haſce naves accepiſſe ſe alicubi maris *Baltici* à copiis quibuſdam veſtris detineri; tametſi ut huic malo occurreret cum utraque nave ſyngrapham ſigillo curiæ maritimæ obſignatam unà curaverit mittendam, qua & navium harum & mercium, exceptâ halecis parte ſupradictâ, unum ſe eſſe ac legitimum dominum demonſtraret. Cujus rei cùm fidem apud nos plenam fecerit, peto magnopere à *Majeſtate Veſtra* ( quandoquidem duarum navium jactura ſine ſummo hominis detrimento fortunarumque forte omnium naufragio vix poſſe accidere videtur ) uti mandet ſuis atque imperet illarum navium liberam primo quoque tempore dimiſſionem. Deus Majeſtatem Veſtram ad gloriam ſuam, Eccleſiæque Orthodoxæ præſidium quàm diutiſſimè ſervet incolumem.

*Weſtmonaſterio ex Aula noſtra, Jan.* 27. *An.* 1658.

### Richardus *Protector Reip. Angliæ, &c. Celſis & Potentibus Dominis* Occidentalis Friſiæ *Poteſtatibus.* S. D.

*Celſi & Potentes Domini, Amici ac Fœderati Chariſſimi*;

GRavem ad me detulit querelam per libellum ſupplicem *Maria Grinderia* vidua, cum ſibi à *Thoma Killegræo* veſtro milite pecunia bene magna ante annos octodecim debeatur, ſe eum ne nullo modo adducere per Procuratorem poſſe, neque ut debitum ſolvat, neque ut de jure ſuo, ſi quid ſit, velit lege experiri; id ne à procuratore viduæ cogi poſſit, petiſſe eum à Celſitudinibus veſtris per libellum ſupplicem ne cui liceat eum lege perſequi ullius pecuniæ ab ſe in *Anglia* debitæ. Ego verò ſi Celſitudinibus veſtris hoc tantum ſignificavero, viduam eſſe, egenam eſſe, multorum matrem parvulorum, cujus iſte omnes prope fortunas avertere conatur, non committam ut apud vos, quibus divina præcepta atque adeo de viduis pupilliſque non opprimendis notiſſima eſſe confido, graviore ulla utendum cohortatione putem, ne hoc fraudandi privilegium petitioni iſtius concedere velitis: id quod nunquam conceſſuros vos eſſe mihi perſuadeo.

*Weſtmonaſt. ex Aula noſtra, Jan. 27. 1658.*

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### Richardus *Protector Reip. Angliæ, &c. Sereniſſimo Potentiſſimoque Principi* Ludovico *Galliæ Regi.*

*Sereniſſime Potentiſſimeque Rex, Amice ac Fœderate Auguſtiſſime*;

ACcepimus, idque non ſine dolore, quaſdam in *Provincia Proteſtantes* Eccleſias ab homine quodam male feriato ita indignè fuiſſe in ſacris concionibus interpellatas, ut ea res magiſtratibus, ad quos hujus cauſæ cognitio *Gratianopoli* ex lege pertinebat, gravi animadverſione digna cenſeretur: ſed Conventum Cleri, qui iis in locis proximè habebatur, à *Majeſtate Veſtra* impetraſſe, ut res integra *Pariſios* ad Concilium Regium revocaretur: A quo dum nihil hactenus decernitur, Eccleſias illas & præſertim *Aquarienſem*, convenire ad colendum Deum prohiberi. Vehementer itaque à *Majeſtate Veſtra* etiam atque etiam peto, primùm, ut quorum preces ad DEUM pro ſalute ſua rebuſque Regni proſperis non interdicit, eorum coitus publicos ad precandum interdicere ne velit: deinde ut in illum hominem rei divinæ interpellatorem ex ſententia illorum judicum, quibus hujuſmodi cauſarum legitima atque conſueta cognitio *Gratianopoli* data eſt, animadvertatur. Deus *Majeſtatem Veſtram* quàm diuturnam atque incolumem conſervet; ut ſi hæc noſtra vota vobis accepta ſunt, Deoque grata eſſe exiſtimatis, eadem ab illis etiam *Proteſtantibus Eccleſiis* quibus nunc interdicitur, pro vobis publice fieri, ſublato illo interdicto, quàm primum velitis.

*Weſtmonaſterio. 18. Feb. An. 1658.*

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### *Eminentiſſimo Domino* Cardinali Mazarino.

*Eminentiſſime Domine Cardinalis*;

PRoficiſcitur in *Galliam*, ibique ad tempus commorari cogitat Illuſtriſſima Domina defuncti nuper *Ducis Richmondiæ* Uxor cum *Duce Filio* Adoleſcentulo. *Eminentiam* itaque *Veſtram* magnopere rogo, ut ſiquid acciderit in quo iis veſtrâ authoritate, favore, patrocinio, utpote peregrinis, uſus eſſe poſſit, ita eorum dignitatem tueri, vobiſque haud vulgariter commendatam rebus omnibus habere velitis, ut ad veſtram humanitatem erga omnes, præſertim tam illuſtri genere oriundos, eximiam, ſentiant noſtris literis quod accedere potuit cumuli acceſſiſſe: ſimul & hoc ſibi perſuadeat *Eminentia Veſtra* commendationem ſuam, ſi quid à me hujuſmodi poſtulabit, apud me non minus valituram.

*Weſtmonaſterio. 29. Feb. 1658.*

## Richardus *Protector Reip. Angliæ, &c. Sereniſſimo ac Potentiſſimo Principi* Joanni *Portugalliæ Regi.*

*Sereniſſime Potentiſſimeque Rex, Amice ac Fœderate;*

TAmetſi multa ſunt quæ ad Regem amicum & *Reip. noſtræ* conjunctiſſimum neceſſariò ſcribam, nihil eſt tamen quod faciam libentius quàm quod nunc facio, ut *Majeſtati Veſtræ, Regnoque Portugalliæ* inſignem hanc proximam de communi hoſte *Hiſpano* victoriam gratuler: qua non ad veſtram tantummodo, verum etiam ad *Europæ* totius pacem ac reſpirationem, permagnum, atque in multos fortaſſe annos, allatum eſſe momentum nemo eſt quin intelligat. Alterum eſt in quo victoriarum certiſſimum pignus juſtitiam *Majeſtatis Veſtræ* agnoſcam, qua ex articulo fœderis 24. per arbitros *Londini* datos, mercatoribus noſtris eſt ſatisfactum, quorum naves onerarias *Braſilienſis Societas* conduxit. Unus eſt *Alexander Bencius*, Mercator *Londinenſis*, cui, cùm navis ejus, quæ *Tres Fratres* vulgo nominatur, magiſtro *Joanne Wilkio*, duas navigationes conducta onerataque navaverit, pactum ſtipendium perſolvere Societas: recuſat: cùm cæteris qui ſemel tantum navigarunt, jampridem perſolutum ſit. Quod cur ſit factum non intelligo niſi ſi eorum judicio mercede dignior eſt, qui ſemel quàm qui bis meruerit. Vehementer itaque peto à *Majeſtate Veſtra*, ut huic uni *Alexandro* cui duplum debetur, debita navatæ operæ ſatisfactio ne deſiat; velitque pro authoritate ſua quàm breviſſimum ſolationis diem damnique ſimul ſarciendi Sociis *Braſilienſibus* conſtituere: quorum dilationibus effectum eſt ut datum inde mercatori damnum mercedem ipſam jam pene ſuperet. Deus *Majeſtatem Veſtram* lætis rerum ſucceſſibus contra hoſtem augere indies & fortunare pergat.

*Weſtmonaſterio ex Aula noſtra,* 23. *Feb. An.* 1658.

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## Richardus *Protector Reip. Angliæ, &c. Eminentiſſimo Domino* Cardinali Mazarino.

*Eminentiſſime Domine;*

PER literas ad *Eminentiam Veſtram* octo circiter abhinc menſibus *Jun.* 13. datas, cauſam *Petri Petti*, viri & ſingulari probitate præditi & egregiis artibus in re navali nobis Reique publicæ utiliſſimi, commendavimus. Ejus nave *Edwardo* anno 1646. à quodam Gallo, cui nomen *Baſconi*, *Thameſis* in oſtio, ut ſcripſimus, captâ, & in portu *Bononienſi* venditâ, quanquam Rex in *Conſilio Regio* 4. *Novemb.* anno 1647. decreverat, ut quam cenſuiſſet Conſilium pecuniæ ſummam damni accepti loco dandam, ſatisfactioni daretur, is tamen ex eo decreto nihildum ſe fructûs percepiſſe oſtendit. Cùm autem dubium mihi non ſit, quin *Eminentia Veſtra* meo rogatu id omne mandaverit quod ad decretum illud primo quoque tempore exequendum pertineret, denuo nunc majoremque in modum peto, ut videre velit quid impedimento ſit, cujuſve negligentiâ aut contumaciâ factum, ut decreto Regio poſt annos jam decem non obtemperetur; velitque pro ſua authoritate inſtare, ut decreta illa pecunia, quam irrogatam jamdiu exiſtimamus, & exigatur quamprimum, & petitori noſtro ſolvatur. Ita rem juſtitiæ imprimis gratam *Eminentia Veſtra* fecerit, & à me ſingularem prætereà gratiam inierit.

*Weſtmonaſterio ex Aula noſtra,* 22. *Feb.* 1658.

# Duæ ſequentes Literæ, RICHARDO abdicato, Reſtituti Parlamenti nomine ſcripti ſunt.

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*Parlamentum Reipub. Angliæ ſereniſſimo potentiſſimoque Principi* Carolo Guſtavo, *Suecorum, Gothorum, Vandalorumque Regi, &c.*

*Sereniſſime potentiſſimeque Rex, Amice chariſſime,*

CUM viſum ſit Deo optimo atque omnipotenti, penes quem ſolum converſiones omnes Regnorum, Rerumque publicarum ſunt, Nos priſtinæ auctoritati ſummæque *Rerum Anglicarum* adminiſtrandæ reſtituere, & *Majeſtatem Veſtram* eâ de re certiorem eſſe faciendam imprimis duximus, & vobis porro ſignificandum, nos cùm Majeſtatis veſtræ utpote *Proteſtantium Principis* potentiſſimi tum pacis inter vos *Daniæque Regem*, & ipſum quoque *Proteſtantium Principem* præpotentem, non ſine noſtra opera atq; officio benevolentiſſimo reconciliandæ, quantum in nobis ſitum eſt, eſſe ſtudioſiſſimos. Volumus itaque ut Internuntio noſtro extraordinario, *Philippo Meadowes*, quo munere ab hac Repub. apud *Majeſtatem Veſtram* hactenus fungitur, idem omnino munus noſtro nunc nomine prorogetur: eique adeo his noſtris literis poteſtatem proponendi, agendi, tranſigendi cum *Majeſtate Veſtra* facimus planè eandem quæ ei proximis literis commendatitiis facta eſt: quicquid ab eo tranſactum noſtro nomine atque concluſum erit, id omne ratum nos eſſe habituros, Deo bene juvante, noſtrâ fide ſpondemus. Deus ille *Majeſtatem Veſtram* quam diutiſſime conſervet, rebus *Proteſtantium* columen atque præſidium.

Guil. Lenthall, *Prolocutor Parlamenti Reipub. Angliæ.*

*Weſtmonaſterio. Maii* 15. *An.* 1659.

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*Parlamentum Reipub. Angliæ ſereniſſimo Principi* Frederico *Daniæ Regi.*

*Sereniſſime Rex, Amice Chariſſime,*

CUM voluntate ac nutu ſummi rerum omnium moderatoris Dei Opt. Max. factum ſit ut nos demùm reſtituti, priſtinum locum atque munus in *Republica* gerenda obtineamus, placuit imprimis ea de re nec *Majeſtatem Veſtram*, utpote Vicinum nobis & Amicum Regem, eſſe celandam, & quem ex adverſis rebus veſtris capiamus dolorem ſimul eſſe ſignificandum: id quod ex eo ſtudio eaque diligentiâ noſtrâ facile perſpicietis quam ad pacem inter *Majeſtatem Veſtram* Regemque *Sueciæ* reconciliandam & adhibemus nunc, &, quoad opus erit, adhibebimus. Quapropter Internuntio noſtro ad Sereniſſimum *Suecorum* Regem Extraordinario *Philippo Meadowes* negotium dedimus, ut *Majeſtatem Veſtram* his de rebus noſtro deinceps nomine adeat, ea communicet, proponat, agat atque tranſigat, quæ commiſſa ſibi à nobis & mandata eſſe oſtendet. Quam ei fidem *Majeſtas Veſtra* hoc in munere habuerit, eam nobiſmetipſis habere ſe credat, rogamus. Deus *Majeſtati Veſtræ* ex iſtis omnibus rerum ſuarum difficultatibus, in quibus tamen forti & magno animo verſatur, felicem lætumque exitum primo quoque tempore concedat.

Guil, Lenthall, *Prolocutor Parlamenti Reipub: Angliæ.*

*Weſtmonaſterio. Maii* 15. *An.* 1659.

# Duæ ſequentes Literæ, Richardo abdicato, re-
# ſtituti Parlamenti nomine ſcriptæ ſunt.

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*Parlamentum Reipub. Angliæ Sereniſſimo potentiſſimoque Principi Carolo Guſtavo Suecorum, Gothorum, Vandalorumque Regi, &c.*

*Sereniſſime potentiſſimeque Rex, Amice chariſſime,*

CUM viſum ſit Deo optimo atque omnipotenti, penes quem ſolum [illegible] omnes Regnorum, Rerumque publicarum [illegible], Nos priſtinæ [illegible] Reipub. [illegible] adminiſtrandæ reſtituere, & [illegible] [illegible] quidam imperii [illegible] maximus, A nobis poſtulandum, [illegible] Majeſtatis [illegible] Principi potentiſſimo [illegible] Regem, & [illegible] quoque Principatum Protector [illegible] non ſine noſtra opera [illegible] benevolentiam reconciliandam [illegible] eſt, eſſe [illegible] Volumus atque ut [illegible] noſtro extraordinario, [illegible] hac Republ. [illegible] prorogaret [illegible] proponendis [illegible] quæ et [illegible] quicquid [illegible] noſtro nomine atque [illegible] nos eſſe [illegible] Deo bene juvante, [illegible] quam conſtituere conteret, rebus *Proteſtantium* [illegible] perdidum.

*Guil. Lenthall, Prolocutor Parlamenti Reipub. Angl.*

*Weſtmonaſterio, Maii 15. An. 1659.*

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*Parlamentum Reipub. Angliæ Sereniſſimo Principi Frederico Daniæ Regi.*

*Sereniſſime Rex, Amice Chariſſime,*

CUM [illegible] noſtra [illegible] Dei Opt. Max. [illegible] in [illegible] *Majeſtas* [illegible] Regnum [illegible] ſignificamus [illegible] diligentia noſtra [illegible] quam [illegible] Regemque *Sueciæ* [illegible] & adhiberemus [illegible] Quapropter [illegible] noſtro [illegible] extraordinario [illegible] negotium [illegible] in rebus noſtris [illegible] agat atque tranſigat, quæ commiſſa [illegible] Quam et [illegible] *Majeſtas* [illegible] habere ſe creare, rogamus. Deus [illegible] difficultatibus, in quibus tamen [illegible] exitum primo quoque tempore concedat.

*Guil. Lenthall, Prolocutor Parlamenti Reipub. Angl.*

*Weſtmonaſterio, Maii 15. An. 1659.*

# Artis Logicæ

## Plenior Inſtitutio,

## Ad PETRI RAMI

## Methodum concinnata.

Adjecta eſt Praxis Analytica & PETRI RAMI
Vita. Libris duobus.

# PRÆFATIO.

QUanquam Philoſophorum multi, ſuopte ingenio freti, contempſiſſe artem Logicam dicuntur, eorum tamen qui vel ſibi, vel aliis propter ingenium aut judicium natura minus acre ac perſpicax utiliſſimam eſſe ſibique diligenter excolendam judicarunt, optime eſt de ea meritus, ut ego quidem cum *Sidneio* noſtro ſentio, *Petrus Ramus.* Cæteri fere Phyſica, Ethica, Theologica Logicis, effrænata quadam licentia, confundunt. Sed noſter dum brevitatem ſectatus eſt nimis religioſe, non plane luci, ſed ubertati tamen lucis, quæ in tradenda arte, non parca, ſed plena & copioſa eſſe debet, videtur defuiſſe: id quod tot in eum ſcripta commentaria teſtantur. Satius itaque ſum arbitratus, quæ ad præcepta artis plenius intelligenda, ex ipſius *Rami* ſcholiis Dialecticis aliorumque commentariis neceſſario petenda ſunt, ea in ipſum corpus artis, niſi ſicubi diſſentio, transferre atque intexere. Quid enim brevitate conſequimur, ſi lux aliunde eſt petenda? Præſtat una opera, uno ſimul in loco artem longiuſculam cum luce conjungere, quam minore cum luce breviſſimam aliunde illuſtrare; cum hoc non minore negotio multoque minus commode hactenus fiat, quam ſi ars ipſa ut nunc ſuapte copia ſe fuſe explicaverit. Quam artis tradendæ rationem uberiorem ipſe etiam *Ramus* in Arithmetica & Geometria aliquanto poſt à ſe editis, edoctus jam longiore uſu, ſecutus eſt; ſuaſque ipſe regulas interjecto commentariolo explanavit, non aliis explanandas reliquit. Quorum cum plerique neſcio an nimio commentandi ſtudio elati, certe omnis methodi quod in iis mirum ſit, obliti, omnia permiſceant, poſtrema primis, axiomata Syllogiſmos eorumque regulas primis quibuſque ſimplicium argumentorum capitibus ingerere ſoleant, unde caliginem potius diſcentibus offundi quam lucem ullam præferri neceſſe eſt, id mihi cavendum imprimis duxi ut nequid præriperem, nequid præpoſtere quaſi traditum jam & intellectum, nequid niſi ſuo loco attingerem; nihil veritus, ne cui forte ſtrictior in explicandis præceptis exiſtimer, dum per pendenda magis quam percurrenda proponere ſtudebam. Nec tamen iis facile aſſenſerim, qui paucitatem regularum objiciunt *Ramo*, quarum permultæ etiam ex *Ariſtotele* ab aliis collectæ, nedum quæ ab ipſis cumulo ſunt adjectæ, vel incertæ vel futiles, diſcentem impediunt atque onerant potius quam adjuvant: ac ſiquid habent utilitatis aut ſalis, id ejuſmodi eſt, ut ſuopte ingenio quivis facilius percipiat, quam tot canonibus memoriæ mandatis, addiſcat. Multoque minus conſtitui, canones quidvis potius quam Logicos, à Theologis infercire; quos illi, quaſi ſubornatos in ſuum uſum, tanquam è media Logica petitos, depromant de Deo, diviniſque hypoſtaſibus & ſacramentis; quorum ratione, quo modo eſt ab ipſis informata, nihil eſt à Logica, adeoque ab ipſa ratione, alienius.

Prius autem quam opus ipſum aggredior, quoniam ars Logica omnium prima eſt ſuiſque finibus latiſſime patet, præmittam quædam de arte generalia, deque artium diſtributione; artem deinde ipſam perſequar: ad extremum, Analytica quædam exempla, ſive uſum artis, exercitationis cauſa, iis quibus opus eſt, & in eo genere exercere ſe libet, exhibebo: Quibus opus eſt inquam; quibus enim ingenium per ſe viget atque pollet, iis ut in hoc genere Analytico cum labore nimio ac miſeria ſe torqueant, non ſum author. Ad id enim ars adhibetur, ut naturam juvet, non ut impediat: adhibita nimis anxie nimiſque ſubtiliter, & præſertim ubi opus non eſt, ingenium per ſe jam ſatis acutum, obtundit potius quam acuit; ita plane ut in medicina remediorum uſus vel nimius vel non neceſſarius, valetudinem debilitat potius quam roborat. Quod autem *Ariſtotelis* aliorumque veterum auctoritatem ad ſingulas fere Logicæ regulas adjungimus, id quidem in tradenda arte ſupervacuum fuiſſet, niſi novitatis ſuſpicio, quæ *Petro Ramo* hactenus potiſſimum obſuit, adductis ipſis veterum authorum teſtimoniis, eſſet amolienda.

Artium omnium quaſi corpus & comprehenſio ἐγκυκλοπαιδεία Græce, i. e. eruditionis circuitus quidam in ſe redeuntis, adeoque in ſe abſolutæ atque perfectæ, vel Philoſophia dicitur. Hæc cum ſapientiæ ſtudium proprie ſignificat, tum vulgo artium omnium vel doctrinam, vel ſcientiam: doctrinam, cum præcepta artium tradit; ſcientiam, cum ars, quæ habitus eſt quidam mentis, præceptis illis percipitur, quaſique poſſidetur. Eodem modo & artis ſignificatio diſtinguitur: cum doctrinam ſignificat, de qua nobis potiſſimum hic eſt agendum, eſt ordinata præceptorum exemplorumque comprehenſio ſive methodus, qua quidvis utile docetur.

Artis materia præcepta ſunt: quæ qualia eſſe debeant, artis Logicæ, quam nunc tradimus, proprium eſt ſuo loco præſcribere.

Forma ſive ipſa ratio artis, non tam eſt præceptorum illorum methodica diſpoſitio, quam utilis alicujus rei præceptio: per id enim quod docet potius, quam per ordinem docendi, ars eſt id quod eſt: quod ex cujuſque artis definitione perſpicitur, ut infra oſtendetur.

Præceptorum artis tria genera ſunt: duo præcipua *definitiones* & *diſtributiones*; quarum doctrinam generalem Logica etiam loco idoneo ſibi vendicat; tertium, minus principale, *conſectarium* nominatur; eſtque proprietatis alicujus explicatio, ex definitione fere deducta.

Exempla ſunt quibus præceptionum veritas demonſtratur, uſuſque oſtenditur: ſuntque, ut ſcite *Plato*, quaſi obſides ſermonum: quod enim præcepto in genere docetur, id exemplo in ſpecie confirmatur.

Efficiens artis primarius neminem reor dubitare quin ſit Deus, author omnis ſapientiæ: id olim Philoſophos etiam non fugit.

Cauſæ miniſtræ fuerunt homines divinitus edocti, ingenioque præſtantes; qui olim ſingulas artes invenerunt. Inveniendi autem ratio eadem prope fuit quæ pingendi: ut enim in pictura duo ſunt, exemplum ſive archetypus, & ars pingendi, ſic in arte invenienda, archetypo reſpondet natura ſive uſus, & exemplum hominum peritorum, arti pictoris reſpondet Logica, ſaltem naturalis, quæ facultas ipſa rationis in mente hominis eſt; juxta illud vulgo dictum, Ars imitatur naturam.

Ratio autem ſive Logica, primum illa naturalis, deinde artificioſa, quatuor adhibuit ſibi quaſi adjutores, *teſte Ariſtot.* Metaphyſ. 1. c. 1. ſenſum, obſervationem, inductionem, & experientiam. Cum enim præcepta artium generalia ſint, ea niſi ex ſingularibus, ſingularia niſi ſenſu percipi non poſſunt: ſenſus ſine obſervatione, quæ exempla ſingula memoriæ committat, obſervatio ſine inductione, quæ ſingularia quam plurima inducendo generalem aliquam regulam conſtituat, inductio ſine experientia, quæ ſingulorum omnium convenientiam in commune & quaſi conſenſum judicet, nihil juvat. Hinc recte *Polus* apud *Platonem* in *Gorgia*, *experientia artem peperit*, *imperitia fortunam*, i. e. præcepta fortuita, adeoque incerta. *Et Ariſtot. Prior.* 1. *c.* 30. *cujuſque rei principia tradere, experientiæ eſt: ſic Aſtrologica experientia, illius ſcientiæ* principia ſuppeditavit. *Et Manilius*;

> *Per varios uſus artem experientia fecit,*
> *Exemplo monſtrante viam* ——

Et Cicero; *omnia quæ ſunt concluſa nunc artibus, diſperſa quondam & diſſipata fuerunt, donec adhibita hæc ars eſt, quæ res diſſolutas divulſaſque conglutinaret & ratione quadam conſtringeret.* Ea ars Logica eſt, vel hæc ſaltem naturalis, quam ingenitam habemus, vel illa artificioſa, quam mox tradimus: hæc enim præcepta artis invenit ac docet. Hactenus de efficientibus cauſis artium.

Forma artis, ut ſupra dixi, non tam præceptorum diſpoſitio eſt, quàm præceptio ipſa rei alicujus utilis, eademque eſt finis. Quemadmodum enim non tam præceptorum Logicorum methodica diſpoſitio quam ipſum bene diſſerere, & forma Logicæ & finis eſt, ut infra docebitur, ita in genere non ſolum præceptorum diſpoſitio, ſed ipſa rei utilis præceptio forma artis & ſimul finis eſt: quod autem præcipitur, id eſſe utile in hominum vita debere, quod *Græci*, βιωφελές vocant, omnes conſentiunt; indignamque eſſe artis nomine, quæ non bonum aliquod ſive utile ad vitam hominum, quod idem quoque honeſtum ſit, ſibi proponat, ad quod omnia præcepta artis referantur; adeoque formam artis eſſe rei alicujus utilis præceptionem, per quam ſcilicet ars eſt id quod eſt, neceſſario ſequitur. Verum ad hunc finem perveniri non poteſt, niſi doctrinam natura commode percipiat, exercitatio confirmet, utræque ſimul doctrina & exercitatio artem quaſi alteram naturam reddant. Sed ingenium ſine arte, quam ars ſine ingenio plus proficere cenſetur: proficere autem non admodum utrumque niſi acceſſerit exercitatio: unde illud *Ovidii*;

*ſolus, & artificem qui facit, uſus erit.*

Exercitatio duplex eſt; analyſis & geneſis. Illa eſt, cum exempla artis in ſua principia quaſi reſolvuntur, dum ſingulis partibus ad normam, i. e. ad præcepta artis examinantur: hæc, cum ex artis præſcripto efficimus aliquid aut componimus.

Hactenus cauſæ artium: ſequuntur ſpecies. Artes ſunt generales vel ſpeciales: generales, quarum materia ſubjecta eſt generalis. Materia autem illa vel artificis eſt, vel artis. Artificis materia generalis generalibus cunctis artibus eſt communis; artis autem, ſingularum eſt propria: eſtque artificis quidem generalis materia, omne id quod revera eſt, aut eſſe fingitur; artis, quod in eo omni efficiunt ſingulæ. Id omne vel ratio complectitur, vel oratio: generalium itaque artium materia generalis, vel ratio eſt, vel oratio: verſantur enim in excolenda vel ratione ad bene ratiocinandum, ut Logica; vel oratione, eaque vel ad bene loquendum, ut Grammatica, vel ad dicendum bene, ut Rhetorica. Omnium autem prima ac generaliſſima, Logica eſt; dein Grammatica, tum demum Rhetorica; quatenus rationis uſus ſine oratione etiam magnus, hujus ſine illa poteſt eſſe nullus. Grammaticæ autem ſecundum tribuimus locum, eo quod oratio pura eſſe etiam inornata; ornata eſſe niſi pura ſit prius, facile non queat.

Artes ſpeciales ſunt, quæ materiam habent ſpecialem; nempe naturam fere vel mores: earum enim accuratior diſtributio non eſt hujus loci.

# ARTIS LOGICÆ
## Plenior Institutio, &c.
## LIBER PRIMUS.

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### CAPUT I.
### *Quid ſit Logica?*

LOgica eſt ars bene ratiocinandi. Eodémque ſenſu Dialectica ſæpe dicta eſt.

Logica autem, *i.e.* ars rationalis, ἀ λόγω dicitur: quæ vox Græcè rationem ſignificat; quam excolendam Logica ſibi ſumit.

Ratiocinari autem eſt rationis uti facultate. Additur bene, i. e. rectè, ſcienter, expeditè; ad perfectionem artis ab imperfectione facultatis naturalis diſtinguendam.

Logicam potius, quàm cum *P. Ramo* Dialecticam, dicendam duxi, quòd eo nomine tota ars rationis aptiſſimè ſignificetur; cùm Dialectica à verbo Græco διαλέγεσθαι, artem potius interrogandi & reſpondendi, i. e. diſputandi ſignificet; ut ex *Platonis Cratylo*, ex doctrina *Peripateticorum & Stoicorum*, *Fabio*, *Suida* aliiſque docetur. Et tamen *Plato* in Alcibiade primo idem vult eſſe τὸ διαλέγεσθαι, quod ratione uti. Prior ſignificatio ad rationis uſum nimis anguſta eſt; poſterior, ſi inter authores de ea non convenit, nimis incerta.

*Ratiocinandi* autem potius dico quàm diſſerendi, propterea quòd ratiocinari, non minus latè quàm ipſa ratio, idem valet propriè quod ratione uti; cùm diſſerere, præterquam quod vox non planè propria, ſed tranſlata ſit, non latius plerumque pateat, quam diſputare.

Addunt nonnulli in definitione ſubjectum Dialecticæ, i. e. de re qualibet: ſed hoc cum Grammatica & Rhetorica commune Dialecticæ fuit, ut in procemio vidimus; non ergo hic repetendum.

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### CAP. II.
### *De partibus Logicæ, deque Argumenti Generibus.*

RAtiocinatio autem fit omnis, rationibus vel ſolis & per ſe conſideratis, vel inter ſe diſpoſitis; quæ argumenta etiam ſæpius dicta ſunt.

Logicæ itaque partes duæ ſunt; rationum ſive argumentorum inventio, eorumque diſpoſitio.

Secutus veteres *Ramus*, *Ariſtotelem*, *Ciceronem*, *Fabium*, Dialecticam partitur in inventionem & judicium. Verùm non inventio, quæ nimis lata eſt quocunque modo ſumatur, ſed argumentorum inventio, pars prima Logicæ dicenda eſt: diſpoſitio autem eorum, cur ſit ſecunda, non judicium, ſecundi libri initio reſpondebimus. Sed neque hæc partitio ſuis auctoribus vel iiſdem vel aliis caret: *Plato*, in phædro, diſpoſitionem inventioni addidit; *Ariſtoteles* τάξιν; *Top.* 8. 1. quod idem eſt. Et *Cicero*, de Orat. fatetur, inventionem & diſpoſitionem, non orationis eſſe, ſed rationis.

Inventionem autem & diſpoſitionem quarum tandem rerum niſi argumentorum.

Argumentorum itaque inventio *Topica Græcè* nominatur; quia τόπους continet, i. e. locos unde argumenta ſumuntur, viámque docet & rationem argumenta bene inveniendi, ſuo nimirum ordine collocata; unde vel ad geneſin expromantur,

mantur, vel in analyſi explorentur, inventorumque ſimul vim atque uſum exponit.

*Argumentum eſt quod ad aliquid arguendum affectum eſt.* Id eſt, quod habet affectionem ad arguendum; vel ut Cic. in Top. quod affectum eſt ad id de quo quæritur: id interpretatur *Boethius* refertur, vel aliqua relatione reſpicit id de quo quæritur.

Iſta affectione ſublatâ, argumentum non eſt; mutatâ, non eſt idem; ſed ipſum quoque mutatur.

Ad arguendum autem, i. e. oſtendendum, explicandum, probandum aliquid. Sic juxta illud tritum, *degeneres animos timor arguit, Æneid. 4. & illud Ovidii; Apparet virtus, arguiturque malis.* Explicare autem & probare etiam ſimplicis argumenti propria atque primaria vis eſt, unde aliud ex alio ſequi, vel non ſequi, i. e. uno poſito, alterum poni vel non poni primitus judicatur: quod de inductione quidem recte monuit *Baconus* noſter, de Augment. ſcient. *l.* 5. *c.* 4. *uno eodémque mentis opere, illud quod quæritur, & inveniri & judicari:* ſed hoc de ſingulis argumentis ſimplicibus non minus verum eſt.

Ex quo etiam ſequitur, judicium non eſſe alteram Logicæ partem, ſed quaſi effectum utriuſque partis communem & ex utraque oriundum; Ex ſyllogiſmo in re præſertim dubia clarius quidem at ſecundario tamen contra ac plerique docent.

Aliquid autem, eſt id quodcunque arguitur: quicquid enim eſt, aut eſſe fingitur, ſubjectum eſt Logicæ, ut ſupra demonſtravimus. Argumentum autem propriè neque vox eſt neque res; ſed affectio quædam rei ad arguendum; quæ *ratio* dici poteſt ut ſupra.

Tractat igitur Logica neque voces, neque res. Voces quidem, quamquam & ſine vocibus poteſt ratiocinari, tamen, quoties opus eſt, diſtinctas & tantùm non ambiguas, non improprias, ab ipſo uſu loquendi videtur jure ſanè poſtulare: res ipſas artib. quaſque ſuis relinquit; arguendi duntaxat inter ſe quam habeant affectionem ſive rationem conſiderat.

*Ratio* autem dicitur, voce à Mathematicis petita, qua terminorum proportionalium inter ſe certa habitudo ſignificatur.

*Argumentum eſt artificiale aut inartificiale. Sic Ariſtot. Rhet.* 1. 12. quem *Fabius* ſequitur, *l* 5. *c.* 1. *Cicero* in *inſitum* & *aſſumptum* dividit. Artificiale autem dicitur, non quo inveniatur arte magis quam inartificiale, ſed quòd ex ſeſe arguit, i. e. vi inſita ac propria.

*Artificiale eſt primum, vel à primo ortum. Primum, quod eſt ſua originis.* Id eſt, affectionem arguendi non modò in ſe habet, ſed etiam à ſe; quod infrà clarius patebit, cùm quid ſit à *primo ortum* docebitur.

*Primum eſt ſimplex aut comparatum.*

*Simplex, quod ſimpliciter & abſolutè conſideratur.* Id eſt, ſimplicem habet affectionem arguendi id quod arguitur, ſine quantitatis aut qualitatis cum eo comparatione.

*Simplex eſt conſentaneum aut diſſentaneum,*

Nam quæ ſine comparatione conſiderantur, neceſſe eſt vel conſentiant inter ſe, vel diſſentiant.

*Conſentaneum eſt quod conſentit cum re quam arguit.* Id eſt, ponit, ſive affirmat eſſe rem quam arguit.

*Eſtque conſentaneum abſolutè aut modo quodam.* Abſolutè, i. e. perfectè; abſolvere enim eſt perficere. *Ariſtotelis* quoque hæc diſtributio eſt. Quæ autem abſolutè conſentiunt, eorum alterum alterius vi exiſtere intelligitur; & ſic conſentiunt cauſa & effectus. Atque hæ ſunt argumentorum diſtributiones generales ex affectionum differentiis deſumptæ; ſuóque nunc ordine ſingulatim tractandæ: argumentorum autem omnium primum *cauſa* eſt; id quòd per ſe quivis intelligere poteſt.

## CAP. III.

### *De Efficiente, procreante, & conſervante.*

*Cauſa eſt, cujus vi res eſt.* Vel, ſi ex capite ſuperiore, quod intelligi memoriáque teneri poteſt, repetito eſt opus, cauſa eſt argumentum artificiale, primum, ſimplex, abſolutè conſentaneum, cujus vi, vel facultate, res, i. e. effectum, arguitur eſſe vel exiſtere. Nec male definiatur cauſa *quæ dat eſſe rei.*

*Cujus* autem vi vel facultate, i. e. à quo, ex quo, per quod, vel propter quod res eſt, id cauſa eſſe dicitur. *Res* etiam, idem quod *aliquid* in definitione argumenti, vox generalis adhibetur, quæ ſignificaret cauſam, ſicut & reliqua argumenta, eſſe rerum omnium quæ vel ſunt, vel finguntur: nam quæ revera ſunt, veras; quæ finguntur, fictas cauſas habent.

Hinc intelligitur *cauſam ſine qua non*, quæ vulgò dicitur, impropriè cauſam, & quaſi fortuitò, dici: ut cùm amiſſio rei alicujus dicitur cauſa recuperationis; quamvis amiſſio recuperationem neceſſariò præcedat. Neque enim cauſa ſic intelligi debet, id quod & *Cicero* docuit, l. de Fato, ut quod cuique antecedat, id ei cauſa ſit, ſed quod cuique efficienter antecedat; i. e. ita ut res vi ejus exiſtat. Hinc cauſa propriè dicta, *principium* quoque nominatur à *Cic.* 1. de Nat. Deor. ſed frequentiùs apud Græcos.

Cauſa autem eſt cujus vi res non ſolùm eſt, verùm etiam fuit, vel erit. Ut enim præcepta Logica de omni re, ſic omnium præcepta artium de omni tempore intelligenda ſunt; unde & æterna eſſe, veritateſque æternæ dicuntur.

Ex definitione autem cauſæ tertium illud artis præceptum, de quo in præfatione diximus, conſectarium hoc oritur: *primus hic locus inventionis, fons eſt omnis ſcientiæ; ſcirique demum creditur cujus cauſa teneatur.*

Neque aliud eſt *Ariſtotelis* decantata illa demonſtratio, quàm qua effectum arguitur, probatur, cognoſcitur, ponitur, ex cauſa poſita; quodcunque illud demum cauſæ genus ſit: ut cùm riſibile probatur ex rationali, quippe, omnis homo eſt riſibilis, quia rationalis: eóque erit clarior demonſtratio, quo cauſa certior, propior, præſtantior.

*Cauſa eſt efficiens & materia, aut forma & finis.* Cur ſic cauſa dividatur quaſi in duo genera anonyma, infrà in doctrina diſtributionis facilius intelligetur.

Quot autem modis alicujus vi res eſt, tot eſſe ſpecies cauſæ ſtatuendum eſt. Modis autem quatuor alicujus vi res eſt; ut rectè *Ariſtot. Phyſ.* 2. 7. & nos ſuprà diximus; vel enim à quo, vel ex quo, vel per quod, vel propter quod res unaquæque eſt, ejus vi eſſe rectè dicitur. His modis nec plures inveniuntur, nec pauciores eſſe poſſunt: rectè igitur cauſa diſtribuitur in cauſam à qua, ex qua, per quam, & propter quam, i. e. efficientem & materiam, aut formam, & finem.

*Efficiens eſt cauſa, à qua res eſt, vel efficitur.* Ab efficiente enim principium movendi eſt; ipſa tamen effecto non ineſt.

*Ciceroni* omnis cauſa *efficiens* nominatur: ſic enim in Topicis; *primus eſt locus rerum efficientium, quæ cauſæ appellantur:* & de Fato; *cauſa eſt quæ id efficit, cujus eſt cauſa.* Hinc fit ut *cauſatum*, à cauſis licet omnib. ortum habens, *effectum* tantummodo vocitetur: unde hoc ſolum intelligitur, efficientem eſſe cauſam præcipuam atque primariam; omnem autem cauſam aliquo modo efficere.

*Efficientis etſi, vera genera nulla ſive ſpecies nobis apparent, ubertas tamen permagna modis quibuſdam diſtinguitur.*

*Primò, quòd procreet, aut tueatur.*

Sic pater & mater procreant; nutrix tuetur. Huc quoque omnium rerum inventores, auctores, conditores, conſervatores referendi ſunt. Procreare igitur & tueri duo ſunt modi quibus idem ſæpe efficiens efficere ſolet: procreando quidem id quod nondum eſt, ut ſit; conſervando autem id quod jam eſt, ut porrò ſit.

## CAP. IV.

### *De Efficiente ſola, & cum aliis.*

SEcundò, *cauſa efficiens ſola efficit, aut cum aliis. Earúmque omnium ſæpe alia principalis, alia minus principalis, ſive adjuvans & miniſtra.* Quam *Cicero*, in Partit. *cauſam conficientem* vocat: & cujus, inquit, generis vis varia eſt, & ſæpe aut major aut minor; ut & illa quæ maximam vim habet, ſola ſæpe cauſa dicatur. Hinc, Æneid. 9. *Nyſus* ab *Euryalo* ſocio transfert in ſe factæ cædis & culpam & pœnam; quaſi ſolus auctor fuerit, quia fuit præcipuus. Et ſolitaria cauſa cum pleriſque & principalibus & ſociis, pro *Marcello*, variè adhibetur. Sed hæc duo exempla vide poſt finem in praxi analytica.

Cauſa minus principalis (ut quidam volunt) vel eſt impulſiva, quæ principalem quoquo modo impellit ac movet, vel eſt inſtrumentalis.

Impulſiva duplex eſt Græciſque vocibus receptis, *proegumena* dicitur, vel *procatarctica*. Illa intus, hæc extrinſecus movet principalem: & vera ſi eſt, *occaſio*; ſi ficta, *prætextus* dicitur.

Sic cauſa proeg. quæ intus movebat infideles ad perſequendum Chriſtianos (exemplis enim receptis hîc utemur) erat eorum ignorantia aut impietas, cauſa procat. erant nocturni conventus, vel potius quævis conventicula Chriſtianorum. Olim interficiendi Chriſti cauſa proeg. erat Judæorum zelus ignarus; procat. objecta ſabbathi violatio concionéſque ſeditioſæ. Notandum autem eſt ubi cauſa proegumena, ſive interna, non eſt, ibi cauſæ procatarcticæ, ſive externæ, vim nullam eſſe.

Ad cauſam autem procatarcticam, ea ſæpe referenda videtur, ſi omnino eſt in cauſis numeranda, quæ ſuprà dicta eſt *cauſa ſine qua non*; ſiquidem quovis modo cauſam extrinſecus movere principalem dici poteſt.

*Inſtrumenta etiam in cauſis adjuvantibus connumerantur.* Quo argumento *Epicureus*, apud *Cic.* 1. de nat. deor. diſputat mundum nunquam eſſe factum, hoc etiam exemplum ad praxin retulimus. Inſtrumenta autem propriè non agunt, ſed aguntur aut adjuvant. Et qui cauſam adjuvantem nullam niſi inſtrumenta habet, poteſt rectè *ſolitaria cauſa* dici: quanquam lata admodum inſtrumenti ſignificatio admittitur; ut apud *Ariſtot. Polit.* 1. 3. *inſtrumenta ſunt animata, vel inanimata.* Quo ſenſu omnes ferè cauſæ adjuvantes & miniſtræ poſſunt *inſtrumentales* nominari.

Ad hunc locum referendus commodiſſimè videtur cauſarum ordo, quo alia dicitur *prima*, idque vel abſolutè, ut Deus, vel in ſuo genere, ut ſol, & ejuſmodi quippiam; alia *ſecunda*; & ſic deinceps, quæ à prima vel à prioribus pendet, & quaſi effectum eſt. Alia deinde *remota* dicitur, alia *proxima*: quò ſpectat illud vulgo dictum; *quicquid eſt cauſa cauſa, eſt etiam cauſa cauſati.* Quæ regula in cauſis duntaxat neceſſariò inter ſe ordinatis valet. Sed hæ cauſarum diviſiones in Logica non magnopere ſectandæ ſunt; quandoquidem tota vis arguendi in cauſa proxima continetur; déque ea ſola generalis definitio cauſæ intelligitur.

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## CAP. V.

### *De Efficiente per ſe, & per accidens.*

TErtiò, *cauſa efficiens per ſe efficit, aut per accidens.* Tertium hoc par modorum efficiendi eſt, ab *Ariſtotele* etiam & veteribus notatum.

*Per ſe efficit cauſa, qua ſua facultate efficit.* Id eſt, quæ ab interno principio effectum producit.

*Vt qua natura vel conſilio faciunt.* Naturalis efficientia eſt elementorum, foſſilium, plantarum, animalium. Conſilii exemplum eſt illa *Ciceronis* de ſe ad *Cæſarem* confeſſio: *nulla vi coactus, judicio meo ac voluntate, ad ea arma profectus ſum, quæ erant ſumpta contra te.*

Naturæ, appetitum; conſilio, artem nonnulli adjungunt. Sed appetitus aut ad naturam, aut ad naturæ vitium; ars ad conſilium ſine incommodo referetur: ars n. & conſilium quatenus aliquid efficiunt, non illa ab intellectu, hoc à voluntate; ſed utrumque ab utroque proficiſci videtur: etenim ars ferè non invita, non proximæ ſaltem invita; & concilium prudens ſcienſque agit. Hi quatuor modi efficiendi per ſe, ad eundem nonnunquam effectum concurrunt: ut cùm quis loquitur, naturâ; hoc vel illud, conſilio ſimul & appetitu; eleganter, arte.

Videtur itaque huc propriè referenda etiam cauſa impulſiva, ſive ea proegumena, ſive procatarctica ſit, de quibus capite ſuperiore diximus; quæ non tam cauſæ ſunt principali ſociæ aut miniſtræ quam modi efficientis, quibus vel affectu aliquo impulſus, vel ex occaſione aliqua oblata, conſilio adductus hoc vel illud agit, ut ex allatis ibi exemplis intelligi poteſt.

Quæ autem naturâ neceſſariò, quæ conſilio libere agunt; neceſſariò agit quæ aliter agere non poteſt, ſed ad unum quidpiam agendum determinatur, idque ſolum ſua propenſione agit quæ neceſſitas naturæ dicitur; ex hypotheſi nimirum. Niſi Deus aliud voluerit, aut externa vis aliorſum impulerit, ut Lapidem ſurſum. Libere agit efficiens non hoc duntaxat ut naturale agens, ſed hoc vel illud pro arbitrio, idque abſolute vel ex hypotheſi. Abſolute ſolus Deus libere agit omnia; id eſt quicquid vult; & agere poteſt vel non agere; Teſtantur hoc paſſim ſacræ literæ: Libere ex hypotheſi, illæ duntaxat cauſæ quæ ratione & conſilio faciunt, ut angeli & homines; ex hypotheſi nimirum divinæ voluntatis, quæ iis libere agendi poteſtatem in principio fecit. Libertas enim poteſtas eſt agendi vel non agendi hoc vel illud. Nempe niſi Deus aliud voluerit, aut vis aliunde ingruat.

*Per accidens efficit cauſa, quæ externa facultate efficit.* Id eſt, non ſua; cùm principium effecti eſt extra efficientem, externúmque principium interno oppoſitum: ſic n. efficiens non efficit per ſe, ſed per aliud. Hinc vere dicitur, *omne effectum cauſa per accidens poteſt reduci ad cauſam per ſe.*

*Ut in his quæ fiunt coactione, vel fortuna.* Duo n. hæc ſunt externa principia internis, naturæ nempe & voluntati ſive conſilio, oppoſita. Sic *Ariſtot.* Rhet. 2. 20. cùm dixiſſet, homines facere quædam non per ſe, quædam per ſe; ſubjungit, *eorum quæ non per ſe, alia per fortunam, alia ex neceſſitate.* Sed *neceſſitas* vox nimis lata eſt, ut ex ſupra dictis de efficiente naturali patebit.

Coactione fit aliquid, cum efficiens vi cogitur ad effectum. Ut cum lapis ſurſum vel recta projicitur qui ſuapte natura deorſum fertur. Hæc neceſſitas coactionis dicitur & cauſis etiam liberis nonnunquam accidere poteſt. Sic neceſſe eſt mercatori in tempeſtate merces ejicere, ſiquidem ſalvus eſſe vult. Hæc itaque neceſſitas mixtas quaſdam actiones produxit, quas facit quis volens nolente animo, quod aiunt.

*Fortuna ſive fortuitò fit aliquid, cùm præter ſcopum efficientis accidit.* Non enim fortuna, ſed efficiens, quæ per fortunam ſive fortuitò agit, eſt propriè cauſa per accidens rerum fortuitarum: eò quòd earum principium, occulta nimirum illa cauſa quam *fortunam* dicimus, extra illam efficientem eſt: fortuna autem eſt eventuum eorum principium, etſi occultum, non per accidens tamen, ſed per ſe. Fortuna itaque apud veteres aut nomen ſine re eſſe exiſtimabatur, quo uſi ſunt homines, teſte alicubi *Hippocrate*, cùm ſecundarias contingentium cauſas ignorarent, aut eſt ipſa latens cauſa: ut *Cicero* in Top. *cùm enim nihil ſine cauſa fiat, hoc ipſum eſt fortuna, eventus obſcura cauſa, quæ latenter efficit.* Inter fortunam & caſum hæc volunt intereſſe *Ariſtot. Phyſ.* 2. 6. & *Plutarch.* de Placit. & de Fato, ut caſus quàm fortuna latius pateat: fortuna in iis duntaxat qui ratione utuntur; caſus in omnibus tam animantibus quàm inanimatis dominetur: ſed loquendi ferè uſus fortunæ ſub nomine caſum etiam complectitur, quotieſcunque præter ſcopum ſive finem efficientis aliquid accidit. *Sic caſu fortuito,* ait *Tullius,* 3. de nat. deor. *Pheræo Jaſoni profuit hoſtis, qui gladio vomicam ejus aperuit, quam medici ſanare non poterant.*

*In hoc genere cauſarum imprudentia connumerari ſolet. Sic* etiam *Ariſtot. Ethic.* 3. 1. *videntur non voluntaria eſſe, quæ per vim aut ignorantiam fiunt.* Et *Ovid.* 2. *Triſt.*

*Cur aliquid vidi? cur noxia lumina feci?*
*Cur imprudenti cognita culpa mihi eſt?*
*Inſcius Actæon vidit ſine veſte Dianam:*
*Præda ſuis canibus nec minus ille fuit.*
*Scilicet in ſuperis etiam fortuna luenda eſt:*
*Nec veniam, læſo numine, caſus habet.*

Durum id eſſe queritur poeta; *nam cæteroquì hinc ſumitur plerumque deprecatio; & excuſationi etiam nonnunquam locus hic eſt.* Deprecationis exemplum eſt apud *Cic.* pro *Ligario: ignoſce pater: erravit; lapſus eſt: non putavit: Et* paulò pòſt; *erravi: temerè feci: pœnitet; ad clementiam tuam confugio.*

Fortunæ autem nomen, ut ſuprà dictum eſt, ignoratio cauſarum confinxit: cùm enim aliquid præter conſilium ſpémque contigerit, fortuna vulgò dicitur, *Unde Cicero,* apud *Lactantium,* Inſtit. 3. 29. *ignoratio rerum atque cauſarum fortunæ nomen induxit.* Nec inſcite *Juvenalis:*

*Nullum numen abeſt, ſi ſit prudentia: ſed te*
*Nos facimus, fortuna, deam; cœlóque locamus.*

Certè enim & cœlo locanda eſt; ſed, mutato nomine, *divina providentia* dicenda. Unde *Ariſt. Phyſ.* 2. 4. *ſunt nonnulli quibus fortuna quidem videtur eſſe cauſa, ſed ignota humanæ intelligentia, tanquam divinum quiddam.* *Et Cic.* Acad. 1. *providentiam Dei quæ ad homines pertinet, nonnunquam quidem fortunam appellant, quod efficiat multa improviſa nec opinata nobis propter obſcuritatem ignorationémque cauſarum.* Sed providentia rerum omnium prima cauſa eſt, ſive notæ ſive ignotæ ſint earum cauſæ ſecundariæ: & providentiæ ſi neceſſitatem adjungas, *fatum* dici ſolet. Verùm de providentia meliùs Theologia quàm Logica diſceptabit. Hoc tantum obiter; fatum ſive decretum Dei cogere neminem malefacere; & ex hypotheſi divinæ præſcientiæ certa quidem eſſe omnia, non neceſſaria. Non excuſandus itaque *Cicero* pro *Ligario,* cùm ait, *fatalis quædam calamitas incidiſſe videtur, & improvidas hominum mentes occupaviſſe; ut nemo mirari debeat humana conſilia divina neceſſitate eſſe ſuperata.* Multo rectius alibi, *datur quidem venia neceſſitati; ſed neceſſitati, quæ inſtituto efficientis repugnat, & voluntati.*

## CAP. VI.

### *De Materia.*

M*Ateria eſt cauſa ex qua res eſt.* Efficientem ordine naturæ ſequitur materia; & efficientis effectum quoddam eſt; præparat enim efficiens materiam, ut ſit apta ad recipiendam formam. Ut autem efficiens eſt id quod primum movet, ita id materia quod primum movetur, hinc efficiens, agendi; materia, patiendi principium appellatur. Hæc autem definitio materiæ apud omnes eadem ferè occurrit. *Eſt cauſa:* materiæ enim vi affectum eſt. Illa autem vis particula *ex qua* ſignificatur: quanquam hæc vulgò non materiæ ſolùm nota eſt, ſed nunc efficientis, ut, *ex ictu vulnus:* nunc partium, ut, *homo conſtat ex anima & corpore;* nunc mutationis cujuſvis, ut, *ex candido fit niger.* *Res:* nempe quam arguit; effectum ſcilicet materiatum; ut intelligamus materiam etiam eſſe omnium entium & non entium communem; non rerum ſenſibilium & corporearum propriam. Quales autem res ipſæ ſunt, talis materia earum eſſe debet; ſenſibilium ſenſibilis, æternarum æterna; & ita in reliquis. Sic artium materia ſunt præcepta. *Eſt,* i. e. efficitur & conſtat: unde *Cic.* 1. Acad. *materia ea cauſa eſt, quæ ſe efficienti præbet, ut ex ſeſe non modò effectum fiat, ſed etiam poſtquam effectum eſt, conſtet.* Hoc argumento ficto, apud *Ovid.* 2. Metam. ſolis domus auro, pyropo, ebore, argento componitur. *Regia ſolis erat,* &c. Sic *Cæſar* 1. Bell. civil. navium materiam deſcribit: *carinæ primum ac ſtatumina ex levi materia fiebant,* &c.

Dividitur vulgo materia in primam & ſecundam; ſecunda in proximam & remotam. Verùm hæc diſtributio Phyſica potius eſt. Id enim ſolum Logicus in materia ſpectat, ut res ex ea ſit; & potiſſimum quidem ut proximè ex ea ſit; proxima enim potiſſimum arguit.

## C A P. VII.

### *De Forma.*

C*Auſæ primum genus ejuſmodi eſt in efficiente & materia: ſecundum ſequitur in forma & fine.* Quia ſcilicet ordine temporis eſt poſterius. Efficiens enim & materia ſub genere priore continentur, quod in effecto producendo præcedunt; forma & finis ſub poſteriore, quòd efficientem & materiam ſequuntur effectumque ipſum comitantur: poſitis enim efficiente, & materiâ, non continuò ſequuntur forma & finis: efficiens enim etſi materia ſuppetit, forma tamen & fine ſuo nonnunquam fruſtratur; forma & finis ſi adſit, neceſſe eſt efficientem & materiam fuiſſe. Qui autem in uſu obſervatur ordo cauſarum, idem debet in doctrina quoque obſervari. Nec tamen ordo iſte ad conſtituenda cauſarum genera ſatis valet, ſed aliud quiddam quod nomine caret. Unde meritò non ſatis accurata videtur illa cauſarum diſtributio, quæ affertur *Ariſtotelis*, in cauſas vel effectum præcedentes, ut efficientem & materiam; vel cum effecto ſimul exiſtentes, ut formam & finem: tametſi enim hæc diſtributio ordinem cauſarum ſervat, naturam tamen earum non diſtinguit; immo cauſæ neque convenit, neque propria eſt: non convenit, quia cauſa quælibet, ut cauſa, non præcedit, ſed cum effecto ſimul eſt. Præcedunt autem utcunque efficiens & materia effectum vel naturæ ordine, vel temporis: ſi naturæ, id & cum reliquis cauſis & cum ſubjectis omnibus commune habent; ſi temporis, hoc efficienti & materiæ neque omni commune eſt (quædam enim cum effecto non niſi ſimul ſunt) neque ſolis iis proprium; nam & ſubjecta pleraque adjunctis ſuis tempore priora ſunt. Nec ſœliciùs ab eodem *Ariſtotele* dividuntur cauſæ in externas, efficientem & finem; & internas, materiam & formam: hæc enim diſtributio etſi uſus ejus aliquis eſſe poteſt, ad leges tamen artis minus accommodata eſt: eſſe enim externum vel internum, non eſt cauſis proprium, ſed effecto etiam & adjuncto commune. Deinde materia & forma cùm intra effectum ſunt, non tam cauſæ quàm partes effecti ſunt: quid? quòd finis, quæ perfectio rei eſt aptitudóque ad uſum, interna potius cauſa diceretur. Poſtremò, hæc diſtributio turbat ordinem cauſarum, methodi proinde legem: efficiens enim eſt principium motus & cauſarum prima; finis, ultima eſt: ſi igitur internum externo præmittitur, materia & forma, quæ efficientis quodammodo effecta ſunt, efficienti præponentur; ſi externum interno, finis efficienti, i. e. ultima primæ, adjungetur; mediis, materiæ nempe & formæ, præmittetur. Cautius itaque *Ramus* atque arti conveniéntiùs, cauſarum genera anonyma reliquit: quod ut oſtenderemus, longiuſcule cum venia digreſſi, nunc ad alterum genus cauſarum, formam & finem, redeamus. Formæ autem eſt prior locus concedendus, cùm finis nihil aliud ſit quàm fructus quidam formæ.

*Forma eſt cauſa per quam res eſt id quod eſt.* Hæc definitio *Platonicam* & *Ariſtotelicam* conjunxit: ille enim definit formam eſſe cauſam per quam, hic, quod quid eſt eſſe. Ut autem materia, ſic etiam forma effectum quoddam efficientis quidem eſt. Formam enim efficiens & producit nondum exiſtentem, & inducit in materiam: forma autem effecti & cauſa eſt, & præcipua quidem, ſoláque effectum arguit, quòd vi formæ potiſſimum exiſtit. Efficiens enim fruſtrari formâ, forma effecto non poteſt. *Per quam* itaque particula eam cauſam ſignificat eamque vim, quæ rem ſive effectum informat atque conſtituit. Res enim nulla eſt quæ ſuam non habeat formam, nobis licet incognitam.

Res etiam ſingulæ, ſive individua, quæ vulgò vocant, ſingulas ſibíque proprias formas habent; differunt quippe numero inter ſe, quod nemo non fatetur. Quid autem eſt aliud numero inter ſe, niſi ſingulis formis differre? Numerus enim, ut rectè *Scaliger*, eſt affectio eſſentiam conſequens. Quæ igitur numero, eſſentiâ quoque differunt; & nequaquam numero, niſi eſſentiâ, differrent. *Evigilent hîc Theologi.* Quòd ſi quæcunque numero, eſſentiâ quoque differunt, nec tamen materiâ, neceſſe eſt formis inter ſe differant; non autem communibus, ergo propriis. Sic anima rationalis, forma hominis in genere eſt; anima *Socratis*, forma *Socratis* propria. *Per quam res eſt id quod eſt*, i. e. quæ dat proprium eſſe rei. Cùm enim cujuſque ferè rei eſſentia partim ſit communis, partim propria; communem materia conſtituit, forma propriam. Et per alias quidem cauſas *eſſe* res poteſt dici; per ſolam formam *eſſe id quod eſt*.

Ideò

*Ideóque hinc à cæteris rebus omnib. res diſtinguitur.* Id eſt, diſtinctione, quam vocant eſſentiali : ex ſola enim forma eſt differentia eſſentialis. Immo quæcunque inter ſe quovis modo, eadem etiam formis differunt; fónſque omnis differentiæ forma eſt ; nec aliis argumentis inter ſe res, niſi formis primariò diſcreparent. Et hoc quidem conſectarium ex definitione eſt primum, ſequitur alterum.

*Forma ſimul cum re ipſa ingeneratur.* Hinc illud veriſſimum : *poſitâ formâ, res ipſa ponitur; ſublatâ, tollitur.* Ad exempla nunc veniamus. Anima rationalis eſt forma hominis, quia per eam homo eſt homo, & diſtinguitur à cæteris omnibus naturis : geometricarum figurarum in triangulis, quadrangulis ſua forma eſt : Phyſicarum, cœli, terræ, arborum, piſcium ſua.

*Unde præcipua rerum ut natura eſt, ſic erit explicatio, ſi poſſit inveniri.* Tertium hoc conſectarium eſt ex definitione formæ. Unde illud quod de cauſa in communi ſupradictum eſt, nempe fontem eſſe omnis ſcientiæ, formæ potiſſimum convenire intelligitur. Quæ enim cauſa eſſentiam præcipuè conſtituit, eadem ſi nota ſit, ſcientiam quoque potiſſimum facit. Sed formam internam cujuſque rei noſſe, à ſenſibus, ut ferè ſit, remotiſſimam, difficile admodum eſt. In artificioſis autem rebus forma, utpote externa, ſenſibúſque expoſita, facilius occurrit; ut apud *Cæſarem* de bell. Gall. l. 7. *muri autem omnes Gallici hac ferè forma ſunt*, &c. Sic forma *Virgiliani* portus explicatur, Æneid. 1. *eſt in ſeceſſu longo locus*, &c.

Diſtributio autem formæ nulla vera eſt. Nam quod nonnulli internam vel externam eſſe volunt, ea diſtributio neque ad res omnes, ſed tantùm ad corporeas pertinebit ; & externa non minus eſſentialis cuique rei eſt artificioſæ, quàm interna naturali.

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## C A P. VIII.

### *De Fine.*

F*Inis eſt cauſa cujus gratia res eſt.* Sic etiam *Ariſtoteles*, *Phil.* 1. 3. *quarta cauſa eſt cujus & bonum : hoc enim generationis omnis finis eſt.* Cùm enim efficiens aſſecutus eſt finem, in eo acquieſcit, actioníque ſuæ finem imponit. Finis itaque eſt cauſarum ultima. Verùm ut rectè *Ariſtot. Phyſ.* 2. 2. *non omne ultimum finalis cauſa eſt, ſed quod eſt optimum :* Finis enim vel terminum rei ſignificat, vel bonum rei; ſicut & terminus eſt vel durationis, vel magnitudinis aut figuræ. Finalis autem cauſa non eſt niſi bonum quid; eodemque ſenſu finis & bonum dicitur; verúmne an apparens, ad vim cauſæ nihil intereſt. Sic etiam *Ariſtot. Phyſ.* 2. 3. idémque in Eth. paſſim : mali etiam evitatio habet rationem boni. Nonnulli tamen inter finem & finalem cauſam ita diſtinguunt, ut finis ſit uſus rei, finalis autem cauſa de uſu cogitatio. Atqui non cogitatio, ſed res, i. e. finis ipſe effecti cauſa finalis vera eſt : nam de materia quoque & de forma prius cogitatur, ſine hac tamen diſtinctione : cogitatur etiam de cauſa impulſiva, eáque movet efficientem, nec tamen finalis cauſa dici poteſt; cùm eam efficiens non appetat, ſed ſæpius averſetur, quoties affectus aut habitus aliquis pravus ad bonum aliquod apparens conſequendum impellit. Idémque finis in animo efficientis primus, in opere atque effecto eſt poſtremus. Dum autem in animo tantum efficientis eſt, & nondum obtinetur, nondum ſanè exiſtit; cùm nondum exiſtit, cauſa eſſe quî poteſt? Cum itaque vulgò dicitur, finis quatenus efficientem quaſi ſuadendo movet ut materiam paret, eíque formam inducat, non modò effecti, verùm etiam cauſarum cauſa earúmque optima eſt, id impropriè & per anticipationem quandam dicitur. In opere autem & uſu licet ſæpe ſit ultimus, aptitudine tamen ad uſum niſi ſimul cum forma & tempore & naturâ eſſe intelligatur, erit poſterior effecto per formam jam conſtituto, & adjunctum potius effecti quàm cauſa. Sic non habitatio, ſed ad habitandum, aptitudo, quæ cum inducta forma ſimul & tempore & naturâ eſt, proprius finis domus eſt ſtatuendus, reíque perfectio & formæ quaſi fructus eſt. Hinc *Græci* non modò τελέω perficio, à τέλος, i. e. *finis* deducunt, ſed etiam *perfectum* τέλειον, à fine vocant, teſte *Ariſtotele*, *Phil.* 8. 24.

Vis autem propria qua finalis cauſa aliis ab cauſis diſtinguitur, his verbis, *cujus gratia*, exprimitur; ut & aliis etiam particulis, nempe *cujus cauſa*, *ad*, *ob*, *pro*, *Propter*, *quo*, *quorſum*, & ſimilibus. *Ne* autem eſt nota illius finis, qui in mali alicujus vitatione verſatur. Finis autem dicitur non eorum ſolùm qui finem ſibi proponunt, i. e. efficientium rationalium, ſed eorum quæcunque ad finem referuntur, i. e. quorumvis effectorum. Sic Phyſicis rebus finis homo propoſitus eſt, homini Deus. Quod nec ignoravit *Ariſtoteles*, Phyſ. 2. 2. *rebus*, inquit, *utimur*, *quaſi noſtra cauſa eſſent omnia: nam & nos quodammodo finis ſumus.* Deum eſſe omnium finem docet ſapiens *Hebraus*, *Proverb.* 16. 4. *Deus propter ſe fecit omnia.* Omnium artium eſt aliquod ſummum bonum & finis extremus; quæ & earum forma eſt: ut Grammaticæ, bene loqui; Rhetoricæ, bene dicere; Logicæ, bene ratiocinari.

Quod autem forma finis quoque eſſe poteſt, teſtatur haud ſemel *Ariſtoteles*, Phil. 8. 24. & Phyſ. 2. 7, 8. *Et Plato* in *Philebo*, eſſentiam ſive formam rei, generationis finem ſtatuit: unde *Ariſt.* de part. 1. 1. idem.

Ut formæ, ita & finis diſtributio vera nulla eſt: quæ vulgò efferuntur, non ſunt Logici finis diſtributiones, ſed ſpecialium finium pro varietate effectorum diſtinctiones. Diſtinguitur ab *Ariſtotele*, de Anima, l. 2. 4. *finis cujus*, & *finis cui*: finis cujus, eſt finis operæ, ſive operandi; finis cui, eſt finis ipſius operis: e. g. in domo ædificanda; finis cujus, ſive operæ, eſt domus; finis cui, ſive ipſius operis, i. e. domus ædificatæ, eſt aptitudo ad habitationem.

Afferuntur & aliæ diſtributiones finis, quæ ad finem cui pertinent ut ex *Ariſtot.* Mag. mor. 1. 2. *finis alius eſt perfectus*, *alius imperfectus*; vel, quod idem eſt, ex aliis, *finis eſt ſummus*, *aut ſubordinatus.* Summus autem eſt, qui propter ſe expetitur: éſtque vel univerſalis, omnib. ſcilicet rebus communis, vel ſpecialis, cuique ſpeciei peculiaris & proprius. Subordinatius autem non tam finis eſt, quàm deſtinatum quiddam ad finem: & eſſe ſummum vel ſubordinatum, eſſe univerſale vel ſpeciale, ad alia æque argumenta pertinet, atque ad finem. Poſtremò, lex diſtributionis jubet partes diſtributionis eſſe oppoſitas: at inter ſummum & ſubordinatum oppoſitio nulla eſt. Ad omnes igitur omnium rerum fines intelligendos, unica finis definitio ſatis eſt; ut id ſit cujus gratia res eſt: utrum autem ſit ſummus an ſubordinatus, univerſalis an ſpecialis, id Logica non ſpectat, ſed inferioribus quibuſvis diſciplinis relinquit.

## CAP. IX.

### *De Effecto.*

E*ffectum eſt, quod è cauſis exiſtit.* Effectum cùm ſit vi omnium cauſarum, à cauſa tamen principe, ſcilicet efficiente, effectum denominatur. Sed quoniam, ſi propriè loquimur, effectum ab efficiente ſolo efficitur, omnium autem cauſarum vi eſt, idcirco non definitur ex denominatione quòd à cauſis efficitur, ſed ex re potius, i. e. ex communi cauſarum vi, quod è cauſis eſt vel exiſtit. Jam illud hîc monendum eſt, ex cap. 2. quod in cauſa explicanda monuimus, effectum eſſe argumentum abſolute cum cauſa ſive cauſæ conſentaneum, i. e. cauſam abſolutè arguere; ita ut quemadmodum poſita cauſa, ponitur effectum; ſic poſito effecto, ponatur cauſa: ut enim cauſæ dant eſſe effecto, ita effectum *eſſe ſuum* habet à cauſis, i. e. ab efficiente, ex materia, per formam, propter finem exiſtit. Effectum igitur cauſas arguit, & ab iis viciſſim arguitur; ſed non pari ratione: effectum enim arguit cauſam eſſe aut fuiſſe, *Gracis* ὅτι; cauſa autem, quare ſit effectum demonſtrat, *Gracis* διότι. Cauſæ ſunt priores & notiores effectum, ut poſterius, ita minus arguit. Sic argentum materia poculi, magis arguit & manifeſtum reddit naturam poculi, quàm poculum argenti. Interdum autem effecta, non per ſe quidem, ſed nobis notiora, clarius cauſas arguunt, quàm arguuntur à cauſis. Sic etiam *Ariſtoteles*, *Poſt.* 1. 10. *nihil prohibet eorum qua ſe reciprocè arguunt*, ut cauſa & effectum, *id notius nonnunquam eſſe quod non eſt cauſa.*

*Sive igitur gignatur*, *ſive corrumpatur*, *ſive modo quolibet*, *moveatur quidlibet*, *hic motus & res motu facta effectum dicitur.* *Ut* cauſarum modi quidem fuere, ita nunc effectorum quidam his verbis oſtenduntur. Modi effectorum generales ſunt, vel ſpeciales. Generales ſunt vel motus quilibet, quæ *operatio* & *actio* dicitur; vel res motu factæ, quæ ſunt *opera.* Modi ſpeciales, ſive exempla ſpecialia, ſunt *generatio*, *corruptio* & *ſimilia* à Phyſicis petita. Cauſa enim corrumpens eſt cauſa procreans corruptionis. Notandum autem eſt hîc *rem* quamlibet, non *motam*, ſed *motu factam*, *Effectum* dici; nulla enim res corrupta corrumpenti contraria eſt.

Hujus loci ſunt laudes & vituperationes, quarum pleni ſunt libri ſacri & prophani. A factis enim quiſque potiſſimum laudatur & vituperatur.

Huc etiam dicta ſcriptaque referenda ſunt; conſilia item & deliberationes, etiamſi ad exitum perductæ non fuerint. Neque enim facta ſolùm, ſed etiam conſulta & cogitata pro effectis habenda ſunt.

*Sunt etiam effecta virtutum & vitiorum. Horatius* hoc modò ebrietatis effecta deſcribit:

*Quid non ebrietas deſignat? operta recludit*, &c.

Volunt hîc plerique *Rami* interpretes motûs doctrinam, utpote rei generalis, ad Logicam pertinere; ſed non rectè. Quid enim poteſt Logica docere de motu, quod naturale & phyſicum non ſit. *Scientias*, inquiunt, ex *Ariſtot.* Phyſ. 8. 3. *& opiniones, motu uti omnes.* Utuntur quidem, ſed ex natura, quam Phyſica docet, petito. Sic Logica ratione utitur, nec tamen rationis naturam, ſed ratiocinandi artem docet. Omnis quidem cauſa movet, effectum movetur; nec tamen quid moveat aut moveatur, ſed quid arguat aut arguatur Logicus conſiderat. Ipſum etiam *arguere & argui* non quatenus motus eſt, aut res motu facta, ſed quatenus relatione quadam arguendi vel facultatem ratiocinandi juvat vel artem tradit, ad Logicam pertinet.

Duos hîc canones cauſæ effecti communes, quamvis in Phyſica potiùs quàm in Logica tractandos, ut multa alia quæ *Ariſtotelici* congerere huc ſolent, tamen quia ſæpe occurrunt & fallaces ſunt, appendiculæ in modum libet cum ſuis cautionibus hîc attingere. Primus eſt, *qualis cauſa, tale cauſatum:* ex *Ariſtot.* 2 *Top. c.* 9. Quod verum non eſt primò in cauſis per accidens: ut, *hic ſutor eſt vir bonus*; at non ergo *bonos conſuit calceos*; poteſt enim eſſe ſutor non bonus. Secundò, non in cauſis univerſalibus: ut, *ſol omnia calefacit*; at non *idcirco ipſe eſt calidus.* Tertiò, non in cauſis voluntariis, niſi velint. Quartò, ſi res in qua effectum eſt producendum, id per naturam ſuam recipere non poteſt.

Canon ſecundus eſt, *propter quod unumquodque eſt tale, illud eſt magis tale: Ariſtot.* 1 Poſt. c. 2. Scilicet primò rurſus in cauſis per ſe: ut, *hic eſt ebrius*; non ergo *vinum magis ebrium.* Secundò, ſi id à quo tales denominantur utrique inſit: ut, *cera fit mollis à ſole*; non *ergo ſol eſt mollior.* Tertiò, ſi cauſa illa recipiat magis & minus: non *ergo ſi filius eſt homo propter patrem, pater propterea magis homo.* Sed canon hic valet præcipuè in cauſis finalibus: ut, *hic ſtudiis dat operam propter quæſtum*; *quæſtui igitur ſtudet magis.*

## CAP. X.

### *De Subjecto.*

A*Rgumentum modo quodam conſentaneum ſuccedit, ut ſubjectum & adjunctum.* Abſoluta enim conſenſio cauſæ & effecti hanc modo quodam conſenſionem ſubjecti & adjuncti meritò præceſſit. Modo quodam conſentire cum re quam arguunt dicuntur, quæ leviter & extrinſecus tantum conſentiunt, i. e. citra rationem eſſentiæ; cùm non ut cauſa effecto, ita ſubjectum det eſſe adjuncto; neque hoc ab illo eſſentiam accipiat. De ſubjecto prius eſt agendum: etenim ſubjectum omne ſuis adjunctis naturâ prius eſt, & quodammodo ſe habet ad adjunctum, ut cauſa ad effectum.

*Subjectum eſt, cui aliquid adjungitur.* Hoc argumentum *Cicero rem ſubjectam* appellat, quia nimirum alicui ſubjicitur; ſubjici autem id dicitur, cui, cùm ex cauſis conſtitutum jam eſt, aliquid tanquam additamentum quoddam præter cauſas adjungitur: adjungitur itaque aliquid, quod alteri, nempe ſubjecto, perfecto jam ſuiſque cauſis conſtituto, extrinſecus ſive præter eſſentiam accedit. Subjectum ergo eſt quod ad aliquid arguendum eſt affectum, quod ſibi præter illam eſſentiam, quam è cauſis habet, inſuper accedit.

Ut cauſa, ita & ſubjectum ſuos quoſdam habet modos: ſubjici enim aliquid dicitur vel recipiendo adjuncta vel occupando. Unde ſubjectum diſtingui poteſt in *recipiens*, quod *Græce* δεκτικὸν appellant, & *occupans* quod *objectum* dici ſolet, quia in eo adjuncta occupantur. Recipiens vel in ſe recipit adjuncta, vel ad ſe: recipiens in ſe adjuncta, vel ſuſtinet ea & quaſi ſuſtentat, quæ idcirco *inſita* & *inhærentia* appellantur, vel continet, ut locus locatum.

Primus ergo modus eſt cùm ſubjectum recipit adjuncta inſita ſive inhærentia. Sic anima eſt ſubjectum ſcientiæ, ignorantiæ, virtutis, vitii; quia hæc animæ adjunguntur, i. e. præter eſſentiam accedunt: corpus ſanitatis, morbi, roboris, infirmitatis, pulchritudinis, deformitatis; quia corpori quidem inſunt, ſed præter eſſentiam.

Secundus modus eſt ſubjecti adjuncta in ſe continentis, i. e. *loci*. Sic locus eſt ſubjectum rei locatæ, ſive in quo res locata continetur. Sic Philoſophi divinis entibus, licet parte & magnitudine carentibus, attribuunt locum. Sic Geometræ locum locíque differentias in rebus Geometricis. Phyſici multo etiam diligentius in rebus Phyſicis conſiderant, in mundo, in elementis ſimplicibus, in rebus compoſitis. Hinc nonnulli Dialectici ſuæ artis amplificandæ ſtudio, ut motûs, ita loci doctrinam in Logica tractandam eſſe contendunt. Verùm cùm locus externa ſit affectio cujuſvis naturæ ſive corporeæ ſive incorporeæ, minor quid illis, *Rami* præſertim diſcipulis, in mentem venerit, ut cùm argumenta, i. e. non res, ſed rationes ſubjectum eſſe Logicæ doceant; res tamen aut rerum naturalium affectiones, motum, locum, tempus in Logica tractandas eſſe ſtatuerent. Locus inquiunt omnium omninò rerum communis eſt: ergo, inquam, ad artem aliquam non corporum duntaxat, ſed rerum naturalium omnium ſive Phyſicam, univerſalem, non ad Logicam pertinet: quæ non quid ſit Locus, ſpatiumne an ſuperficies corporis ambientis, ſed quomodo arguat rem locatam, id ſolùm conſiderat; nempe ut ſubjectum arguit adjunctum.

Tertius modus eſt ſubjecti ad vel circa ſe recipientis adjuncta: quæ idcirco *adjacentia* & *circumſtantia* appellantur. Sic homo eſt ſubjectum divitiarum, paupertatis, honoris, infamiæ, veſtitus, comitatus, & eorum ferè quæ dicuntur *antecedentia*, *concomitantia*, *conſequentia*, ſi quam omninò affectionem inter ſe habent non neceſſariam; quæ cauſarum & effectorum quæque ab his orta ſunt argumentorum affectio duntaxat eſſe ſolet. Hactenus de ſubjecto recipiente.

Quartus modus eſt ſubjecti occupantis, in quo nimirum adjunctum occupatur & exercetur: atque hoc propriè *objectum* dicitur. Sic ſenſilia ſenſuum, & res virtutibus ac vitiis propoſitæ, ſubjecta vitiorum & virtutum hoc modo nominantur. Color eſt ſubjectum viſus, ſonus ſubjectum auditus; quia hi ſenſus in his ſenſilibus occupantur & exercentur. Virtutes & vitia declarantur in Ethicis hoc argumento: temperantia & intemperantia, voluptate; fortitudo & ignavia, periculis; liberalitas & avaritia divitiis. Sic res numerabilis Arithmeticæ; menſurabilis, ut ita dicam, Geometriæ ſubjicitur. Ejuſmodi ſubjecto *Cicero* 1 Agrar. diſputat, inter *Campanos* nullam contentionem eſſe, quia nullus ſit honor: *Non gloria cupiditate*, ait, *efferrebantur*, *propterea quòd ubi honos publicè non eſt*, *ibi cupiditas gloriæ eſſe non poteſt*, &c.

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## CAP. XI.

### *De Adjuncto.*

ADjunctum eſt cui aliquid ſubjicitur, vel quod affectum eſt ad arguendum ſubjectum. Doctrina adjuncti doctrinæ ſubjecti per omnia reſpondet. *Cicero* hoc argumentum *adjunctum* & *conjunctum* vocat. Ab *Ariſtotele*, Accidens vocatur, nec male. Quicquid enim ulli ſubjecto extrinſecus accidit, ſive fortuito ſive non, adjunctum ejus eſt. Animi, corporíſque & totius hominis bona & mala, quæ dicuntur, adjuncta ſunt animi, corporis, hominis.

Cùm igitur adjunctum ſubjecto præter eſſentiam accedat, non mutatur ejus acceſſione vel deceſſione eſſentia ſubjecti, neque aliud inde fit ſubjectum, ſed alio duntaxat modo ſe habet. Unde & modi, qui dicuntur, in adjunctis numerandi ſunt. Sic in cauſis *procreare* & *tueri*, modi, ut ſuprà dictum eſt, ſive adjuncta quædam vel efficientis vel efficiendi ſunt.

*Hoc argumentum etſi ſubjecto eſt levius, attamen eſt copioſius & frequentius.* Subjecto ſuo levius eſt, quia ſubjectum prius eſt, & adjuncti ſui quodammodo cauſa: Id quod de adjunctis non quibuſvis verum eſſe docebimur. Hinc *Ariſtot.* Phil. S. 1. *adjunctum ſubjecto eſt poſterius ratione, tempore, cognitione & natura*: quod etiam de omni adjuncto ita duntaxat verum eſt, ſi de tempore excipias. Exiſtentiam enim Adjuncti non ſpectat Logica, ſed mutuam quam cum ſubjecto habet affectionem quæ utrobique ſimul eſt; ita ut Subjectum Adjuncto non magis ſit tempore prius quam Adjunctum Subjuncto; ſublato igitur ſubjecto, tollitur adjunctum, ut, *mortuus non eſt; ergo nec miſer eſt.* Hinc ſtrepitur in ſcholis, *ab* eſt *ſecundi adjecti, ad* eſt *tertii adjecti, valet conſequentia negando.* Et poſito adjuncto, ponitur neceſſario ſubjectum; ut, *ſi mortuus eſt miſer, certè neceſſario mortuus eſt.* Quod & ſcholæ ſic balbutiunt; *ab* eſt *tertii adjecti, ad* eſt *ſecundi, valet conſequentia affirmando.* Eſt autem adjunctum ſubjecto copioſius & frequentius, quia unius ejuſdémque ſubjecti plurima adjuncta eſſe poſſunt. Itaque quod de ejuſmodi ſignis ait *Ovid.* 2. de Remed.

*Forſitan hæc aliquis (nam ſunt quoque) parva vocabit;*
*Sed quæ non proſunt ſingula, multa juvant.*

Huc itaque referuntur ſigna, quæ ad effecta potius referenda ſunt; vímque arguendi perinde habent ut eorum cauſæ certæ ſunt & cognitæ. Sic tumor uteri ſignum eſt gravidæ; incertum tamen, quia cauſæ tumoris illius aliæ eſſe poſſunt: lac mammarum multo certius, quia cauſa certior & notior. Ejuſdem generis ſunt ſigna phyſiognomonica, prognoſtica Aſtrologorum & Medicorum. Itaque ut cauſæ & effecta ſcientiam, ſic ſubjecta & adjuncta conjecturam ferè pariunt. Hoc genere argumenti *Fannium Chaream Cicero* pro *Roſcio Comœdo* cavillatur; & ab adjuncta corporis habitudine, ſigna malitiæ colligit: *nonne ipſum caput & ſupercilia illa penitus abraſa olere malitiam, & clamitare calliditatem videntur? nonne ab imis unguibus uſque ad verticem ſummum (ſi quam conjecturam affert homini tacita corporis figura) ex fraude, fallaciis, mendaciis conſtare totus videtur?* Sic *Martial. l.* 2. *Zoilum* ludit:

*Crine ruber, niger ore, brevis pede, lumine luſcus.*
*Rem magnam præſtas, Zoile, ſi bonus es.*

Subjectorum porro modis, adjunctorum reſpondent modi. Quemadmodum igitur ſubjectum erat recipiens vel occupans, ita adjunctum eſt receptum vel occupatum. Receptum vel in ſubjectum recipitur, vel ad ſubjectum: quod in ſubjectum recipitur, vel ſuſtinetur ab eo, vel in eo continetur aut collocatur: quod ſuſtinetur, eſt adjunctum inſitum, ſive inhærens.

Primus ergo modus eſt adjunctorum inhærentium ſive inſitorum. Omninóque qualitates (qualitas autem eſt qua res qualis dicitur) ſubjectis præter cauſas, i. e. formas externas (quæ etiam in qualitatibus numerantur) adjunctæ; ſive propriæ ſint, quæ omni ſolíque ſubjecto ſemper conveniunt, ut homini riſus, equo hinnitus, cani latratus; ſive communes, quæcunque non ſunt eo modo propriæ. Propria autem quatuor modis vulgò dicuntur: ſoli, ſed non omni; ut homini proprium eſt Mathematicum eſſe, ſed non omni: omni, ſed non ſoli; ut bipedem eſſe homini: omni & ſoli, ſed non ſemper; ut homini caneſcere in ſenectute: omni, ſoli, & ſemper; ut riſibilem eſſe homini: hoc demum verè proprium eſt & reciprocum; ita ut omnis homo ſit riſibilis, & omne riſibile, proprie dictum, ſit homo. Adjunctum itaque proprium etſi naturâ eſt poſterius ſubjecto, adeoque levius, tempore tamen ſimul eſt, nobíſque ferè notius; poſitóque adjuncto proprio, ponitur ſubjectum, & contrà: ſubjectum enim adjuncto proprie eſt modo quodam eſſentiale, adjunctumque à forma ſubjecti fluit: habet igitur à forma ſubjecti, non ab natura ſua, quòd ſubjectum ponit & tollit.

Communis etiam qualitas eſt ſeparabilis vel inſeparabilis: ut aquæ frigus, qualitas eſt ſeparabilis; humiditas verò inſeparabilis; utraque autem communis. Atque iſtæ qualitatum diſtinctiones, communium & propriarum, ſeparabilium & inſeparabilium, ad judicium faciendum valde ſunt utiles, ut ſecundo libro facile perſpiciemus. Ad hunc modum refertur etiam quantitas, quâ res magnæ vel parvæ, multæ vel paucæ dicuntur; & paſſio, quâ res aliquid pati dicitur; adeóque motus, ad rem motam ſi referatur, hujus loci eſt. Hactenus de adjuncto quod in ſubjecto ſuſtinetur.

Secundus modus eſt adjunctorum quæ continentur in ſubjecto, ut locatum in loco: atque huc etiam ſitus locorum refertur; niſi ſi cui ad primum potius dum referendus videatur; cùm ſitus paſſio ſit quædam rei locatæ, & ad priorem modum ſic pertineat. Atque hæc de adjunctis quæ in ſubjectum recipiuntur.

Tertius modus eſt adjunctorum quæ recipiuntur ad ſubjectum; quæ vulgò circumſtantiæ nuncupantur, quia extra ſubjectum ſunt. Huc *tempus* refertur, duratio nempe rerum præterita, præſens, futura. Sic etiam Deus dicitur qui eſt, qui erat, & qui futurus eſt, *Apocal.* 1. 8. & 4. 8. Deo tamen ævum ſive æternitas, non tempus attribui ſolet: quid autem eſt ævum proprie, niſi duratio perpetua, *Græcè* αἰὼν, quaſi ἀεὶ ὢν ſemper exiſtens. Sed quod ſuperioribus capitibus de motu & loco, idem nunc de tempore monendum eſt; non pertinere ad Logicam quid ſit tempus philoſophari, ſed quo in genere argumenti ponendum ſit, hîc nempe in adjunctis. Huc etiam referuntur divitiæ, paupertas, honor, infamia, veſtitus, comitatus, & ejuſmodi quicquid adeſſe, adjacere, circumſtare, aut citra vim cauſæ antecedere, concomitari, ſequi, ut ſuprà in ſubjecto diximus, dici poteſt, vel, ut Cic. in Top. Quicquid ante rem, cum re, poſt rem, dummodo non neceſſariò, evenit.

Quo circumſtantiæ genere, *Dido venatum proficiſcens, magnifice* 4. *Æneid. depingitur:*

*Oceanum interea ſurgens aurora reliquit.*
*It portis, jubare exorto, delecta juventus:*
*Retia rara, plagæ, lato venabula ferro,* &c.

In hoc exemplo *Dido* eſt ſubjectum: cujus adjuncta adjacentia ſive circumſtantiæ variæ hîc enumerantur: 1. *Tempus, oceanum interea,* &c. 2. *Comitatus,* nimirum *delecta juventus, equites,* principes *Pœnorum.* 3. Inſtrumenta (quæ quatenus ad habentem referuntur) adjuncta; & hujus quidem modi ſunt, *retia, plagæ, venabula, canes, ſonipes.* 4. Habitus ſive veſtitus, *Sidonia chlamys, purpurea veſtis,* &c. Atque hæc de adjuncto recepto.

Quartus modus eſt adjuncti occupati. *Et* enim *adjunctorum ad ſubjecta, quibus occupantur, uſus item magnus.*

Hoc argumento *Plato miſeras civitates auguratur, quæ medicorum & judicum multitudine indigeant, quia multam quoque & intemperantiam & injuſtitiam in ea civitate verſari neceſſe ſit.* Quia nempe in effectis intemperantiæ ſanandis, medici; in effectis injuſtitiæ vindicandis, judices tanquam adjuncti occupati in ſubjecto ſuo occupante verſantur.

*Sed categoria* ſive locus argumentorum *conſentaneorum ſic eſt, unde quidvis alteri conſentaneum, vel idem vel unum dici poſſit; omnéſque modi unitatis & (ut ita dicam) identitatis huc ſunt tanquam ad primos & ſimplices fontes referendi.*

Ad explicandum conſentaneorum in comparationibus uſum hæc clauſula adjecta eſt. Námque ut conſenſionis omnis duorum in uno tertio, ita & unitatis modi hinc ſunt petendi. Quot autem modis plura dicuntur inter ſe conſentire, tot etiam modis dicuntur unum & idem: abſolute ſcilicet aut modo quodam: abſolute unum vel idem cauſâ & effecto; modo quodam unum & idem ſubjecto & adjuncto. Cauſa vel efficiente vel materia vel forma vel fine. Sic plures ſtatuæ, efficiente ſunt eædem, ſi ejuſdem artificis: materia, ſi ex eadem, auro ſcilicet aut ebore; forma ſi effigies ejuſdem, *Alexandri* puta vel *Cæſaris*; fine, ſi ad eundem ornandum. Sic ſubjecto idem ſunt adjuncta duo vel plura in eodem ſubjecto; adjuncto idem ſunt plura ſubjecta quibus idem adjungitur: ut duæ vel plures res albæ vel nigræ, albedine vel nigredine idem ſunt.

## CAP. XII.

### *De Diverſis.*

A*Rgumentum conſentaneum expoſitum eſt* in cauſa & effecto, ſubjecto & adjuncto.

Altera ſpecies argumenti artificialis, primi, ſimplicis, diſſentaneum, ſequitur. Et ſequi debet: ut enim affirmatio negatione, ſic conſenſio prior eſt diſſenſione; prior autem non natura ſolum, verùm etiam uſu & dignitate. Ab affirmatione enim & conſenſione, ut ſcientia omnis, ita ars omnis atque doctrina deducitur.

*Diſſentaneum eſt quod diſſentit à re* quam arguit. Ab altero nempe ſui generis ac nominis diſſentaneo. Nam in hoc genere argumentorum, argumenta inter ſe affecta eodem nomine, ideóque plurali numero enunciantur, eadémque definitione & doctrina explicantur.

*Sunt autem diſſentanea inter ſe æquè manifeſta : alterumque ab altero æqualiter arguitur ; tametſi ſua diſſenſione clarius elucescant.*

Hæ duæ ſunt proprietates diſſentaneorum communes. Primum n. in conſentaneis cauſæ effectis, ſubjecta adjunctis, priora, notiora, firmiora, præſtantiora fuerunt : in diſſentaneis alterum altero neque prius neque notius ; ſed natura ſimul, in illa nempe diſſenſione, & æquè nota, æquè firma inter ſe ſunt : id quod neceſſe eſt cùm eodem nomine ac definitione tractentur.

Secunda quoque proprietas, quam *Ariſtoteles* contrariis alligat, diſſentaneorum eſt omnium communis ; nempe *ſua diſſenſione clarius eluceſcere.* Quod niſi fieret, argumentum diſſentaneorum nullius uſus eſſet. Debet enim omne argumentum affectum eſſe ad aliquid arguendum & illuſtrandum. Quorum autem hæc eſt proprietas ut æquè nota & ignota ſint, eorum alterum ab altero argui aut illuſtrari non poteſt. Priori igitur proprietati ſecunda hæc ſubvenit: quamvis enim diſſentanea ſint inter ſe æquè manifeſta, ita ut unum ab altero tanquam notiori argui non queat, ex diſſenſione tamen ſua, ſive, ut alii loquuntur, juxta ſe poſita, clarius eluceſcunt. Sic bonæ valetudinis commoda adverſæ valetudinis incommodis manifeſtiora fiunt ; virtutum laudes contrariorum vituperatione vitiorum illuſtrantur.

Utiles itaque ſunt hi loci diſſentaneorum, teſte etiam *Ariſtotele*, Top. 3, 4. non ſolùm ad arguendum & illuſtrandum, verùm etiam ad impellendum ac refutandum : ut enim conſentaneorum loci valent maximè ad arguendum, probandum & confirmandum, ſic loci diſſentaneorum ad redarguendum, impellendum & refutandum : ut qui conſentaneo argumento doceri non vult, diſſentanei abſurda conſecutione eò redigatur, ut nolens etiam non poſſit veritati non aſſentiri. Hinc *Ariſtot.* Rhet. 3. 17. *refutantia demonſtrativis* anteponit.

*Diſſentanea ſunt diverſa vel oppoſita.*

*Diverſa ſunt diſſentanea, quæ ſola ratione diſſentiunt.* Nomen hoc videtur aptiſſimum ad hanc leviſſimam diſſenſionem ſignificandam : hac enim voce ea ſignificantur quæ cùm conſenſionem quandam inter ſe habere videantur, poſſintque per ſe ſuáque natura eidem ſubjecto ſimul convenire, tamen nec idem ſunt, nec ei ſubjecto competunt cujus ratione diſſentire dicuntur : quæ autem diſſentiunt in eodem tertio, diſſentiunt etiam inter ſe.

Sola igitur ratione diſſentiunt, quia non per ſe ſuáque natura diſſentiunt, ſed ſolummodo ratione attributionis, i. e. ratione ac reſpectu alicujus ſubjecti, cui ſimul non attribuuntur. Diſtributio itaque diſſentaneorum pro ratione diſſenſionis rectè inſtituta eſt : nam ut conſenſio alia arctior eſt & abſoluta, alia remiſſior & imperfecta ( unde conſentanea diviſa ſunt in ea quæ abſolutè vel modo quodam conſentiunt ) ita diſſenſio omnis vel remiſſior eſt, ut in diſtinctione ſive diſcretione diverſorum, vel acrior, ut in disjunctione oppoſitorum : ergo diſſentanea aut ratione & modo quodam diſſentiunt, ut diverſa, aut re & abſolute, ut oppoſita. Verùm quod de conſentaneis etiam objici potuit, ſpeciebus æque communicandum eſt genus ( has enim voces etiam communi uſu citra artem vulgò intellectus, pace methodi nonnunquam anticipare fas ſit ) reſpondetur, quemadmodum conſentanea abſolute & modo quodam erant æque conſentanea, ſed non æque conſentiebant ; ſic diverſa & oppoſita æque diſſentanea ſunt, ſed non æque diſſentiunt ; in diverſis tam eſt diſſenſio quàm in oppoſitis, ſed non tanta : ut in re ſimili Cic. de Fin. 4. *æque contingit omnib. fidibus, ut incontenta ſint ; illud non continuò, ut æquè incontenta.* Diverſa autem idcirco priore loco tractantur, quòd propter leviſſimam diſſenſionem videntur affinitatem quandam cum conſentaneis præ ſe ferre. Quanquam autem diverſorum doctrina ab omnibus præter *Ramum* Logicis omiſſa eſt, conſtat tamen locum in argumentorum doctrina diverſis etiam aſſignandum, cùm ex arguendi varia affectione argumenta diſtinguenda ſint, affectio autem diſſenſionis in diverſis, ut diximus, levior ſit, in oppoſitis acrior. Cur diverſa Logici hactenus omiſerint, videtur hoc eſſe ; quod ad unum ſyllogiſmum omnia referunt, in quo diverſa locum non habent, ut l. 2. oſtendetur.

Diverſorum autem notæ ſunt frequentiſſimè *non hoc, ſed illud, quanquam, tamen:* ut pro *Pompeio*; *non victoriam, ſed inſignia victoria reportarunt.* Victoria & victoriæ inſignia res admodum affines ſunt; poſſúntque ac debent eidem duci competere: ad *Syllam* autem & *Muranam* ſi ſpectas, qui non reportata victoria triumpharunt, diſſentanea ſunt, & diſtinguuntur, alteróque affirmato alterum negatur. Sic *Ovid.* 2. de Arte:

*Non formoſus erat, ſed erat facundus Ulyſſes.*

Et *Virg. Æneid.* 2.

*Hic Priamus quanquam in media jam morte tenetur,*
*Non tamen abſtinuit.*

Ut victoria & victoriæ inſignia reſpectu *Syllæ* & *Muranæ*, ſic formoſum & facundum reſpectu *Ulyſſis*, in media morte teneri non & abſtinere à convitiis ratione *Priami*, diverſa adeóque diſſentanea ſunt. *Paulo* ſecus in *Eunucho*:

*Nam ſi ego digna hac contumelia*
*Sum maxime: at tu indignus qui faceres tamen.*

Sed idem eſt ac ſi dictum eſſet, quanquam ego digna; tamen tu indignus qui mihi hanc contumeliam faceres. Dignam ſe quidem eſſe contumelia *Thais* affirmat; à *Chærea* tamen negat. Cic. 5. Tuſc. *Quanquam ſenſu corporis judicantur, ad animum tamen referuntur.* Hoc affirmato, negatum intelligitur non ad corpus.

Item illa aliuſmodi. Pro *Ligario: ſcelus tu illud vocas, Tubero? cur? iſto n. nomine illa adhuc cauſa caruit: alii enim errorem appellant, alii timorem; qui durius, ſpem, cupiditatem, odium, pertinaciam; qui graviſſimè, temeritatem: ſcelus præter te adhuc nemo.* In hoc genere exemplorum aliquid conceditur, ut aliud vicinum poſſit negari: cujuſmodi & illud eſt; veritas premi poteſt, opprimi non poteſt; & ſimilia.

Atque hi modi quidam diverſorum ſunt: in quibus plerunque accidit, ut quæ ſua natura ſunt oppoſita, ratione tamen certi alicujus ſubjecti ſint tantùm diverſa; ut in exemplo ſuperiore error, timor, ſpes, cupiditas, pertinacia, ſcelus. Sic aurum, argentum, æs oppoſita ſunt, ut infrà liquebit: ratione tamen attributionis huic vel illi ſubjecto, qui unum vel aliqua horum habet, alterum vel reliqua non habet, cùm habere ſimul poſſit, diverſa ſunt.

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## CAP. XIII.

### *De Diſparatis.*

OPpoſita ſunt *diſſentanea, qua ratione & re diſſentiunt.* Oppoſita reſpondent nomine quidem iis, qua ab *Ariſtotele* ἀντικείμενα dicuntur; ſed re & ſignificatione latius patent: nam ἀντικείμενα *Ariſtoteli* (qui diſparata non attigit) nihil aliud quàm *contraria* ſunt. Poſſunt etiam *repugnantia* dici; ſiquidem repugnare ea dicuntur, quæ ejuſmodi ſunt, ut cohærere nunquam poſſint; quod Cic. ait in Top. ejuſmodi enim ſunt oppoſita. *Re* autem *& ratione*, eſt non ſolùm ratione certi alicujus ſubjecti, cui cùm tribuuntur, ſimul non conveniunt, verum etiam reipſa, i. e. per ſe & inter ſe, ſua ipſorum natura diſſentire, etiam ſubjecto cuivis non attributa; cui ſi attribuuntur, non ſolùm non conveniunt, ſed, ſervata, quæ ſequitur, oppoſitorum lege, convenire non poſſunt. Ea lex quæ ex ipſa definitione oritur, & eſt oppoſitorum omnium communis, non, ut docuit *Ariſtoteles*, contrariorum propria, hæc eſt, *Oppoſita eidem attribui, ſecundum idem, ad idem, & eodem tempore non poſſunt. Eidem*, i. e. eidem numero rei ſive ſubjecto. *Secundum idem*, i. e. eadem parte. Ad idem, i. e. eodem reſpectu; ut, *ſol & major eſt terra & minor*; ſed non eodem reſpectu; in ſe quidem, major; ut nobis videtur, minor. Extra has tres conditiones poſſunt eidem ſubjecto attribui oppoſita. *Sic Socrates, albus & ater non poteſt ſecundum idem, i. e. eadem parte eſſe; pater & filius ejuſdem*, ſive ad eundem relatus; *ſanus & æger eodem tempore: at albus eſſe poteſt alia parte, ater alia; pater hujus, filius illius; ſanus hodie, cras æger.*

*Itaque ex altero affirmato alterum negatur.*

Ex quo facile apparet quid interſit inter diverſa & oppoſita: in illis enim *altero affirmato*; in his, *ex altero affirmato* alterum negatur: i. e. ex affirmatione unius, neceſſariò ſequitur negatio alterius. Ut, ſumpto ex diverſis exemplo, *non victoriam, ſed inſignia victoriæ reportarunt*: hic inſignia victoriæ affirmantur, victoria negatur; non ex his affirmatis negatur illa: at in oppoſitis, dicta lege ſervata, *Socrates* eſt homo, ergo non eſt equus: juxta illud; *oppoſita ſe invicem tollunt.*

*Oppoſita* autem *ſunt diſparata aut contraria.*

*Diſparata ſunt oppoſita quorum unum multis pariter opponitur.*

Diſparatorum ergo remiſſior videtur eſſe oppoſitio, contrariorum acrior. Diſparata etiam à *Boethio* nominantur, *quæ tantum à ſe diverſa ſunt, nulla contrarietate pugnantia*, ut veſtis, ignis. Apud *Ciceronem* tamen, Invent. 1. & *Fabium*, *l. 5. c. 10. contradicentia* ſignificant. Nos verborum inopiâ coacti, *Boethium* ſequimur. *Multis.* nempe ſine ulla certa oppoſitionis lege aut numero: nam & infinitæ ferè res hoc modo opponi inter ſe poſſunt: & ſic intelligendum eſt verbum *opponitur*, juxta illud; *Vocabula in artibus facultatem ſignificant:* ut veſtis & ignis etſi res duæ, inter ſe tamen diſparata ſunt, eò quòd multis pariter opponi poſſunt. *Pariter*: i. e, æquè pari ratione, eodem diſſenſionis modo: ut enim diſparata ſint, non multis tantum, ſed pariter opponi debent. Albedo opponitur nigredini, flavedini, rubedini, ut unum pluribus; non autem ſingulis, ut diſparatum quia non pariter: nigredini enim opponitur ut contrarium, cæteris rebus omnibus ut diſparatum. Viride, cineraceum, rubrum, media ſunt inter album & nigrum, quæ ſingula extremis, & inter ſe diſparata ſunt. Sic liberalitas & avaritia inter ſe diſparantur. Sic homo, arbor, lapis, & ejuſmodi res infinitæ diſparantur; nec eadem res poteſt eſſe homo, arbor, lapis. *Virgil.* 1. *Æneid.* hoc argumento diſputat:

> *O quam te memorem, virgo! namque haud tibi vultus*
> *Mortalis; nec vox hominem ſonat: o dea certè.*

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## C A P. XIV.

### *De Relatis.*

C*Ontraria ſunt oppoſita, quorum unum uni tantum opponitur.*

Intelligitur autem unum uni in eodem genere opponi contrariorum, ut relatorum unum uni tantum, & ſic in reliquis: nam in diverſis ſpeciebus contrariorum, plura poſſunt ut contraria, uni eidémque rei opponi; ut *videnti, non videns, & cæcus*; *motui, motus contrarius, & quies*; *ſervo, dominus & liber.*

Quæ *Ariſtoteles* ἀντιθέμενα & ἀντικείμενα, ea *Cicero* in *Topicis* (quem *Ramus* ſequitur) *contraria* appellat: quas etiam in ſpecies quatuor *Ariſtoteles* ἀντικείμενα, in eaſdem *Cicero contraria* diſtribuit.

Prius autem quàm ad contrariorum diſtributionem in ſpecies accedimus, inſerenda eſt diſtinctio quædam non inutilis, & ad ea quæ diximus capite ſuperiore clarius intelligenda, & ad eas, quæ ſecundo libro dicentur, disjunctiones neceſſarias à contingentibus dijudicandas. Dictum eſt ſuperiore capite, viride, cineraceum, rubrum, media eſſe inter album & nigrum, quæ ſingula extremis & inter ſe diſparata ſunt. Sciendum itaque eſt contraria, quaſi extrema quædam habere, alia medium, alia medio carere: medium vel eſt negationis vel participationis; ex *Atiſtotele*, *Top.* 4. 3. & *Phil. V.* 7. Medium negationis eſt quicquid inter duo contraria dici poteſt, quod ſit neutrum eorum: ut inter præceptorem & diſcipulum, is qui neque eſt præceptor neque diſcipulus. Medium participationis eſt, quod utriuſque extremi naturam participat; ut viride inter album & nigrum, tepidum inter calidum & frigidum. Contrariorum igitur quæ medium habent, non eſt neceſſe alterutrum affirmari; poteſt enim affirmari medium: quæ autem medio carent, eorum alterum neceſſe eſt affirmari. Quænam autem contraria medium habeant aut non habeant, ex eo dignoſcitur quod & *Gellius* tradit *l.* 16. *Noct. Att. c.* 8. Contraria quorum contradicentia, cùm attribuuntur ei ſubjecto cui propriè poſſunt attribui, ſunt etiam inter ſe contraria, ea medium non habent. Sanum & ægrum contraria ſunt: eorum contradicentia, non ſanum non ægrum, ſi animali attribuas cui ſoli poſſunt attribui, contraria etiam reperies: non ſanum enim, eſt ægrum; non ægrum, ſanum; ſanum

ergo

ergo & ægrum medio carent: ſic nox & dies, non nox & non dies, æquè ſunt inter ſe contraria; non nox enim, eſt dies; non dies, nox; medio igitur carent: ſic viſu præditum, & cæcum eſſe, ſi homini tribuis. Quorum verò contradicentia non ſunt contraria, ea medium habent: ut præceptor & diſcipulus; non præceptor enim, non eſt diſcipulus; neque non diſcipulus, eſt præceptor; etenim poteſt alteruter aliquid eſſe tertium ſive medium. Sic album & nigrum: namque non album & non nigrum de quovis colore medio dici poſſunt. Nunc ad diſtributionem contrariorum veniamus.

*Contraria ſunt affirmantia aut negantia.*

*Affirmantia, quorum utrumque; affirmat.* Scilicet rem, ſive veram ſive fictam; vel quorum vox utraque rem certam ponit atque ſignificat; quorumque unum alteri ut res rei opponitur; ut pater filio, calor frigori. Contraria itaque affirmantia, quod hic notandum eſt & diſtinguendum, ſunt quorum utrumque affirmat rem, non affirmatur de re ſive ſubjecto eodem, id enim ſupradictæ oppoſitorum regulæ, qua ex altero affirmato alterum negatur, planè repugnaret. Quæ igitur affirmat rem aut negat, topica affirmatio aut negatio dicitur; qua res de alio affirmatur aut negatur *axiomatica*, de qua lib. 2.

*Contraria affirmantia ſunt relata aut adverſa.*

*Relata ſunt, quorum alterum conſtat ex mutua alterius affectione.*

Atque ita quidem ut ex eorum illa mutua affectione, contrarietas ipſa naſcatur, ut infra demonſtrabitur. Quid ergo; num idcirco relata nunc conſentanea nunc diſſentanea ſunt? Nequaquam, ut relata quidem: ſed ea tamen quæ relata ſunt, aliis atque aliis argumentorum generibus poſſunt ſubjici; ipſa interim argumentorum genera inconfuſa & diſtincta manent. Sic cauſa & effectum, quæ arguendo inter ſe relata ſunt, adeóque diſſentanea & æque manifeſta, ſuam tamen vim propriam arguendi retinent, qua & conſentanea ſunt, & cauſa prior notiorque effecto. Relata eſſe contraria ex definitione & conſectariis contrariorum liquet; ſunt enim oppoſita, quorum unum uni tantum opponitur, ut pater & filius. At, inquis, unus multis, pater filiis, frater fratribus, præceptor diſcipulis, herus famulis, opponi poteſt. Reſpondetur, opponi patrem filio ut relatum; neque aliud quicquam patri quàm filium, neque filio quàm patrem; & ſic de cæteris: ſed hunc patrem & hunc filium, hunc præceptorem & hunc diſcipulum, &c. Non eſſe relata, ſed diſparata: neque enim horum alter ex mutua alterius affectione conſtat; neque natura ſimul ſunt, & alter ſine altero exiſtere poteſt. Itaque primæ ſubſtantiæ, ſive individua & ſingularia, ut ait *Ariſtoteles*, Categor. 5. *Non ſunt relata.* Et *Categor. 6.* ait multa genera *relata eſſe, ſingularia verò nulla*: Sed non video cur relata, quemadmodum & alia argumenta, etiam in ſingularibus conſiderari non poſſunt; ſingularia enim exempla ſunt ferè omnia. Nec magis video cur in uno relato ſingulari non poſſit ad correlata multa eſſe multiplex relatio; dummodo relatio una numero inter bina tantummodo ſit, totiéſque conſideretur quot ſint correlata; patris nimirum toties quot ſunt filii; filii quot ſunt parentes, pater nempe & mater; fratris, quot ſunt fratres & ſorores: nam niſi quicquid de relatis in genere dici ſolet, de ſingulis quoque relatis vere dicatur. Id ne toto quidem de genere verè dici poſſet. Si reponas ex *Ariſtot. Philoſ. 5.* Relata non ſignificare exiſtentiam, ne cætera quidem argumenta id ſignificant ſed mutuam tantummodo affectionem. Sunt *affirmantia*. i. e. ut duæ voces ſunt, ita etiam duæ ſunt res inter ſe oppoſitæ; ut pater, filius. Conſtare autem alterum ex mutua alterius affectione, eſt nullam aliam habere eſſentiam, quatenus relata ſunt, præter mutuam illam unius affectionem ad alterum & alterius ad illud. *Atque inde nominata ſunt relata*, quòd ad ſe invicem referuntur, totáque illorum natura in relatione conſiſtit: Sic patrem eſſe, eſt habere filium; filium eſſe, eſt habere patrem. Hinc illud; Omnia relata convertuntur: ut pater eſt filii pater; filius eſt patris filius. Hujus mutua affectionis ratione relata ſunt mutuæ ſibi cauſæ & mutui effectus, nam quòd quis pater eſt, id habet à filio; quòd filius, à patre: & tamen hujus mutuæ affectionis vi ita ſibi invicem opponuntur, ut neque unum de altero nec ambo de tertio dici poſſint; ut *Æneas* eſt pater *Aſcanii*, ergo non eſt *Aſcanii* filius; *Aſcanius* eſt filius *Æneæ*, ergo non eſt *Æneæ* pater. Sed quoniam relatorum unum conſtat ex mutua alterius affectione, mutuæque ſibi, ut diximus, cauſæ atque effecta ſunt, conſectarium hoc inde eſt quod ſequitur.

*Relata ſimul ſunt natura: ut qui alterum perfectè norit, norit & reliquum.*

Relata autem ſimul eſſe natura docuerunt & veteres Logici, *Ariſtoteles*, *Damaſcenus*,

*maſcenus*, & alii; relatáque ſe mutuò inferre mutuóque tollere; ut poſito patre, ponatur filius; ſublato, itidem tollatur: etiamſi enim ille manet qui filius fuit, non tamen filius manet. Neque ſolùm unum exiſtere nequit ſine altero, ſed ne intelligi quidem. Neceſſe eſt igitur, quod & meminit *Ariſtot. Top.* 3. *Ut alterum in alterius definitione comprehendatur*; útque alterum perfecte, i. e. definite, qui norit, norit continuò alterius definitionem; quæ ſicuti & eſſentia eorum, reciproca eſt. Supra itaque *Ramus* definivit ſubjectum, *cui aliquid adjungitur*; non, *quod alteri ſubjicitur*, ut alii malebant; etiamſi his verbis non modò eſſentia ſubjecti, ſed etiam notatio contineri videatur: deinde adjunctum definivit, *cui aliquid ſubjicitur*, non quod alteri adjungitur, quia ſubjectum & adjunctum relata ſunt; & ſubjectum adjuncti, adjunctum ſubjecti, ex qua alterum alterius mutua affectione conſtat, eâ erat definiendum, quæ ipſorum eſſentia eſt. Ad exempla nunc veniamus.

*Pro Marcello: Ex quo profectò intelligis quanta in dato beneficio ſit laus, cùm in accepto tanta ſit gloria.* Hic dare & accipere relata ſunt, quorum unius conſequens ex conſequente alterius intelligi ait *Cicero*. *Martialis in Soſibianum, l.* 1.

*Cum ſervum ſcis te genitum, blandéque fateris;*
*Cùm dicis dominum, Soſibiane, patrem.*

Arguebat ſe ſervum eſſe genitum *Soſibianus*, dum negare videbatur, quia dominum vocabat patrem. Sic apud *Quintilianum, l.* 5. *c.* 10. *Si portorium Rhodiis locare honeſtum eſt, & Hermacreonti conducere.* Quomodo & in Oratore perfecto *Tullius*: *Num igitur eſt periculum*, ait, *nequis putet in magna arte & glorioſa turpe eſſe docere alios id quod ipſi fuerit honeſtum diſcere?* Apud *Ovidium* in ætatis ferreæ deſcriptione, *Metam.* 1. Varia relatorum exempla afferuntur:

*—— Non hoſpes ab hoſpite tutus,*
*Non ſocer à genero: fratrum quoque gratia rara eſt.*
*Imminet exitio vir conjugis, illa mariti:*
*Lurida terribiles miſcent aconita novercæ:*
*Filius ante diem patrios inquirit in annos.*

*Atqui argumentum talis relationis contrarium nihil habet, immo arguit mutuas cauſas:* ut ſum tuus pater; tu es igitur meus filius. *At quum dico*, ſum tuus pater, non igitur ſum tuus filius, *tum contraria verè ſunt*; atque ex ipſa quidem hac mutua relatione.

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## CAP. XV.

### *De Adverſis.*

*Adverſa ſunt contraria affirmantia, quæ inter ſe velut è regione abſolutè adverſantur.*

Sic etiam à Cicerone appellantur in Topicis. *Sunt contraria*, quia eorum unum uni tantum opponitur; ut honeſtum turpi: duo n. duntaxat poſſunt ſibi invicem è regione adverſari. *Sunt affirmantia*; quia unum uni opponitur, ut res rei; quod ſupra demonſtratum eſt, & infra clarius patebit. His autem verbis *è regione abſolutè adverſantur*, nihil aliud quàm directa oppoſitio, adeóque maxima, intelligitur; qualis eſt inter duo puncta diametri in eodem circulo. His etiam verbis diſtinguuntur adverſa à ſuis mediis, quæ inter ſe & cum extremis diſparantur. *Abſolutè*; i. e. omninò, perfectè; ut in *Conſentaneis*, quæ abſolutè conſentiebant. *Ramus perpetuo* dixerat: ſed aſſentior aliis, qui *abſolutè* malunt: nam *perpetuò* opponi, omnib. oppoſitis etiam relatis, commune eſt, quatenus oppoſita ſunt, i. e. ratione & re diſſentiunt. *Abſolutè* autem additur, ut hac particula diſtingui adverſa poſſint à relatis, in quibus conſenſio quædam eſt, quatenus alterum ex mutua conſtat alterius affectione, cujuſmodi hic omninò nulla eſt. Sic albor & nigror, claror & frigus opponuntur.

*Ariſtoteles*, contraria (ſic enim *adverſa* vocat *Categ.* 6.) definit, *quæ plurimum inter ſe diſtant in eodem genere*: & rurſus *Categ.* 8. *Contraria ſunt vel in eadem ſpecie, vel in eodem genere.* Quem *Cic.* eſt ſecutus in *Top.* & *Galen* de *Opt.* ſecta.

Verùm adverſa, ut docet idem *Ariſtot.* cap. de Contrariis, non in eodem ſolùm genere plurimum differunt, ut album & nigrum, verum etiam in contrariis, ut juſtitia & injuſtitia; vel ipſa genera, ut bonum & malum, virtus & vitium. Quid quod in eodem genere differre, commune videtur adverſis cum relatis: pro eodem igitur genere, rectius in definitione ponitur *è regione*, prout *Cicero* interpretatur.

Æneid. 11.

*Nulla ſalus bello; pacem te poſcimus omnes.*

Libertas & ſervitus apud *Tibullum*, *l.* 2.

*Sic mihi ſervitium video, dominámque paratam;*
*Tu mihi libertas illa paterna vale.*

Sic conſilium & caſus; pro *Marcello*: *nunquam enim temeritas cum ſapientia commiſcetur, nec ad conſilium caſus admittitur.* Et Parad. 1. contra *Epicureos*: *illud tamen arctè tenent accuratéque defendunt, voluptatem eſſe ſummum bonum: quæ quidem mihi vox pecudum videtur, non hominum, &c.* Pecudem & hominem adverſa *Cicero* oppoſuit: voluptas pecudis bonum eſt, non igitur hominis. Uſus enim hujus argumenti non in qualitatibus duntaxat, ut vulgò putant, verùm in ſubſtantiis etiam & quantitatibus, immo omnibus in rebus verſatur: id quod *Ariſtot.* non diffitetur, cùm ait *Phil. x.* 3. *Contraria etiam ad primas entis differentias referri*: & rurſus; *in omni genere contrarietatem eſſe.* Contrarietas deinde argumentum eſſe Logicum ab omnibus agnoſcitur: nihil ergo obſtat quominus ad quævis rerum genera pertineat. Quædam denique formæ vel maximè ſubſtantiæ ſunt: formas autem ſpecificas omnes ſibi invicem adverſas eſſe, apud omnes receptiſſimum eſt: immo verò major videtur eſſe formarum contrarietas quàm qualitatum; qualitates enim commiſceri facile poſſunt, formæ vix unquam. Quod ergo idem *Ariſtot.* alibi docet, ſubſtantiæ & quantitati nihil eſſe contrarium, id non ratione tantùm, ſed ipſius etiam teſtimonio ſuprà citato refellitur; non ſubſtantiarum autem pugna etſi non Phyſica, Logica tamen eſt, dum ex altera ſubſtantia ſingulari affirmata, negatur altera.

## CAP. XVI.

### *De Contradicentibus.*

*Contraria negantia ſunt, quorum alterum ait, alterum negat idem.* Ab altero negante ſic nominantur: in puris enim negantibus, ut loquuntur, nullus eſt rationis uſus. Atq; hinc demum nunc clarius patet, quænam eſſent contraria affirmantia: de quibus cùm dictum eſt, de negantibus quoque eſt dictum quod ſatis ſit.

*Ea ſunt contradicentia aut privantia.*

*Contradicentia ſunt contraria negantia, quorum alterum negat ubique*: ut juſtus, non juſtus; animal, non animal; eſt, non eſt.

*Contradicentia ſunt contraria*, quia una negatio uni affirmationi opponitur, & contrà; immo ſine medio. Sic etiam *Ariſtot. Poſt.* 1. 2. *Contradictio eſt oppoſitio cujus nullum eſt medium per ſe.* Quorum alterum negat ubique; *i. e.* in re qualibet: negare enim ubique eſt de re qualibet dici, de qua affirmatum non dicitur: ut de quo *videt* non dicitur, de eo *non videt* dicitur. Unde illud vulgò dictum, *contradicentia ſunt omnia*: & illud *Ariſtot.* 1. *Poſt.* 1. 2. *quodvis verè eſt vel affirmare vel negare: verè affirmare & negare ſimul, impoſſibile eſt.* & Top. 6. 3. *de qualibet re vel affirmatio vel negatio verè dicitur.* Alterum autem negare ubique dicitur, vel expreſſè vel implicitè. Expreſſé ut ſuprà, cum negandi particula: implicitè, cùm reipſa non minus contradicit & repugnat alteri, quàm ſi verbo negaret; ut corpus infinitum, proprietas communis. Vulgò vocatur contradictio in adjecto; quia id ſubjecto adjungit quod ſubjectum planè tollit; atque ita contradictionem implicat. Atque hinc etiam eſt quòd contradicentia medio carent non ſolùm participationis verum etiam negationis, quia neceſſe eſt affirmare vel negare unum quodvis de altero. Sic etiam *Boethius* in Topicis: *inter affirmationem & negationem nulla eſt medietas.* Contradicentium porrò exempla hæc ſunt. In defenſione *Murænæ* contradicitur ſententiis *Catonis* & *Ciceronis*; illius Stoici, hujus Academici. Dialogus eſt his verbis: *nihil ignoveris: immo aliquid, non omnia. Nihil gratia cauſa feceris: immo ne riſiſtito gratia, cùm officium & fides poſtulabit. Miſericordia commotus ne ſis; etiam in diſſolvenda ſeveritate: ſed tamen eſt aliqua laus humanitatis. In ſententia permaneto: enim verò niſi ſententia alia vicerit melior.* In hoc exemplo quadruplex contradictio eſt: nihil ignoveris; nonnihil ignoveris; nihil gratiæ cauſa feceris; nonnihil gratiæ cauſa feceris, &c. *Martial. l.* 1.

*Bella es; novimus: & puella; verum eſt:*
*Et dives; quis enim poteſt negare?*
*Sed dum te nimium, Fabulla, laudas,*
*Nec dives, neque bella, nec puella es.*

*Cicero* in *Tuſc.* cogit hoc argumento *Atticum* Epicureum fateri mortuos miſeros non eſſe, ſi omnino non ſint, ut Epicurei credebant. *Quem eſſe negas; eundem eſſe dicis: cùm enim miſerum eſſe dicis, tum eum qui non ſit, eſſe dicis. Sic Terentianus Phædria Dori eunuchi* dictum elevat, quòd affirmaſſet prius, quæ pòſt inficiaretur: *modò ait, modò negat.*

Sunt qui contradictionem nullam eſſe ſtatuunt, niſi axiomaticam; de qua *lib.* 2. Verùm ſi affirmatio & negatio Topica datur, ut ſuprà demonſtravimus, neceſſe eſt dari quoque Topicam contradictionem: qualis eſt illa *Rom.* 9. *Vocabo non populum meum, populum meum; & non dilectam, dilectam.* In diſtinctionibus etiam frequentiſſimus eſt hujus contradictionis uſus; præſertim ubi alterum diſtinctionis membrum apta voce exprimi non poteſt: ut Dialecticæ materia eſt ens, & non ens; lex eſt ſcripta, vel non ſcripta. Sic ad *Critonem Socrates*; *videris opportunè quidem non excitaſſe me.* In his exemplis axiomatica contradictio nulla eſt: uti neque in illo quod ſuprà in hoc capite ex *Martiale* allatum eſt: *Bella es; novimus, & puella, &c.* Non enim verbum eſt ſive copulatio negatur, ſed partes. Fabulla eſt bella & puella & dives; Fabulla eſt & non bella, & non puella, & non dives. Axiomatica enim contradictio hujuſmodi fuiſſet: Fabulla non eſt & bella & puella & dives: quod lib. 2. clarius intelligetur.

## CAP. XVII.

### *De Privantibus.*

PRivantia *ſunt contraria negantia, quorum alterum negat in eo tantum ſubjecto, in quo affirmatum ſuapte natura ineſt.* Atque hîc affirmatum dicitur habitus, quo quis quid habet, negatum autem privatio, quâ quis ea re privatur aut caret: ut viſus & cæcitas, motus & quies in iis rebus quæ motu conſervantur. Sunt contraria, quòd unum uni opponitur, habitus privationi; qua ex parte *negantia* quoque dicuntur: nam & hîc rei alicujus affirmationi ejuſdem negatio, i. e. enti non ens opponitur: privatio enim, ut inquit *Ariſtot. Phyſ.* 2. 8. *per ſe eſt non ens:* & *Plut.* de primo frigido; *privatio eſt eſſentiæ negatio; habituique opponitur, non ut natura quadam aut eſſentia per ſe exiſtens, ſed ut ejus corruptio & ademtio.* Quorum alterum negat in eo tantum ſubjecto, in quo, &c. His verbis forma privantium qua diſtinguuntur à contradicentibus, exprimitur. In contradicentibus enim negatio infinita eſt, affirmatum ſuum ubique, i. e. qualibet in re negans; ut quicquid non eſt juſtum, eſt non juſtum; in privantibus verò finita eſt negatio, atque in eo tantum ſubjecto affirmatum ſive habitum negans, in quo affirmatum ſuapte natura ineſt, aut ineſſe poteſt: ut etiam *Ariſtot.* in Categor. Sic cæcitas eſt negatio viſus, non ubique & in re qualibet, ſed in qua ſolùm viſus ineſſe natura debuit: nam privari aliquid tum demum dicitur, cùm eo caret quod natum eſt habere: non ergo quicquid non videt, propriè cæcum dicitur. Deinde in contradicentibus negatum contradicendo negat, & eſt pura negatio; ut videns, non videns: in privantibus negat privando; nec ſolùm negatio eſt, ſed privans negatio & extinctio habitus alicujus qui ineſſe naturâ ſubjecto debuit aut potuit; ut videns, cæcus. Hinc illæ privationis proprietates ex *Plut.* de primo frigido, non inutiles: *privatio iners & agendi impos eſt: non ſuſcipit magis aut minus*; neque enim quis dixerit hunc illo cæciorem; aut tacentem, magis minúſve tacere; aut defunctum, magis minúſve eſſe mortuum: habitûs enim gradus eſſe poſſunt, non entis non item: Illa autem *Ariſtot. à privatione ad habitum non datur regreſſus*, incertior eſt: cùm enim habitus quo quis habere quid dicitur duo modi ſint, potentia & actus, à privatione potentiæ vel facultatis, idque naturâ duntaxat, regreſſus negatur. Contradicentia denique medio carent non ſolùm participationis, verùm etiam negationis: privantia verò carent quidem medio participationis, nulla enim eſt habitus cum privatione permixtio; non carent autem medio negationis; multa enim ſunt, quæ neque vident, neque cæca ſunt; ut lapis, arbor, &c. niſi cùm ei ſubjecto attribuuntur, cui natura ineſſe debuerunt: tum enim negationis etiam medio carent; quippe omnis homo aut videns eſt aut cæcus, gnarus aut ignarus. Exempla porrò privantium ſunt dives & pauper: *Martial. l.* 5.

*Semper eris pauper, ſi pauper es, Æmiliane:*
*Dantur opes nullis nunc, niſi divitibus.*

Vita & mors, ut in *Miloniana: hujus mortis ſedetis ultores, cujus vitam, ſi putetis per vos reſtitui poſſe, nolitis.* Item loqui & tacere: 1 *Catil. quid expectas auctoritatem loquentium, quorum voluntatem tacitorum perſpicis.* Cætera exempla quæ *Ramus* attulit, minus quadrant: ut ebrius & ſobrius, mortalis & immortalis, quæ potius adverſa ſunt. Neque enim *in* præpoſitio in compoſitis privationem ſemper, ſed adverſum habitum ſæpe ſignificat; unde nec peccatum privationem eſſe dixerim; ſiquidem hoc vel illud peccatum ſive vitium, privatio non eſt. Atque hæ quidem ſpecies contrariorum ſunt. Sed quæri hic ſolet, quænam earum ſint maximè inter ſe contrariæ. *Ariſtoteles* maximam contrarietatem nunc adverſis tribuit, nunc contradicentibus. Sed videtur maximam eſſe diſſenſionem inter privantia: deinde inter adverſa; minorem adhuc inter contradicentia; minimam inter relata: nam relata propter illam mutuam affectionem, partim conſentanea ſunt: contradicentia purè quidem contraria negantia ſunt, ſed tamen propter infinitam illam negationem, pro mediis & diſparatis crebro accipiuntur, ut non calidum non tam opponitur calido quàm frigidum; quoniam non calidum poteſt tepidum eſſe; ſic non bonum, medium quiddam eſſe poteſt & adiaphorum: non album de rubro dici aut intelligi poteſt: adverſa è regione quidem adverſantur; non ita tamen, quin commiſceri queant: privantia verò mixtionem non admittunt; & privatio ferè eſt habitûs extinctio atque ereptio aut ſaltem deficientia; habitúſque eſt ens, privatio non ens; enti autem nihil, æquè ac non ens, contrarium eſt.

*Sed diſſentaneorum categoria ſic eſt, unde quidvis ab altero differre quolibet modo poſſit.*

Quanquam enim cauſa omnis eſſentialis differentiæ, formæ primitus eſt reliquarum, argumenta reliqua conſentanea, ut quot modis conſentire totidem diſſentire res dicantur, cauſa nempe vel effecto, ſubjecto vel adjuncto, modi tamen omnes, quib. res inter ſe differunt vel ratione ſcilicet vel re, non tractantur niſi in diſſentaneis, vel ſi comparantur, in comparatis. Unde illud genere vel ſpecie differre, nihil aliud eſt quàm communi vel propria forma, quarum illa ſymbola ſunt, ut infra dicetur.

## CAP. XVIII.

### *De Paribus.*

*Argumenta ſimplicia ita fuerunt in conſentaneis & diſſentaneis.*
*Comparata ſunt argumenta prima, quæ inter ſe comparantur.*

Simplex rerum affectio comparatione prius tractanda fuit: hanc enim ſi removes, comparata omnia aut conſentanea erunt aut diſſentanea. *Platonis* doctrina & *Xenophontis* ante adjuncta utrique erat, quàm comparata. *Sunt argumenta* prima non orta, eo quòd orta, ut patebit infra, eandem habent affectionem cum primis unde orta ſunt; comparata etſi ſimplicia prius fuere, ſimplicium tamen affectionem non habent. *Inter ſe comparantur*; nimirum quæ ſunt ejuſdem generis: genera autem diſtributio mox docebit. Nunc proprietates comparatorum ſunt dicendæ.

*Comparata etſi ipſa comparationis natura æque nota ſunt; attamen alterum altero alicui notius & illuſtrius eſſe debet.*

Ubi hoc advertendum, non ſua ſed comparationis natura dici æquè nota eſſe comparata. Ita ſunt, inquis, & relata vi relationis; immo argumenta omnia quæ etiam relata ſunt, At, inquam, relatio & comparatio non ſunt idem; & reliqua argumenta, & ſi quatenus relata ſunt notione Logica, æque nota ſunt, ſuâ tamen naturâ, prout quæque eſt, vel æquè vel non æquè ſunt manifeſta; diſſentanea quidem æquè, conſentanea non æquè, ut jam ſupra eſt dictum. Debet autem ei quicum diſputamus comparatorum id quod arguit ſua natura & priuſquam comparatio inſtituitur, notius eſſe atque illuſtrius eo quod arguitur; æque enim obſcurum nihil argueret. Unde in ſignis comparatorum uſus elucet; quo fit ut inæqualis rerum notitia comparationis vi æqualis reddatur. Sic conſentanea ad probandum, diſſentanea ad refellendum, comparata ad illuſtrandum aptiſſima ſunt.

*Comparata autem ſape notis brevius indicantur; aliquando partibus plenius diſtinguuntur, qua propoſitio redditioque nominantur.*

Duplex ergo eſt comparationis forma: altera contracta, altera explicata. Contracta eſt quæ uno verbo concluditur, ut infra cap. 21. Explicata, quæ partibus diſtinguitur; partéſque iſtæ propoſitio & redditio nominantur. Propoſitio præcedit ſæpe, & argumentum eſt: redditio ſæpe ſequitur, éſtque id quod arguitur; ſi ſecus occurrit, inverſio eſt. Omnis autem forma comparationis contracta, ſuis partibus explicari poteſt.

*Atque omnino comparata etiam ficta arguunt fidémque faciunt.*

Arguunt ſcilicet rem veram; in quo cæteris argumentis præcellunt; quæ ficta ſi ſunt, rem fictam duntaxat arguunt; ut materia ficta, fictam ſolis domum. At comparata etiam ficta, non ſua quidem natura, ſed comparationis vi, res veras arguunt fidémque faciunt.

*Comparatio eſt in quantitate vel qualitate.*

*Quantitas eſt qua res comparata quanta dicuntur.*

*Eſtque parium vel imparium.* Non hic loquimur de quantitate ſolùm mathematica, quæ magnitudinis eſt aut numeri, ſed de quantitate Logica, quæ ratio quælibet ſive affectio eſt, qua res quæcunque inter ſe comparatæ quantæ, i. e. æquales vel inæquales, pares vel impares dici poſſunt.

*Paria ſunt, quorum eſt una quantitas.*

Sic etiam definit *Ariſtoteles*, *Phil.* 8. 15. Quod idem valet acſi diceretur, quorum par ratio eſt. *Una*, i. e. eadem, æqualis: unde in plurali numero eodem nomine ac definitione explicantur.

*Argumentum igitur paris eſt, cùm par illuſtratur à pari.*

Ad exempla veniamus; atque ad ea primùm quæ in forma, ut diximus, contracta notis brevius indicantur. Hæ autem notæ præcipuæ ſunt *par*, *aquale*, *aquare*; ut in his: *Æneid.* 2.

——*Par levibus ventis.*

Ubi levitas *Creuſa* umbræ comparatur levitati ventorum. *Æneid.* 3.

*Et nunc aquali tecum pubeſceret avo.*

Æneid. 6.

*En hujus nate auſpiciis, illa inclyta Roma*
*Imperium terris, animos aquabit Olimpo.*

His notis aliæ ſunt affines, *pariter*, *aquè*, *aqualitas*, *aqualiter*, *perinde*, *acſi*, & id genus alia.

Sequitur forma explicata; in qua propoſitio & redditio diſtinguuntur, quæ in contracta forma erant implicitæ. In hac autem forma explicata par quantitas vel notis apertè indicatur, vel ſine notis mente & ratione concipitur: Notæ iſtæ ſunt vel propriæ parium, vel negationes imparium: parium propriæ, *idem*, *quod*; *tam*, *quàm*; *tanto*, *quanto*; *tot*, *quot*. In quibus ſingulis notarum paribus prior quæque redditioni inſervit, poſterior verò propoſitioni. *Catil.* 4. *Cujus res geſta atque virtutes iiſdem, quibus ſolis curſus, regionibus ac terminis continentur.* Æneid. 4.

*Tàm ficti pravíque tenax quàm nuntia veri.*

*Tantò peſſimus omnium poëta,*
*Quantò tu optimus omnium patronus.* Catul. 4.

Ovid. 4. Triſt.

*Littora quot conchas, quot amœna roſaria flores.*
*Quótque ſoporiferum grana papaver habet, &c.*
*Tot premor adverſis*—— ——.

Negationes imparium ſunt; vel majoris & minoris ſeorſim vel utriuſque ſimul *non magis, non minus.* *Philippic.* 9. *Neque enim ille magis Juriſconſultus quàm juſtitiæ fuit, &c.* *Neque conſtituere litium actiones malebat, quàm controverſias tollere.* Ovid. 2. *de Arte.*

*Non minor eſt virtus, quàm quærere, parta tueri.*

*Utriuſque ſimul pro Murena: Paria cognoſco eſſe iſta in L. Murena, atque ita paria, ut neque ipſe dignitate vinci potuerit, neque te dignitate ſuperarit.* Obſervandum eſt autem negationem majoris vel minoris ſeorſim non ſemper eſſe notam parium: neque enim ſi *ſervus non eſt major domino, ergo eſt æqualis*; nec ſi *dominus non eſt minor ſervo, ergo par.*

Hactenus cum notis; nunc ſine notis hæc quæ ſequuntur. Atque in hoc potiſſimum genere exemplorum ſine notis, apparet vis eadem arguendi in utramque partem; adeo ut ſi unum, alterum quoque ſit; ſi non ſit unum, neque alterum. Itaque ex uno eorum affirmato, alterum affirmatur; ex negato, negatur: 2 *Philip.* *Quorum facinus commune, cur non eorum præda communis?* Ter. in Adel.

*Quando ego non curo tuum, ne cura meum.*

*Hujus loci*, parium nempe ſine notis, *ſunt conſectaria illa è contrariis quidem orta, ſed parium collatione tractata. Ut* ex adverſis iſta; *Cicero* pro *Sylla: neque verò quid mihi iraſcare intelligere poſſum; ſi, quòd eum defendo quem tu accuſas, cur tibi quoque ipſe non ſuccenſeo, qui accuſes eum quem ego defendo? Inimicum, inquis, accuſo meum: & amicum, inquam, ego defendo meum.* Sic 5. *Tuſc. quod cùm fateantur, ſatis magnam vim eſſe in vitiis ad miſeram vitam; nónne fatendum eſt eandem vim in virtute eſſe ad beatam vitam? Contraria enim contrariorum ſunt conſequentia.*

Quæ tamen regula non eſt perpetuo vera primò niſi collatio ſit verè parium: non ergo ſequitur, *mala opera damnant; ergo bona juſtificant.* Mala n. opera omnino mala, bona imperfectè bona ſunt; illa noſtra, hæc non plane noſtra. *Secundo*, ſed in iis duntaxat paribus, contrariorum ex loco petitis, quorum parium propoſitio reciprocatur. Quod in relatis quidem fit frequentiſſimè: ut apud *Martialem.*

*Tum ſervum ſcis te genitum, blandéque fateris,*
*Cùm dicis dominum, Soſibiane, patrem.*

Pater eſt filii dominus, & filii dominus eſt pater: pariter ergo filius eſt patris ſervus. Sic ex adverſis: *bonum eſt appetendum; pariter ergo malum eſt fugiendum.* Nempe quia propriè adeóque reciprocè, omne appetendum eſt bonum. Et ex privantibus: *Ovid.* 1. Faſt.

*In pretio pretium nunc eſt, dat cenſus honores,*
*Cenſus amicitias: pauper ubique jacet.*

Dives eſt in pretio, & quiſquis eſt in pretio, eſt dives; ergo omnis pauper jacet.

*Quoties autem collationis propoſitio non reciprocatur, vel quoties uni parium id quaſi proprium tribuitur quod utriſque commune eſt, eorum conſequentia contraria non ſunt, ſed ſæpe eadem.* Fallit ergo hoc ex relatis: *pater eſt dives; ergo filius eſt pauper:* quia propoſitio non eſt reciproca; omnis enim dives non eſt pater. Et hoc etiam ex adverſis: *homo eſt ſenſu præditus; beſtia igitur ſenſu caret. Homo mortalis; beſtia igitur immortalis:* quippe nec ſenſu præditum, nec mortale eſt homini proprium; ſed utrique contrario commune, & homini & beſtiæ. Hoc etiam ex contradicentibus: *homo eſt animal; ergo non homo eſt non animal.* Hoc denique ex privantibus: *videns vivit; ergo cæcus eſt mortuus:* vivere enim & videnti & cæco commune eſt. *Non enim idem non dici de contrariis, ſed contraria de eodem dici non poſſunt: immo quod ſuſcipit unum contrariorum, ſuſcipit alterum; & quod unum non ſuſcipit, neque alterum*; ut, *in quo eſt amor, in eo poteſt eſſe odium. Quibus nullum eſt jus, iis nulla fit injuria.*

Eſt & alius parium ſine notis modus, *quo interdum laceſſiti, par pari reponimus.* Qualis eſt *Virgil.* Ecl. 3. In illa paſtorum alterna contentione repetitum illud; *Dic quib. in terris, &c.* Cujuſmodi eſt & illud *Mat.* 21. 23, &c. *Qua authoritate facis iſta?* &c. *Interrogabo vos ego etiam quiddam: Baptiſma Joannis unde erat?* Affine eſt illud *Cic. Off.* 2. *Cato, cùm ab eo quæreretur, quid eſſet fœnerari? reſpondit, quid hominem occidere?*

Paria verò ficta quorum eſſe proprium ſuprà diximus rem veram arguere, ſunt illa apud *Ciceronem*, Invent. 1. ex *Æſchine Socratico*; ubi *Aſpaſia* cum *Xenophontis* uxore & *Xenophonte* ipſo ſic inducitur locuta: *dic mihi, quaſo, Xenophontis uxor, ſi vicina tua melius habeat aurum quàm tu habes, utrum illius an tuum malis? Illius, inquit. Et ſi veſtem? Illius verò reſpondit. Age verò, ſi virum illa meliorem, an illius malis.* Hîc mulier erubuit. Comparatio ſic ſe habet: ſi aurum, ſi veſtem vicinæ meliorem habere malles quàm tuam, malle etiam meliorem vicinæ virum argueris. Non dicit vicinam habere aurum aut veſtem meliorem, ſed fingit aut ponit, eámque ſi mallet *Xenophontis* uxor, arguitur malle virum quoque vicinæ ſi melior ſit.

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## C A P. XIX.

### *De Majoribus.*

*Imparia ſunt, quorum quantitas non eſt una.*

*Non una*, i. e. non eadem; quorum par ratio non eſt: contrariorum enim contraria ratio eſt.

*Impar eſt majus vel minus.*
*Majus eſt cujus quantitas excedit.*

Major autem vel minor quantitas æſtimanda eſt ex rerum quæ comparantur, elatione vel ſummiſſione, ut inquit *Cic.* in *Top.* i. e. exceſſu vel defectu; quæ vel notis indicantur, vel, ſi deſunt notæ aliis vocibus, quæ exceſſum vel defectum ſignificant, intelliguntur. Ex eo autem quod ſuprà de Logica quantitate diximus, intelligendum eſt id Logicè majus quoque eſſe, cujus non ſolùm magnitudo, menſura, aut numerus, ſed etiam auctoritas, potentia, præſtantia, probabilitas, difficultas, aut quid hujuſmodi majus eſt; vel brevius, quod quavis ratione exceſſum habet, id majus eſt; ídque non ſolùm rei ipſius natura, ſed vel opinione diſſerentis. Majus igitur eſt cujus quantitas excedit id quod minus eſt: majus enim hîc adhibetur ad arguendum minus.

Quemadmodum autem parium, ita argumenti à majore, forma alia contracta eſt, quæ notis brevius indicatur; alia explicata, quæ partibus plenius diſtinguitur.

Contractioris formæ notæ ſunt vel nomina comparativa & ſuperlativa ſuos caſus regentia, vel verba quædam; & ea quidem utraque non ſolùm quæ exceſſum ſignificant, ut *major*, *melior*, *pejor*; *præſtare*, *ſuperare*, *vincere*, *excedere*, *præferri*, cùm referuntur ad id quod arguit, verùm etiam ea cùm nomina tum verba quæ defectum ſignificant, ut *minor*, *inferior*, *poſthabeo*, *cedo*, *vincor*, *ſuperor*, ſi referuntur ad id quod arguitur.

Explicata autem forma nunc eſt cum notis, nunc ſine notis. Notæ ſunt *non ſolùm*, *ſed etiam*; non, tam, quam, & comparationes, verbáque, ut ſuprà, non modò elationem ſignificantia cum particula *quàm*, ſi ea particula tribuatur ei ſemper quod arguitur, ſed etiam ea quæ ſummiſſionem ſignificant, ſi modò particula *quàm* referatur ad id quod arguit: ut, *minus eſt amicum pulſare, quàm patrem.* Sed hoc exemplum arguit potius à minori quàm grave ſcelus ſit pulſare patrem, quàm a majori non admodum grave eſſe pulſare amicum. Idem de cæteris hujuſmodi eſt dicendum.

Exemplum primæ notæ: *Cic.* pro *Murana*: *Tollitur è medio non ſolùm iſta verboſa ſimulatio prudentia, ſed etiam illa domina rerum ſapientia. Spernitur orator non ſolùm odioſus in dicendo aut loquax, verùm etiam bonus.* In hujuſmodi exemplis *ſed etiam* eſt propoſitio, &, ut majus, arguit redditionem *non ſolum*, ut minus.

Huic nota affinis eſt *immo*, vel *immo verò*. Cujuſmodi eſt illud apud *Terent. Thr. Magnas verò agere gratias Thais mihi? Gn. Ingentes. Thr. Ain tu? læta eſt? Gn. Non tam ipſo quidem dono, quàm abs te datum eſſe: id verò ſeriò triumphat.* Hîc facile intelligitur *immo ingentes* & *immo id ſeriò triumphat.* Ingentes gratiæ arguunt magnas; & triumphare, lætam eſſe. Sic *Catil.* 1. *Hic tamen vivit, vivit? immo verò in ſenatum venit.* Et illud *Ver.* 3. *Non furem, ſed raptorem; non adulterum, ſed expugnatorem pudicitia*, &c.

Exemplum ſecundæ notæ, comparativorum ſcilicet & verborum cum particula *quàm*, eſt ex *Cic.* pro *Marcello*: *Plus admirationis habitura, quam gloria.* Sed ambiguum: aut enim plus admirationis arguit minus gloriæ, & ſic argumentum eſt à majori, aut minor gloria ſi magna ſit, arguit maximam admirationem.

Verborum elationem ſignificantium cum particula *quàm* exemplum hoc erit; *mendicare præſtat, quàm furari.* Hîc mendicare, quanquam in honeſtum, ut magis tamen & potius faciendum, arguit multo minus eſſe furandum.

*Sic malo illud*, ſcilicet quod arguit, *quàm hoc*, ſcilicet quod arguitur: ut *Juvenal.* Satyra 8. adverſus glorioſum nobilem.

*Malo pater tibi ſit Therſites, dummodo tu ſis*
*Æacidæ ſimilis, Vulcaniáque arma capeſſas,*
*Quàm te Therſitæ ſimilem producat Achilles.*

Quod malit ignobilem fortem, quod tamen non eſt ita optandum, ex eo arguit atque oſtendit à majori ſive à potiori quàm minime velit nobilem ignavum. *Cæſar: Malo modeſtiam in milite, quàm virtutem.* Modeſtia, judicio *Cæſaris*, præſtantior & major, arguit virtutem ſive fortitudinem in milite minus eſſe quàm modeſtia requirendam: vel potius à minori exaggerat modeſtiæ laudem in milite præ virtutis laude.

*Sequitur majorum tractatio ſine notis.*

Atque in hoc ſolùm genere id majus eſt cujus probabilitas aut difficultas eſt major. Hic etiam Logici regulas conſequentiæ tradere ſolent non ſolùm negando, ut vult *Ariſtot.* Rhet. 2. 23. verùm etiam affirmando, pro quantitatis diverſa vi & conſideratione, in exemplis diverſis: ejuſdem enim exempli una tantum ratio eſt. Si majus eſt probabilius, duntaxat negando, in hunc modum: *quod non valet in majore, non valebit in minore* Si majus eſt difficilius aut incredibilius, duntaxat affirmando: *quod in re majore valet, valet in minore,* ut inquit *Cic.* in *Top.* Hujus exemplum eſt *Æneid.* 1.

*O ſocii (neque enim ignari ſumus ante malorum)*
*O paſſi graviora! dabit Deus his quoque finem.*

Si gravioribus malis dedit Deus finem, dabit his certè. Sic *Cic.* pro *Murena*: *Noli tam eſſe injuſtus, ut cùm tui fontes vel inimicis tuis pateant, noſtros rivulos etiam amicis putes clauſos eſſe oportere.*

*Ficta etiam majora idem valent in ſuis conſequentiis vel refutandis vel probandis.*

Refutandi exemplum eſt *Terent. Heaut.*

——— *Satrapas ſi ſiet*
*Amator, nunquam ſufferre ejus ſumtus queat:*
*Nedum tu poſſis*: quaſi diceret, finge ſatrapam eſſe.
Et Æneid. 5.
*Magnanime Ænea, non ſi mihi Jupiter auctor*
*Spondeat, hoc ſperem Italiam contingere cœlo:*
*Mutati tranſverſa fremunt*, &c.
*Nec nos obniti contrà, nec tendere tantùm*
*Sufficimus*: i. e. multo nunc minus Jove non ſpondente.

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## CAP. XX.

### *De Minoribus.*

MAjus & minus inter ſe affecta & relata ſunt: adeóque unius definitionem qui norit, norit alterius.

Ut igitur majus eſt cujus quantitas excedit, *ita minus eſt cujus quantitas exceditur.* Quantitas autem ut majoris erat in qualibet rerum elatione ſive exceſſu, ita nunc minoris eſt in qualibet rerum ſummiſſione ſive defectu. Sententiarum enim minor probabilitas aut difficultas locum non habet, niſi in minorum forma explicata; quod ex majorum quoque explicata forma intelligi poteſt. Minus igitur eſt cujus quantitas exceditur à majore: argumentum itaque à minore eſt, cùm id quod minus eſt, adhibetur ad arguendum id quod eſt majus.

Minora etiam vel brevius indicantur notis, vel plenius diſtinguuntur partibus. Hujus utriuſque formæ vel propriæ ſunt minorum notæ, vel negationes parium.

Propriæ notæ contractioris formæ ſunt primùm, voces comparativæ Grammaticæ, cùm nomina tum verba, elationem utraque ſignificantia, ſi modò attribuantur ei quod arguitur. *Ovid.* 2. de Triſt. *Sævior es triſti Buſiride.* Hîc minor ſævitia *Buſiridis* arguit majorem illius in quem poeta invehitur. *Præſtat ſapientia divitiis. Sævior* & *præſtat* elationem ſignificant, & notæ ſunt majoris; ſed quia tribuuntur ei quod arguitur, argumentum utrobique eſt à minori. Atque hoc ſedulò advertendum eſt, ut argumentum majoris à minori dijudicare poſſis: majora enim & minora, contractæ præſertim formæ, eaſdem plerumque notas præ ſe ferunt; idémque exemplum utramvis in partem vel à majori vel à minori arguere poteſt: ut, *ſævior es triſti Buſiride.* Hoc ſi ad ſævitiam cujuſvis exaggerandam dicatur, ut hoc loco, à minori eſt: ſi ad *Buſiridis* extenuandam, à majori. Si igitur illa quæ elationem ſignificant, referantur ad id quod arguitur, ſunt illa quidem notæ majoris, argumentum autem eſt à minori; quoniam majus, cujus illa notæ ſunt, eſt id quod arguitur: ſin illa quæ ſummiſſionem ſignificant, referuntur ad id quod arguitur, ſunt illa quidem notæ minoris, ſed argumentum eſt à majori; quoniam id quod arguitur, minus eſt.

Secundò, comparationes Grammaticæ verbáque ſummiſſionem ſignificantia, ut minor, inferior, &c. Poſthabeo, poſtpono, cedo, vincor, ſuperor, &c. Si modò ad id quod arguit, referatur: ut *cedant arma togæ.* Hîc togæ dignitas arguitur à minori armorum dignitate, quæ cedit.

Atque hæ ſunt notæ affirmantes contractæ formæ: quibus annumerandæ ſunt etiam iſtæ formulæ, quæ fiunt negatione parium. *Philip.* 9. *Omnes ex omni ætate, qui in hac civitate intelligentiam juris habuerunt, ſi unum in locum conferantur, cum S. Sulpitio non ſunt conferendi*, i. e. non æquandi, quæ nota parium fuit. Hactenus contracta forma.

Explicata forma vel cum notis eſt, vel ſine notis. Propriæ notæ ſunt primò, *non modò non, ſed ne.* Cic. 2 Catil. *Nemo non modò Romæ, ſed ne ullo in angulo totius Italiæ oppreſſus ære alieno fuit, quem non ad hoc incredibile ſceleris fœdus aſciverit.* Hîc poſterior nota *ſed ne*, eſt propoſitionis, & nota minoris; arguitque *non modo non*, quæ redditionis eſt, & nota majoris, quod arguitur. Ne ullo in angulo Italiæ non fecit, quod minus utile ſibi erat, non modò non igitur vel multo magis Romæ fecit, quod majus erat, vel ſibi magis utile. Pro *Fonteio: Non modò nullum facinus hujus protulerunt, ſed ne dictum quidem aliquod reprehenderent.* Ne minus quidem fecerunt ut dictum aliquod reprehenderent, quæ propoſitio eſt & arguit non modò non majus, i.e. ergo non majus, ut facinus aliquod proferrent, quæ redditio eſt, & arguitur.

Verùm in hujus notæ exemplis propoſitionis nota *ſed ne*, aliquando omittitur. *Ad Lent. Nullum meum minimum dictum, non modò factum pro Cæſare interceſſit*, i. e. nullum non modò factum, ſed ne dictum quidem. Huic notæ affinis eſt illa formula, *tantum abeſt ab hoc, ut ne illud quidem.* Pro *Marcello: Tantum abes à perfectione maximorum operum, ut fundamenta, quæ cogitas, nondum jeceris.* Ne hoc quidem feciſti quod minus eſt, abes ergo longe ab illo quod eſt majus.

Secundæ notæ ſunt comparationes Grammaticæ & verba quædam cum particula *quàm*, quæ vel elationem ſignificant, ut *potius hoc quàm illud, malo hoc quàm illud*, vel ſummiſſionem, ut *minor, inferior*, ita ut *quàm* utrobique referatur ad id quod arguitur. *Catil.* 1. *Ut exul potius tentare, quàm conſul vexare remp. poſſis.* Quod potius erat *Ciceroni* ut exul tentaret remp. quàm conſul vexaret, illud ut minus malum arguit hoc eſſe majus. Hic comparatio Grammatica *potius*, ad id quod arguit, refertur, nempe ad minus malum; particula *quàm* ad id refertur quod arguitur, nempe ad majus malum. *Sic maluit Metellus de repub. quàm de ſententia ſua dimoveri.* Hîc *maluit*, verbum elationis, refertur ad id quod arguit, nempe ad minus malum, judicio *Metelli*, de rep. dimoveri; particula *quàm* ad id refertur quod majus malum arguitur, dimoveri de ſententia. Sic in iis notis quæ ſummiſſionem ſignificant, particula *quàm* refertur ſemper ad majus quod arguitur, non ſecus atque in iis quæ ſignificant elationem: ut, *minus eſt accipere, quàm dare; inferior eſt Cæſar quàm Scipio.*

His notis affinis eſt *antequam*, i.e. potius quam. Pro *Milone: Utinam Clodius dictator eſſet, antequam hoc ſpectaculum viderem.*

Tertia nota eſt *cùm tum:* 1 Agr. *quæ cùm omnib. eſt difficilis & magna ratio, tum vero mihi præter cæteros.*

Sequuntur negationes parium in hac forma explicata. *Non tam, quàm.* Catil. 2. *Quanquam illi qui Catilinam Maſſiliam ire dictitant, non tam hac queruntur, quàm verentur.* *Sic non tot, quot:* pro *Murena*; *Quod enim fretum, quem Euripum tot motus, tantas, tam varias habere putatis agitationes fluctuum; quantas perturbationes & quantos æſtus habet ratio comitiorum?* In hoc exemplo interrogatio fortius negat paria.

Nunc ad exempla formæ ſine notis explicatæ veniamus. *Cic. Off.* 1. *Ergo hiſtrio hoc videbit in ſcena, non videbit ſapiens in vita.* Atque hinc etiam conſequentiæ ducuntur non ſolùm affirmando & probando, ut vult *Ariſt.* Rhet. 2. 23. & *Cic.* in *Top.* ſed etiam negando & refutando: Si quidem hoc de exemplo non eodem intelligitur: ſin de eodem, tum quidem vel ſolum affirmando, vel ſolùm negando rectè proceditur. Affirmandi exemplum eſt *Ovid.* 1. de Remed.

*Ut corpus redimas ferrum patieris & ignes*, &c.
*Ut valeas animo quicquam tolerare negabis?*

Si corporis cauſa, multo magis animi quidvis tolerabis; animus enim dignior. Item pro *Archia: Beſtia ſæpe immanes cantu flectuntur: nos non poetarum voce moveamur?* Sic illud *Mat.* 6. 26. *Paſſeres curat Deus: multo magis ergo homines.* At negando, nulla ex his conſequentia deducitur: non ergo ſequitur, *ſi corporis cauſa quicquam non tolerabis, ergo nunc animi*; & ſic de cæteris. Rectè igitur, ſi hoc modo intelligitur *Ariſtoteles*, à minore ad majus affirmando ſolùm proceditur. Verùm exempla non deſunt, in quib. à minore arguitur etiam ſolùm negando: cujuſmodi eſt illud ſuprà citatum, pro *Marcello*; *fundamenta nondum jeciſti, certè ergo non perfeciſti.* Nec tamen idem affirmando; *fundamenta jeciſti, ergo perfeciſti.* Hîc modò cavendum eſt, ne ponatur negatio quæ affirmationi æquipolleat: ut, *Deus non negligit paſſeres*, idem eſt quod *curat.* Sic enim utriuſque conſequentiæ idem exemplum prout ſententia eadem vel affirmando vel negando variatur, dari poſſet: ut, *ſi fures plectendi, multo magis ſacrilegi. Si furib. non parcendum, multo minus ſacrilegis.* Hîc *plectere* & *non parcere* idem eſt; & minus ſit nota majoris: non igitur notæ, ſed rerum elatio vel ſummiſſio majus vel minus efficit. Atque hæc de conſequentiis minorum ſine notis.

Verùm eædem conſequentiæ ducuntur ab explicata forma, quæ etiam cum notis eſt, ut ex iis exemplis quæ ſuprà ponuntur, intelligas licet. In hac forma explicata ſine notis eſt ubi occurrit minorum quædam gradatio: ut *Ver.* 7. *Facinus eſt vincere civem Romanum; ſcelus verberare; propè parricidium necare: quid dicam in crucem tollere?*

*Finguntur etiam minora:* Virgil. Ecl. 1.
*Antè leves ergo paſcentur in æthere cervi*, &c.
*Quàm noſtro illius labatur pectore vultus.*

Philip. 2. *Si inter cœnam in tuis immanibus illis poculis hoc tibi accidiſſet, quis non turpe duceret? In cœtu verò populi R. negotium publicum gerens, magiſter equitum*, &c.

## CAP. XXI.

### *De Similibus.*

HActenus comparatio in quantitate fuit. Sequitur *comparatio in qualitate, qua res comparatæ quales dicuntur.*

Qualitas enim Logica non ſolùm eſt habitus, aut diſpoſitio, aut potentia, vel impotentia naturalis, aut denique figura aut forma exterior, quæ *Ariſtot.* ſpecies qualitatis ſunt, & in aliis artibus tractandæ, ſed eſt affectio quælibet ſive ratio, quâ res inter ſe comparatæ quales, nempe ſimiles aut diſſimiles dicuntur. Nulle autem res eſt, quæ ſi alteri qualitate conferatur, non ſit ei ſimilis vel diſſimilis.

*Similia ſunt quorum eadem eſt qualitas.*

Sic enim definit *Ariſtoteles*, Phil. 8. 15. & *Boethius*, l. 2. in *Cic. Top. ſimilitudo*, inquit, *eſt unitas qualitatis.* Argumentum igitur ſimilitudinis eſt, quando ſimile explicatur à ſimili. Magna quidem eſt affinitas parium cum ſimilibus; verùm ut ex definitionibus eorum perſpicere licet, in hoc maximè differunt, quòd paria non admittunt elationem aut ſummiſſionem, ſimilia admittunt: poſſunt enim etiam ſimillima majora eſſe vel minora; quod paria non poſſunt.

Similitudo proportio dicitur, Græcè ferè *analogia*; & ſimilia proportionalia, Græcè *analoga*. Proportio autem nihil aliud eſt quàm duarum rationum ſimilitudo: ratio autem eſt duorum inter ſe terminorum ſive rerum collatio. * Monendum autem eſt ſimilia ſive contractæ formæ ſive explicatæ urgenda non eſſe ultra eam qualitatem quam in utriſque eandem eſſe propoſitum aſſimilanti erat oſtendere: ſic magiſtratus aſſimilatur cani, ſola nimirum fidelitate cuſtodiæ: unde illa in ſcholis, *nullum ſimile eſt idem, ſimile non currit quatuor pedibus, omne ſimile claudicat.*

Similia nunc notis brevius indicantur, nunc partibus plenius diſtinguuntur; hoc enim comparatis omnibus commune eſt. Notæ ſimilitudinis contractæ *quæ uno verbo concluditur*, ſunt vel ſimilium propriæ vel diſſimilium negationes. Propriæ ſimilium ſunt vel nomina, ut *ſimilis, effigies, imago, more, ritu, inſtar, in modum*; vel adverbia, *tanquam, veluti, quaſi, ſicuti*; vel verba, *imitari, referre*, &c. 1 *Æneid. Os humeróſque Deo ſimilis.* Philip. 9. *Quanquam nullum monumentum clarius Servius Sulpitius relinquere potuit, quàm effigiem morum ſuorum, virtutis, conſtantiæ, pietatis, ingenii, filium.* 1 Triſt.

*Namque ea vel nemo, vel qui mihi vulnera fecit,*
*Solus Achilleo tollere more poteſt.*

In Piſ. *Unus ille dies mihi quidem inſtar immortalitatis fuit, quo in patriam redii. Verr.* 1. *Sed repente è veſtigio ex homine, tanquam aliquo poculo Circæo, factus eſt Verres.* Pro lege *Manil. Itaque omnes quidem nunc in his locis Cn. Pompeium, ſicut aliquem, non ex hac urbe miſſum, ſed de cœlo delapſum intuentur.* Negationes diſſimilium ſunt, *haud ſecus, non aliter, non abſimilis*, &c. Æneid. 3. *Haud ſecus ac juſſi faciunt.* Terent. in Phor. *Ego iſti nihilo ſum aliter, ac fui.*

Ad contractam ſimilitudinis formam pertinet etiam metaphora: metaphora enim, ut docent Rhetores, eſt ad unum verbum contracta ſimilitudo ſine notis quidem, quæ tamen intelliguntur. Pro *Seſt. Cujus ego patrem Deum atque parentem ſtatuo fortunæ nominiſque mei.* i. e. *tanquam Deum.*

*Similitudinis partes deinceps explicantur, & quidem disjunctè vel continuè.*

*Similitudo disjuncta eſt, quando termini* ſive res *quatuor reipſa diſtinguuntur.* i. e. quando duo termini ſive res diſtinctæ in propoſitione comparantur duobus terminis ſive rebus diſtinctis in redditione. Occurrit autem hæc forma & cum notis & ſine notis. Notæ ſunt, *qualis, talis*; illa propoſitionis, hæc redditionis nota eſt. Item *quemadmodum, ut, ſicut*, propoſitionis; quibus reſpondent, *Sic, eodem modo, ſimiliter*, redditionis. *Ecl.* 5.

*Tale tuum carmen nobis, divine poeta,*
*Quale ſopor feſſis in gramine.*

Carmen ad auditorem, ut ſopor ad feſſum, termini quatuor diſtincti ſunt. *Ad* Frat. 1. *Quemadmodum gubernatores optimi vim tempeſtatis, ſic ſapientiſſimi viri fortunæ impetum perſæpe ſuperare non poſſunt.* Hîc quatuor ſunt item termini, ut gubernator ad tempeſtatem, ſic ſapiens ad fortunam. 1 *Triſt.*

*Scilicet ut fulvum ſpectatur in ignibus aurum,*
*Tempore ſic duro eſt inſpicienda fides.*

Cicero 2 Phil. *Sed nimirum ut quidam morbo & ſenſus ſtupore ſuavitatem cibi non ſentiunt; ſic libidinoſi, avari, facinoroſi, veræ laudis guſtum non habent.* In vita *Virgil.*

*Hos ego verſiculos feci, tulit alter honores:*
*Sic vos non vobis nidificatis aves:*
*Sic vos non vobis mellificatis apes:* &c.

In hoc exemplo redditio ſine nota præcedit. Particula autem *Sic* quæ nota ſolet eſſe redditionis, hîc propoſitioni attribuitur.

*Aliquando nulla prorſus eſt nota.* Virgilius Ecloga 2.

*O formoſe puer, nimium ne crede colori.*
*Alba liguſtra cadunt, vaccinia nigra leguntur.*

*Continua ſimilitudo eſt, quando eſt ut primus terminus ad ſecundum, ita ſecundus ad tertium.* Leg. 3. *Ut magiſtratibus leges, ita populo præſunt magiſtratus.* Hîc termini ſunt tres; lex, magiſtratus, populus. Sed medius bis adhibetur, & in omni proportione continua continuatur; éſtque poſterior terminus propoſitionis, prior redditionis. In omni enim proportione termini eſſe debent ad minimum quatuor. Ordo hujus ſic eſt: ut leges magiſtratibus, ita magiſtratus populo præſunt.

Quanquam autem ſimilia magis ad illuſtrandum quàm ad probandum accommodata ſunt, & *Plato in Phædone, Ego,* inquit, *ſermones qui ex ſimilibus demonſtrationes ſumunt, probè novi ad oſtentationem comparatos eſſe; & niſi quis caveat ab iis, facile imponunt,* quod ad regulas tamen conſequentiarum attinet, ex definitione ſimilium perſpicitur, ſimilium ſimilem eſſe rationem; valere igitur ſimilia in utramque partem. *Unde Ariſtot.* Top. 24. *Quod in aliquo ſimili valet, in aliis quoque ſimilibus valebit; & quod non in aliquo, nec in cæteris.*

Quoniam autem ſimilitudo non ſolùm eſt propoſitionis & redditionis, ſed terminorum etiam inter ſe. Idcirco ſi quædam ſimilia ſunt, inverſè quoque ſimilia erunt, & alternè. Et inverſè quidem duobus modis; inverſione ſcilicet vel propoſitionis & redditionis, quæ aliorum comparatorum communis eſt; vel terminorum, quæ videtur ſimilium propria. Exempli gratia; ut gubernator ad tempeſtatem, ſic ſapiens ad fortunam: inverſè ergo; ut ſapiens ad fortunam, ſic gubernator ad tempeſtatem. Hæc propoſitionis & redditionis inverſio eſt. Rurſus, ut tempeſtas ad gubernatorem, ſic fortuna ad ſapientem: hæc inverſio eſt terminorum. Alternatio eſt quando antecedens propoſitionis antecedenti redditionis & conſequens conſequenti comparatur. Regula ergo hîc eſt; ſi quædam ſimilia fuerint, alternè ſimilia erunt. Ut gubernator ad tempeſtatem, ſic ſapiens ad fortunam: ergo, alternè; ut gubernator ad ſapientem, ſic tempeſtas ad fortunam. Inverſionum hujuſmodi & alternationum in Mathematicis proportionibus uſus maximus eſt: ſed proportio non Mathematica ſolùm, verùm etiam Logica eſt, ut ſupradiximus, rerum omnium communis; ejus ergo regulæ non erant hîc omittendæ.

*Ficta ſimilitudo parem vim habet ſuperioribus illis, ſed præcipuè in hac explicata ſimilitudine Æſopici apologi excellunt.*

Horat. 1. Epiſt.

*Quod ſi me populus Romanus fortè roget, cur*
*Non ut porticibus, ſic judiciis fruar iiſdem?*
*Nec ſequar aut fugiam quæ diligit ipſe vel odit?*
*Olim quod vulpes ægroto cauta leoni*
*Reſpondit, referram; quia me veſtigia terrent*
*Omnia te adverſum ſpectantia, nulla retrorſum.*

Huc etiam refertur parabola *Socratica* vulgò dicta; quæ eſt inductio ſimilium interrogationib. ferè conſtans. *Illa autem,* inquit *Fabius, hanc habuit vim; ut cùm plura interrogaſſet Socrates, quæ fateri adverſario neceſſe eſſet, noviſſime id, de quo quærebatur, inferret, cui ſimile adverſarius conceſſiſſet.* Vide pag. 269. ad *.

## CAP. XXII.

### *De Similibus.*

HActenus ſimilia, quorum qualitas eſt eadem. *Diſſimilia ſunt comparata, quorum qualitas eſt diverſa.*

Contrariorum enim eadem ſcientia eſt. Et *Cic.* in *Top. ejuſdem eſt*, inquit, *diſſimile & ſimile invenire.* In hoc differunt diſſimilia à diverſis, quod diſſimilitudo ſit differentia comparata, & non eidem, eodem ſaltem tempore, ſed diverſis plerumque ſubjectis attribuatur. Itaque diverſorum uno negotio, alterum affirmatur; diſſimilia ſive diverſa ſive oppoſita, ſimul affirmari aut negari poſſunt. Diverſa autem qualitas eſt non eadem; ſive diverſa ſit ſive oppoſita: quaſi dicas diſſimilium diſſimilis eſt ratio. Argumentum igitur diſſimilitudinis eſt, quando diſſimile arguitur à diſſimili.

Contractæ diſſimilitudinis notæ ſunt *diſſimile, diſpar, differens, aliud, ſecus:* Pro *Planc. Diſſimilis eſt debitio pecunia & gratia.* Ennius: *O domus antiqua, heu quàm diſpari dominare domino.* Diſpar autem eſt non impar, ſed diſſimilis. *Caſar* 1. *bell. Gal. Hi omnes linguâ, inſtitutis, legibus inter ſe differunt.* 2 Agrar. *Alio vultu, alio vocis ſono, alio inceſſu eſſe meditabatur.* Cic. 2. Nat. *Quoniam cœpi ſecus agere, atque initio dixeram.*

*Diſſimilitudinis nota etiam ſunt per negationem ſimilium, ut non ſimilis, non talis, non idem, non tanquam,* &c. 3 de *Orat. Non eſt Philoſophia ſimilis artium reliquarum.* 2 Æneid.

*At non ille ſatum quo te mentiris, Achilles,*
*Talis in hoſte fuit Priamo.*——

Horat. 1. *Epiſt. Non eadem eſt ætas, non mens.* 1. ad *Frat. Sit annulus tuus, non tanquam vas aliquod, ſed tanquam ipſe tu.* Hoc argumento paſtor ille errorem ſuum confitetur. *Eclog.* 1.

*Urbem ( quam dicunt Romam ) Melibœe, putavi,*
*Stultus ego huic noſtræ ſimilem.*——
Et mox,
*Sic canibus catulos ſimiles, ſic matribus hœdos*
*Noram, ſic parvis componere magna ſolebam.*

Ut nec canibus catuli, nec matribus hœdi, ſic nec *Mantua Roma* ſimilis eſt. In hoc exemplo erroris confeſſio pro negatione ſimilium eſt.

Explicata diſſimilitudo itidem cum notis eſt vel ſine notis. Notæ ſunt hîc etiam negationes ſimilium. 3. *Philip. Certus dies non ut ſacrificii ſic conſilii expectari ſolet.*

*Nota plerumque nulla eſt, cum diſſimilitudo plenius explicatur.*

Quintil. *l.* 5. *c.* 11. *Brutus occidit liberos proditionem molientes. Manlius virtutem filii morte mulctavit.* Catullus.

*Soles occidere & redire poſſunt:*
*Nobis cùm ſemel occidit brevis lux,*
*Nox eſt perpetua una dormienda.*

Diſſimilitudo eſt diei & vitæ noſtræ. Redditio eſt vitam ſemel amiſſam non reſtitui. Illuſtratur à diſſimili, quæ propoſitio eſt, ſoles occidere & redire poſſunt.

## CAP. XXIII.

### *De Conjugatis.*

HActenus prima argumenta ſunt expoſita: quorum tria genera fuere; conſentanea, diſſentanea, & comparata.

Sequuntur *orta de primis; quæ ad id quod arguunt perinde ſunt ut prima unde oriuntur: ut conjugata & notatio, diſtributio & definitio.*

In ſe itaque habent vim arguendi ut argumenta artificialia, & eandem quidem cum iis unde oriuntur: non autem à ſe, quia non prima, ut in capite ſecundo jam dictum eſt. Definitionem autem vix aliam requirunt præter ipſum nomen quod naturam eorum ſatis per ſe explicat: unde illud conſectarium, *Orta argumenta perinde eſſe ad id quod arguunt, ut ſunt prima unde oriuntur.*

Quatuor hæ ſpecies ortorum, in duo genera, anonyma licet, diſtinguuntur, cùm propter dichotomiæ ſtudium, tum quia conjugata & notatio ſub eodem genere continentur, propter illam quæ inter ea intercedit communionem. *Cicero* itaque in *Top.* locum ex conjugatis notationi finitimum eſſe dixit. Et in multis exemplis conjugata à notatione & nomine nihil aut parum differunt. Communio autem illa duplex eſt: primò quòd ſunt argumenta nominalia ſive à nomine petita. Sed in hoc differunt, ut etiam tradit *Boet. l.* 4. in *Top. Cic.* quod notatio expoſitione nominis, conjugatio ſimilitudine vocabuli ac derivatione perficitur. Neque idcirco ad Grammaticam pertinent: ex vi enim nominum argumenta petere, Logici eſt, non Grammatici. Secunda communio eſt, quòd ſunt orta ſimplicia: neque enim ex pluribus primis ſimul conjunctis, ſed ex uno aliquo argumento primo ſingula eorum exempla oriuntur, niſi in nominibus compoſitis: compoſitorum enim nominum compoſita interdum ex pluribus argumentis notatio eſt. Diſtributio autem & definitio ſunt argumenta realia, i. e. in rerum explicatione verſari ſolent, & compoſita, i. e. ex pluribus argumentis primis ſimul conjunctis originem ſuam trahunt. Si ergo ortorum genera, quæ anonyma eſſe diximus, nominibus diſtinguere lubet, orta erunt vel nominalia & ſimplicia, ut conjugata & notatio, vel realia & compoſita, ut diſtributio & definitio: niſi hoc fortè excipiamus, quod definitio ex uno primo, i. e. ex ſola forma nonnunquam conſtare poteſt. Ex his autem duobus generibus prius tractandum eſt illud cui conjugata & notatio ſubjiciuntur, quia ferè ſimplicius eſt. Atque in hoc genere conjugata priorem ſibi locum vendicant, quod ex ſolis conſentaneis oriantur, cùm notatio ex quovis argumento primo petatur. *Fabius l.* 5. *c.* 10. Conjugata nihili facit: *Ariſtoteles* autem & *Cicero* in *Topicis ſuis* aliter ſentiunt: quorum ille, *l.* 3. *c.* 4. & *l.* 7. *c.* 2. locos ex diſſentaneis, conjugatis & caſibus plurimum ait valere; & ad plurima eſſe utiles.

*Conjugata ſunt nomina ab eodem principio variè deducta. Ut* juſtitia, juſtus, juſtè. *Ariſtoteles* & *Cicero* conjugata, ille, nomina ejuſdem conjugationis; hic, ejuſdem generis eſſe definiunt: ſed neque ille quaſi jugum ipſum conjugatorum, neque hic genus, neque noſter principium ipſum ſive originem & thema conjugatorum numero excludit. Conjugata autem ſunt omnia non ſolùm nomina tam ſubſtantiva quàm adjectiva, ſed etiam verba, &, quæ *Ariſtoteles caſus* vocat, adverbia, cùm paronuma, i. e. derivata, tum ipſa themata, ſervatis tamen iſtis conditionibus. 1. Si ut idem ſonant, ſic idem etiam ſignificant. 2. Si in eadem ſignificationis ratione ſumantur. Nam ſi unum ſignificat potentiam ſive facultatem aut habitum, alterum verò actum & ex potentia ſive habitu arguatur actus aut contra, captio eſt. 3. Si in iis ſymbolum ſit conſentaneorum argumentorum, i. e. ſi à conſentaneis orta ſunt: quorum vim & affectionem in arguendo aliis nominibus iiſque conjugatis referant: quorum etiam ad inventionem nominalis hujuſce conjugationis indicio ducamur: unde elucet non contemnendus hujus loci uſus, præſertim in definitionibus.

Sequuntur exempla; ut juſtitia, juſtus, juſtè. Cujuſmodi in exemplis obſervandum eſt, abſtractum quod vocant, cauſam eſſe concreti, & concretum adverbii. Ut juſtitia eſt cauſa, cur aliquis ſit juſtus: & quia juſtus eſt, idcirco juſtè agit. Quod tamen non eſt ubique verum: ſanum enim, i. e. quod efficit aut conſervat ſanitatem, cauſa eſt ſanitatis, concretum ſcilicet abſtracti, ut notat *Ariſtot. top.* 2. 3. *Propert. lib.* 2.

*Libertas quoniam nulli jam reſtat amanti,*
*Nullus liber erit, ſiquis amare velit.*

Hîc libertas quæ cauſa eſt cur ſis liber, quia non reſtat, ergo nullus, &c. *Cicero* 3. de *Nat. Deor.* cùm de *Dionyſio* tyranno loquitur: *Jam menſas argenteas de omnibus delubris juſſit auferri, in quibus quòd more veteris Græciæ inſcriptum eſſet* bonorum deorum, *uti eorum bonitate velle ſe dicebat: dii boni ſunt: eorum igitur bonitate eſt utendum.* Hîc ex effectis ad cauſas eſt diſputatum; ut vult *Ramus*: ut mihi quidem videtur à cauſis ad affecta. *Terent. Homo ſum, humani à me nihil alienum puto.*

*puto.* Ex ſubjecto eſt ad adjunctum. In *Piſon. Cum eſſet omnis illa cauſa conſularis & ſenatoria, auxilio mihi opus fuerat & conſulis & ſenatus.* Ex adjunctis eſt ad ſubjectum. *Phil. 2. Non tractabo ut conſulem, ne ille quidem me ut conſularem.* Ex effecto eſt ad cauſam: nam eſſe conſulem cauſa eſt ut quis poſtea ſit conſularis: unde ſic arguitur; non agnoſcit is in me effectum, non agnoſcam ergo in eo cauſam. Notandum eſt nonnulla ſenſu duntaxat, non ſono eſſe conjugata: ut, *ſomnus, dormiens; morbus, æger.*

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## CAP. XXIV.

### *De Notatione.*

N*Otatio eſt nominis interpretatio.* i. e. reddita ratio cur quidvis ita nominatum ſit. Definitio autem hæc eſt *Boëthi,* l. 1. *in Cic. Top. Notatio* inquit *Cic. in Top. Græcis* etymologia *dicitur,* i. e. verbum ex verbo veroloquium: *nos autem novitatem verbi non ſatis apti fugientes, genus hoc* notationem *appellamus, quia ſunt verba rerum notæ.* Hæc ille. Ex iis igitur quæ ſupradicta ſunt, intelligi poteſt, notationem eſſe argumentum ortum adeóque ſymbolum alicujus primi; eſſe nominale, i. e. ut *Cicero* loquitur, argumentum ex vi nominis elicitum.

*Quippe nomina ſunt notæ rerum & cujuſlibet nominis vel derivati vel compoſiti, ſiquidem notatione vera nomen inditum fuit, ratio reddi poteſt ex aliquo argumento primo.*

*Ut homo ab humo.* Hæc à materia eſt notatio. Sed linguæ, cùm prima illa quam *Adamus* in Edene, tum illæ variæ atque à prima fortaſſis ortæ, quas conditores turris Babelicæ ſubito acceperunt, divinitus proculdubio datæ ſunt; unde vocum primitivarum ratio ſi ignoretur, mirum non eſt: quæ autem voces derivatæ ſunt aut compoſitæ, vel earum origines ex aliis linguis antiquis jamque obſoletis petendæ ſunt, vel ipſæ vetuſtate aut infimæ plebis inquinata fere pronuntiatione ita immutata, mendoſe etiam ſcribendi conſuetudine ita quaſi obliteratæ, ut vera vocum notatio raro admodum teneatur. Unde argumentum à notatione, niſi ea fortè manifeſtiſſima ſit, fallax admodum & ſæpe ludicrum eſt.

Nunc reliqua exempla videamus. *Ovid. 6 Faſt.*

*Stat vi terra ſua; vi ſtando Veſta vocatur.*

Terra dicitur *Veſta* ab effecto ſuo naturali, propterea quod vi ſua ſtat.

*At locus à flammis & quod fovet omnia dictus.*

Ex effectis eſt notatio. Item *Verr. 4. O Verrea præclara! Quò enim acceſſiſti, quo non attuleris tecum iſtum diem? Etenim quam tu domum, quam urbem adiiſti, quod fanum denique, quod non everſum atque exterſum reliqueris? Quare appellantur ſanè iſta Verrea, quæ non ex nomine, ſed ex moribus naturaq; tua conſtituta eſſe videantur.* Ex effectis item eſt notatio. *Ovid. 1. Faſt.*

*Prima dies tibi, Carna, datur, dea cardinis hæc eſt.*
*Numine clauſa aperit, claudit aperta ſuo.*

Notatio hæc è ſubjecto eſt, cardine ſcilicet, in quo verſando dea illa exercebatur. Hinc illa cavillatio in *Antonium* generum: *Tuæ conjugis bonæ fœminæ, locupletis quidem certè, Bambalio quidam pater, homo nullo numero, nihil illo contemptius; qui propter hæſitantium linguæ ſtuporémque cordis, cognomen ex contumelia traxerit.* Ex adjunctis eſt notatio hæc *Bambalionis,* quia balbus & ſtupidus. E diſſentaneis autem ſunt illa apud *Quintil. l. 1. c. 6. Lucus, quia umbra opacus parum luceat: & ludus, quia ſit longiſſimè à luſu: & Dis quia minimè dives.* Eſt etiam è comparatis notatio pyropi, quòd ignis quondam ſpeciem præbeat.

Atque hactenus de notatione: nunc aliquid de nomine adjiciendum eſt. *Eſt enim ut notationi ad ſuum nomen, ſic nomini ad notationem ſua affectio:* Hoc eſt, ut notatio arguit nomen, ſic nomen viciſſim arguit notationem. Ut animi plenus, ergo animoſus; & contrà, animoſus, ergo animi plenus. Nam & nomen quoque ortum argumentum eſt; ex quo autem fonte oriatur, notatio declarat. Hæc autem appendicula de nomine idcirco eſt adjecta, quia cum alia argumenta inter ſe affecta, quot quidem eodem nomine ac definitione non ſunt comprehenſa, ſua ſeorſum capita ſibi habuerint, & tantillum eſſet quod de nomine dicendum erat, non videbatur caput novum ob id eſſe inſtituendum. In hoc igitur capite duo loci inventionis continentur, notationis & nominis: inter quos ſi comparatio fiat, potior videtur nominis. Unde tota hæc categoria ab *Ariſtotele locus à nomine* dicitur. Sæpiúſque & firmius à nomine quàm à notatione argumentum ducitur; ut homo eſt, ergo ex humo; focus eſt, ergo fovet. At non eadem vi argumentum à notatione deducitur; ex humo eſt, homo igitur; fovet omnia, ergo focus eſt.

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## CAP. XXV.

### *De Diſtributione.*

Reliquam eſt exortis aliunde argumentis argumentum diſtributionis & definitionis.

*In qua utraque affectio reciprocationis eſt, illic partium omnium cum toto, hic definitionis cum definito.*

Reciprocatio autem hoc loco eſt qua prorſus idem, eadémque, ut ita dicam, eſſentia utrinque ſignificatur: nam partes omnes ſimul ſumptæ, i. e. rite compoſitæ, idem ſunt quod totum, & definitio idem quod definitum; quod de nullo præterea genere argumentorum dici poteſt. Unde naſcitur hæc regula utrique huic argumento communis, ut in diſtributione ac definitione *nequid deſit nequid redundet:* nam ubi reciprocatio, ibi quoque æqualitas requiritur. Hinc eximia illa diſtributionis & definitionis laus effloruit; ex iis nempe artium inſtitutiones maxima ex parte conſtare. Cùm n. omnia artium præcepta conſtare debeant ex argumentis reciprocis, reciprocatio autem nuſquam alibi reperiatur niſi inter formam (quæ ipſa in definitionibus comprehendi ſolet) & formatum, inter ſubjectum & proprium adjunctum; hinc factum eſt ut præcepta omnia vel definitiones ſint vel diſtributiones vel regulæ quædam ſive conſectaria, quæ proprietatum explicationes dicuntur.

*Diſtributio eſt, cum totum in partes diſtribuitur.*

*Totum eſt, quod continet partes.*

*Pars eſt, quæ continetur à toto.*

Totum Logicè & generaliter dicitur, quicquid quocunque modo diſtribuitur & partes continet: pars, quæ quocunque modo continetur à toto.

*Atque ut diſtinctio totius in partes, diſtributio; ſic collectio partium ad conſtituendum totum, inductio dicitur.*

Inter hanc autem inductionem & diſtributionem nullum aliud diſcrimen eſt, niſi quòd diſtributio à toto ad partes, hæc verò à partibus ad totum progreditur. Quamobrem, ut ſupra, nomen ad notationem, ita hîc inductio ad diſtributionem referenda eſt; non ad ſyllogiſmos, ut plerique volunt; cùm non alio modo ab inductione argumentemur atque à diſtributione: ſiquidem eadem eſt via *Thebis Athenas* quæ *Athenis Thebas*. Inductionis autem auctorem *Ariſtoteles* agnoſcit *Socratem:* ejuſq; neceſſitatem tantam eſſe teſtatur, ut cùm ſcientia univerſalium ſit, univerſalia cognoſcere nequeamus niſi per inductionem. Inductionis ergo ope præcepta artium inventa ſunt; ut in proœmio monuimus.

*Diſtributio ſumitur ex argumentis toti quidem conſentaneis, inter ſe autem diſſentaneis.*

Sed diſſenſio illa non eſt diſtributionis diſſenſio (nunquam n. diſſentaneum in diſſentaneum diſtribuitur) ſed partium diſtributarum.

*Itaque tanto accuratior erit diſtributio, quanto partium & cum toto conſenſio & inter ſe diſſenſio major fuerit.*

Hinc efficitur, eam diſtributionem accuratiſſimam eſſe, quæ in duas partes fit; eáque *dichotomia* dicitur: diſſenſio enim inter duo maxima eſt; & contrariorum unum uni tàntum opponitur. *Platonis* itaque regula eſt: *oportet in quàm proximum fieri poteſt numerum ſemper dividere.* Quod ſi dichotomiam invenire non queamus, difficile n. eſt eam ſemper invenire, ſpecies bisbinas ponere interdum præſtat, quaſi ſub duobus generibus, licet anonymis, quàm quatuor ſub uno. Hæc n. diſtributionis forma, licet non ſit optima, eſt tamen optimæ proxima. Hac ratione ſuprà cap. 3. *Ramus* diviſit cauſas, in duo genera anonyma nempe *efficientem & materiam, aut formam & finem.* Eff. Ubi autem dichotomia nullo modo commodè adhiberi poteſt, *multis protinus differentiis res dividenda eſt*, ut *Ariſtoteles* monet. Neque enim propter dichotomiæ ſtudium diſtributio vel mutilanda vel implicanda aut confundenda eſt.

CAP.

## CAP. XXVI.

### *De Diſtributione ex cauſis.*

*DIſtributio prima eſt ex abſolutè conſentaneis, cauſis nempe & effectis. Diſtributio ex cauſis eſt, quando partes ſunt cauſa totius.*

*Hîc diſtributio integri in ſua membra pracipuè laudatur.*

*Integrum eſt totum, cui partes ſunt eſſentiales.* i. e. quod ex partibus totam ſuam eſſentiam complectentibus conſtituitur; ideóque ſymbolum eſt effecti ex materia per formam exiſtentes.

*Membrum eſt pars integri.*

Nimirum integro ſuo eſſentialis. Sive ut *Ariſtot. Phil.* 8. 15. *Membra ſunt ex quibus integrum componitur.* Et membra quidem ſymbola ſunt cauſarum eſſentialium, materiæ nimirum & formæ, in quibus tota integri eſſentia conſiſtit: ſingula n. membra materiam continent; cuncta ſimul, ipſam quoque formam. *Sic Grammatica in etymologiam & ſyntaxin; Rhetorica in elocutionem & actionem; Logica in inventionem & diſpoſitionem argumentorum dividitur. Ab his n. partib. artes illa conſtituuntur;* non tanquam ex cauſis, ſed tanquam ex cauſarum ſymbolis. Cùm enim eſſentia Dialecticæ partim communis ſit materia ſcilicet, i. e. præcepta, & forma etiam nempe methodica illorum præceptorum diſpoſitio; partim propria, quæ in bene diſſerendo poſita eſt, tota hæc Dialecticæ eſſentia in inventione & diſpoſitione comprehenditur. Nec tamen partes iſtæ ſunt ipſa materia, i. e. præcepta, nec ipſa forma communis, i. e. methodica præceptorum diſpoſitio, nec propria, i. e. ipſa facultate diſſerendi; ſed ex præceptis methodicè diſpoſitis conflatæ ſunt, & ipſa facultas diſſerendi inventionis & diſpoſitionis finibus continetur.

Quæ ſequuntur apud authorem noſtrum exempla duo, alterum ex *Virgilio, Georg.* 1. alterum ex *Cicerone* pro *Muræna*, objectis utraque diſtinguuntur, non cauſis; ideóque ad cap. 28. ad diſtributionem nempe è ſubjectis, ad quam etiam præmiſſa illa annotatio de uſu pertinet.

*Quinetiam aliter tractatur hoc argumenti genus, vel à partibus ad totum, vel à toto ad partes.*

Hac de re *Ariſtoteles, Top. 6. 6.* Regulas quaſdam tradit. Primo à partibus: *affirmatis partibus cunctis, affirmatur totum:* & contrà; *ſublatis partibus cunctis, tolli totum.* Item ab una parte: *una parte ſublata, totum tolli.* Secundo à toto ad partes: *toto affirmato, affirmantur partes.* Verùm hæc omnia ex illa reciprocationis regula ſuperioris capitis initio tradita ſatis intelliguntur. Nam quæ reciprocantur, eorum alterum ex altero viciſſim & neceſſariò affirmatè & negatè concluditur. Hoc verò, ut *Ariſtoteles* etiam notavit, non ſequitur; ſublato integro, partes tolluntur.

Utriuſque generis (nempe affirmationis & negationis à partibus ad totum) exemplum habemus apud *Catullum.*

*Quintia formoſa eſt multis: mihi candida, longa,*
*Recta eſt: hac ego ſic ſingula confiteor:*
*Totum illud, formoſa, nego. Nam nulla venuſtas,*
*Nulla in tam magno eſt corpore mica ſalis.*
*Lesbia formoſa eſt: qua cùm pulcherrima tota eſt,*
*Tum omnibus una omnes ſurripuit veneres.*

Eſt & alia diſtributio ex cauſis & meritò quidem imperfectior dicta, cùm non tam ipſius rei quàm ejus cauſarum diſtributio ſit: ut ab efficiente, teſtimonium eſt divinum vel humanum. Sic ſtatuæ veteres aliæ factæ erant à *Phydia*, aliæ à *Polycleto*, &c. Diſtributio hæc quædam eſt totius in partes; ubi tamen non tam partes ipſæ ponuntur quàm pro iis earum efficientis, quibus inter ſe diſtinguuntur. Sic ſtatuæ aliæ erant aureæ, aliæ argenteæ, aliæ æneæ, aliæ eburneæ, &c. Diſtributio eſt ex materia. Aliæ ad hominum, aliæ ad brutorum effigiem factæ; eſt diſtributio à forma externa. Aliæ factæ ſunt ad uſum religioſum, aliæ ad civilem; eſt diſtributio à fine.

## CAP. XXVII.

### *De Diſtributione ex effectis, ubi de genere & ſpecie.*

*Diſtributio ex effectis eſt, quando partes ſunt effecta.*

*Diſtributio generis in ſpecies hic excellit.*

Nonnulli ex Cicerone diſtributionem integri in membra *partitionem* vocant; generis in ſpecies *diviſionem*. Nec de nihilo ſanè: membra enim copulari, ſpecies disjungi ſolent.

*Genus eſt totum partibus eſſentiale.*

Id quo contrarium eſt integro: illic enim toti partes, hîc totum partibus eſt eſſentiale: unde conſtat, illam ex cauſis, hanc ex effectis diſtributionem rectè dici. *Genus* autem *eſt totum partibus eſſentiale*, quia illam eſſentiam nempe materiam & formam, quæ ſpeciebus omnibus æquè communis eſt, ſignificatione ſua complectitur: vel brevius, quia ſymbolum eſt communis eſſentiæ. Neque enim genus propriè eſſentiam ſpeciebus communicat (cùm in ſe extra ſpecies reverà nihil ſit) ſed earum duntaxat eſſentiam ſignificet. Quod enim eſſentiale eſt & ſpeciebus omnibus commune, ejus notio *genus* dicitur. Et idæa ſæpe à *Græcis*, non ſeparata quidem à rebus illa, ut velunt *Platonica*, quæ nugæ ſunt, teſte *Ariſtot. Phil.* 1. 7. & *v.* 5. Sed quod cogitatione & ratione unum & idem eſt ſpecieb. multis commune in quibus re & natura eſt ſingulatim, ut *Plato* in Menone. *Stoici* etiam Idæas, ut refert *Plut.* de Placit. 1. 10. noſtras notiones eſſe dixerunt.

*Species eſt pars generis.*

Sic etiam *Ariſtoteles, Phil.* 8. 25. Et *Cicero*, Invent. 1. *Pars quæ generi ſubeſt.* Ex definitione autem generis intelligimus ſpeciem ejuſmodi partem eſſe cujus eſſentia communis in generis ſignificatione contineatur. Propriam autem eſſentiam ſpecies, per quam eſt id quod eſt, à propria forma habet, quæ generis ſignificatione minime continetur. Sic etiam *Ariſtot. Phil.* ζ. 12. *Genus non videtur particeps eſſe differentiarum: ſimul n. contrariorum idem particeps eſſet; differentiæ n. contrariæ ſunt.* Unde illud; Plus eſt in ſpecie quam in genere: & illud *Porphyrii; differentia eſt quâ ſpecies ſuperat genus.* Tota igitur generis eſſentia ſingulis æqualiter ineſt ſpeciebus; at tota eſſentia ſpeciei non eſt in genere, niſi potentia, ut inquit *Porphirius.* Hinc ut ſpecies eſt pars generis, ita genus pars eſſe ſpeciei quodammodo videtur: quod & *Plato* in Politico notavit. Sic animal genus hominis & beſtiæ dicimus. Animal enim eſt totum, cujus eſſentia, nempe corporea, animata, ſentiens, ad hominem & beſtiam communiter attinet. Sic dicimus hominem & beſtiam ſpecies animalis; quia partes ſunt animali ſubjectæ, quæ animalis eſſentiam communem habent.

*Genus eſt generaliſſimum aut ſubalternum.*

*Species ſubalterna aut ſpecialiſſima.*

*Genus generaliſſimum, cujus nullum eſt genus.*

Ut in Logica inventione argumentum eſt genus generaliſſimum artificialium & inartificialium.

*Subalternum genus, ut ſubalterna item ſpecies, quod ſpecies hujus, illius autem genus eſt.*

Id eſt, quod nunc genus eſt, nunc ſpecies: genus, ſi ad ſpecies ſibi ſubjectas referatur; ſpecies, ſi ad ſuum genus.

Sic cauſa, genus eſt materiæ & formæ; ſpecies, argumenti abſolutè conſentanei. Sic homo eſt genus ſubalternum, ſive ſpecies ſubalterna: ſpecies quidem, ſi ad animal referas; genus, ſi ad ſingulos homines.

*Species ſpecialiſſima eſt, quæ individua eſt in ſpecies alias.*

Ut materia & forma quæque ſingularis. Sic homines ſinguli ſunt ſpecies ſpecialiſſimæ hominis, & ſinguli leones leonis.

Logicorum quidem pars maxima hominem ſpeciem ſpecialiſſimam, ſingulos homines individua vocant, non ſpecies. Verùm ut animal eſt totum cujus eſſentia communis, nempe corporea, animata, ſentiens, ad hominem & beſtiam communiter attinet; ſic homo eſt totum, cujus communis eſſentia rationalis communiter ad ſingulos attinet homines; atque ut homo & beſtia ſpecies ſunt animalis, quia partes ſunt animali ſubjectæ, quæ animalis eſſentiam communem habent; ita ſinguli homines ſpecies ſunt hominis, quia partes ſunt homini ſubjectæ,

jectæ, quæ hominis eſſentiam communem habent: ergo homo non minus eſt ſingulorum hominum genus quàm animal hominis; homines ſinguli non minus ſunt hominis ſpecies, quàm homo animalis. Singuli enim homines propria forma differunt: quæ autem forma differunt propria, differunt & ſpecie; teſte *Ariſtot. Phyſ.* 1. 7. Deinde, quicquid differt, aut genere differt aut ſpecie; teſte eodem *Ariſtot. Phil.* 10. 3. differre autem genere ſingulos homines nemo dixerit; differunt ergo ſpecie. Nam quod aiunt hominem eſſe ſpeciem ſingulorum hominum, id planè abſurdum eſt: ſpecies enim pars eſt ejus cujus eſt ſpecies; ut ex ejus definitione conſtat: genus porrò & ſpecies cùm relata ſint, genus utique erit ſpeciei genus; ſpecies, generis erit ſpecies. Si igitur homo, ut vulgò volunt, eſt ſpecies ſingulorum hominum; ſinguli homines erunt genus hominis; quod nimis abſurdum eſt. At inquiunt ſinguli homines numero tantum differunt, non forma. Verùm quæ numero differunt, forma quoque differre, jam ſupra capite de Forma ſatis oſtendimus; etſi formæ cujuſque propriæ differentia nobis non niſi per externa quædam effecta, & accidentia, quæ vocant, dignoſci poteſt. Deinde, ſinguli homines inter ſe diſparantur, ergo opponuntur: quæ autem inter ſe opponuntur, eodem eadem forma eſſe non poteſt; forma ergo differunt non numero tantum. Itaque apud *Laertium*, in *Zenone*, *Stoici* docent, *Socratem* eſſe, ſpeciem ſpecialiſſimam. Immo *Ariſtot.* de *Part.* 1. 4. *Socratem* & *Coriſcum* ſpecies infimas vocat. Sic juriſconſulti, hominem genus appellant; *Stichum* & *Pamphilum* ſpecies.

*Genus verò & ſpecies nota ſunt cauſarum & effectorum.*

In animali n. eſt eſſentia corporea, quæ materia eſt ad ſpecies communiter attinens: tum facultas vitæ & ſenſus, quæ forma item communiter ad ſpecies ſpectat. Quare *genus continet cauſas, qua communiter ad ipſius ſpecies attinent: contra itaque etiam ſpecies effecta generis ſui continent.*

*Hinc univerſali eſt inſigne ac præſtabile: quia cauſam declarat.*

Idem ait *Ariſtot. Poſter.* 1. 24.

*Diſtributio generis in ſpecies valdè quidem excellit, ſed difficilis eſt & rara inventu.*

Excellit quidem quia quicquid in artibus ex cauſis & effectis ſumitur, id totum ferè generis & ſpeciei notionibus comprehenditur: difficilis eſt, cùm quia formæ, unde ſpecies oriuntur, difficiles itidem inventu ſunt; tum etiam propter vocum penuriam, quibus genera & ſpecies apte nominentur.

Attamen illuſtrationis & exempli gratia afferemus quod poterimus. *Ovidius* 1 *Metam.* dividit animal in quinque ſpecies, ſtellas, aves, beſtias, piſces, homines: ſtellis animam tribuens, ut etiam quidam Philoſophi tribuerunt.

*Neu regio foret ulla ſuis animalibus orba,*
*Aſtra tenent cœleſte ſolum forméque deorum*, &c.

Sic *Cic. Offic.* 1. Virtutem dividit in ſpecies quatuor, prudentiam, juſtitiam, fortitudinem, temperantiam; quæ tamen ipſæ non ponuntur in diſtributione, ſed, quod idem eſt, earum formæ. *Sed omne quod honeſtum eſt, id quatuor partium oritur ex aliqua: aut enim in perſpicentia veri ſolertiáque verſatur, aut in ſocietate hominum tuenda, tribuendóque ſuum unicuique, & rerum contractarum fide; aut in animi excelſi atque invicti magnitudine ac robore; aut in omnibus qua fiunt, quaque dicuntur, ordine & modo, in quo ineſt modeſtia & temperantia.*

Hæc quidem, ut dixi, eſt *diſtributio generis in ſpecierum formas*; quæ perinde eſt ac ſi in ipſa ſpecies eſſet; *quia forma cum genere conſtituunt ſuas ſpecies.*

*Genus & ſpecies non ſolum tractantur hac ſimplici diviſionis formula, ſed etiam ſeparatim alterum ex altero.*

Hoc eſt, quod de toto genere, id de omnibus etiam ſpeciebus rectè affirmatur. Sic *Cicero*, pro *Archia*, poëticam cum eloquentia comparans, quæ ſunt ſpecies artis, cognatas eſſe ait inter ſe, quia idem de artibus in genere, humanioribus præſertim, affirmatur. *Etenim omnes artes, qua ad humanitatem pertinent, habent quoddam commune vinculum, & quaſi cognatione quadam inter ſe continentur.*

*Contra genus tractatur per ſpecies.*

Hoc eſt, quod de omnibus ſpeciebus, id de genere quoque rectè affirmatur. Sic *Ovidius* probat, virtutem in rebus adverſis clariorem eſſe, per inductionem ſpecierum: quoniam ſcilicet virtus militis, nautæ, medici, rebus adverſis ſpectatur, 4 *Triſt.*

*Hectora quis noſſet, felix ſi Troia fuiſſet?*
*Publica virtuti per mala facta via eſt:*
*Ars tua, Tiphy, jacet, ſi non ſit in æquore fluctus:*
*Si valeant homines, ars tua,* Phæbe, *jacet.*
*Qua latet, inque bonis ceſſat non cognita rebus,*
*Apparet virtus arguitùrque malis.*

Cùm itaque genus tractetur etiam per ſpecies, ut ſuperiore regula docemur, & exempla ſpecialia ſpecies eorum ſint, quorum exempla ſunt; hinc ſequitur, *exempla ſpecialia ſuo generi accommodata, hujus eſſe loci*; ſive unum ſolum, ſive per inductionem plura adhibeantur: ſpecialia inquam, exempla enim vel ſimilia ſunt, quæ ſimilia arguunt; vel ſpecialia, quæ arguunt ſuum genus; qualia fuerunt in ſingulis argumentorum captibus ex poëtis & oratoribus deſumpta. Exemplorum autem ſpecialium, non ſolum in artib. cùm inveniendis tum tradendis uſus planè eſt neceſſarius (nam inductione exemplorum præcepta colliguntur, & eorum uſu illuſtrantur) verùm etiam in omni ſermone, quoties res lucem deſiderat. Cujuſmodi eſt illud *Cic.* ad *Atticum*: *Urbem tu relinquas? Ergo idem ſi Galli venirent. Non eſt, inquit, in parietibus reſpub. at in aris & focis: fecit idem Themiſtocles: fluctum enim totius barbariæ ferre urbs una non poterat. At idem Pericles non fecit, annum ferè poſt quinquageſimum, quum præter mœnia nihil teneret: noſtri olim urbe reliqua capta, arcem tamen retinuerunt.* Hîc ab exemplo ſpeciali in utramque partem diſſeritur. *Themiſtocles* deſeruit *Athenas*; ergo urbem deſerere licet. *Pericles* non deſeruit *Athenas*; nec *Romani Gallis* venientibus *Romam*; ergo urbs non eſt deſerenda. Quod ſi hoc modo argumentaretur, *Themiſtocles* urbem reliquit, ergo mihi licet; argumentum eſſet à ſimili: nam exempla, cùm ad alia ſpecialia accommodantur, ſimilia ſunt vel diſſimilia. Hujus autem loci ea demum ſunt, quæ generi ſuo accommodantur.

Eſt & alia imperfectior diſtributio ex effectis, quando partes non ſunt propriè effecta totius, ſed ipſarum partium. *Ut Cic.* de *Senect. Nautarum alii malos ſcandunt, alii per foros curſitant, alii ſentinam exhauriunt; gubernator autem clavum tenet in puppi.* In hoc exemplo totum eſt nauta, quod eſt ſingulorum nautarum genus; partes, malum ſcandere, curſitare, &c. Quæ tamen nautæ ut totius ſive generis partes ſive ſpecies non ſunt, ſed ſpecierum, i. e. ſingulorum nautarum effecta ſive officià, quibus ipſæ ſpecies, i. e. ſinguli nautæ inter ſe diſtinguuntur. Verùm quanto hæc diſtributio imperfectior eſt, tanto eſt frequentior. Uſus autem illius præcipuus eſt, ut perfectioris raritatem ſuppleat; cùm diſtributio generis in ſpecies, ut ſupradictum eſt, tam difficilis inventu ſit.

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## CAP. XXVIII.

### *De Diſtributione è ſubjectis.*

R*Eliqua deſtributio eſt modo quodam conſentaneorum, ut ſubjectorum & adjunctorum. Diſtributio è ſubjectis eſt, cùm partes ſunt ſubjecta.* Id eſt quando veræ partes intellectæ ſubjectis diſtinguuntur vel adumbrantur.

Ut apud *Catullum*:

*Virginitas non tota tua eſt: ex parte parentum eſt.*
*Tertia pars matri data, pars data tertia patri:*
*Tertia ſola tua eſt: noli pugnare duobus,*
*Qui genero ſua jura ſimul cum dote dederunt.*

Virginitas puellæ vel jus potius virginitatis in tres partes dividitur ſubjectis diſtinctas, matre, patre & ipſa puella. Alterum exemplum ex cap. 26. huc transfertur, *Virgil.* 1. Georg. Ubi poëta exorditur opus ſuum à diviſione in quatuor partes, ſubjectis ſuis occupantibus diſtinctas, ſegetes, arbores, pecora, apes.

*Quid faciat lætas ſegetes, quo ſidere terram*
*Vertere, Mæcenas, ulmiſque adjungere vites*
*Conveniat: quæ cura boum, qui cultus habendo*
*Sit pecori, atque apibus quanta experientia parcis,*
*Hinc [illegible]ere incipi[illegible]* —

Tertium exemplum ex eodem etiam capite huc transfertur. *Cic.* pro *Murena: Intelligo Judices, tres totius accuſationis partes fuiſſe: & earum unam in reprehenſione vitæ, alteram in contentione dignitatis, tertiam in criminibus ambitûs eſſe verſatam.* Hîc tota accuſatio in tria membra diſtribuitur, ſubjectis ſuis occupantibus diſtincta: atque in his tribus exemplis totum eſt integrum. Quartum exemplum eſt generis in ſpecies ex *Cic.* 5. *Tuſcul. Sint ſanè illa tria genera bonorum, dum corporis & externa jaceant humi, & tantummodo quia ſumenda ſunt, appellentur bona. Alia autem, divina illa, longè latéque ſe pandant, cœlúmque contingant.* Hîc *Cicero* bona in tres ſpecies, quas ille genera vocat, dividit, ſubjectis ſuis diſtinctas; nempe animi, corporis & fortunæ.

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## C A P. XXIX.

### *De Diſtributione ex Adjunctis.*

D*Iſtributio ex adjunctis eſt, quando partes ſunt adjuncta.*

Ut hominum alii ſani, alii ægri: alii divites, alii pauperes.

Sic *Virgil.* 1. *Georg.* mundum dividit in quinque partes; mediam torridam, duas extremas frigidas, & reliquas duas temperatas:

*Quinque tenent cœlum zonæ, quarum una coruſco*
*Semper ſole rubens, & torrida ſemper ab igni,* &c.

Cæſar 1. Belli Gall. *Gallia eſt omnis diviſa in tres partes: quarum unam incolunt Belgæ, aliam Aquitani, tertiam, qui, ipſorum lingua Celtæ, noſtra, Galli appellantur.*

In diſtributionibus hujuſmodi imperfectis advertendum eſt id quod videtur diſtribui. Nam ſi id totius rationem habet, integri vel generis, diſtributio eſt; ſi non habet rationem totius, ſed ſimplex aliquod argumentum eſt, ut cauſa, effectum, ſubjectum, adjunctum, non eſt diſtributio ſed enumeratio potius, vel cauſarum plurium ejuſdem effecti, vel effectorum plurium ejuſdem cauſæ, vel ſubjectorum plurium ejuſdem adjuncti, vel denique adjunctorum plurium ejuſdem ſubjecti. Hoc genere diſtributionis imperfecto argumenta ſæpe quorum veræ ſpecies nullæ apparent, modis quibuſdam diſtinguuntur, modos autem ſupra in adjunctis poſuimus. Sic in cauſis, *procreans* & *conſervans*, *modi* efficientis, non *ſpecies*, dicuntur: quia non differunt inter ſe ut ſpecies per differentias oppoſitas, ſed ita ut uni & eidem efficienti convenire queant; quandoquidem quæ cauſa procreat, eadem ferè conſervat; potéſtque efficere idem vel ſolus, vel cum aliis; nonnulla vel per ſe, vel per accidens.

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## C A P. XXX.

### *De Definitione.*

DEfinitio in tradendis artibus eſt uſu quidem prior diſtributione (prius enim definitur unaquæque res quàm diſtribuitur) natura tamen & inveniendi ordine eſt poſterior: genus enim, quo non adhibito, ſi quod ſit, nulla definitio conſtitui poteſt, à diſtributione, qui proprius generis eſt locus, mutuum accipit.

*Definitio eſt, cum explicatur quid res ſit.*

Definitio vocatur, eo quòd rei cujuſque eſſentiam definit, eámque ſuis quaſi finibus circumſcribit.

*Atque ut definitio arguit ſive explicat definitum, ſic viciſſim à definito argui poteſt.* Quæ quanquam argumentorum omnium affectio communis eſt arguere inter ſe viciſſim & argui, hîc tamen eandem ob cauſam facta mentio eſt definiti, ob quam in capite notationis facta eſt nominis; ne argumentorum numero excludi videatur, cùm neque ejuſdem ſit nominis cum definitione quam arguit, neque caput ſibi peculiare obtineat; ſicut alia argumentorum paria, quæ nominis ejuſdem non ſunt. Ad reciprocationem autem quod attinet, quæ definitioni cum diſtributione communis eſt, ea definitionis & definiti maniſeſtiſſima eſt: Logica enim eſt ars bene ratiocinandi; & viciſſim, ars bene ratiocinandi eſt Logica. Atque ad hunc modum omnis definitio, ut nonnulli rectè monuerunt, converſione examinanda eſt: unde *Boëthius, Top.* 5. *omnis definitio rei, quam definit, adæquatur.*

*Definitio eſt perfecta aut imperfecta: illa propriè definitio, hæc deſcriptio dicitur.*

*Definitio perfecta eſt, quæ conſtat è ſolis cauſis eſſentiam conſtituentibus.* Redundat ergo in definitione perfecta quicquid præterea ponitur.

*Cauſæ autem illæ genere & forma comprehenduntur.*

Genus enim & forma (quæ ſunt quaſi corpus & anima definitionis) totam rei eſſentiam conſtituunt. Non ita tamen neceſſariò requiritur in definitione perfecta genus, ut perfecta non ſit niſi genus habeat: primùm enim, ſummorum generum, ut argumenti in Logica inventione, genus nullum eſt; ſed tota eorum eſſentia ſub ipſa forma continetur; quæ etiam materiam iis convenientem complectitur; deinde fieri poteſt ut ipſæ cauſæ facilius occurrant quam earum ſymbolum genus. Itaque ſi ex ipſis cauſis definitio conſtat, perfecta erit; ſi ex genere, ſuccinctior tantum. Genus autem proximum, non remotum, in definitione ſemper eſt ponendum: qui enim proximum ponit, remotiora etiam poſuit: niſi proximum fortè anonymum ſit; tum enim & quotieſcunque generis, ſive anonymum ſit ſive non, paulo ante facta mentio eſt, abeſſe genus in definitione, & rectè ſubintelligi poteſt: ut in hac ipſa definitionis definitione, genus remotum, nempe ortum argumentum; tum etiam proximum, nempe reale & compoſitum, ſubintelligitur. Quam autem hîc formam in definitione appellamus, plerique differentiam vocant. Sed differentia formæ fructus eſt: & niſi in rerum collatione, quæ in definitione nulla eſt, non apparet; & forma ipſa eſt unde præcipua rerum explicatio ſumitur; præcipuum ergo in definitione locum habet.

Atque hoc modo definitur homo, animal rationale: nempe genere, *animal*, intelligimus, ut dictum eſt, eſſentiam corpoream plenam vitæ & ſenſus, quæ materies hominis eſt, & pars formæ: cui ſi addas *rationale*, totam formam hominis comprehendes, vitæ, ſenſus, rationis facultate.

Itaque *perfecta definitio nihil aliud eſt, quàm univerſale ſymbolum cauſarum eſſentiam rei & naturam conſtituentium.*

Tales definitiones ſunt artium. Grammatica eſt ars bene loquendi. Rhetorica bene dicendi. Logica bene ratiocinandi. Arithmetica bene numerandi. Geometria bene metiendi. Nam genere *ars* intelligimus præceptorum ordine diſpoſitorum comprehenſionem, quæ materies eſt cujuſque artis & pars formæ, ſive forma communis, cui ſi addas formam cujuſque artis propriam (quæ finem quoque ſub ſe comprehendit, ut dictum eſt cap. 8.) habes totam artis eſſentiam explicatam, quæ perfecta definitio eſt.

Ad regulas conſequentiæ quod attinet, nempe à definitione ad definitum; & contrà, affirmatè vel negate; hæc omnia reciprocatio, quæ diſtributionis quoque fuit, ſatis clarè ſuo loco expoſuit.

## CAP. XXXI.

### *De Deſcriptione.*

DEfinitiones perfectæ propter cauſarum & præſertim formarum obſcuritatem, difficiles inventu ſunt: ad ſupplendam igitur earum raritatem, *deſcriptio* inventa eſt.

*Deſcriptio eſt definitio imperfecta, ex aliis etiam argumentis rem definiens.* Id eſt, ex quibuſvis aliis rem quoquo modo explicans.

Ubi itaque forma haberi non poteſt (nam genera ferè notiora ſunt) proprietas loco formæ ſeu differentiæ accipienda eſt: ut, *angelus eſt ſubſtantia incorporea*; *equus eſt animal hinnibile*, &c. Adjuncta ſive accidentia, quæ vocantur (quia ſubſtantiæ ſolæ, ut inquit *Ariſtot. l. 6. Metaph.* c. 5. Primariò definiuntur, accidentia ſecundariò tantum) propria quidem genere, ſubjecto, cauſâque proxima vel efficiente, vel finali, vel utráque definiuntur. Genere & ſubjecto ſolo; ut, *ſimitas eſt curvitas naſi*: ſubjecto & efficiente; ut, *tonitru eſt ſonus fractæ nubis, ob ignem oppreſſum*; *quantitas continua eſt adjunctum corporis, ab extenſione materiæ*: finali; ut, *ſenſus eſt facultas naturalis in animali, ad judicandum de ſingularibus*: vel utrâque; ut, *reſpiratio eſt attractio & expulſio aëris reciproca à pulmonibus facta, ad cordis refrigerationem.* Omittitur enim ſæpe ſubjectum in definitione propriorum, quippe quòd ex genere vel ex cauſa intelligitur: ut, *memoria eſt ſenſus internus conſervans imagines rerum cognitarum.* Non dicitur *ſenſus internus animalis*, addito nempe ſubjecto, quia id mentione *ſensûs* intelligitur. Potentiæ naturales actione ſua & cauſa efficiente definiuntur: ut, *riſibilitas eſt facultas ridendi, orta ab anima rationali.* Habitus vel fine vel objecto quæ ſæpe coincidunt definiuntur: fine; ut, *Logica eſt ars bene ratiocinandi:* objecto; ut, *Phyſica eſt ſcientia rerum naturalium.* Qualitates patibiles definiuntur ſubjecto & efficiente: ut, *color eſt qualitas corporis mixti, orta ex contemperatione lucidi & opaci.* Actiones ferè ſubjecto efficiente & fine definiuntur. Relationes relatis inter ſe & fundamento ſive cauſa: ut, *paternitas eſt relatio patris ad filium, ex procreatione orta.*

Adjuncta communia objecto, efficiente, finali, vel ex his quot ſunt ex uſu, definiuntur: ut, *albedo eſt color, ortus ex lucido opacum ſuperante.*

Illud modo generatim in deſcriptionib. cavendum, ne cauſa pro genere habeatur: ut cùm dubitatio deſcribitur, æqualitas rationum; ſanitas, ſymmetria humorum; dolor, ſolutio continui; eclipſis lunæ, interpoſitio terræ: aut ſubjectum; ut, ventus eſt aër motus; juſtitia eſt voluntas conſtans; vulnus eſt pars carnis dilacerata; peccatum originis eſt natura corrupta, & ſimilia.

Cæterum in his certæ regulæ dari non poſſunt. Aliquando enim ex remoto ſolùm contrario fit deſcriptio: ut,

*Virtus eſt vitium fugere, & ſapientia prima*
*Stultitia caruiſſe.*——Aliquando planè arbitraria eſt.

Hinc etſi unica rei definitio, plures tamen deſcriptiones eſſe poſſunt.

Ut autem definitio definito, quod ſuprà monuimus, ita etiam deſcriptio deſcripto viciſſim argui poteſt. Verùm non affectio ſolùm hæc mutua inter deſcriptionem & rem deſcriptam intercedit, ſed etiam reciprocatio; juxta communem illam diſtributionis ac definitionis regulam, ſuprà, cap. 25. traditam; quâ deſcriptio quoque propria rei deſcriptæ & reciproca eſſe debet. Quamvis enim in deſcriptionibus, multa ſæpe congeruntur, quorum aliqua fortè latius patent, quàm id quod deſcribitur, juncta tamen æquantur deſcripto, deſcriptionémque propriam reddunt; ſin minus, vitioſa atque inutilis deſcriptio cenſenda eſt. Ut, *homo eſt animal mortale, capax diſciplina.* Hîc cum aliqua cauſa (materia ſcilicet & communi forma, quæ ſub genere *animal* continetur) miſcentur duæ circumſtantiæ ſive adjuncta, alterum commune, ſcilicet *mortale*, alterum proprium, *capax diſciplina.* At quorſum, inquis, illud *mortale*, cùm nullum animal non ſit mortale? Quia nempe *Ariſtot.* cujus hæc deſcriptio eſt, *Top.* 5. 1. animalia quædam ait eſſe immortalia, *Top.* 4. 2. & in eodem capite, Deum ipſum ζῶον ἀθάνατον, i. e. *immortale animal* vocat.

*Sed hac ſuccincta brevitas non eſt in hac ſpecie perpetua; qua ſape illuſtriorem & copioſiorem explicationem deſiderat.*

Succinctæ deſcriptiones quæ perfectas æmulantur definitiones, uſum habent præcipuè in artibus tradendis ac diſputationibus. Prolixiores illæ, utpote ad aures vulgi magis accommodatæ, apud oratores ac poëtas frequentiùs occurrunt.

Sic gloria deſcribitur in *Miloniana: ſed tamen ex omnibus præmiis virtutis, ſi eſſet habenda ratio præmiorum, ampliſſimum eſſe præmium gloriam: hanc unam, qua brevitatem vita poſteritatis memoria conſolaretur; qua efficeret, ut abſentes, adeſſemus; mortui, viveremus: hanc denique eſſe, cujus gradibus etiam homines in cœlum videantur aſcendere.* Deſcriptio hæc gloriæ conſtat ex genere, *pramio* nempe *virtutis*, adjuncta amplitudine, eáque aucta à minore, quod ſit omnium ampliſſima; quatuor deinde effecta ejus adjiciuntur.

Sic 4 *Æneid.* fama deſcribitur:

*Extemplo* Lybiæ *magnas it fama per urbes,*
*Fama malum; quo non aliud velocius ullum*
*Mobilitate viget, viréſque acquirit eundo,* &c.

Deſcribitur fama, 1. à genere, *malum:* 2. ab adjuncta velocitate, quæ illuſtratur à majore negato, *quo non aliud velocius:* tum duplici effecto aliarum rerum diſſimili, quòd

*Mobilitate viget, viréſque acquirit eundo.*

3. Ab adjuncta varietate, quæ oſtenditur ex aliis adjunctis, quòd ſit primò *parva*, ídque arguitur cauſa, ſcilicet *metu*, & circumſtantia temporis, *primo* nem-

pe; tum ſubitò grandior facta incremento exigui temporis incredibili, ídque oſtenditur trib. effectis, quæ ſingula ſubjectis ſuis illuſtrantur,

*——— Mox ſeſe attollit in auras:*
*Ingreditúrque ſolo, & caput inter nubila condit.*

4. A cauſa procreante, *illam terra parens,*—— mater ſcilicet gigantum; & efficiendi modo, conſilio nempe ſive impetu naturali, *ira irritata deorum,* qui gigantes occiderant; cauſa autem procreans communis illuſtrata tempore adjuncto, & communi teſtimonio,

*Extremam, ut perhibent, Cæo Enceladóque ſororem*
*Progenuit.* Rurſus illuſtratam ab adjunctis,
*—— Pedibus celerem & pernicibus alis,*
*Monſtrum horrendum, ingens*———.

Deinde à partibus corporis & membris, iiſque paribus,

*—— Cui quot ſunt corpore plumæ,*
*Tot vigiles oculi ſubter, mirabile dictu,*
*Tot linguæ, totidem ora ſonant, tot ſubrigit aures.*

Tum ab effectis nocturnis, iiſque partim affirmatis quæ ſubjectis locis illuſtrantur,

*Nocte volat cœli medio, terræque per umbram*
*Stridens*; partim negatis, *nec dulci declinat lumina ſomno.*

Tum diurnis, eáque illuſtrantur & ſubjectis locis, & adjuncto ſitu ſedendi,

*Luce ſedet cuſtos, aut ſummi culmine tecti,*
*Turribus aut altis, & magnas territat urbes.*

Ab adjunctis denique paribus;

*Tam ficti pravique tenax quam nuntia veri.*

Tales ſunt deſcriptiones plantarum, animalium in Phyſicis; item fluminum, montium, urbium apud Geographos & Hiſtoricos; perſonarum denique apud Poëtas & Oratores.

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## CAP. XXXII.

### *De Teſtimonio divino.*

E*Xpoſito artificiali argumento, ſequitur inartificiale.*

*Argumentum inartificiale eſt quod non ſua natura, ſed aſſumpta artificialis alicujus argumenti vi arguit.*

*Id unò nomine* Teſtimonium *dicitur.* Nempe, ut inquit *Cic.* in *Top. quòd ab aliqua externa re ſumitur ad faciendam fidem.*

Inartificiale autem dicitur, non quòd artis ope & auxilio non inveniatur (ſiquidem de eo inveniendo, ut inquit *Cicero*, Partit. in arte præcipitur) ſed quod ex ſe ſuaque natura artis hujus & facultatis arguendi expers ſit. Poteſt etiam aſſumptum dici, quod aſſumpta vi arguit, non ſua. Argumentum enim inartificiale naturam rei non attingit, nedum arguit, ut artificiale ſolet, neque rei affectio, ſicut artificiale, eſt; ſed eſt nuda cujuſpiam aliqua de re atteſtatio, ſive atteſtantis affirmatio aut negatio. Res autem neque propter affirmationem ſunt, neque propter negationem non ſunt: teſtimonium igitur ex ſe ſuáque natura non arguit; *ſed aſſumpta artificialis alicujus argumenti vi.* Vis autem hæc eſt teſtantis auctoritas, à qua omnis teſtimonii fides pendet. Auctoritas autem variis in argumentis conſiſtit, ſed in effectis teſtantis & in adjunctis præcipuè cernitur.

*Itaque cum exquiſita rerum veritas* ſive natura *ſubtiliùs exquiritur, perexiguam probationis vim teſtimonium habet.*

Hinc *Cic.* 1. de Nat. *Non tam auctores,* inquit, *in diſputando, quàm rationum momenta quærenda ſunt.*

*In civilibus autem & humanis rebus,* ubi de facto quæritur, *plerumque hoc argumentum præcipuam fidem è moribus arguentis efficit, ſi prudentia, probitas & benevolentia affuerint.*

Horum unum aliquod ſi deeſt, vel per imprudentiam teſtis, vel propter improbitatem, vel inimicitiarum denique aut nimiæ gratiæ cauſa, falſum ſæpe pro teſtimonio dicitur.

*Teſtimonium eſt divinum vel humanum.*

Et rectè quidem in ſpecies efficientibus ſuis cauſis diſtinctas dividitur. Ab efficientibus enim maximè teſtimonium ſuas vires aſſumit. Effectum itaque eſt, ſi ad teſtem ſpectas; teſtimonium, ſi ad rem teſtatam. Perexiguam autem vim probationis in exquiſita veritate & natura rerum perveſtiganda communiter tribui teſtimonio quod tam ad divinum quàm ad humanum pertinere videatur, id cur quempiam offendat, non video: teſtimonium enim ſive divinum ſit ſive humanum, peræque vim omnem ab authore, nullam in ſe habet. Et divinum quidem teſtimonium affirmat vel negat rem ita eſſe, facitque ut credam; non probat, non docet, non facit ut ſciam aut intelligam cur ita ſit, niſi rationes quoque adhibeat.

*Teſtimonium divinum eſt quod Deum habet authorem.*

*In divinis teſtimoniis numerantur non ſolum deorum oracula, ſed etiam reſponſa vatum & fatidicorum.*

Vera hæc ſint an ficta, veri numinis an falſi, Logicus non laborat, ſed quam modò vim arguendi unumquodque habeat. Itaque in civilib. etiam & humanis rebus teſtimonium divinum perinde vim probationis habet, ut ejus author verus eſt aut falſus Deus.

Hujuſmodi ſunt iſta *Catilin.* 3. *Nam ut illa omittam, viſas nocturno tempore ab occidente faces, ardorémque cœli; ut fulminum jactus, ut terræ motus, cæteráque, quæ ita multa, nobis conſulibus, facta ſunt, ut hæc, quæ nunc fiunt, canere dii immortales viderentur.*

## CAP. XXXIII.

### *De Teſtimonio humano.*

Teſtimonium humanum eſt, quod authorem habet hominem.

*Eſtque commune aut proprium.*

Diſtributio hæc proponitur, non ut accurata aliqua diviſio (neque enim teſtimonio propria eſt) ſed ut diſtinctio qualiſcunque ſubalternarum ſpecierum, ad quas inferiores ſpecies teſtimonii & exempla poſſint revocari. Atque, ut ſuperior illa diſtinctio in divinum & humanum, ab efficiente quoque ſumitur, qui ſit perſona publica ſive communis, aut propria ſive privata.

*Teſtimonium commune eſt, ut lex & illuſtris ſententia.*

Hæc enim duo exempla ſunt potius quàm ſpecies: quibus adjungi poteſt *Fama*; quam *Cic.* in *Top.* quoddam multitudinis teſtimonium appellat; alii, conſenſum civitatis & publicum teſtimonium vocant.

*Legis autem & non ſcriptæ & ſcriptæ teſtimonium eſt pro Milone: Eſt enim, judices, non ſcripta, ſed nata lex; quam non didicimus, accepimus, legimus; verùm ex natura ipſa arripuimus, hauſimus, expreſſimus: ad quam non docti, ſed facti; non inſtituti, ſed imbuti ſumus: ut, ſi vita noſtra in aliquas inſidias, ſi in vim, in tela, aut latronum aut inimicorum incidiſſet, omnis honeſta ratio eſſet expediendæ ſalutis.* Et ibidem, *Quod ſi duodecim tabulæ nocturnum furem quoquo modo, diurnum autem, ſi ſe telo defenderit, interfici impunè voluerunt, quis eſt, qui,* &c.

Reſtat illuſtris ſententia; cujus generis ſunt proverbia. Ut pares cum paribus facillime congregantur. Spartam nactus es, hanc exorna. Tum dicta ſapientum: ut, Noſce teipſum. Ne quid nimis. Sponde, præſto eſt detrimentum. Quanquam enim hæc dicta ſingula à ſingulis fortaſſe auctoribus orta ſunt, tamen quia omnium in ore verſantur, quaſi omnium fiunt, & ad commune teſtimonium rectè referuntur.

Proprium teſtimonium eſt: ut *Platonis* illud, 1 ad Q. fratrem: *Atque ille quidem princeps ingenii & doctrinæ,* Plato, *tum denique fore beatas reſpub. putavit, ſi aut* *docti & ſapientes homines eas regere cœpiſſent, aut qui regerent, omne ſuum ſtudium in doctrina ac ſapientia collocaſſent.*

Talia ſunt in poetis. *Æneid.* 6.

*Diſcite juſtitiam, moniti ; & non temnere divos.*

Sic *Homericis* illis verſibus.

Αἴας δ' ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος ἄγεν δυοκαίδεκα νῆας.
Στῆσε δ' ἄγων ἵν' Ἀθηναίων ἵσταντο φάλαγγες.

*Ajax autem ex Salamine duxit duodecim naves.*
*Conſtituit verò ducens, ubi Athenienſium ſtabant phalanges.*

Victi ſunt in judicio *Megarenſes*, quo contenderunt cum *Athenienſibus* de *Salamine* inſula, utrique fortè civitati æquè vicina.

Atque hæc veterum fuere & abſentium teſtimonia, & ferè mortuorum ; quæ de jure potiſſimum afferuntur.

Viventium & præſentium, quæ de facto plerunque teſtantur, non tantum ſunt *cùm quæritur de fundo aut cæde & ejuſmodi negotio aliquo, ſed etiam obligationis, confeſſionis, jurisjurandi teſtimonia ſunt.*

Obligationis exemplum eſt *Philipp.* 5. *Promitto, recipio, ſpondeo. P. C. Cæſarem talem ſemper fore civem, qualis hodie ſit, qualémque eum maximè velle & optare debemus.*

*Pignus etiam obligatio quædam eſt :*

Ut apud *Virgil. Ecl.* 3.

*Vis ergo inter nos quid poſſit uterque viciſſim*
*Experiamur ? Ego hanc vitulam (ne forte recuſes,*
*Bis venit ad mulctram, binos alit ubere fœtus)*
*Depono : tu dic, mecum quo pignore certes.*

*Confeſſio eſt vel libera, in qua cujuſvis teſtimonium pro ſe leviſſimum contra ſe graviſſimum cenſetur. Vel eſt expreſſa tormentis, quæ propriè quæſtio dicitur.*

Tale fuit argumentum contra *Milonem*, *quòd à Cicerone* deridetur : quia cruciatus non ſæpius veritatem quàm mendacium exprimit atque extorquet. *Age verò, quæ erat aut qualis quæſtio ? Heus, ubi Ruſcio ? ubi Caſca ? Clodius inſidias fecit* Miloni ? *Fecit ; certa crux. Nullas fecit. Sperata libertas.*

*Huc etiam referri poteſt argumentum, quo utimur cùm affirmationis noſtræ approbationem & experientiam adverſario proponimus.*

Ver. 4. *Ecquis Volcatio, ſi ſua ſponte veniſſet, unam libellam dediſſet ? veniat nunc, experiatur : tecto recipiet nemo.*

Terent. Eunuch.

——————*Fac periculum in literis,*
*Fac in palæſtra, in muſicis ; quæ liberum*
*Scire æquum eſt adoleſcentem, ſolertem dabo.*

Ovid. 3. Triſt.

*Quod magis ut liqueat, neve hoc ego fingere credar,*
*Ipſe velim pœnas experiare meas.*

*Jusjurandum etiam teſtimonium eſt.*

Quale eſt *Æneid.* 9.

*Per ſuperos, & ſiqua fides tellure ſub ima eſt,*
*Invitus, regina, tuo de littore ceſſi.*

Quamvis autem in juramentis divinum quodammodo teſtimonium invocetur, juramenti tamen fides authoritate & moribus jurantis nititur.

*Reciprocatio hîc obſcurior eſt ad rem teſtatam, quod eſt hîc alterum argumentum affectum ; ut quia teſtatum verum ſit, teſtis ſit etiam verax.*

Ut autem non ſua vi teſtimonium, ſed auctoritas teſtis arguit rem teſtatam; ita viciſſim res teſtata non arguit ipſum teſtimonium, ſed authoritatem teſtis.

# ARTIS LOGICÆ
# Ad Petri Rami methodum concinnatæ,
## Liber Secundus.
### *De Argumentorum diſpoſitione.*

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## CAP. I.
### *Quid ſit argumentorum diſpoſitio?*

ADhuc prima artis Logicæ pars fuit in argumentorum inventione: pars altera ſequitur in eorum diſpoſitione.

Quemadmodum Grammaticæ pars prima eſt de ſingulis vocibus, ſecunda de ſyntaxi earum; ſic Logicæ pars prima de argumentis inveniendis fuit, ſecunda eſt de diſponendis, i. e. quæ doceat argumenta rectè diſponere: ita diſpoſitio quaſi ſyntaxis quædam argumentorum eſt; non tamen ad bene judicandum duntaxat, ut vult *Ramus*, quod nimis anguſtum eſt, ſed ad bene ratiocinandum, qui finis eſt Logicæ generalis, ad quem unum finem omnia artis præcepta referenda ſunt. Iis itaque non aſſentior, qui judicium ſecundam eſſe partem Logicæ volunt: cùm ipſorum ſententia judicium ſit ſecundæ hujus partis nempe diſpoſitionis finis & fructus: non poteſt autem res eadem eſſe finis & id cujus eſt finis, fructus quod effectum eſt & ejus fructus cauſa, quæ diſpoſitio eſt. At inquiunt, judicium ut doctrina eſt pars Logicæ; finis eſt ut habitus bene judicandi. Immo verò inquam, diſpoſitionis doctrina ſuam operam confert non ſolùm ad bene judicandum, ſed ad bene ratiocinandum; judicium autem & diſpoſitionem pro eodem non dixerim cum *Ramo:* ſi enim certa, ut ipſe *Ramus* ait, diſpoſitionis regula unumquodque judicatur, diſpoſitio utique ac judicium ſi idem erunt, idem erit & regula, & id cujus regula eſt: doctrina deinde judicii docet nihil aliud quàm bene judicare; doctrina diſpoſitionis pro ſua diſponendi parte, etiam bene ratiocinari: ſive id ſit intelligere, ſive judicare, ſive diſputare, ſive meminiſſe. Certa enim diſpoſitionis regula unumquodque munus ratiocinandi excolitur.

Cum itaque ſimplicem argumentorum inter ſe affectionem aliquid per ſe conferre ad judicium rectumque ratiocinium initio propoſuerim, nunc eorum diſpoſitionem aliquanto plus, adeoque clarius ad idem conducere propono.

Prius autem quàm ad partes diſpoſitionis accedimus, generalis quædam diſpoſitionis affectio, quæ *Crypſis* dicitur, attingenda eſt; ut quæ ad omnes ſpecies diſpoſitionis communiter pertineat. Crypſis autem ſive occultatio iſta, eſt triplex; diſpoſitarum ſcilicet partium vel defectus, vel redundantia, vel inverſio. Quod itaque ſemel hic monendum eſt, ſiqua propter has crypſes dubitatio contingit, explenda quæ deſunt, amputanda quæ ſuperſunt, & pars quæque in ſuum reſtituenda eſt locum.

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## CAP. II.
### *De Axiomatis affirmatione & negatione.*

*Diſpoſitio eſt axiomatica vel dianoetica.*

*Axioma eſt diſpoſitio argumenti cum argumento, qua eſſe aliquid aut non eſſe indicatur.*

Axioma ſæpe *Ariſtoteli* ſignificat propoſitionem ſive ſententiam ita claram, ut quaſi digna ſit cui propter ſe fides habeatur. Aliàs axioma & propoſitionem ſive ſententiam quamlibet pro eodem is habet: & rectè quidem: ut enim ſententia à ſentio, i. e. exiſtimo vel arbitror, ita axioma à verbo *Græco* quod idem ſignificat, derivatur. Atque hujus vocis generalem hanc ſignificationem apud veteres Dialecticos receptum fuiſſe, ex *Cicerone*, *Plutarcho*, *Laertio*, *Gellio*, *Galeno lib.* 16. *c.* 8. conſtat.

Latinè *enuntiatum*, *enuntiatio*; *pronuntiatum*, *pronuntiatio*; *effatum* Varroni profatum, & proloquium, apud Gellium lib. 16. id eſt ſententia in qua nihil deſideratur. Ex *Græco* etiam *oratio* & *propoſitio* dicitur.

Cur ergo, inquis, Græcanica, & hæc præ aliis, vox placita eſt? Quia, inquam, commodiſſima. Nam *oratio* & *ſententia* voces latiores ſunt; ideóque Græci qui λόγον ſive *rationem* vocant, addunt ferè *primam*, *breviſſimam* aut *enuntiativam*. Deinde *propoſitio* ambigua vox eſt; ſignificat enim nunc priorem partem plenæ comparationis, nunc primam partem ſyllogiſmi. Latina autem illa, *enuntiatum*, *enuntiatio*, &c. orationis exterioris videntur magis quàm rationis interioris eſſe: cùm diſpoſitio hæc Logica rationis omnino ſit tam mente conceptæ quàm ore prolatæ; útque voces ſymbola ſunt & notæ ſimplicium notionum, ita enuntiatum videtur eſſe ſymbolum axiomatis mente concepti. Sic tamen retineri poſſunt voces Latinæ *enuntiatum*, *enuntiatio*, &c. ſi diſtinguimus cum *Ariſtotele* ſermonem in exteriorem, qui ore profertur; & interiorem, qui mente ſolùm concipitur.

Genus autem axiomatis rectè ſtatuitur diſpoſitio, non judicium, quod ut ſupra retuli, diſpoſitionis effectum eſt, & hic quidem ſpecialiter quo aliquid eſſe aut non eſſe judicatur.

Argumentum autem cum argumento eſt id quod arguit cum eo quod arguitur. Finis diſpoſitionis eſt, ut per eam eſſe aliquid aut non eſſe indicetur, ſive ut aliquid de aliquo dicatur aut non dicatur. Hinc illud *Ariſtot.* Phil. ϑ. 10. *eſſe eſt componi, & unum eſſe; non eſſe autem eſt non componi, ſed plura eſſe.* Et ſimplicia quidem argumenta per ſe conſiderata ſignificant aliquid; non autem eſſe, aut non eſſe aliquid, niſi diſpoſita. Solo autem modo indicativo eſſe aliquid aut non eſſe indicatur; non reliquis, niſi ad indicativum reductis: ut, *abi*, i. e. jubeo te abire. *Fiat voluntas tua*, i. e. precamur ut fiat. *Utinam diſſolverer*, i. e. cupio diſſolvi. *Quid eſt Dialectica*, i. e. quæro quid ſit.

Cùm autem in axiomate argumentum cum argumento diſponatur, horúmque unum neceſſe ſit antecedere, alterum ſequi; hinc partes axiomatis (*Ariſtot. terminos* vocat) duæ ſunt, antecedens & conſequens: illa vulgò minor terminus, ſive ſubjectum, hæc terminus major ſeu prædicatum nominatur; quia id continet, quod de ſubjecto prædicatur ſive dicitur. Verùm hæc nomina anguſtiora ſunt, quàm illa, ut infra patebit.

Axiomatis affectio communis eſt crypſis illa triplex, de qua deque ejus triplici medela capite ſuperiore diximus: defectus, cùm pars aliqua deeſt; ut, *exceſſit*, *erupit*, *evaſit*; *Catilina* ſcilicet vel quis alius; pluit, *tonat*; Deus nempe vel cœlum. Redundantia, quæ & amplificatio dicitur, eſt, cùm argumentum ejúſque ſynonymum ponitur; aut ad id illuſtrandum quidvis aliud: prioris exemplum eſt, *Logica* ſive Dialectica eſt *ars bene ratiocinandi*: poſterioris eſt hoc,

*Livor iners vitium mores non exit in altos.*

Inverſio eſt, cùm antecedentis loco ponitur conſequens: ut, *quæſtus magnus eſt pietas cum animo ſua ſorte contento*, i. e. pietas cum animo ſua ſorte contento eſt magnus quæſtus.

Duæ ſunt reliquæ axiomatis affectiones; quarum altera ex diſpoſitione oritur, altera ad judicium pertinet. Nam intellectus cùm diſponit argumenta, vel componit ea inter ſe, vel dividit: compoſitio autem illa & diviſio nihil aliud ſunt quàm affirmatio & negatio. Cùm verò de diſpoſitione illa judicium fert, judicat eam vel veram eſſe vel falſam. Quemadmodum autem diſpoſitio eſt prior judicio, ſic eſſe & non eſſe prius quiddam eſt & ſimplicius quàm affirmare & negare, & utrumque hoc quàm verum aut falſum judicare.

*Axioma igitur eſt affirmatum aut negatum.*

Duplex eſt hic modus enuntiandi, non duæ ſunt ſpecies enuntiati ſive axiomatis: contradictione enim idem axioma affirmatur & negatur: ſed affirmatio & negatio enuntiationis, i. e. enuntiandi ſpecies ſunt, non enuntiati; nam & affirmatio & negatio dici poteſt enuntiatio, enuntiatum verò nequaquam; axiomatis igitur utraque eſt affectio, non axioma.

*Axioma affirmatum eſt quando vinculum ejus affirmatur: negatum, quando negatur.* Vinculum n. axiomatis forma eſt; vinculi vi axiomatis materia diſponitur & quaſi animatur; vinculo affirmato aut negato, axioma ipſum affirmatur aut negatur: affirmatio itaque & negatio ſunt vinculi affectiones, adeóque axiomatis ejúſque ſpecierum. Vinculum autem eſt vel verbum vel grammatica conjunctio, ut poſtmodum patebit, cùm axioma in ſpecies dividetur.

Affirmatio autem hæc & negatio nihil aliud eſt, ut ſuprà diximus, quàm compoſitio & diviſio: affirmatur enim axioma, cùm ejus conſequens per affirmationem vinculi cum antecedente componitur; negatur, cùm negato vinculo, conſequens ab antecedente dividitur. Negatio igitur axiomatica non eſt, quemadmodum erat topica non ens, ſed entis tantummodo ab ente diviſio.

*Hinc naſcitur axiomatum contradictio, quando idem axioma affirmatur & negatur.*

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## C A P. III.

### *De vero & falſo.*

A*Xioma deinde eſt verum aut falſum.*

Hoc ſcilicet ex affirmatione & negatione fit judicium: cùm enim affirmantur quæ affirmanda ſunt, & negantur quæ neganda, axiomata judicantur vera; & contrà. Unde *Ariſt*. de Interpret. 1. *in compoſitione & diviſione eſt verum aut falſum.* Falſum autem non docetur hoc modo in arte, ſed judicatur: nam enuntiatio falſa non minus axioma eſt, quàm vera, eadem enim utrobique diſpoſitio eſt: non idem de ſyllogiſmo ac methodo dici poterit.

*Axioma verum eſt, quando pronunciat uti res eſt: falſum, contrà.*

Sic enim *Plato*, in Cratylo. Ad judicium itaque faciendum, non modò artis documenta, ſed etiam rerum ipſarum cognitio requiritur; quia res ipſa veritatis norma & menſura eſt.

*Axioma verum eſt contingens aut neceſſarium. Contingens, quando ſic verum eſt, ut aliquando falſum eſſe poſſit. Ut, audentes fortuna juvat.*

*Itaque veritatis hujus contingentis judicium, opinio dicitur.* Quæ præteritorum & præſentium homini certa eſſe poteſt, futurorum per naturam non admodùm poteſt. Deo autem, etſi tempora omnia præſentia non ſunt, ut vulgò receptum eſt, præſentia enim mutare poteſt, præterita non item; opinio tamen in Deum non cadit, quia per cauſas æque omnia cognoſcit.

De contingentibus autem, præteritis etiam, & præſentibus humanum judicium certa quidem opinio dicitur, non tamen ſcientia: ea enim ex argumentis, quorum eſt immutabilis affectio, oritur; cujuſmodi in contingenti axiomate non diſponuntur. Neque idcirco non eſt opinio præteritorum & præſentium, quòd manifeſta ſunt, immo tum maximè opinari contingentia dicimur; nam dubia ſi ſunt, ſive contingentia ſive neceſſaria, ne opinamur quidem, ſed dubitamus: & neceſſaria tametſi ſunt atque certiſſima, ſi cauſam neſcimus, etiam ea duntaxat opinamur.

At, inquies, præterita & præſentia non ſunt contingentia, ſed neceſſaria, quia ſunt immutabilia; nam neque factum infectum fieri poteſt; & quicquid eſt, quandiu eſt, neceſſe eſt eſſe. Reſpondendum, neceſſe quidem eſſe, ut quod fuit, fuerit, & quod jam eſt, ſit; nec tamen ſequi, ut quod fuit vel eſt, ſit propriè neceſſarium. In axiomate enim contingenti, præterito, vel præſenti quæ videtur eſſe neceſſitas, abſoluta non eſt, neque ex rerum diſpoſitarum natura, ſed ex conditione duntaxat & lege contradictionis pendet: dum enim aliquid eſt, non eſſe non poteſt; neque dum verum eſt, eſſe falſum: & tamen quod nunc verum eſt, fieri poteſt ut aliquando falſum fuerit, aut futurum ſit. Idem de futuris dicendum; ſiquid futurum certò eſt, id neceſſe eſt fore quidem verum (omne n. axioma verum eſt aut falſum) non tamen neceſſarium. Id niſi teneatur, omne contingens futurum erit neceſſarium, quod implicat contradictionem. Hoc etiam monendum, futura quidem ipſa neque vera eſſe neque falſa, neque contingentia, neque neceſſaria, nondum n. ſunt, ſed affirmatio ſolùm de iis aut negatio in futurum, déque præteritis eodem modo ſentiendum.

*Axioma eſt neceſſarium, quando ſemper verum eſt, nec falſum poteſt eſſe.*

Nec ſupervacua poſterior hæc clauſula eſt: ſemper n. eſſe verum etiam contingens poteſt; neceſſarium autem non modò ſemper eſt verum, ſed falſum eſſe non poteſt. Sic etiam *Ariſtot. Poſt.* 1. 26.

*Contrà, quod ſemper falſum eſt, nec verum poteſt eſſe, axioma impoſſibile dicitur.* Sic etiam *Ariſtot.* Phil. δ. 12.

Hæc autem immutabilitas veritatis in neceſſario, & falſitatis in impoſſibili, ab argumentorum quæ in iis diſponuntur vel ſumma conſenſione, vel infeſta ſemper diſſenſione pendet. Pari ratione mutabilitas veri aut falſi in contingenti & poſſibili ex levi argumentorum in iis diſpoſitorum conſenſione aut diſſidio perſpicitur.

Ex quo doctrina illa quatuor formularum modalium, *neceſſe eſt*, *impoſſibile eſt*, *poſſibile eſt*, *contingens eſt*, quàm inutiliter ab *Ariſtot.* introducta ſit, facile apparet: ut, *neceſſe eſt hominem eſſe animal*; *impoſſibile eſt hominem eſſe equum*; *poſſibile eſt Socratem eſſe divitem*; *contingens eſt Socratem eſſe doctum.* Hæ quatuor modales diſpoſitionem purarum enuntiationum quodammodo afficiunt: pura eſt, *omnis homo eſt animal*; modalis, *neceſſe eſt omnem hominem eſſe animal:* hic *omnem hominem eſſe animal*, licet inverſo ordine, ſubjectum eſt enuntiationis modalis; modus *neceſſe* eſt prædicatum. Verùm quid attinet quomodo partes axiomatis inter ſe affectæ ſint, ſignis aut modis exprimere, cùm id ex argumentis ipſis in eo diſpoſitis poſſit rectius judicari, & ad hos modos alii complures, *facile*, *difficile*, *honeſtum*, *turpe*, &c. Non inutiliùs poſſint adjungi?

Equidem ſecundarias, quas vocant modales, primariis hiſce potiores exiſtimem: quibus vulgò dividuntur enuntiationes in *excluſivas*, quarum notæ ſunt *ſolus*, *tantùm*, *duntaxat*, &c. ut, *ſola fides juſtificat*: *exceptivas*, quarum notæ ſunt *præter*, *præterquam*, *niſi*, &c. Ut, *nemo præter te ſapit*: & *reſtrictivas*, quarum notæ ſunt *qua*, *quatenus*, *quoad*, *ſecundum*, *quid*, &c. Ut, *homo qua animal, ſentit.* Et excluſiva quidem eſt vel ſubjecti vel prædicati: ſubjecti, quæ notâ excluſivâ præpoſitâ, excludit omnia ſubjecta alia à prædicato. Sed fruſtra hanc regulam ratio dictarit, ſi Logicis quibuſdam modernis, & nominatim *Keckermanno* licebit, eam ſtatim, conflato ad id ipſum canone, funditus evertere. *Excluſiva*, inquit, *ſubjecti non excludit concomitantia*: ut, *ſolus pater eſt verus Deus. Hic* inquit, *non excluditur concomitans, filius, & ſpiritus ſanctus.* At quis non videt ſubornatum hunc canonem, ad locum illum luculentiſſimum *Joan.* 17. 3. ludificandum? Haud paulò utilior eſt canon ille reſtrictivæ enuntiationis, quem tradit l. 2. c. 4. (reſtrictiva autem eſt quæ oſtendit quatenus ſubjectum prædicato convenit) *prædicatum*, inquit, *contradictorium nulla limitatione ſubjecto conciliatur*; ex *Ariſtot.* 2. *Top.* c. ult. ſect. 4. Quid evidentius dici potuit? & tamen reperti ſunt qui interpoſitis quibuſdam diſtinctiunculis, *accidens poſſe exiſtere ſine ſubjecto* (quod repugnat) *in cæna Domini* contendant: deinde, qui ſimilib. confictis diſtinctiunculis, *humanam naturam Chriſti adeoque corpus infinitum eſſe* diſputantes, parem contradictionem committant. Sed omiſſis Theologorum paradoxis, ad præcepta Logica redeamus.

*Axioma neceſſarium affirmatum appellatur* κατὰ παντὶς *de omni.*

Id eſt, cum conſequens ſive prædicatum, ut vocant, axiomatis, de omni & toto antecedente ſive ſubjecto ſemper verum eſt. Sic etiam *Ariſtot.* 1. prior. 1. & poſt. 1. 4. & hoc etiam nonnunquam καθόλου, i. e. *de toto*, vocat, *Poſt.* 2. 13.

*Axiomata artium ſic* κατὰ παντὸς *eſſe debent,*

Nempe de omnia & de toto vera, non falſa; neceſſaria, non fortuita, alioqui non ſcientiam pariunt, ſed opinionem; affirmata denique, non negata: affirmatum enim eſt firmum, certum, breviſſimum; negatum verò eſt vagum, incertum, infinitum, nihilque docet: ut ſi quis definiret Logicam, non eſſe artem bene loquendi, non doceret quid Logica ſit, ſed quid non ſit; eáque definitio omnib. artibus præter Grammaticam æque ac Logicæ conveniret. Nonnulli addunt ex hac lege, axiomata artium debere etiam eſſe generalia. Verùm hæc regula non tantum de omni eſt, ſed de toto: & multa in artibus præcepta ſpecialibus de rebus occurrunt, ut in *Theologia*, de *Chriſto*; in *Aſtronomia* de ſole & luna reliquiſque planetis: in aliis artibus hujuſmodi alia, in quibus, cùm ſint ſpecialia, etſi κατὰ παντὸς dici non poſſunt, καθόλου tamen poſſunt, quod ſatis eſt. Quòd ſi quis objicit, ne in generalibus quidem præcepta artium κατὰ παντὶς eſſe poſſe, propter exceptionum multitudinem, ut in Grammatica videre eſt; reſpondendum eſt, anomalium analogiæ conjunctam, κατὰ παντὶς inſtar eſſe.

*Sed præcepta artium homogenea etiam & reciproca eſſe debent.*

*Axioma homogeneum eſt, quando partes ſunt eſſentiales inter ſe.*

i. e. Vel abſolute, ut forma formato, genus ſpeciei, membra integro, definitio definito; vel modo quodam, ut ſubjectum proprio adjuncto.

*Id appellatur* καθ' αὑτὸ *per ſe.*

Idcirco etiam partes axiomatis eſſentiales inter ſe eſſe debent, ut præceptum artis eſſe ſcientificum poſſit: accidentis enim, ut teſtatur *Ariſtoteles*, nulla eſt ſcientia; nulla niſi per eſſentiam & cauſam: idem, τὰ καθ' αὑτὸ, & τὰ συμβεβηκότα, i. e. *accidentia*, opponit, *Poſt.* 1. 4. Itaque non ſatis eſt, partes eſſe inter ſe conſentaneas, ſed eſſentiales: quod cùm ex argumentorum inter ſe ſumma conſenſione oriatur, ex qua neceſſarium quoque axioma eſſe ortum ſupradiximus, non video quid per hanc regulam καθ' αὑτὸ ad ſuperiorem illam κατὰ παντὸς quod magni ſit momenti, accedat; cùm nullum axioma neceſſarium eſſe queat, quin ejus partes inter ſe ſint etiam eſſentiales. Neque verò putem hîc præcipi, ne quid heterogeneum ſive alienum in arte doceatur; neque enim huc pertinet diſpoſitio præcepti cum præcepto, ſed argumenti ſolùm cum argumento, quæ axiomatis doctrina eſt, & ex homogenei definitione ipſa ejúſque exemplis perſpicitur.

*Axioma reciprocum eſt, quando conſequens ſemper verum eſt de antecedente, non ſolùm omni & per ſe, ſed etiam reciprocè.*

Ut homo eſt animal rationale: numerus eſt par vel impar. Lupus eſt natus ad ululandum. Id appellatur καθόλου πρῶτον, de toto primum. Nempe quia de nullo prius dicitur; ideóque proximum eſt & immediatum, proprium & æquale; unóque verbo, reciprocum: ut riſibile de homine: omnis enim homo eſt riſibilis; & reciprocè, omne riſibile eſt homo. Hæc regula niſi obſervetur, vitari tautologia in artibus non poteſt. Tum enim non reciprocatur axioma, cùm antecedens conſequenti non eſt æquale, aut contra; ſed vel ſpeciale alicui generi, vel generale alicui ſpeciei attribuitur: generale autem de ſpecie non dicitur primò; prius enim dicitur de genere. Cum autem id quod generis eſt, ſpeciei attribuitur, idem in reliquis ſpeciebus neceſſario eſt repetendum, quod in genere ſemel dictum oportuit. Ad hanc itaque regulam pertinet præceptum artis illud nobile γενικὰ γενικῶς, *generalia generaliter* & ſemel docenda ſunt. Hæc lex brevitati, brevitas autem intelligentiæ & memoriæ conſulit.

Atque hæ tres ſunt leges documentorum artium propriorum. Prima κατὰ παντὸς, lex veritatis; propterea quòd neceſſariam affirmati axiomatis veritatem ex conſentanea partium affectione poſtulat. Secunda καθ' αὑτὸ, lex juſtitiæ; quia juſtitiam requirit in eſſentiali partium cognatione. Peccant ergo in hanc legem, qui Rhetoricam in inventionem, diſpoſitionem, memoriam, &c. diſtribuunt, cùm Rhetoricæ partes attribuant, quæ Dialecticæ propriæ ſunt. Tertia καθόλου πρῶτον, lex ſapientiæ meritò dici poſſit; cùm quia ejus judicium veriſſima ſcientia eſt, ut poſtea dicetur, tum quia vitia ſapientiæ contraria prohibet, inæqualitatem ſive inconvenientiam antecedentis cùm conſequente & tautologiam.

Dices, duas illas priores leges comprehendi ſub hac tertia: & hoc fatendum quidem eſt: veruntamen ut trigonum tetragonus & tetragonum pentagonus comprehendit, neque idcirco tamen diſtinctæ figuræ non ſunt; ita hæ leges etiamſi poſterior quæquæ priorem comprehendit, erant tamen perſpicuitatis cauſa diſtinguendæ.

*Atque hujuſmodi axiomatum ita reciprocorum judicium veriſſima & prima ſcientia eſt.* Prima quia principiorum eſt, quæ per ſe indemonſtrabilia, ſuáque luce manifeſtiſſima ſunt, neque ſyllogiſmi aut ullius argumenti clarioris lucem ad ſcientiam faciendam deſiderant: quæ inde veriſſima quoque ſit neceſſe eſt.

# CAP. IV.

## *De Axiomate ſimplici.*

*Atque hæc de communibus axiomatis affectionibus; ſpecies ſequuntur.*

*Axioma eſt ſimplex aut compoſitum.*

Sic etiam *Ariſtot.* de interpret. 1. 5. Vulgò propoſitio dividitur in categoricam & hypotheticam, eodem ſenſu. Sed categorica affirmatum duntaxat propoſitionem ſimplicem comprehendit, quæ ſcilicet de ſubjecto κατηγορεῖται, i. e. prædicatur.

*Axioma ſimplex eſt, quod verbi vinculo continetur.*

Cùm enim vinculum, ut ſupradiximus, axiomatis forma & quaſi anima ſit, hinc efficitur, quemadmodum duæ ſunt ſpecies vinculorum, verbum & conjunctio, illud ſimplicis axiomatis, hoc compoſiti, ut axioma quoque ex iſta diſtributione vinculi, in oppoſitas formas ſive ſpecies dividatur. Vinculum autem ſimplicis axiomatis, non ſolum eſt verbum ſubſtantivum, quod dicitur, ſed quodvis verbum actionem aut paſſionem ſignificans, vinculi, in ſe vim incluſam habet; & vel totum conſequens vel pars conſequentis eſt; ut, *Socrates* ſcribit. Nam quod nonnulli putant, verbum omne in ſubſtantivum & participium reſolvi oportere, ut ea ratione verbum ſubſtantivum eſſe vinculum appareat, ſcilicet, *Socrates* eſt ſcribens; id ſæpe ineptiſſimum eſſe reperietur. Ut ſiquis hoc, *Socrates* docetur, ſic ſolvat, *Socrates* eſt doctus: hoc enim aliud longe eſt. Quidquod etiam verbum ſubſtantivum nonnunquam & vinculum & totum conſequens includit; ut, *Socrates* eſt; Mortui non ſunt, i. e. non exiſtunt. Quodſi in uno ſimplici axiomate plura verba occurrunt, ut, Imparia ſunt comparata, quorum quantitas non eſt una, ſciendum eſt illud verbum axiomatis vinculum eſſe, quod Grammatici vocant principale.

*Id ſi affirmatur, axioma ſimplex eſt affirmatum; ſi negatur, negatum.*

Negatur autem, ſi negationis nota verbum illud præcedit: Nam ſi ſequitur, negatum non eſt, ſed affirmatum: ut *Socrates* eſt leo non neceſſarió, affirmatum eſt, quia negationis nota ſequitur verbum; nec totum conſequens negatur, ſed modus.

Negationis autem notæ non ſolùm ſunt adverbia negandi, ſed etiam particulæ excluſivæ (cujuſmodi ſunt *unicus* & *ſolus*) & verba diſſenſionem vel differentiam ſignificantia; ut, *differre*, *opponi*, &c.

Exempla nunc videamus. Ignis urit; ignis eſt calidus; ignis eſt non aqua. Hîc *ignis* eſt antecedens, *urit* conſequens.

*Atque hîc eſt prima inventarum rerum diſpoſitio, cauſæ cum effecto, ut in primo exemplo; ſubjecti cum adjuncto, ut in ſecundo; diſſentanei cum diſſentaneo, ut in tertio.*

*Quo modo argumenta qualibet inter ſe affecta enuntiari poſſunt, conſentanea quidem affirmando, diſſentanea negando.* Exceptis plenis comparationibus, in quibus duo planè diſtincta axiomata ſunt, propoſitio, & redditio. Nam diſtributiones, quas etiam excipit *Ramus*, ut, Argumentum eſt artificiale aut inartificiale, axiomate ſimplici enuntiari poſſunt, ut infra docebitur: poſſunt & diverſa, quæ excipiunt alii, ſi ſic enuntias, Aliquis facundus non eſt formoſus: & contraria; ut, virtus non eſt vitium, *&c.*

*Axioma ſimplex eſt generale aut ſpeciale.*

Hæc diſtributio eſt ſimplicis axiomatis ex adjuncta quantitate, quæ modos, non ſpecies conſtituit. In axiomate autem compoſito, quantitatis nulla ratio habetur, ſed tantum vinculi, ut infra dicemus.

*Axioma generale eſt, quando commune conſequens attribuitur generaliter communi antecedenti.*

Vulgò etiam vocatur *univerſale.* Generaliter autem conſequens antecedenti attribuitur, quando omni totique ſive univerſo antecedenti attribuitur, omnibúſque iis, quæ ſub ejus ſignificatione continentur. Ad axioma igitur generale, tria hæc requiruntur; conſequens, & antecedens generale, & generalis attributio. Neque enim ex nota ſive ſigno univerſali definiendum fuit axioma generale; cùm & ſæpiſſime non adſit nota, & cùm adeſt, non cauſa ſed ſignum tantummodo ſit axioma eſſe generale. Indefinita igitur, quæ vulgò vocant, etſi notam non habent generalem, generalia tamen ſunt; ut definitiones & reliqua artium præcepta, quæ nemo generalia eſſe inficiabitur; nec notam tamen generalem præfixam habent. Notæ axiomatis generalis tam affirmati quàm negati hæ ſunt: *omnis, nullus*; *ſemper, nunquam*; *ubique, nuſquam*, &c.

*Atque hîc contradictio non ſemper dividit verum & falſum; ſed contingentium utraque pars falſa poteſt eſſe:* ut,

Omnis *in urbe locus bajis prælucet amœnis.*
Nullus *in urbe locus bajis prælucet amœnis.*

*Item non contingentium.*

Ut, omne animal eſt rationale; nullum animal eſt rationale. Hæc enim non contingentia ſunt, ſed potius abſurda; quia conſequens ſpeciale antecedenti generali generaliter attribuitur. Falſa igitur pars utraque generalis contradictionis eſſe poteſt, vera eſſe non poteſt; falſitas quippe multiplex, veritas una eſt.

*Axioma ſpeciale eſt, quando conſequens non omni antecedenti attribuitur.*

Speciale dicitur, quia de ſpecie aliqua enuntiatur. Atque ut in generali axiomate conſequens generaliter, ſive omni & univerſo antecedenti; ita in ſpeciali ſpecialiter, ſive non omni attribuitur.

*In hoc axiomate contradictio ſemper dividit verum à falſo.*

Id eſt ſpecialis contradictionis pars una ſemper vera, pars altera ſemper eſt falſa.

*Axioma ſpeciale eſt particulare aut proprium.*

*Particulare, quando conſequens commune antecedenti particulariter attribuitur.*

Ex axioma ſpeciale quia de ſpecie aliqua, licet ea quidem incerta & indefinita, enuntiatur: particulariter autem conſequens attribuitur, quando non univerſo antecedenti, ſed ejus alicui parti attribuitur. Attributionis autem particularis notæ ſive ſigna ſunt, *quidam, aliquis, aliquando, alicubi*; & negationes generalium, *nonnulli, nonnunquam, non ſemper, non omnis*, &c. quæ particulari æquipollent. Commune autem conſequens debet eſſe; ex illa regula, Conſequens nunquam minus eſt antecedente, ſed ſemper vel majus eo vel ſaltem æquale. Unde *Ariſtoteles*, prior. 1. 28. negat *ſingulare de alio prædicari.*

Sequitur nunc contradictio particularium.

*Huic autem axiomati generaliter contradicitur.*

*Aliquid ignoſcendum eſt; nihil ignoſcendum eſt: aliqua clementia non eſt laudanda; omnis clementia eſt laudanda.* Hîc particulari affirmato, generale negatum; & particulari negato, generale affirmatum opponitur. Quodſi utraque pars particularis eſt, non modo nulla eſt axiomatum contradictio, ſed ne oppoſitio quidem. *Ut*, Quidam homo eſt doctus, quidam homo non eſt doctus. Non enim eidem ſubjecto attribuuntur, quæ lex eſt oppoſitorum. Pars igitur utraque vera eſſe poteſt; ſicuti etiam cùm utraque affirmata eſt vel negata: ut, Omnis homo eſt rationalis, quidam homo eſt rationalis: nullus homo eſt irrationalis, quidam homo non eſt irrationalis. In his non modo contradictio nulla, ſed conſenſio ſumma eſt, generis nempe & ſpeciei.

*Axioma proprium* ( quod alii ſingulare vocant ) *eſt, quando conſequens antecedenti proprio attribuitur.* Antecedens autem Logicè proprium dicitur quando rem vel perſonam ſingularem deſignat; ſive proprio nomine exprimatur, ſive non: qualia ſunt etiam demonſtrativa; ut, *hic homo.* Secundò, quæ per ſynecdochen generis dicuntur; ut Poëta pro *Homero* aut *Virgilio*, Philoſophus pro *Ariſtotele* aut *Platone* & ſimilia. Ad conſequens autem hujus axiomatis quod attinet, id vel commune eſſe poteſt vel proprium.

Proprii contradictio eſt quando utraque pars eſt propria: in quo diſcrepat à particulari, cujus pars altera duntaxat particularis eſſe debet; conſentit cum generali, cujus pars utraque generalis; ut, *Fabulla eſt bella:* cujus negatio & contradictio eſt, *Fabulla non eſt bella.* Atque hæc de axiomate ſimplici.

## *APPENDIX.*

AD has axiomatis ſimplicis affectiones addunt *Ariſtotelici* æquipollentiam & converſionem.

Æquipollentia definitur, *enuntiationum verbis diſcrepantium convenientia re atque ſenſu:* ſic *aliquis homo eſt doctus*, &, *non omnis homo eſt doctus*, idem valent, & ſimilia, ut ſuprà in notis eſt dictum. Æquipollentia itaque cum in verbis duntaxat, non in rebus, poſita ſit, ad Grammaticam vel ad Rhetoricam & verborum copiam remittenda eſt.

Converſio eſt prædicati unius enuntiationis in locum ſubjecti tranſpoſitio ad probandam alteram enuntiationem, quæ ex ea tranſpoſitione ſive converſione efficitur. Ea triplex affertur; ſimplex, per accidens, & per contrapoſitionem. Simplex, quæ fit manente eadem enuntiationis & quantitate & qualitate: fitque etiam tripliciter; in univerſali negante; ut, *nullus homo eſt lapis, ergo nullus lapis eſt homo:* in particulari affirmante; ut, *aliquis homo eſt albus, ergo aliquod album eſt homo:* in affirmante denique univerſali & neceſſaria; ut, *omnis homo eſt riſibilis, ergo omne riſibile eſt homo.* Et hæc eſt una omnium converſionum veriſſima, quæ & *recipocratio* dicitur, proprii ſcilicet cum ſuo ſubjecto, definiti cum ſua definitione.

Converſio per accidens mutat enuntiationis quantitatem; univerſalem ſcilicet affirmantem in particularem: ut, *omnis homo eſt animal, ergo quoddam animal eſt homo.* Per accidens hanc dici volunt, quia aliud prius ſequitur, nempe, *quidam homo eſt animal*, ex quo hoc deinde, ſimplici converſione, *ergo quoddam animal eſt homo.*

Converſio per contrapoſitionem mutat enuntiationis qualitatem; univerſalem ſcilicet affirmantem in negantem: vel, in qua loco ſubjecti & prædicati, ponitur utriuſque converſi contradictio: ut, *omnis homo eſt rationalis; ergo quodcunque non eſt rationale, non eſt homo: omne mortale eſt genitum; ergo quod non eſt genitum, non eſt mortale; vel, quod eſt non genitum, eſt non mortale: admittendi ad ſacramenta, habent pœnitentiam & fidem; ergo qui hæc non habent, non ſunt admittendi.* Tres hoſce modos converſionum ex *Ariſtot.* petunt: duos priores ex 1. Prior. c. 2. tertium ex 2. Top. c. 1. ſyllogiſticæ reductionis gratia, cujus inutiliter infra oſtendetur, ab ipſo inventos.

Converſione autem hac ne decipiamur fortè, neque enim fidiſſima eſt, cautiones quædam adhiberi ſolent: prima, ne termini ſint figurati; ut, *panis eſt corpus Chriſti.* Secunda, ne quid mutiletur; ut, *quidam cernit cæcum, ergo cæcus cernit quendam:* totum enim prædicatum non eſt *cæcum*, ſed *cernit cæcum*; ut etiam in hac; *omnis ſenex fuit puer, ergo quidem puer fuit ſenex*; non enim *puer*, ſed *fuit puer* totum prædicatum eſt; convertendum ergo, *quidam qui fuit puer, eſt ſenex.* Tertia, ut caſus obliqui à converſione facti, reddantur recti; ut, *aliqua arbor eſt in agro; ergo aliquod quod eſt in agro, eſt arbor*, non ſic, *ergo aliquis ager eſt in arbore.*

Sed, omiſſis iſtis cautionibus, expeditior via eſt, converſionem omnem ſi dubia ſit, tanquam ſophiſma petitionis principii rejicere; ut quæ ſine medio termino probare rem dubiam conetur: de quo ſophiſmate infra monebimus.

## CAP. V.

### *De Axiomate copulato.*

A*Xioma compoſitum eſt quod vinculo conjunctionis continetur.*

Hoc genus axiomatis *Ariſtoteles* totum prætermiſit. Vulgò *propoſitio hypothetica* vocatur; i. e. conditionalis; anguſtè nimis; cum ea vox compoſitis non omnibus conveniat, ut ſuo loco patebit. *Compoſitum* autem dicitur, quia ſententia eſt multiplex, quæ in plures reſolvi ſimplices poteſt: nec tamen dicendum eſt, ex ſimplicib. axiomatis componi, ſed ex argumentis, quæ conjunctionis vinculo compoſita, multiplicem ſententiam efficiunt: idcirco autem axioma componitur, quia argumenta in eo conjuncta conſentiunt & compoſitionem appetunt. Nulla autem hîc ratio habetur quantitatis, generale ſit an ſpeciale, ſed tantum compoſitionis. Ut autem verbum fuit vinculum ſimplicis, ita conjunctio eſt axiomatis compoſiti, ejúſque proinde forma & quaſi anima eſt.

*Itaque à conjunctione affirmata vel negata, affirmatur vel negatur.* Conjunctione non negata, negatum axioma non erit, etiamſi partes omnes erunt negatæ.

*Contradictioniſque pars vera eſt, pars falſa.* De qua vulgus Logicorum ſilet.

*Ennunciatum compoſitum eſt pro ſua conjunctione congregativum aut ſegregativum.*

*Congregativum eſt cujus partes tanquam ſimul veræ, conjunctione ſua congregantur.* Conjunctione videlicet non ſolùm illa Grammatica verùm etiam ſententiarum quavis relatione. Cùm autem relatio iſta, ſive Grammatica ſive Logica, multiplex ſit, eſſentiæ, conſequentiæ ſive cauſæ, quantitatis, qualitatis, temporis, loci, relatio quidem eſſentiæ ( cujus notæ ſunt *is qui*, *id quod* ) & loci ( cujus notæ ſunt *ubi*, *ibi* ) ad ſimplicia axiomata referenda eſt; de reliquis ſuo loco.

*Congregativum enuntiat omnia conſentanea affirmando, omnia diſſentanea negando.* Hoc eſt, ſi unum conſentaneorum ſubjecto attribuatur, alterum quoque attribuitur; & contrà, uno negato, alterum negatur: ſi unum diſſentaneorum de ſubjecto affirmatur, alterum negatur; & contrà. Ita ſemper conſentanea ſimul hîc affirmanda vel neganda ſunt, diſſentanea non ſimul.

*Congregativum verò eſt copulatum aut connexum. Copulatum, cujus conjunctio eſt copulativa. Ut* Æneid. 1.

*Unà Eurúſque Notúſque ruunt, crebérque procellis*
*Africus.*

Hîc igitur negatio erit & contradictio, negatæ conjunctione; *non unà Eurúſque Notúſque ruunt*, &c. *Socrates & doctus erat & formoſus: Socrates non & doctus erat & formoſus.* Quòdſi hoc modo negaretur, *Socrates nec doctus erat nec formoſus* ( qui modus contradictionis eſt adhibendus cùm omnes partes ſunt falſæ ) contradictio non eſſet axiomatica; non enim vinculum negaretur, ſed partes: copulatio enim ſignificat utrumque ſimul verum eſſet, ejus negatio non utrumque; at hæc negatio neutrum: ac ſi dictum eſſe, *Socrates & non doctus & non formoſus erat:* deinde, in axiomate compoſito contradictionis pars una vera, altera eſt falſa; hîc autem utraque: hoc ergo axioma, *Socrates nec doctus erat nec formoſus*, eſt potius axioma copulatum affirmatum, cujus partes negantur. Copulati autem negatio per axioma etiam diſcretum fieri poteſt, cùm partes non omnes falſæ ſunt; ut infra intelligitur. Conjunctio denique hîc ſæpe non adeſt, ſed intelligitur.

*Verum autem enuntiati copulati judicium pendet ex omnium partium veritate; falſum, ex una ſaltem parte falſa.* Hoc eſt axioma copulatum judicatur eſſe verum, ſi omnes partes ſimul veræ ſunt; falſum, ſi vel una pars erit falſa. Idem tradit *Gellius*, *l.* 16. *c.* 8. In copulato enim axiomate, verias omnium partium ſpectatur, quia partes omnes abſolute enuntiantur tanquam ſimul veræ.

*Huic generi affine eſt enuntiatum relatæ qualitatis, cujus conjunctio* Logica potius eſt quàm Grammatica, nempe *ipſa relatio.*

Relata autem qualitas eſt plena ſimilitudo: ut notæ ipſæ teſtantur; *qualis*, *talis*, *quemadmodum*, *ſic*. Eclog. 3.

*Tale tuum carmen nobis, divine poëta,*
*Quale ſopor feſſis in gramine.* ———

Hîc copulatum judicium eſt tanquam diceretur, Sopor eſt feſſis gratus, & ſic tuum carmen nobis gratum eſt: cujus negatio, Non tale tuum carmen, quale ſopor, *&c.*

Ad hunc etiam locum pertinet relatio quantitatis in plenis comparationibus: quarum notæ ſunt, cùm à pari, *idem quod*, *tam quam*, *tanto quanto*, *tot quot*, *eò quò*; tum à majori, *non ſolùm*, *ſed etiam*; tum à minori, *non modò non*, *ſed ne* ( quæ nota eſt copulati axiomatis affirmati, cujus partes negantur ) *cùm tum.* Relatio autem hæc & qualitatis & quantitatis, ſi hypotheticè non abſolutè enuntiatur, ad connexum potius referenda eſt.

Relationes autem loci ad axioma ſimplex rectius referuntur, ut ſupra eſt dictum. Neque enim in hujuſmodi exemplo, *ubi amici ibi opes*, eſt copulatum judicium, ſed ſimplex & quidem generale; ſcilicet, omnem divitem amicos habere.

## CAP. VI.

### *De Axiomate connexo.*

*AXioma connexum eſt congregativum, cujus conjunctio eſt connexiva.*
*Ut*, *ſi*, *niſi* affirmativè. Idem enim valet *niſi*, quod *ſi non*: quo non totum axioma, ſed antecedens tantum negatur: ut *Æneid.* 2.

*——— Si miſerum fortuna Sinonem*
*Finxit, vanum etiam mendacémque improba finget.*

Cujus negatio eſt, negata conjunctione, *Non ſi miſerum fortuna Sinonem finxit, vanum etiam mendacémque improba finget.*

*Conjunctio etiam hæc interdum negatur apertiùs, negando conſequentiam.* Ut, non continuò, non illicò, non idcirco, non ideo: his enim formulis non conſequens axiomatis, id n. contradictionem non efficeret, ſed ipſa partium conſequentia quæ Logica conjunctio eſt apertius negatur: ut pro *Amer. Non continuò, ſi me in ſicariorum gregem contuli, ſicarius ſum.* De Fato: *Nec ſi omne enuntiatum verum eſt aut falſum, ſequitur illicò cauſas eſſe immutabiles.*

*Affirmatio enim ſignificat, ſi ſit antecedens, etiam conſequens eſſe. Negatio itaque & contradictio ſtatuit, ſi ſit antecedens, non ideo conſequens eſſe.*

Poteſt & connexo per axioma diſcretum contradici: ut, *quamvis omne enuntiatum ſit verum aut falſum, non tamen cauſa ſunt immutabiles*; quod ſequente capite liquebit.

*Sed cùm judicabis connexum abſolute*, i. e. per ſe ſuáque natura *verum eſſe, neceſſarium quoque judicabis: & intelliges hanc neceſſitatem ex neceſſaria partium connexione oriri, quæ ipſa poteſt eſſe vel in falſis partibus.*

*Ut, ſi homo eſt leo, eſt etiam quadrupes*, neceſſarium connexum eſt; quia argumentorum, quæ hic connectuntur, leonis ſcilicet & quadrupedis, connexio eſt neceſſaria, ſpeciei ſcilicet cum genere. Unde efficitur axioma generaliter verum ac proinde neceſſarium; *omnis leo eſt quadrupes*: quod in connexo indicium eſt abſolutæ veritatis. Sic, ſi *Socrates eſt homo, eſt etiam animal*, abſolutè verum eſt & neceſſarium, quia omnis homo eſt animal: hujúſque connexi conſequens falſum eſſe non poteſt, niſi antecedens quoque falſum ſit, quod aliud ſignum eſt abſolutæ veritatis.

Quòd ſi conſequens falſum fuerit, falſum item eſt antecedens. *Si illud, hoc: ſi non hoc, ne illud quidem.* Atque ita, ut jam demonſtravimus, ſi connexio abſolute vera eſt, erit quoque neceſſaria: ſin ex conditione & pacto, ſine quo connexum per ſe ſuáque natura verum non eſſet, erit tantummodo contingens.

*Quod ſi connexio ſit contingens, & pro ſua tantum probabilitate ponatur, judicium ejus tantum opinio fuerit.*

Ut *Terent. Andr.*
*Pamphile, ſi id facis, hodie poſtremum me vides.*

Hoc eſt, ſi *Philumenam* uxorem ducis, ego hodie moriar: quod nemo ſequi exiſtimaverit, niſi hoc poſito, *Charinum*, qui hoc dicit, *Philumenam* perditiſſimè amare. Per ſe enim nulla eſt connexionis neceſſitas inter nuptias *Pamphili* & interitum *Charini*. Qui autem ex amoris vehementia ſic exiſtimabit, ejus judicium non erit ſcientia, ſed opinio.

Ut autem judicare poſſimus, quæ connexio ſit abſolutè vera, quæ non, ſpectanda argumenta ſunt, quæ in axiomate connectuntur, conſentiant inter ſe nec ne, & quo modo. Ut *ſi dies eſt, lux eſt*, connexum eſt neceſſarium, quia dies ſive ſol ortus eſt cauſa lucis. *Si dies eſt, Dio ambulat*, connexum eſt falſum aut contingens; quia nulla eſt affectio abſolutè conſentanea inter diem & *Dionem*.

*Connexo axiomati affinis eſt iſta conſequentiæ relatio:* quæ à nonnullis, *relatio cauſæ* dicitur; & axioma efficit, quod *Stoici cauſale* nominant; *Laert.* in *Zenone:* quia nempe antecedens eſt cauſa conſequentis, adeóque vinculum ejus conjunctio cauſalis *cùm, quia, quoniam*; quibus reſpondet *ideo* vel *etiam*: ut, *cùm Tullius ſit orator, eſt etiam peritus benè dicendi.* Quanquam autem relata iſta connexis affinia ſunt, non nihil tamen diſcrepant: in antecedente enim connexi quædam conditio eſt, in hoc relato nulla: connexum poteſt ex falſis partibus verum eſſe, relatum hoc ſive cauſale non poteſt eſſe verum, niſi antecedens verum fuerit: ut, *quia dies eſt, ſol eſt ſupra horizontem.*

Affinis eſt & relatio temporis axiomati connexo, ut ait ipſe *Ramus* infra *c.* 13. Relatio autem temporis has habet notas, *tum cùm, donec dum, quamdiu tandiu*; ut apud *Ovid.* in epiſt.

*Cùm Paris Oenone poterit ſpirare relicta*
*Ad fontem Xanthi verſa recurret aqua.*

Sic, *Donec eris felix, multos numerabis amicos.*

Poteſt etiam connexum enuntiari ſine ulla non modò relationis, verùm etiam connexionis nota: ut, *poſita cauſa, ponitur effectum. Fac hoc, & vives.* Ovid. in epiſt. *ſume fidem & pharetram, fies manifeſtus Apollo.* Nonnunquam etiam duob. negativis: Cic. pro Milone, *non hoc fragile corpus humanum mente regitur, & non regitur mente univerſum mundi corpus.*

## CAP. VII.

### *De Axiomate diſcreto.*

*Axioma ſegregativum eſt, cujus conjunctio eſt ſegregativa.*

*Ideòque argumenta diſſentanea enuntiat.*

*Enuntiatum ſegregativum eſt diſcretum aut disjunctum.*

*Diſcretum, cujus conjunctio eſt diſcretiva.* Diſcretum dicitur, quòd conjunctione illa ſegregativa diſcernuntur & ſegregantur, ea potiſſimum quæ leviter & ratione tantum diſſentiunt.

*Itaque è diſſentaneis præcipuè diverſa enuntiat.*

*Præcipuè,* quia diverſorum notæ, *non hoc, ſed illud,* ut ſuperiore libro dictum eſt, in diverſis nonnunquam ſolent oppoſitis inſervire. Ut autem diverſorum ita etiam diſcreti axiomatis doctrina diſtinctionib. duntaxat, non concluſionibus, idonea eſt; & à reliquis propterea Dialecticis, qui omnia ad ſyllogiſmum referunt, omiſſa. Sed rationis uſus quicunque in Logica prætermittendus non erat. Exempli gratia: *Tuſcul.* 5. *Quanquam ſenſu corporis judicentur, ad animum referri tamen.* Cujus negatio & contradictio eſt, *non quanquam corporis ſenſu judicentur, tamen ad animum referri:* vel, *quanquam ſenſu corporis judicentur, non tamen ad animum referri.* Nam *tamen* eſt hìc conjunctio præcipua. Quemadmodum autem copulati & connexi axiomatis negatio & contradictio diſcretum eſſe poteſt, ita viciſſim copulatum vel connexum diſcreti: ut, *quanquam culpa vacat, non tamen ſuſpicione caret:* cujus per copulatum contradictio eſt, *& culpa vacat, & ſuſpicione caret;* vel per connexum, *ſi culpa vacat, etiam ſuſpicione caret.*

*Diſcretum enuntiatum judicatur eſſe verum & legitimum, ſi partes non ſolum vera, ſed etiam diſcreta ſint; falſum vel ridiculum contra.*

Ut, *quanquam* Ulyſſes *formoſus erat, tamen non erat infacundus,* falſum eſt, quia antecedens eſt falſum. Sed ſi conſequens modò verum eſt, axioma verum erit, etiamſi antecedens verum eſſe tantummodo concedatur. Hoc autem, *quanquam Menelaus formoſus erat, tamen erat facundus,* non eſt diſcretum, ſed ne ſegregativum quidem: omnis enim ſegregativi axiomatis partes tanquam non ſimul veræ ſegregantur, hic verò tanquam ſimul veræ congregantur. *Quanquam* Ulyſſes *facundus erat, non tamen erat indiſertus,* eſt ridiculum, quia partes non ſunt diſcretæ ſed oppoſitæ.

## CAP. VIII.

### *De Axiomate disjuncto.*

*Axioma disjunctum eſt axioma ſegregativum, cujus conjunctio eſt disjunctiva.*

Ut, *aut dies eſt, aut nox eſt. Aut vera eſt hac enuntiatio aut falſa.* Nam ut ex *Cicerone* citatur hoc exemplum, *omnis enuntiatio vera eſt aut falſa,* videtur eſſe diſtributio potius quàm disjunctio. Diſtributio autem quatenus de toto diviſo partes enuntiantur, axioma ſimplex & generale eſt, adeóque non compoſitum nedum disjunctum. Neque enim diſtributionis partes, quamvis inter ſe oppoſitæ, oppoſitionem vel disjunctionem ullam faciunt, ſed eidem toti ſubjiciuntur, & in ejuſdem ſimplicis axiomatis conſequente verbi vinculo cum toto, quod antecedens eſt, conſentiunt; at extra diſtributionem, ubi non de toto, ſed de aliqua ejus parte vel ſpecie enuntiantur, tum demum axioma disjunctum efficiunt; ut, quod ſupra poſuimus, *hæc enuntiatio aut vera eſt aut falſa.*

*Hîc ſignificatur è disjunctis unicum verum eſſe.*

Nempe quia oppoſita hic ſola diſponi debent. Atque id ſemper à differente ſignificatur, tametſi aliquando accidit, ut disjunctorum vel plura uno, vel nullum omninò verum ſit. Negatio igitur & contradictio erit, *non aut dies aut nox eſt.*

*Et contradictione ſignificatur, non neceſſario alterutrum verum eſſe.*

*Nam ſi disjunctio abſolutè vera eſt, eſt etiam neceſſaria; parteſque disjuncta ſunt oppoſitis ſine ullo medio.* De quibus vide ſuperioris libri caput de contradicentibus.

*Veruntamen quamvis abſolutè vera disjunctio, neceſſaria quoque ſit; tamen nihil neceſſe eſt partes ſeparatim neceſſarias eſſe.*

Ut, *cras aut pluet aut non pluet*, disjunctio eſt neceſſaria, quia ex contradicentibus conſtat, quæ ſunt contraria ſine medio: & tamen, *cras pluet* & *cras non pluet*, utrumque contingens axioma eſt. Sic, *homo aut bonus eſt aut non bonus*, &c.

*Nam disjunctionis neceſſitas pendet è neceſſaria partium oppoſitione & disjunctione, non ex earum neceſſaria veritate.*

Hinc argumentum illud diſſolvitur *Chryſippi Stoici* aliorúmque veterum, apud *Ciceronem* de Fato; quo probare ſunt conati, futura omnia eſſe neceſſaria & quaſi fatalia, eò quòd neceſſe ſit ea aut vera eſſe aut falſa. Disjunctio quidem, ut diximus, neceſſaria eſt; pars tamen disjunctionis alterutra talis erit, qualis cauſa ejus eſt; ſive neceſſaria, ſive contingens, i. e. vel libera vel fortuita.

Atque hæc de neceſſaria disjunctione, cujus judicium ſcientia eſt.

*Disjunctio autem ſæpe eſt ex conditione.*

*Ut ſi quæratur utrum Cleon venerit an Socrates, quia ita pactum ſit alterutrum tantum venturum eſſe.*

*Itaque ſi disjunctio ſit contingens* (contingens autem eſt, ſi partes medium habent) *non eſt abſolute vera, ſed tantum opinabilis.*

Qualis eſt frequenter in hominum uſu. Ut *Cæſar* ad matrem: *hodie me aut pontificem videbis, aut exulem.* *Ovid.* in epiſtola *Leandri.*

*Aut mihi continget felix audacia ſalvo,*
*Aut mors ſolliciti finis amoris erit.*

## CAP. IX.

### *De Syllogiſmo & ejus partibus.*

ATque ejuſmodi diſpoſitio eſt axiomatica ſive noëtica axiomatis per ſe manifeſti: ſequitur dianoëtica.

*Dianoëtica eſt cùm aliud axioma ex alio deducitur.*

Vox *Græca* διάνοια, mentis & rationis diſcurſum ſignificat; qui tum fit maximè cùm ſententia alia ex alia ratiocinando deducitur.

*Diſpoſitio dianoëtica eſt ſyllogiſmus aut methodus.*

*Syllogiſmus eſt diſpoſitio dianoëtica qua quæſtio cum argumento ita diſponitur, ut poſito antecedente, neceſſariò concludatur.*

Eſt dianoia: eſt ergo diſcurſus mentis ac rationis quo aliud ex alio ratiocinando colligitur: eam ratiocinantis quaſi collectionem vox ipſa ſyllogiſmi ſignificat: quæ quidem collectio ſive deductio ab intellectûs humani imbecillitate profecta eſt: quæ cùm rerum veritatem & falſitatem primo intuitu perſpicere in axiomate non poteſt, ad ſyllogiſmum ſe confert, in quo de conſequentia & inconſequentia earum judicare poſſit.

*Cùm itaque axioma dubium eſt, quæſtio efficitur, & ad ejus fidem tertio argumento eſt opus cum quæſtione collocato.*

Quæſtionis partes vulgò termini appellantur; & antecedens quidem minor terminus, conſequens major terminus dicitur; quia antecedente latius ferè eſt conſequens. Tertium autem argumentum ab *Ariſtot. medium* & *medius terminus* dicitur. Non quo ſemper medius inter duos quæſtionis terminos in ſyllogiſmo collocetur, ſed eò quòd quaſi arbiter de conſenſu eorum inter ſe aut diſſenſu, diſceptat & judicat. Atque hæc ſunt tria illa argumenta, ex quibus ſolis omnis ſyllogiſmus conficitur; duo ſcilicet quæſtionis, & tertium argumentum; quæ vulgò *tres termini* dicuntur. Termini autem iſti non ſemper ſimplices ſunt voces, ſed orationes nonnunquam longiuſculæ; nec ſemper caſibus rectis, ſed obliquis interdum efferuntur.

*Partes ſyllogiſmi duæ ſunt; antecedens & conſequens. Antecedens ſyllogiſmi pars eſt, in qua quæſtio cum argumento diſponitur.*

*Syllogiſmi antecedens partes duas habet, propoſitionem & aſſumptionem:* quæ vulgò *præmiſſæ* nominantur.

*Propoſitio eſt prior pars antecedentis, qua quæſtionis ſaltem conſequens cum argumento diſponitur.*

*Saltem*; quia nonnunquam *tota* quæſtio cum argumento in propoſitione diſponitur, ut infra patebit.

Propoſitio vulgò *major* dicitur; vel quia majorem vim habet (eſt enim argumentationis quaſi baſis & fundamentum) vel quia major terminus, i. e. conſequens quæſtionis in propoſitione collocatur.

*Aſſumptio eſt ſecunda pars antecedentis, quæ aſſumitur è propoſitione.*

Aſſumitur enim inde vel tertium argumentum vel tota aſſumptio, ut infra perſpicietur. Hinc itaque argumentum tertium, ſive medius terminus, dignoſcitur, quòd bis ponitur ante concluſionem. Aſſumptio vulgo *minor propoſitio* dicitur, vel quia minorem vim obtinet, ex propoſitione videlicet deductam; vel quia minor terminus, i. e. antecedens quæſtionis, in ea ſæpe diſponi ſoleat, non ſemper, ut infra intelligemus.

*Syllogiſmi autem pars conſequens eſt, qua complectitur partes quæſtionis, eámque concludit. Unde complexio* & *concluſio* dicitur.

Hinc ſequitur, concluſionem & verbis & terminorum ordine, eandem planè eſſe cum propoſita quæſtione oportere; alioqui ſyllogiſmi fidem claudicare, & quaſi depoſitum non reddere. Secundo hinc intelligitur illa regula, *tertium argumentum ſive medius terminus nunquam ingreditur concluſionem.* Ratio eſt, quia medium non eſt id quòd concluditur, neque de quo quicquam; ſed id, quo adhibito, quæſtio concluditur, vel duo ejus termini inter ſe conſentire aut diſſentire judicantur. Medius itaque terminus aut ulla pars ejus in concluſione ſi ſit, ſyllogiſmum vitioſum facit; id facillime deprehenditur, ſi non ſolum quæſtio propoſita, ſed præterea aliquid quod bis erat in præmiſſis repetitum, concluſionem intrat.

Cùm autem in omni ſyllogiſmo, ut ex ejus definitione conſtat, quæſtio cum argumento ita diſponatur, ut poſito antecedente, i. e. conceſſis præmiſſis, neceſſariò concludatur: quæ neceſſitas non conſequentis, ſed conſequentiæ, non materiæ, ſed formæ eſt, hinc intelligitur, nullam in ſyllogiſmi forma differentiam eſſe contingentis & neceſſarii, ſed ſyllogiſmum omnem neceſſario concludere, teſte etiam *Ariſtot.* Prior. 1. 33. eámque neceſſitatem ex legitima diſpoſitione quæſtionis cum tertio argumento, non ex neceſſaria partium in antecedente diſpoſitarum veritate pendere. Unde & illi redarguuntur, qui vulgò dividunt ſyllogiſmum in dialecticum & apodicticum, probabilem ſcilicet & demonſtrativum, ſive neceſſarium, cùm & illa diſtinctio axiomatum ſit, & ſyllogiſmi conſequentia tam in contingenti, immo in falſo neceſſaria ſit, quàm in vero & neceſſario; immo ex falſis præmiſſis concluſio nunc vera nunc falſa neceſſariò ſequatur: ut, *omnis leo eſt quadrupes: Socrates eſt leo; ergo Socrates eſt quadrupes.* In quo ſimile quiddam habet ſyllogiſmus axiomati connexo, & fortaſſe originem ab eo ducit: nam ut connexum neceſſarium eſſe poteſt ex falſis partibus, modò ipſa connexio ſit vera; ut, *ſi leo eſt quadrupes, & Socrates leo, Socrates neceſſario eſt quadrupes*; ſic ſyllogiſmus neceſſariò concludit ex veris quidem partibus nil niſi verum, ex falſis & falſum & verum, modò ipſa diſpoſitio ſit legitima.

Quòd autem *Ariſtotelici* ſyllogiſmum dividunt in verum & falſum ſive apparentem; verum, cujus materia vera eſt; in dialecticum ſive probabilem, cujus materia contingens eſt; & apodicticum ſive demonſtrativum ac neceſſarium, eúmque vel perfectum, quæ vocatur διότι ſive à priori, quo accidens de ſubjecto per cauſam vel efficientem vel finalem poſitam quidem affirmatur, remotam verò negatur; & in imperfectum quæ vocatur τοῦ ὅτι ſive à poſteriori, quo accidens cideus de ſubjecto per effectum probatur; hæc quidem diviſio, qualiſcunque eſt, cùm axiomatis propria ſit, & vel ad formam ſyllogiſmi ut in dialectico & apodictico, vel omninò ad artem, ut in falſo ſive ſophiſtico, nihil pertineat, melius rejicitur.

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## *APPENDIX de Parologiſmis qui hac generali doctrina ſyllogiſmi redarguuntur.*

ATque hæc ſyllogiſmi doctrina generalis fuit. Et rectum quidem index eſt ſui & obliqui, & veritatis doctrina rectè tradita, errorem omnem ipſa per ſe indicat atque etiam redarguit. Verùm cùm non ſit ea cujuſque hominis perſpicacia aut ingenii felicitas, ut vel omnes technas adverſarii animadvertere ex ipſis regulis, vel omnes artis regulas memoria tenere ſemper queat, alienum non erit de præcipuis captionibus quæ committere in hanc generalem ſyllogiſmi doctrinam ſolent, ſeorſim hîc aliquid monere.

Cùm itaque ſyllogiſmi doctrina generali doceamur, tria duntaxat argumenta ſive tres terminos in ſyllogiſmo diſponi oportere, hinc facilè perſpicuum eſt, peccare omnem ſyllogiſmum in hanc doctrinam generalem, in quo termini vel plures ternis diſponantur, vel pauciores: termini autem non tam ſunt verba, quàm verborum ſenſus & ſignificationes.

Peccatur autem terminis pluribus, vel apertius vel tectius. Apertius (ut puerilia de accentu, figurâ dictionis, plurium, quæ dicitur interrogationum, & ſimilia omittam) cùm tres termini diſtinctè numerantur in propoſitione: ut, *qui eſt bonus & dialecticus, is eſt bonus dialecticus*; *Cleanthes eſt bonus & dialecticus*; *ergo, eſt bonus dialecticus.* Hæc fallacia *compoſitionis* dicitur; quia diviſa male componit. Contra; *qui eſt bonus dialecticus, is eſt bonus & dialecticus*; *Cleanthes*, &c. Hæc fallacia eſt *diviſionis*; quia compoſita male dividit; vel quia compoſita proponit, diviſa concludit. Idem committitur etiam ſine conjunctione: ut, *bonus citharadus eſt bonus*; *Nero eſt bonus citharadus*; *ergo, bonus. Bonus* duplici ſignificatione cum *citharado* diſponitur, in propoſitione; quatuor ergo termini. Sic etiam cùm non iiſdem verbis aliud planè proponitur, aliud aſſumitur: ut, *dextera Dei eſt ubique*; *humanitas Chriſti ſedet ad dextram Dei*; *ergo, humanitas Chriſti eſt ubique.*

Tectius verò peccatur, vel *homonymia*, vel *amphibolia.*

Homonymia ſive æquivocatio eſt, primò, cum ſimplicis vocis ſeu termini unius, ſignificatio duplex ponitur: ut, *leo eſt beſtia*; *leo eſt Papa*; *ergo, Papa eſt beſtia.* Secundò, cùm argumentum in una parte propriè, in altera tropicè ponitur; vel in una parte pro reipſa, in altera pro artificiali aliqua notione rei. Hujuſmodi ſunt artium vocabula: ut, *potens eſt participium*; *rex eſt potens*; *ergo, rex eſt participium. Animal eſt genus*; *homo eſt animal*; *ergo, homo eſt genus.*

Amphibolia ſive ambiguitas vel in ſyntaxi eſt, vel in ipſa re. In ſyntaxi; ut, *pecunia qua eſt Caſaris, poſſidetur à Caſare*; *hac pecunia eſt Caſaris*; *ergo, poſſidetur à Caſare.* Ambiguitas in ipſa re, quæ & *prava expoſitio* vocatur, fit, cùm affectio rei non eadem aſſumitur quæ proponitur; mutata autem affectione, mutatur argumentum; ut, *quas carnes emiſti, comediſti*; *crudas emiſti*; *ergo, crudas comediſti.* Hic propoſitio & de carnibus & de ſubſtantia carnium loquitur; aſſumptio, de qualitate earum: dicendum ergo erat, *quales carnes emiſti*, &c. Eadem eſt fallacia cum id quod in *abſtracto*, quod aiunt, proponitur, in *concreto* aſſumitur: ut, *candidum eſt diſgregativum viſus: paries eſt candidus*; *ergo, paries eſt diſgregativum viſus.* Etiam cùm in ipſa copula quartus terminus latet: ut, *fortitudo non eſt clementia*; *principis eſt fortitudo*; *ergo, principis non eſt clementia.* Hîc verbum *eſt* in majore *eſſe*, in minore *habere* ſignificat; caſuúmque mutationem rectorum in obliquos inducit; qui quatuor eſſe terminos declarant. *Nullus puer diu vixit*; *Neſtor fuit puer*; *ergo, Neſtor non diu vixit.* Hîc major de eo qui eſt, minor de eo qui fuit puer loquitur; qui duo termini ſunt. Quatuor denique ſunt termini cùm plus eſt in concluſione quàm in præmiſſis.

Pauciores autem termini ſunt ternis, cùm tertium argumentum deeſt. Hoc fit quoties vel idem ſenſu vel æque obſcurum pro argumento ſumitur; (idem enim non eſt tertium; æque obſcurum non eſt argumentum) quæ *petitio principii*, vel, ejus quod erat in principio nominatur; quia poſtulatur ipſa quæſtio ut gratis, i. e. ſine argumento concedatur: ut, *enſis eſt acutus*; *gladius eſt enſis*; *ergo, gladius eſt acutus*. Vel, *quod omnis homo eſt, id ſinguli homines ſunt*; *omnis homo eſt juſtus*; *ergo, ſinguli homines ſunt juſti*. Huc refer jactatum illud, Quæ non amiſiſti habes, cornua non amiſiſti, ergo cornua habes. Habere & amittere privantia ſunt & quidem ſine medio quatenus talia, ergo non amittere & habere ſunt idem, nullus itaque hic eſt medius terminus, ſed perinde ac ſi diceres; Quæ habes, habes, cornua habes, ergo habes. Hujus generis eſt, cùm tertium argumentum non integrum è propoſitione aſſumitur: ut, *omnes apoſtoli ſunt duodecim*; *Petrus & Joannes ſunt apoſtoli*; *ergo, Petrus & Joannes ſunt duodecim*. Hîc *omnes* collectivè ſumptum, pars eſt tertii argumenti, quod totum erat in aſſumptione aſſumendum. Ad hoc ſophiſma referendæ ſunt denique omnes converſiones enuntiationum; quoties rem dubiam non argumento ſive medio termino, ſed converſione ſola probare contendunt: de qua ſuprà monuimus. Atque his ferè modis in formam ſyllogiſmi generalem peccatur.

Materia ſyllogiſmi vitioſa eſt, quoties antecedentis pars vel altera vel utraque eſt falſa: id fit tot modis, quot ſunt argumentorum genera. Quorum cùm veritas tum falſitas quanquam in axiomate judicatur, propterea tamen quòd argumenta ipſa in ſyllogiſmo diſponuntur, qui modi præcipuè nominantur à Dialecticis vel materia ſolo, vel partim materia, partim forma vitioſi, eos hîc breviter attingemus.

Primus eſt materiæ ſolius; dicitúrque *non cauſa ut cauſa*. Cauſæ autem nomen hîc uſurpatur pro quovis argumento, etiam non effecti ut effecti, non ſubjecti ut ſubjecti, & ſic deinceps. Hanc captionem ſingulorum argumentorum definitiones facile refellunt.

Secundus eſt quæ vocatur fallacia *accidentis*, ſive, quod idem eſt, à dicto ſecundum quid ad dictum ſimpliciter: vel contrà, à dicto ſimpliciter ad dictum ſecundum quid; quoties id quod adjuncti eſt, ſubjecto attribuitur; aut contrà quod ſubjecti, adjuncto: ut, *quæ non reſtituenda ſunt domino furioſo, non reſtituenda ſunt domino*; *arma non reſtituenda ſunt domino furioſo*; *ergo, non domino*: vel contra: *quæ reſtituenda ſunt domino, etiam domino furioſo*; *arma domino*; *ergo, domino furioſo*. In his propoſitio ſemper falſa eſt.

Tertius eſt *ignoratio elenchi*; ( *elenchus* autem eſt redargutio quælibet ſive vera ſive falſa ) cùm leges oppoſitionis non obſervantur eidem numero, ſecundum idem, ad idem, & eodem tempore: ut *cæci vident*; *qui carent viſu, ſunt cæci*; *ergo, qui carent viſu, vident*. Propoſitio diſtinguenda eſt; nempe, qui fuerunt cæci, nunc vident. Sic; *is qui non videt, cæcus eſt*; *dormiens non videt*; *eſt ergo cæcus*. Ad idem non eſt: propoſitio enim de potentia, aſſumptio de actu videndi loquitur; vel quatuor ſunt termini; & prava expoſitio dici poteſt. Aliis ignoratio elenchi eſt, cùm vel planè mutatur & torquetur ſtatus controverſiæ, vel concluſio adverſarii non directè opponitur noſtræ theſi ſecundum canones legitimæ oppoſitionis.

Quartus eſt fallacia *conſequentis*, ſive comparatorum; quæ è contrariis quidem ſunt orta, ſed parium collatione tractata, cùm diſputatur contraria eſſe contrariorum conſequentia: quam regulam eſſe fallacem, l. 1. c. 18. copioſe oſtenditur: ut, *quæ eidem æqualia, inter ſe æqualia*; *ergo quæ eidem ſunt inæqualia, inter ſe ſunt inæqualia*. Ut, 2. et 2. ſunt inæquales ad 5; ergo ſunt inter ſe inæquales. Duo latera quadrati ſymmetra non ſunt diagono; ergo non ſunt inter ſe.

## CAP. X.

### *De Syllogiſmo ſimplici contracto.*

*SYllogiſmus eſt ſimplex aut compoſitus.*

*Simplex, ubi pars conſequens quæſtionis diſponitur in propoſitione, pars antecedens in aſſumptione.*

Ut ſyllogiſmi forma generalis erat diſpoſitio quæſtionis cum argumento, ita ſpecialis quæque diſpoſitio quæſtionis cum argumento cujuſque ſpeciei forma eſt. Ex. gr. *homo eſt animal: Socrates eſt homo*; *ergo Socrates eſt animal*. Hinc facile perſpicitur, ſi quæſtionis terminus major non diſponatur in propoſitione majore, minor in minore, ſyllogiſmum non eſſe legitimum. Quòd ſi aliquando uſu venit, ut antecedens quæſtionis in propoſitione & conſequens in aſſumptione diſponi videatur, intelligere debemus ſyllogiſmi partes inverti: ut, *Socrates eſt homo: homo eſt animal; ergo Socrates aſt animal.*

Sequitur jam ſyllogiſmi ſimplicis diſtinctio in adjunctos modos, qui ex partium, i. e. axiomatum affectione oriuntur.

*Syllogiſmus ſimplex eſt affirmatus è partib. omnib. affirmatis. Negatus ex negata antecedentis parte altera cum complexione.* Non ex omnib. negatis, ut affirmatus ex omnibus affirmatis; niſi enim argumentum tertium cum altera parte quæſtionis conſentiat, nihil probat.

Ut autem ſyllogiſmorum tota ratio intelligatur (quod hoc loco fieri commodiſſimè poſſe arbitror) ſciendum eſt eam duab. præcipuè legibus fundari; altera parium, altera generis ex loco petita. Ex parium loco; *quæ conveniunt in uno aliquo tertio, conveniunt inter ſe; & contrà, quæ non in uno tertio non inter ſe.* Ex loco generis; *quod generi generaliter attribuitur, id omnib. etiam attribuitur ſpecibus quæ ſub eo genere continentur.* Hæc regula vocatur in ſcholis, *dictum de omni & nullo.* Illa à Geometris primum ſenſu præeunte facilius inventa eſt; & præcipitur *Ariſtot.* 1. Prior. c. 1. Ut enim illic norma, *ſi duab. lineis æque conveniat, eas lineas demonſtrat convenire inter ſe ſive eſſe æquales*; eodem planè modo medius terminus ſi duob. concluſionis terminis conveniat, velut norma demonſtrat, convenire duos illos inter ſe, & contrà. Itaque ſi quæſtio affirmanda eſt, quærendum eſt per omnes inventiones locos argumentum quod utrique parti quæſtionis conveniat: ſi neganda eſt, quærendum quod uni parti conveniat, ab altera diſſentiat; nam ſi ab utraque parte diſſentit, tertium argumentum eſſe non poterit, nihil n. probabit. Ex. gr. quæritur *an Socrates ſit animal?* Si affirmanda eſt hæc quæſtio, ad illa duo argumenta quæ in quæſtione ſunt, *Socrates* & *animal*, quærendum aliquod tertium argumentum eſt, quod cum utraque parte quæſtionis conſentiat. Ejuſmodi autem eſt *homo*: nam *homo* convenit cum *animali*, ut ſpecies cum ſuo genere; cum *Socrate*, ut genus cum ſua ſpecie; ergo *Socrates* & *animal* conveniunt inter ſe; adeóque *Socrates eſt animal.* Sin neganda eſt quæſtio, ut, *Socrates non eſt beſtia*, quærendum eſt argumentum tertium, quod ab altera tantùm parte diſſentiat. Hujuſmodi autem eſt *homo: homo* n. non eſt *beſtia*, at *Socrates* eſt *homo*; *ergo Socrates non eſt beſtia.* Sin medius cum neutro quæſtionis termino conveniat, neutrius norma eſſe poteſt; neque oſtendit, inter ſe conveniant, nécne; neque *de omni* dicit neque *de nullo*; adeoque nec probat quicquam nec refellit. Unde illa regula; *ex utraque præmiſſa negata nihil concluditur*: *Ariſtot.* 1. prior. c. 24. ut, *nullus lapis eſt animal; nullus homo eſt lapis, nullus igitur homo eſt animal.* Excipitur tamen ab hac regula, ſi medius terminus ſit negatus, vel duplex negatio ſit in majore: ut, *quod non ſentit, non eſt animal: planta non ſentit; ergo planta non eſt animal.* Hìc enim major, quæ videtur eſſe negata, æquipollet affirmatæ; eadémque eſt acſi diceret, *omne quod ſentit eſt animal:* negationéſque iſtæ topicæ potius & infinitæ, quàm axiomaticæ ſunt, partiumque negationis non totius axiomatis, hoc potius modo enuntiandi, *quod eſt non ſentiens, eſt non animal:* & hoc affirmatum planè axioma eſt. Sed hac de re plura dicemus infra cap. 12. ad ſecundam ſpeciem explicati. Cur autem complexio, negata antecedentis parte altera, negata quoque eſſe debet, ratio eſt, trita illa regula, *concluſio ſequitur partem debiliorem*: negatúmque debilius eſt affirmato, particulare generali, contingens neceſſario. Regulæ autem ratio eſt, quia concluſio eſt præmiſſarum quaſi effectum: nullum autem effectum eſt toto genere dignius aut fortius ſua cauſa. Fallit ergo hic paralogiſmus: *qui non differt à bruto differt à Sophroniſci filio: Socrates non differt à Sophroniſci filio; ergo non à bruto.* Hæc concluſio non ſequitur, uti debuit, aſſumptionem negatam, ſed propoſitionem affirmatam: & enim *non differt à bruto* non propoſitionis totius, ſed antecedentis duntaxat ejus eſt negatio: idémque valet, acſi affirmatum ſic eſſet; *qui idem eſt cum bruto.* Sequitur autem concluſio ſive conſequens partem antecedentis negatam non affirmatam, quia ſi partes concluſionis non conſentiunt in argumento tertio, non conſentiunt inter ſe: ſequitur partem ſpecialem, non generalem, quia genus concludit ſpeciem, non ſpecies genus; juxta illud ſuperius dictum *de omni & nullo.*

*Syllogiſmus ſimplex (nimirum qui ex ſimplicibus axiomatis conſtat) eſt vel generalis, vel ſpecialis, vel proprius.*

*Generalis è propoſitione & aſſumptione generalibus.*

Non ex generali etiam concluſione, ut patebit infra.

*Specialis eſt ex altera tantum generali.*

Hic enim regula firmiſſima quoque eſt, *ex utraque præmiſſa particulari nihil concluditur.* Exigit enim dictum *de omni & nullo* partem antecedentis unam ſaltem generalem: nec non in duabus particularibus quatuor ſunt termini: cùm enim individua, quæ vocant, *vaga*, particulares propoſitiones faciunt, fit ut de alio ſubjecto major, de alio minor ferè loquatur: ut, *quoddam animal eſt homo: quoddam animal eſt brutum; ergo quoddam brutum eſt homo. Quidam ſunt divites: quidam ſunt docti; ergo quidam docti ſunt divites.*

*Proprius eſt ex utraque propria.*

Cur autem ex utraque propria cùm non ex utraque particulari, quia nempe hæc certa ſunt & de eodem dicta, illa vaga, *ut ſuprà.*

Hinc liquet, cur ut axioma, ita ſyllogiſmus ſpecialis in particularem & proprium dividi non potuerit, cùm ſyllogiſmus proprius non ſit ſpecies ſyllogiſmi ſpecialis. Quare autem partes omnes non ſint propriæ, i. e. axiomata propria, infra etiam apparebit. Et ſyllogiſmus quidem proprius, etſi ab *Ariſtotele* neglectus, ab aliis rejectus ſit, uſum tamen frequentiſſimum habet.

*Simplex ſyllogiſmus eſt contractus partibus, vel explicatus.*

*Ariſtoteles* in tres figuras dividit ſyllogiſmum; primam, ſecundam, & tertiam. Verùm hanc *Rami* dichotomiam eſſe commodiorem & naturæ ordini aptius reſpondere, res ipſa demonſtrabit.

*Contractus ſyllogiſmus eſt, cùm exemplum pro argumento ita ſubjicitur particulari quæſtioni, ut utramque ejus partem antecedere & aſſumptione affirmatum eſſe intelligatur.*

Exempli gratia: *quædam confidentia eſt virtus, ut conſtantia. Quædam confidentia non eſt virtus, ut audacia.*

In his, ut cernimus, primò quæſtio particularis duntaxat proponitur; generale enim, ut inquit *Ariſtot.* pr. 1. 6. & 2. 7. in hac ſpecie, quæ tertia nimirum *Ariſt.* figura eſt, concludere non licet: addo etiam, neque proprium; quæ ratio eſt, cur ſyllogiſmus generalis non ex omnibus generalibus & proprium non ex omnibus propriis definitur, cùm in hac ſpecie conſequens ſive concluſio debeat ſemper eſſe particularis, etiamſi utraque pars antecedentis generalis aut propria fuerit: unde ſequitur, particulares duntaxat quæſtiones in hac ſpecie concludi. Deinde exemplum ſpeciale pro argumento ſubjicitur ſive ſubjungitur, ut *conſtantia.*

Hujus autem ſyllogiſmi diſpoſitio ſpecialis hæc eſſe intelligitur, ſi contractum explicamus (tametſi nunquam ferè niſi contractus in uſu occurrit) ut exemplum ſive argumentum tertium, primò utramque partem quæſtionis in præmiſſis, quod aiunt, antecedat, ſive præmiſſæ utriuſque ſubjectum ſit.

*Hîc autem argumentum ſive exemplum utramque partem quæſtionis antecedere intelligitur*, quia quæſtionis pars utraque argumento ſive exemplo attribuitur, i. e. de eo vel affirmatur vel negatur; perinde quaſi explicatè diceretur, *conſtantiam eſſe virtutem, & eſſe confidentiam; ergo quandam confidentiam eſſe virtutem.* Item, *audaciam non eſſe virtutem, & tamen eſſe confidentiam; ideóque quandam confidentiam non eſſe virtutem.* Exemplum ergo ſive argumentum tertium in contracto, etſi quæſtioni ſubjicitur, tamen ſi contractum explicas, & propoſitionis & aſſumptionis antecedens ſive ſubjectum eſſe reperitur. Eſt autem contractus enthymematis quædam ſpecies, quæ, cùm explicatur, in peculiarem quandam ſyllogiſmi formam reſolvitur, ideóque erat ſpecialiter docenda. Secundò, poſtulat hujus ſyllogiſmi diſpoſitio, ut aſſumptio ſemper affirmetur. Cùm enim tertium argumentum ſpeciale exemplum ſit, adeóque ſpecies antecedentis ſive minoris termini quæſtionis qui in aſſumptione ſemper diſponitur, atque ita antecedens ſit tertii argumenti genus; neceſſe eſt, genus de ſpecie ſemper affirmari.

*Atque iſta expoſitio quæſtionis per exemplum quod ſubjicitur, principium ſyllogiſmi partibus explicati ab Ariſtot.* 1. pr. 6. &c. *efficitur, tanquam per ſe pleno ſyllogiſmi judicio clarior & illuſtrior.*

Prior ergo eſt ordine ſyllogiſmus contractus explicato, cùm quia clarior, tum quia ſimplicior: eſt autem ita clarus, ut mens eum, ſicuti eſt contractus, antè percipiat, quàm partibus explicari poſſit; ideóque uſus differendi contracta hac forma contentus, formam explicatam rariſſime ſolet adhibere. Claritas autem ejus eximia vel hinc perſpicitur; quòd cùm duo duntaxat hujus ſpeciei ſint ſophiſmata, eorum inanitatem contracta hujus ſyllogiſmi forma facilius detegit quàm explicata, *ut infra oſtendetur.*

Ad tollendum itaque dubitationem, non hic ſupplendæ ſyllogiſmi partes, ut in enthymemate, ſed contrahendæ; contractum quippe explicato hîc eſt explicatius,

catius, & ab judicio ſyllogiſmi ad axiomatis clarius judicium hîc eſt quaſi provocandum & regrediendum.

Quod ad modos attinet hujus ſpeciei, ſi contractam tantummodo formam ſpectamus, pluribus non eſt opus quàm duobus; uno affirmato, altero negato: quia non refert, utrum exemplum ſubalterna ſit ſpecies an ſpecialiſſima. Sin explicatam hanc ſpeciem ſpectamus, plures habet modos quàm ſpecies reliquæ: quatuor autem ſunt affirmati, totidem negati; quorum duo ſunt generales quatuor ſpeciales, duo proprii: quatuor autem ſunt in hac ſpecie ſpeciales modi, cùm in reliquis bini tantum ſint; quia in hac ſpecie propoſitio poteſt eſſe vel generalis vel particularis, in reliquis verò nunquam particularis eſt. Exempla hæc ſunt.

Primus modus eſt affirmatus generalis: ut, *conſtantia eſt virtus: conſtantia eſt confidentia; ergo quædam confidentia eſt virtus.*

Secundus eſt negatus generalis: ut, *audacia non eſt virtus: audacia eſt confidentia; ergo quædam confidentia non eſt virtus.*

Affirmatus ſpecialis duplex eſt; tertius & quartus. Tertius, cujus propoſitio eſt particularis: ut, *quidam ſapiens eſt dives: omnis ſapiens eſt laudabilis; ergo quidam laudabilis eſt dives.*

Quartus, cujus propoſitio eſt generalis: ut, *omnis ſapiens eſt laudabilis, quidam ſapiens eſt pauper; ergo quidam pauper eſt laudabilis.*

Negatus item ſpecialis eſt duplex; quintus & ſextus. Quintus, cujus propoſitio eſt particularis: ut, *quidam ſtultus non eſt fortunatus: omnis ſtultus eſt contemptus; ergo quidam contemptus non eſt fortunatus.*

Sextus, cujus propoſitio eſt generalis: ut, *ſtultus non eſt beatus: quidam ſtultus eſt fortunatus; ergo quidam fortunatus non eſt beatus.*

Reliqui duo proprii ſunt, cùm exemplum eſt ſpecies ſpecialiſſima ſive individuum. Affirmatus eſt, *Socrates eſt Philoſophus: Socrates eſt homo; ergo quidam homo eſt Philoſophus.* Negatus eſt, *Therſites non eſt Philoſophus: Therſites eſt homo; ergo quidam homo non eſt Philoſophus.*

Contracti ſyllogiſmi duo vitia ſive ſophiſmata ſunt, quæ definitione præcaventur. Unum, ſi quæſtio ſive concluſio particularis non ſit: ut, *omnis homo eſt rationalis: omnis homo eſt animal; ergo omne animal eſt rationale,* ratio eſt, quia id quod non generaliter attribuitur in aſſumptione (non enim omne animal eſt homo) non poteſt eſſe generale ſubjectum concluſionis. Alterum eſt, cùm aſſumptio eſt negata: ut, *homo eſt animal: homo non eſt beſtia; ergo beſtia non eſt animal.* Quæ duo ſophiſmata in contracta hujus ſyllogiſmi forma, facilius, ut ſuprà dixi, deteguntur, & primo ſtatim intuitu ridentur: ut, *omne animal eſt rationale, ut homo: quædam beſtia non eſt animal, ut homo.*

## CAP. XI.

### *De Prima ſpecie ſyllogiſmi ſimplicis explicati.*

SYllogiſmus explicatus præter ipſum nomen aliam definitionem non deſiderat. Dicitur *explicatus*, non quod ſemper omnibus occurrat partibus explicatus, ſic enim vix milleſimus quiſque ſyllogiſmus occurrit, ſed quod partes non modo in forma integra, verùm etiam in enthymemate ſemper diſtinctas habet.

*In ſyllogiſmo explicato propoſitio eſt generalis aut propria; & concluſio ſimilis antecedenti aut parti debiliori.*

*Similis*, nempe & qualitate & quantitate: *antecedenti*, utrique ſcilicet ejus parti, propoſitioni & aſſumptioni, ſi ipſi inter ſe ſimiles ſunt ſive affirmatæ ſive generales ſive propriæ; ſin diſſimiles, parti debiliori, ut ſuprà.

*Syllogiſmi explicati ſpecies duæ ſunt. Prima ubi argumentum ſemper ſequitur, negatum in altera parte.*

Hæc prima ſpecies explicati, *figura ſecunda* ab *Ariſtotele* dicitur. Prior autem hæc ſpecies efficitur, quia diſpoſitio ejus eſt ſimplicior, ut ex altera ſpecie collata comperiemus. Sequitur autem ſemper argumentum partem utramque quæſtionis, conſequentem in propoſitione, antecedentem in aſſumptione: unde ab *Ariſtot.* pr. 1. 5. *prædicatum de ambabus* dicitur. Negatum autem dicitur argumentum in altera parte, quia pars altera vel propoſitio nempe vel aſſumptio ſemper eſt negata. Unde cùm negata etiam concluſio ſemper neceſſariò ſit, ſequitur hujus ſpeciei modos omnes negatos eſſe, & negatas duntaxat quæſtiones hac ſpecie concludi, quæ omnis in refutationibus eſt poſita.

Modi hujus ſyllogiſmi ſex ſunt; & omnes quidem, ut diximus, negati; duo generales, duo ſpeciales, duo proprii.

Generalis primus, cujus propoſitio negatur: *Turbatus non benè utitur ratione: ſapiens bene utitur ratione; ſapiens igitur non eſt turbatus.* Hoc exemplum in ſua crypſi ſic apud *Ciceronem* eſt 3 *Tuſcul. Quemadmodum oculus conturbatus non eſt probè affectus ad ſuum munus fungendum, & reliqua partes totúmque corpus à ſtatu cùm eſt motum, deeſt officio ſuo ac muneri; ſic conturbatus animus non eſt probè affectus ad exequendum munus ſuum. Munus autem animi eſt ratione uti: & ſapientis animus ita ſemper affectus eſt, ut ratione optimè utatur; nunquam igitur eſt perturbatus.* Crypſis hîc unica redundantia eſt: nam ordo partium rectus eſt, nec ulla pars deeſt: proſyllogiſmus unus eſt propoſitionis; illuſtratur enim propoſitio ſimilitudine plena, cujus redditio eſt ipſius propoſitionis ſententia.

Generalis ſecundus, cujus aſſumptio negatur *res mortalis eſt compoſita: animus non eſt compoſitus; animus igitur non eſt mortalis.* Hîc ſyllogiſmus crypſi involutus eſt apud *Cic.* 1. *Tuſcul.* quo is judicat animum immortalem eſſe. *In animi autem cognitione*, inquit, *dubitare non poſſumus, niſi fortè in phyſicis plumbei ſumus, quin nihil ſit animis admixtum, nihil concretum, nihil coagmentatum, nihil duplex. Quod cùm ita ſit, certè nec ſecerni, nec dividi, nec diſcerpi, nec diſtrahi poteſt; nec interire igitur: eſt enim interitus quaſi diſceſſus & ſecretio ac diremptus earum partium qua ante interitum junctione aliqua tenebantur.* In hoc exemplo partium ordo invertitur: nam poſtremo in loco propoſitionis ſententia ponitur, interitum eſſe ſcilicet rerùm compoſitarum: aſſumptio occurrit prima, *in animi autem cognitione*, &c. Et ornatur ſynonymis: concluſio media eſt atque à cauſa illuſtratur, *ergo nec ſecerni &c. nec interire igitur.*

Specialis primus eſt, cujus propoſitio negatur: *lividus non eſt magnanimus, maximus eſt: Maximus igitur non eſt lividus.* Hoc judicio *Ovidius* 3. de *pont. eleg.* 3. concludit.

*Livor, iners vitium, mores non exit in altos;*
*Utque latens ima vipera ſerpit humo.*
*Mens tua ſublimis ſupra genus eminet ipſum.*
*Grandius ingenio nec tibi nomen ineſt.*
*Ergo, alii noceant, miſeris, optentque timeri,*
*Tinctáque mordaci ſpicula felle gerant.*
*At tua ſupplicibus domus eſt aſſueta juvandis;*
*In quorum numero me precor eſſe velis.*

Hujus etiam exempli crypſis redundantia ſola eſt: propoſitio ſuos habet proſyllogiſmos, & livor pro livido ponitur, adjunctum pro ſubjecto; & illuſtratur à contrario abjecto; iſque à ſimili, *vipera:* aſſumptio, i. e. *Maximi* magnanimitas, illuſtratur partim à minori totius generis magnanimitate, partim à notatione nominis ejus, i. e. *Maximi*; cujus parem eſſe animi magnitudinem demonſtrat: concluſio negat *Maximum* eſſe lividum, partim quia diſſimilis ſit lividorum, quos deſcribit ab effectis, *ergo alii noceant* &c. partim, quia ipſe faciat quæ magnanimus conſuevit, qui diſparatus à livido eſt; *at tua ſupplicibus* &c.

Specialis ſecundus eſt, cujus aſſumptio negatur: *Saltator eſt luxurioſus: Murana non eſt luxurioſus; Murana igitur non eſt ſaltator.* Cic. pro Muræn. *Nemo enim ferè ſaltat ſobrius, niſi fortè inſanet: neque in ſolitudine neque in convivio moderato atque honeſto. Intempeſtivi convivii, amœni loci, multarum deliciarum comes eſt extrema ſaltatio. Tu mihi arripis id quod neceſſe eſt omnium vitiorum eſſe poſtremum: relinquis illa quibus remotis, hoc vitium omnino eſſe non poteſt: nullum turpe convivium, non amor, non comeſſatio, non libido, non ſumptus oſtenditur: & cùm ea non reperiantur qua voluptatis nomen habent quæque vitioſa ſunt, in quo ipſam luxuriam reperire non potes, in eo te umbram luxuria reperturum putas?* Hujus etiam ſyllogiſmi partes proſyllogiſmis exornantur. Propoſitionis ſententia his verbis continetur, *intempeſtivi convivii* &c. quam proſyllogiſmus præcedens illuſtrat à contrariis, *nemo ferè ſaltat ſobrius* &c. aſſumptio per partes explicatur, *nullum turpe convivium*, &c. & à minoribus quibuſdam illuſtratur: cujus etiam proſyllogiſmus præcedit, reprehenſio nempe *Catonis*, quòd poſtularet conſequens, non probato antecedente: poſtremo loco ponitur concluſio, quæ negat *Muranam* eſſe ſaltatorem repetendo quædam quæ in aſſumptione præceſſerant; & interrogatione fortius negando.

Hoc judicii modo *Ovidius* I. Triſt. *eleg.* I. tripliciter concludit dum carminum ſuorum excuſationem exponit:

*Carmina proveniunt animo deducta ſereno;*
*Nubila ſunt ſubitis tempora noſtra malis.*
*Carmina ſeceſſum ſcribentis & otia quærunt.*
*Me mare, me venti, me fera jactat hyems.*
*Carminibus metus omnis abeſt; ego perditus enſem*
*Hæſurum jugulo jam puto jamque meo.*
*Hæc quoque quæ facio, judex mirabitur æquus;*
*Scriptáque cum venia qualiacunque leget.*

Tres hîc ſyllogiſmi ſunt qui in unum ſic reduci poſſunt: *Ut quis poſſit carmina bona ſcribere, oportet is lætus ſit, otioſus, ſecurus: ego nec lætus ſum, nec otioſus, nec ſecurus; ergo bona carmina non ſcribo.* Pro aſſumptionibus proſyllogiſmi à diſſentaneis & impedientibus cauſis ponuntur. Deinde concluſio ſequitur, non ipſa quidem ſed ejus conſectarium; mirum eſſe ſi bona ſunt; ſed potius cum venia eſſe legenda, quia non ſunt bona.

Proprius primus eſt, cujus propoſitio negatur: ut, *Ageſilaus non eſt pictus ab Apelle: Alexander eſt pictus ab Apelle; Alexander igitur non eſt Ageſilaus.*

Proprius ſecundus eſt, cujus aſſumptio negatur: ut, *Cæſar oppreſſit patriam: Tullius non oppreſſit patriam; ergo Tullius non eſt Cæſar.*

Sophiſmata hîc duo ſunt; quorum unum utrique explicati ſpeciei commune eſt, alterum primæ ſpeciei proprium. Commune eſt, cùm propoſitio eſt particularis; quæ ex communi explicatorum regula generalis aut propria eſſe debuit.

Sophiſma primæ ſpeciei proprium eſt, cùm argumentum tertium in altera parte antecedentis non negatur, ut definitio primæ ſpeciei præcipit: unde illud vulgò dictum, Ex duabus affirmatis in ſecunda figura, nihil concluditur. Excipiendum tamen eſt, ſi propoſitio fortè axioma reciprocum ſit: ut, *homo eſt animal rationale: Socrates eſt animal rationale; ergo Socrates eſt homo.* Verùm hîc potius inverſio partium propoſitionis intelligenda eſt; *animal rationale eſt homo*: atque ita ad ſequentem ſpeciem ſyllogiſmi referetur.

## CAP. XII.

### *De Secunda ſpecie Syllogiſmi ſimplicis explicati.*

S*Ecunda ſpecies explicata ſyllogiſmi eſt, quando argumentum antecedit in propoſitione, ſequitur affirmatum in aſſumptione.*

Hæc ſpecies ab *Ariſtotele, prima figura* dicitur; ſed naturæ ordine eſt poſtrema. Cùm enim in reliquis ſpeciebus diſpoſitio queſtionis cum argumento tertio ſimplex & uniuſmodi ſit, in hac ſpecie duplex eſt; in propoſitione enim argumentum antecedit quæſtionis conſequentem, utpote ſpecialius; in aſſumptione ſequitur quæſtionis antecedentem, utpote generalius; unde fortè medius terminus in hac ſolùm figura propriè dicitur. Quòd autem propoſitio nunquam particularis, concluſio ſemper antecedenti ſimilis aut parti debiliori eſt, id habet commune cum explicata ſpecie priore; hoc etiam cum contracta, affirmatum eſſe in aſſumptione; niſi in contracta, quæſtionis antecedens ut generalius de argumento; in hac, argumentum de antecedente quæſtionis affirmatur.

Hæc maxime figura fundatur dicto illo *de omni* & *nullo*: antecedens enim ſive ſubjectum propoſitionis continet genus, adeoque eſt ſemper generalis, ſubjectum aſſumptionis continet ſpeciem quæ de illo genere affirmatur. Aſſumptio itaque ſemper eſſe debet affirmata. Ex quo ſequitur, quicquid de genere in propoſitione dicitur, id dè eo quod in aſſumptione ſpecies eſſe illius generis affirmatur, in concluſione rectiſſimè concludi. Quod ſi genus illud ſubjectum ſcil. propoſitionis termino infinito negante, ſeu topicè contradictorio exprimitur, non negata continuò cenſenda erit aſſumptio quamvis eſſe videatur; aſſumit n. tantummodo genus ex propoſitione termino illo topicè duntaxat contradictorio expreſſum, ipſa nihil axiomaticè negat: ut, *quiſquis non credit, damnatur: aliquis Judæus non credit; ergo aliquis Judæus damnatur.* Hîc propoſitionis ſubjectum eſt genus

*nus quiſquis non credit*, *i. e.* omnis non credens ſive infidelis: *Judæus* eſt ex numero ſive ſpecie non credentium, id quod aſſumptio non negat, ſed affirmat æquè acſi ſic diceret, *aliquis Judæus eſt non credens.*

Ex hac autem affirmatione ſequitur, nullum argumentum ab antecedente quæſtionis diſſentaneum, in hac ſecunda ſpecie locum habere. De cætero, hæc ſpecies neque ad particulares quæſtiones, ut contracta, neque ad negatas, ut prior ſpecies explicati, reſtringitur; ſed ad omnia quæſtionum genera concludenda rectè adhibetur.

Reſtant hujus ſpeciei modi; qui quanquam partim affirmati ſunt partim negati, plures tamen non ſunt quàm in altera ſpecie, ubi omnes erant ſolùm negati. Æqualitatis ratio eſt quòd aſſumptionis affirmatio, & ſolius inde propoſitionis negatio negatorum numerum minuit. Modi igitur hujus ſpeciei ſex itidem ſunt; tres affirmati, tres item negati; utrique rurſum ſunt generales ſpeciales & proprii.

Primus eſt affirmatus generalis: ut, *omne juſtum eſt utile; omne honeſtum eſt juſtum, omne igitur honeſtum eſt utile.* Quod *Cic.* 2. *Off.* ita concludit: *quicquid juſtum ſit, id etiam utile eſſe cenſent: item quod honeſtum, idem juſtum: ex quo efficitur, ut quicquid honeſtum ſit, idem ſit utile.* Propoſitionis proſyllogiſmus à teſtimonio Stoicorum primo in loco ponitur, deinde omnes partes ordine ſequuntur. Partes hujus ſyllogiſmi ſunt axiomata relatæ eſſentiæ quæ ſimplicium axiomatum vim habent.

Secundus modus eſt negatus generalis: *Timidus non eſt liber: avarus eſt timidus; avarus itaq; non eſt liber.* Hoc ita concluditur & judicatur ab *Horatio*, epiſt. *l.* 1. 16.

*Quò melior ſervo quò liberior ſit avarus,*
*In triviis fixum, cùm ſe demittit ob aſſem,*
*Non video. Nam qui cupiet, metuet quoque: porro*
*Qui metuens vivit, liber mihi non erit unquam.*

In hoc exemplo duplex eſt crypſis, inverſio partium & proſyllogiſmus. Primo in loco ponitur concluſio, eáque duabus proſyllogiſmis illuſtratur; primò à pari, quod *avarus* non *ſit liberior ſervo*: ſecundò ab effectis, quod *ſe demittit ob aſſem.* Tum ponitur aſſumptio *qui cupiet, metuet quoque.* Propoſitio poſtremo in loco ponitur,

*Qui metuens vivit, liber mihi non erit unquam.*

Sic *Terent.* in *Eunuch.* concludit & judicat: *conſilii expers, conſilio regi non poteſt: amor eſt conſilii expers; conſilio itaque regi non poteſt.* Syllogiſmus his verſibus ſequitur:

*Here, que res in ſe neque conſilium neque modum*
*habet ullum, eam conſilio regere non potes.*
*In amore hac omnia inſunt vitia; injuria,*
*ſuſpiciones, inimicitia, inducia,*
*bellum, pax rurſum: incerta hac ſi tu poſtules*
*ratione certâ facere, nihilo plus agas,*
*quàm ſi des operam, ut cum ratione inſanias.*

In hoc exemplo propoſitio ſuo loco eſt *qua res in ſe* &c. Pro aſſumptione ponitur ejus proſyllogiſmus variorum amoris adjunctorum quæ conſilium impediunt; amor conſilii expers eſt, *quia in amore hac inſunt vitia*, &c. Concluſio ſequitur *incerta hac*, &c. Cujus ſententia comparatione parium comprehenditur, ergo ſi amorem conſilio regere vis, *nihilo plus*, &c.

Tertius modus eſt affirmatus ſpecialis: *Conſules propter virtutem facti, ſtudiosè remp. tueri debent: Cicero eſt propter virtutem factus conſul; Cicero igitur ſtudiosè remp. tueri debet.* Sic orator diligentiam ſuam, Agr. 2. concludit & judicat: *Nam cùm omnium conſulum*, ait, *gravis in repub. cuſtodienda, cura ac diligentia debet eſſe, tum eorum maximè, qui non in incunabulis, ſed in campo ſunt conſules facti. Nulli populo Rom. pro me majores noſtri ſpoſponderunt mihi creditum eſt: à me petere quod debeo, me ipſum appellare debetis. Quemadmodum cùm petebam, nulli me auctores generis mei vobis commendarunt: ſic ſiquid deliquero, nulla ſunt imagines, quæ me à vobis deprecentur. Quare modò ut vita ſuppetat (quanquam ego ſim is qui eam poſſim ab iſtorum ſcelere inſidiiſque defendere) polliceor vobis, Quirites, bona fide, remp. vigilanti homini, non timido, diligenti, non ignavo, commiſiſtis.* Partes hujus ſyllogiſmi proſyllogiſmis ornantur. Propoſitio à minori illuſtratur: cujus ſententia eſt comparationis redditio, diverſis illuſtrata; *nam cùm omnium conſulum gravis*, &c. *tum eorum maximè:* diverſa ſunt, *non in incunabulis*, *ſed in campo.* Aſſumptio ſequitur, *nulli populo Rom.* &c. quæ iiſdem rurſus diverſis illuſtratur, & à ſimili; meis, non majorum meritis; in campo, non in incunabulis: ſimilitudo his verbis continetur; *quemadmodum cùm petebam*, &c. Tandem concluſionis ſententia ſequitur illuſtrata, primùm teſtimonio promiſſi, obligationis vim habentis, *polliceor*, &c. Deinde diverſo & diſparato; *quare modò*, &c. Ergo *Cicero* erit vigilans, non timidus; diligens, non ignavus.

Aliud exemplum: *quod optatum redierit, gratum eſt: Lesbia Catullo optata rediit; grata igitur eſt.*

*Si quicquam cupidóque optantíque obtigit unquam &*
*Inſperanti, hoc gratum eſt animo propriè.*
*Quare hoc eſt gratum, nobis quoque charius auro,*
*Quod te reſtituis, Lesbia, mi cupido.*
*Reſtituis cupido atque inſperanti ipſa refers te*
*Nobis; ô lucem candidiore nota!*
*Quis me uno vivit felicior, aut magis hac quid*
*Optandum vita dicere quis poterit?*

In hoc exemplo propoſitio videtur eſſe compoſita, ſimplex tamen eſt, & ſyllogiſmus ſimplex; quia ſimplex eſt diſpoſitio argumenti cum partibus quæſtionis. Duplex hîc crypſis eſt, inverſio & redundantia. Primo loco eſt propoſitio *ſi quicquam cupido*, &c. i. e. quicquid cupido; *ſi* enim non ſemper connexi nota eſt. Aſſumptio eſt in quarto & quinto verſu, *Lesbia Catullo* optata rediit. Concluſio eſt verſu tertio illuſtrata à minori, *quare hoc eſt gratum & auro charius.* Tribus poſtremis verſibus iteratur ſententia concluſionis, primum ab adjuncto tempore, *ô lucem:* deinde à pari, *nemo me felicior, aut magis hac quid*, &c.

Quartus modus eſt negatus ſpecialis: *deceptor amantis puellæ non eſt laudandus: Demophoon eſt deceptor amantis puellæ; Demophoon igitur non eſt laudandus. Phyllis* apud *Ovidium* ita judicat *Demophoontem* laudandum non eſſe.

*Fallere credentem non eſt operoſa puellam*
*Gloria: ſimplicitas digna favore fuit.*
*Sum decepta tuis & amans & fœmina verbis;*
*Dii faciant laudis ſumma ſit iſta tuæ.*

Propoſitio ſuum obtinet locum cum proſyllogiſmo adjunctæ ſimplicitatis, ut cauſæ cur deceptor non ſit laudandus. Aſſumptio ſequitur, ſum *decepta tuis*, &c. Concluſionis ſententia imprecatione continetur, *dii faciant*, &c.

Quintus modus eſt affirmatus proprius: ut, *Octavius eſt hæres Cæſaris: ego ſum Octavius; ſum igitur hæres Cæſaris.*

Sextus modus eſt negatus proprius: ut, *Antonius non eſt filius Cæſaris: tu es Antonius; non es igitur filius Cæſaris.*

Hujus itaque ſpeciei laus eſt præ cæteris, quòd omnia quæſtionum genera concludat; nempe generales, ſpeciales vel proprias, eáſque vel affirmatas vel negatas; & præſertim generales affirmatas: ob quam potiſſimum cauſam *Ariſtoteles* ſpeciem hanc & reliquis antepoſuit, quod primus ejus modus nempe *affirmatus generalis* ſit maximè ſcientificus, poſt. l. 11. cùm præcepta artium ſolus demonſtret, & reductionem reliquarum ad hanc figuram ſive ſpeciem laborioſè & ſubtiliter excogitavit, verum non ſic præſtat hæc ſpecies cæteris duabus, ut earum idcirco ad hanc reductio cum tanta ut ſit, alphabeti vexatione elaboranda fuerit, quandoquidem & reliquæ ſpecies non imperfectæ ſunt, nec minus neceſſariò concludunt, id enim ſyllogiſmi ſpeciebus commune cunctis eſt, quæſtiones denique illas, quæ ad ipſarum judicium rectè referuntur, interdum aptius concludunt, quàm in hac ſpecie concludi queunt. Meritò itaque *Galenus*, l. 2. de placit. *Hippoc.* & *Plat.* reductionem hanc omnémque ejus ſupellectilem abecedariam tanquam vaniſſimæ ſubtilitatis doctrinam inanem ac futilem poſt *Antipatrum* & *Chryſippum* explodit. Et *Keckermannus* ipſe, in *P. Ramum* ferè iniquior, reductionem tamen illam quam vocant *per impoſſibile*, ad eos duntaxat refutandos inventam, homines ſanè abſurdos & raròadmodum repertos, qui utraque præmiſſa conceſſa, concluſionem negent, fatetur ſe potius propter conſuetudinem ſcholarum, quàm propter magnum ejus uſum retinuiſſe. At conſuetudo certè gnaviter nugandi ejicienda è ſcholis potius, quàm retinenda erat.

Tres hîc paralogiſmi refellendi ſunt; quorum duo ſunt utrique ſpeciei explicatæ communes, propoſitio nimirum particularis, & concluſio partis non debilioris: utriuſque exemplum hoc eſſe poteſt: *quoddam animal eſt rationale: beſtia eſt animal; ergo beſtia eſt rationalis.* Et præterea totum medium, nempe *quoddam animal*, non aſſumitur.

Proprius in hac ſpecie paralogiſmus eſt argumenti negatio in aſſumptione: ut, *omnis homo eſt animal: equus non eſt homo; ergo equus non eſt animal.*

Hîc etiam *ſolus* & *unicus* pro negandi particulis habendi ſunt; paritérque reddunt aſſumptionem captioſam: ut, *quicquid eſt in mea domo, eſt in oppido: unicus fons eſt in mea domo; ergo unicus fons eſt in oppido.* Sic, *quicquid eſt riſibile, eſt animal: ſolus homo eſt riſibilis; ergo ſolus homo eſt animal.* Tam enim hæ particulæ quàm negatio in minore, oſtendunt non reciprocum eſſe majorem; adeóque concluſionem ex majore per minorem, vel generale ex proprio non ſequi.

Expendenda porrò hîc definitionis verba ſunt; quæ non tam aſſumptionem ipſam quàm argumentum in aſſumptione affirmatum ſignificant. Cùm enim propoſitionis antecedens (quod tertium argumentum eſt) negatione infinita topica duntaxat exprimatur, aſſumptionis conſequens (quod etiam tertium argumentum eſt) eandem negationem retinere debet; alioqui non ſequeretur argumentum affirmatum in aſſumptione, ſed contradictione ſublatum. Negatio autem hæc non dicenda eſt vel aſſumptionis vel argumenti negatio, ſed argumenti infiniti affirmatio: tum enim demum negatur in aſſumptione argumentum, cùm illius negatio propoſitionis affirmationi opponitur. Exempli gratia: *qui non eſt dives, contemnitur: Poſthumus non eſt dives; ergo Poſthumus contemnitur.* Aſſumptionem hîc non negari probat affirmatio concluſionis: ſed perinde eſt acſi hoc modo argumentaretur: *omnis homo qui non eſt dives, contemnitur: Poſthumus eſt homo qui non eſt dives; ergo Poſthumus contemnitur.* Vel hoc modo: *omnis non dives contemnitur: Poſthumus eſt non dives; ergo contemnitur.* Sed hæc ex iis etiam quæ ſuprà ad definitionem ipſam hujus ſpeciei diximus, puto non eſſe obſcura.

Præterea in quibuſdam exemplis, quorum propoſitio eſt reciproca, videtur interdum ſyllogiſmus iſte habere aſſumptionem negatam; cùm dicendum ſit potius, partes propoſitionis inverti? quæ ſi in ordinem revocentur, ſyllogiſmus erit in prima ſpecie explicati: ut, *Joan.* 8. 47. *Qui ex Deo eſt, verba Dei audit: vos ex Deo non eſtis; ergo verba Dei non auditis.* Propoſitio invertenda eſt: *qui verba Dei audit, is ex Deo eſt: vos non eſtis ex Deo; ergo verba Dei non auditis.*

## CAP. XIII.

### *De Syllogiſmo connexo primo.*

*Adhuc ſimplex ſyllogiſmus fuit.*

*Syllogiſmus compoſitus eſt ſyllogiſmus ubi tota quæſtio eſt pars altera propoſitionis affirmata & compoſita; argumentum eſt pars reliqua.*

Negat *Ariſtoteles* ullam eſſe ſyllogiſmi ſpeciem præter tres figuras; & tamen ipſe ſæpe utitur compoſito, qui ad nullam ex tribus figuris referri poteſt: Verùm uſus, optimus magiſter docet, ſæpius in communi hominum ſermone ac diſputationibus, compoſitos adhiberi ſyllogiſmos, quàm ſimplices: ut qui multas quæſtiones, multa argumenta commodè ſatis diſponant, quæ ſyllogiſmi ſimplices reſpuunt. *Theophraſtus* etiam & *Eudemus*, *Ariſtotelis* diſcipuli, quin etiam *Stoici*, & poſt eos *Cicero* & *Boëthius*, uſum præceptorem ſecuti, compoſitos non omiſerunt. Syllogiſmus autem compoſitus dicitur non tam quod ex compoſitis axiomatis, nam & ſimplex poteſt ex compoſitis, nimirum relatis conſtare, ſed à compoſita diſpoſitione quæſtionis totius cum tertio argumento in propoſitione; unde aſſumptio tota etiam aſſumitur; & concluſio non partim ex propoſitione partim ex aſſumptione, ſed tota ex propoſitione deducitur: propoſitio enim cùm ſit compoſita, duas reliquas ſyllogiſmi partes (quæ axiomata ſimplicia ſunt ) conjunctionis vinculo conjunctas complectitur: pars illa efficit aſſumptionem quæ argumentum continet, altera concluſionem. Propoſitio autem debet eſſe affirmata, quia negata ſi eſſet, compoſita eſſe deſineret, ipſa enim compoſitio negatione diſſolveretur. Propoſitionem autem negatam efficit, ut de axiomate compoſito ſuprà dictum eſt, non partium ſed conjunctionis negatio: ut, *ſi non eſt animal, non eſt homo*; hæc propoſitio ex omnibus etiam partibus negatis affirmata eſt: rectè igitur inde aſſumitur atque concluditur, *at non eſt animal, ergo neque homo.* Sin hoc modo dicerem, *non ſi non eſt animal, idcirco non eſt homo*, ex hac negata propoſitione nihil omnino deduci aut concludi poſſet. In ſyllogiſmis itaque compoſitis ex ipſa conjunctionis vi deducuntur aſſumptio & concluſio. Ex duobus enim quæ propoſitione conjunguntur, aut unum aſſumitur ut alterum concludatur, aut unum tollitur ut alterum tollatur.

*Tollere autem in ſyllogiſmo compoſito, non eſt negare, ſed ſpecialem contradictionem ponere.*

Specialis autem contradictio, ut in axiomate ſimplici jam diximus, particularis eſt aut propria. Tollere igitur propoſitionis partem aliquam in aſſumptione aut concluſione, eſt ejus contradictionem particularem aut propriam ponere. Particulari autem generaliter contradici, generali particulariter, ibidem etiam docemur. Exemplis rem planam ſuo quamque loco faciemus.

Sequitur nunc compoſiti ſyllogiſmi diſtributio: cujus genera ex propoſitionum compoſitione oriuntur: propoſitiones axiomata compoſita ſemper ſunt: ex quatuor autem axiomatum compoſitorum generibus copulatum ſi affirmatum ſit, non habet locum in compoſito ſyllogiſmo; ſi negatum, æquipollet interdum disjuncto: diſcretum ſyllogiſmi expers eſt, quia diverſa ex quibus conſtat, nec planè conſentiunt, & tamen ita leviter diſſentiunt, ut uno poſito vel remoto, non tamen ſequatur alterum poni vel removeri; aut vim habet connexi.

*Syllogiſmus itaque compoſitus eſt connexus aut disjunctus.*

*Syllogiſmus connexus eſt ſyllogiſmus compoſitus propoſitionis connexæ.* Vel cujus propoſitio eſt axioma connexum.

Cùm autem axiomati connexo affine ſit relatum temporis, ut ibidem oſtendimus, etiam ſyllogiſmi connexi propoſitio poterit relata eſſe temporis: nam quantitatis, qualitatis, loci propoſitiones relatæ in ſimplicibus ſyllogiſmis locum habent; quia in iis propoſitionibus quæſtionis duntaxat conſequens cum argumento diſponitur. Relatum denique conſequentiæ, de quo ſupra cap. 6. ſyllogiſmus idoneus non eſt.

*Syllogiſmus connexus eſt duorum modorum.*

*Primus modus ſyllogiſmi connexi eſt, qui aſſumit antecedens & conſequens concludit.*

Quo modo *Cicero* judicat & concludit l. 2. de divinatione: *ſi dii ſunt, divinatio eſt: ſunt autem dii; divinatio eſt igitur.*

Aliud ex 3. Offic. *Atque ſi etiam hoc natura præſcribit, ut homo homini, quicunque ſit, ob eam ipſam cauſam, quòd is homo ſit, conſultum velit, neceſſe eſt ſecundum eandem naturam, omnium utilitatem eſſe communem. Quod ſi ita eſt, una continemur omnes & eadem lege naturæ. Idque ipſum ſi ita eſt, certè violare alterum lege naturæ prohibemur. Verum autem primum; verum igitur & extremum*

Propoſitio hujus ſyllogiſmi eſt ſorites ( de quo infrà ) trium graduum, *ſi hoc natura præſcribit, ut*, &c.

*Frequenter hîc non aſſumitur idem ſed majus.*

Ut 1 *Catil. Si te parentes odiſſent, diſcederes: nunc patria te odit ( quæ communis eſt omnium noſtrum parens ) multo magis ergo diſcedes.* Sed majus illud facile contineri in propoſitione poterit hoc modo; ſi propter odium parentum diſcederes, multo magis propter odium patriæ. *At illud; ergo hoc multo magis.*

Simili ratione concluditur etiam majus vel minus; ut *Cic.* pro *Quint. Etſi vadimonium deſeruiſſet, non debuiſſes tamen ad extrema jura deſcendere:* at non deſeruit; multò minus ergo debuiſti, vel multò magis non debuiſti.

*Concludendi modus*, ut ſupradiximus, *hîc idem eſt quando propoſitio eſt relata temporis.*

Ut, *cùm Paris Oenonem deſeret, Xanthus recurrit; Paris Oenonem deſeret; Xanthus ergo recurrit.*

Sed tamen relata temporis ut & reliqua axiomata compoſita, id quod ſupra monuimus, ad ſyllogiſmum ſimplicem pertinebunt quoties non tota quæſtio in propoſitione diſponitur: quod quidem ſemper fit, cùm de certo & definito tempore quæſtio eſt: ut ſi quæratur an hoc tempore ſit æſtas, hujuſmodi erit ſyllogiſmus: *cùm ſol eſt in cancro, æſtas eſt: at hoc tempore ſol eſt in cancro; ergo hoc tempore æſtas eſt.*

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## C A P. XIV.

### *De Syllogiſmo connexo ſecundo.*

SEcundus modus connexi tollit conſequens, ut tollat antecedens.* Hæc enim vis connexi axiomatis eſt, ſi conſequens non ſit, nec eſſe antecedens. Sic *Cicero* 4. de fin. *docent nos*, inquit, *Dialectici*, &c. *Si illud, hoc: non autem hoc; igitur ne illud quidem.*

Sequuntur exempla: *ſi ulli rei ſapiens aſſentietur unquam, aliquando etiam opinabitur: nunquam autem opinabitur; nulli igitur rei aſſentietur.* Hîc conſequens contradictione ſpeciali in aſſumptione tollitur, *aliquando, nunquam*; concluſio etiam antecedenti ſpecialiter contradicit; *ulli rei, nulli rei.*

Eodem ſyllogiſmo *Ovid.* 2. de *Triſt.* ſtultitiam ſuam judicat:

*Si ſaperem doctas odiſſem jure ſorores,*
*Numina cultori pernicioſa ſuo.*
*At nunc (tanta meo comes eſt inſania morbo)*
*Saxa memor refero rurſus ad icta pedem.*

Propoſitio eſt, *ſi ſaperem, Muſas odiſſem*: cujus proſyllogiſmus eſt ab adjuncta pernicie. Aſſumptio, at non odi; quæ à ſimili exprimitur, *at nunc ſaxa memor*, &c. ergo non ſapio: cujus concluſionis ſententia in parentheſi eſt; *tanta meo*, &c. Atque in hoc exemplo eſt contradictio propria.

*Hæ duæ ſyllogiſmi ſpecies ſunt omnium uſitatiſſimæ.*

Non enim ea ſolùm argumenta quæ in ſimplicibus & disjunctis ſyllogiſmis diſponi non poſſunt, in connexis facile diſponuntur, ſed etiam ex iis quæ poſſunt aliis formis concludi, multa in his ſpeciebus facilius & promptius concluduntur: immo nullum omnino argumentum, quod in ſyllogiſmum uſum habet, has connexi ſpecies reſpuit.

Præter hos duos connexi ſyllogiſmi modos nonnulli duos alios adjiciunt; quorúm prior tollit antecedens ut tollat conſequens, poſterior aſſumit conſequens ut concludat antecedens. In quos modos etſi communis fortè ſermo, boni etiam authores nonnunquam incidunt, tamen cum in ſyllogiſmo non veritas partium ſed neceſſitas conſequentiæ ſpectetur, tenendum eſt, vitioſos eſſe eos modos qui ex veris verum juxta & falſum poſſunt concludere. Prior ergo hîc modus qui tollit antecedens eſt prioris legitimi modi paralogiſmus, affinis negatæ aſſumptioni in ſecunda ſpecie explicati: ut, *ſi homo eſt leo, ſentit: non eſt leo; ergo non ſentit.* Et hoc: *ſi Dio eſt equus, eſt animal: at non eſt equus; ergo non eſt animal. Si orator eſt, homo eſt: non eſt orator; ergo nec homo.* Hoc ſi ſic reſolvas in ſecundam ſpeciem explicati, *omnis orator eſt homo*, fallacia patebit. Immo ſine iſta reductione per ſe etiam patet: tollit enim antecedens, quod minus eſt, ut tollat conſequens, quod majus eſt: à minore autem ad majus nulla eſt hujuſmodi conſequentia.

Modus poſterior, qui aſſumit conſequens ut concludat antecedens, eſt captio poſterioris legitimi modi, affinis paralogiſmo ex omnibus affirmatis in prima ſpecie explicati: ut, *ſi homo eſt leo, ſentit: at ſentit; ergo eſt leo.* Utrumque hunc paralogiſmum *Ariſtoteles* appellat fallaciam conſequentis; quæ toties fit quoties propoſitio non eſt reciproca.

Sed eſt etiam aliud ſophiſma ſecundi modi, cùm aſſumptio non tollit contradictione ſpeciali; id eſt, quando conſequenti vel generali generaliter, vel particulari particulariter contradicit. Generalis contradictionis exemplum eſt, *ſi omne animal eſt irrationale, omnis etiam homo eſt irrationalis: at nullus homo eſt irrationalis: nullum ergo animal eſt irrationale.* Particularis hoc: *ſi homo eſt rationalis, aliquod animal eſt rationale: ſed aliquod animal non eſt rationale; ergo nec homo.*

# CAP. XV.

## *De Syllogiſmo disjuncto primo.*

S*Yllogiſmus disjunctus eſt ſyllogiſmus compoſitus propoſitionis disjunctæ.*

*Modi duo ſunt.* Sic etiam *Cic.* in *Top. & Stoici apud Laërtium.*

*Primus tollit unum, & reliquum concludit.*

Ut, *aut dies eſt, aut nox; at dies non eſt; ergo nox eſt.* Vel, *nox non eſt; dies ergo eſt.*

*Ciceronis* pro *Cluentio* judicium tale eſt: *ſed cùm eſſet hæc illi propoſita conditio, ut aut juſtè piéque accuſaret, aut acerbè indignéque moreretur; accuſare quoque modo poſſet, quàm illo modo mori maluit.* Disjunctio clarior ſic erit: *aut accuſandum aut moriendum: non moriendum; accuſandum igitur.* In hoc exemplo, ut eſt apud *Cic.* eſt partium inverſio, totuſque ſyllogiſmus in axiomate relato conſequentiæ involvitur. Propoſitio non eſt abſoluté vera, ſed ex conditione. Aſſumptio & concluſio per comparationem minoris ponuntur; ita, ut concluſio præcedat.

Sic idem 2 *Phil.* ratiocinatur: *nunquamne intelligis tibi ſtatuendum eſſe, utrum illi qui iſtam rem geſſerunt, homicidæ ſint an vindices libertatis? Attende,* &c. *Nego quicquam eſſe medium. Confiteor illos niſi liberatores populi Rom. conſervatoréſque reip. ſint, plus quàm ſicarios, plus quàm homicidas, plus quam parricidas eſſe: ſiquidem eſt atrocius patria parentem,* &c. *Si parricida, cur honoris cauſa à te ſunt & in hoc ordine & apud populum Rom. ſemper appellati? Cur,* &c. *Atque hæc acta per te. Non igitur homicida. Sequitur ut liberatores tuo judicio ſint; quandoquidem tertium nihil poteſt eſſe.* Quæſtio hîc proponitur initio de *Cæſaris* interfectoribus, *utrum,* &c. Propoſitio proponitur axiomate connexo, *confiteor illos niſi,* &c. quod æquipollet disjuncto, *aut vindices ſunt libertatis aut pluſquam homicida:* illuſtratur enim ea pars disjunctionis à majori: & præcedit proſyllogiſmus, quo oſtenditur disjunctionem hanc eſſe ſine medio, & proinde neceſſariam. Aſſumptio ſequitur, *non ſunt homicida;* idque confirmatur proſyllogiſmo à teſtimonio & factis ipſius *Antonii.* Proſyllogiſmus concluditur in ſecundo connexo, ſi parricidæ, cur, &c? *at hæc acta per te; non igitur homicida.* Concluſio denique ſequitur, *ut liberatores fuerint;* idque repetito propoſitionis proſyllogiſmo confirmatur, *quandoquidem tertium ſive medium nihil poteſt eſſe.*

*Si partes disjunctæ propoſitionis ſint duabus plures, judicandi concludendíque ars erit eadem.*

Quamvis autem disjunctionis partes eſſe poſſint ſæpenumerò plures quàm duæ, id quod in diſparatis accidit, ipſius tamen propoſitionis duæ tantummodo partes ſunt; quarum una eſt quæſtio, altera eſt argumentum. In hoc modo ubi quæſtio ſemper concluditur, tertium argumentum plura oppoſita comprehendit, quæ omnia in aſſumptione tollenda ſunt, ut quæſtio concludatur: nam oppoſitorum plura ſimul affirmari nequeunt, negari plura ſimul queunt.

Sic *Cic.* judicat *Rabirium cum conſulibus eſſe oportuiſſe. Aut enim cum conſulibus, aut cum ſeditioſis, aut latuiſſe: at nec cum ſeditioſis fuiſſe, nec latuiſſe; fuiſſe ergo cum conſulibus.* Pro *Rabir. Atqui videmus ait hæc in rerum natura tria fuiſſe, ut aut cum Saturnino eſſet, aut cum bonis, aut lateret. Latere autem, mortis erat inſtar turpiſſimæ: cum Saturnino eſſe, furoris & ſceleris; virtus & honeſtas & pudor cum coſſ. eſſe cogebat.* Propoſitio per ſe clara eſt. Aſſumptionis partes proſyllogiſmis illuſtrantur, primo à ſimili, deinde ab adjunctis. Concluſio proſyllogiſmo ab efficiente illuſtratur.

Notandum eſt in hoc modo non ita exigi ſpecialem contradictionem, ut in reliquis; neque enim ad conſequentiæ neceſſitatem pertinet in hoc modo, ut in reliquis, ſed ad aſſumptionis ſolius veritatem. Si ergo aſſumptio generalem contradictionem ferre poteſt, per conſequentiam licebit uti: ad conſequentiæ enim rationem ſufficit, alterum quovis modo tolli, ut reliquum concludatur, eademque concluſio erit, ſive ſpecialis ſive generalis in aſſumptione contradictio fuerit, in altero verò modo ſecus erit, ubi contradictio in ipſam concluſionem cadit.

# CAP. XVI.

## *De Syllogiſmo disjuncto ſecundo.*

D*Isjunctus ſecundus è propoſitione partibus omnibus affirmata aſſumit unum & reliquum tollit.*

*Secundus* efficitur, quia minus generalis eſt primo, utpote proprietatibus quibuſdam aſtrictus, quibus prior immunis erat. Proprietates autem hæ ſunt, 1. partium omnium propoſitionis affirmatio, non totius modò propoſitionis, id enim ſyllogiſmis omnibus compoſitis commune eſt; & affirmari quidem propoſitio vel omnibus negatis partibus poteſt. 2. Aſſumptio affirmatur, quoniam in propoſitione affirmata fuerat. 3. In concluſione ſemper eſt negatio, eáque ſpecialis contradictio: in primo quidem concluſio nonnunquam negatur; ſed hoc tum fit cùm pars propoſitionis quæ concluditur negata fuit. Exempli gratia: *aut dies eſt, aut nox: dies eſt; ergo nox non eſt.*

*Ejuſmodi ſyllogiſmus efficitur è propoſitione copulata negata, quæ negata complexio*, vel, quod Græcis idem eſt, negata copulatio dicitur, *& disjunctionis affirmata vim obtinet.*

*Non & dies, & nox eſt: at dies eſt; non igitur nox eſt.* De hac negata copulatione ſic *Cic.* in *Top. non & hoc & illud: hoc autem; non igitur illud.*

Pertinet autem ad hunc ſecundum duntaxat modum negata copulatio; quod cum in hujuſmodi propoſitione quævis oppoſita diſponi poſſint, ex uno eorum negato, niſi in iis qui medio carent, non neceſſariò alterum affirmatur & concluditur, quod fit in primo modo, ſed ex altero affirmato alterum negatur, quæ communis eſt regula omnium oppoſitorum, & fit duntaxat in hoc ſecundo.

Ad ſophiſmata quod attinet horum modorum, primi quidem nullum occurrit. Secundi quæ ſunt, ex definitione redarguuntur. Primum eſt, ſi aliqua pars propoſitionis negata erit: ut, *leo aut animal eſt, aut non eſt homo; at non eſt homo, ergo nec animal.* Secundum eſt, ſi aſſumptio ſit negata; ut in exemplo ſuperiore. Tertium eſt, ſi ſpecialis contradictio non erit in concluſione: ut hoc; *aut homo eſt animal, aut omne animal eſt irrationale; ſed homo eſt animal, ergo nullum animal eſt irrationale.*

## *Appendix de enthymemate, dilemmate, & ſorite.*

EXpoſitis omnibus cùm ſimplicis tum compoſiti ſyllogiſmi ſpeciebus, ſequitur axiomatis & ſyllogiſmi communis affectio, vel potius anomalia, de qua antediximus, crypſis. Quæ in omni cùm loquendi uſu tum ſcribendi genere tam frequens eſt, idque brevitatis plerumque cauſa, ut nemo ferè ſyllogiſmos integròs ſine crypſi aliqua vel loquatur vel ſcribat.

Sed quoniam crypſis ejúſque triplex modus ſyllogiſmorum omnes ſpecies afficiunt, ea re dicendi locus de ſyllogiſmi crypſibus antè non erat, quàm de ſyllogiſmi ſpeciebus cunctis dictum eſſet.

*Si qua pars ſyllogiſmi defuerit, enthymema dicitur.*

Ut ab exemplo: *Themiſtocli licuit urbem relinquere; ergo mihi.* Addatur propoſitio; *quod Themiſtocli licuit, licet & mihi.* Ab inductione: *inventio & diſpoſitio in argumentis verſantur; ergo Logica tota.* Addatur aſſumptio; *Logica tota eſt eorum inventio & diſpoſitio.*

Hoc etiam perpetuò obſervandum eſt, ſi concluſionis prædicatum deeſt, deeſſe majorem; ſi ſubjectum, minorem: ſi utrumque, ſyllogiſmi compoſiti majorem vel potius majoris antecedentem, quæ cum tota quæſtione ut cum conſequente diſponitur; quod indicat plenum ſyllogiſmum fore compoſitum, & antecedens pars enthymematis erit antecedens majoris; totúmque enthymema convertetur in majorem propoſitionem ſyllogiſmi connexi: ut, *virtus reddit beatos; vitium ergo miſeros.* In antecedente hujus enthymematis nec antecedens nec conſequens quæſtionis apparet: totum igitur converte in axioma connexum aut disjunctum, plenum ſyllogiſmum compoſitum eſſe intelliges; ut, *ſi virtus reddit beatos, vitium reddit miſeros; at illud; hoc igitur. Non eſt nox; ergo eſt dies.* Totum converte in axioma disjunctum, majorem ſupplebis, & ſyllogiſmum plenum disjunctum conficies: *aut dies eſt, aut nox; non nox. ergo dies.*

*Si quid ad tres illas ſyllogiſmi partes acceſſerit, proſyllogiſmus dicitur.* Eſt enim ad partem aliquam ſyllogiſmi addita probatio.

*Partium etiam ordo ſæpe confunditur.* Quod utrumque accidit in dilemmate & ſorite.

Dilemma eſt ſpecialis quædam crypſis non ſyllogiſmi, ſed ſyllogiſmorum; à duplici propoſitione dictum quam *lemma Stoici* vocant, vulgò *disjunctivus biformis* & *ſyllogiſmus cornutus*, quaſi cornibus feriens: cujus vis in duobus axiomatis connexis citra ſyllogiſmi formam ſatis manifeſta eſt: ut illud *Martialis*;

*Hæc, ſi diſplicui, fuerint ſolatia nobis;*
*Hæc fuerint nobis præmia, ſi placui.*

Et illud in evangelio: *ſi bene locutus ſum, cur me cædis? ſi male, teſtare de malo.* Et reciprocum illud inſigne *Protagora* magiſtri ad *Euathlum* diſcipulum, apud *Gellium, l. 5. c.* 10. & 11: *ſi contra te lis data erit merces mihi ex ſententia illa debebitur, quia ego vicero; ſin vero ſecundum te judicatum erit, merces mihi ex pacto debebitur, quia tu viceris.* Cui contrà *Euathlus; & ego bone magiſter, utrovis modo vicero,* &c. Hujuſmodi eſt etiam illud apud *Ariſtot.* Rhet. 3. 23. *non agendum eſſe cum populo; quia, ſi juſta dixeris, hominibus inviſus eris; ſi injuſta, Deo.* Immo agendum eſſe cum populo: *nam, ſi injuſta dixeris, hominibus gratus eris; ſi juſta, Deo.*

Explicatur autem hæc crypſis axiomate disjuncto; tot deinde ſyllogiſmis connexis vel etiam categoricis, quot erant disjuncti axiomatis membra: ut illud *Biantis* conſilium de uxore non ducenda: *aut formoſam duces, aut deformem; ſi formoſam, communem; ſi deformem, pœnam: neutrum autem bonum; non eſt igitur ducenda uxor.* Vel categoricè ſic; *communis non eſt ducenda; formoſa erit communis; ergo,* &c. *pœna non eſt ducenda; deformis erit pœna; ergo,* &c. Sed axioma illud disjunctum partes omnes disjunctas non enumerat: eſt enim media quæ nec formoſa nec deformis eſt; & neutrius connexi conſequens eſt vera; fieri enim poteſt, ut nec formoſa communis, nec deformis pœna ſit futura.

Sorites & ſyllogiſmus crypticus multarum propoſitionum continua ſerie ita progredientium, ut prædicatum præcedentis propoſitionis perpetuò ſit ſubjectum ſequentis, donec tandem conſequens propoſitionis ultima concludatur de antecedente primæ: ut, *homo eſt animal; animal eſt corpus ſentiens; corpus ſentiens eſt vivens; vivens eſt ſubſtantia; ergo homo eſt ſubſtantia. Græcè* autem ſorites, *acervalis Latinè à Cicerone* dicitur; quia minutatim addit, & quaſi acervum efficit.

Adhibetur ferè vel ad ſummum genus de infima ſpecie, vel ad cauſam primariam, licet remotam, effecto attribuendam; & illud quidem per genera ſubalterna, ut in exemplo ſuperiore; hoc per cauſas medias, ut in exemplo ſequente: *quos Deus prænovit, eos prædeſtinavit; quos prædeſtinavit, eos vocavit; quos vocavit, eos juſtificavit; quos juſtificavit, eos glorificavit; ergo, quos prænovit, eos glorificavit.*

Utitur autem ſorites & ſubalternis generibus & ſubordinatis cauſis quaſi tot mediis terminis ad probandum concluſionem; tot nempe quot ſunt termini inter ſubjectum primæ propoſitionis & prædicatum concluſionis: quot autem termini medii, tot ſunt ſyllogiſmi.

Eſt itaque progreſſio enthymematica ſyllogiſmos uno pauciores continens quàm propoſitiones. Syllogiſmus principalis habet pro majore propoſitionem concluſioni proximam; pro minoris termino minore, ſubjectum concluſionis pro termino majore; ſubjectum propoſitionis majoris: ex. gr. *quos juſtificavit, glorificavit; quos prænovit, juſtificavit; quos ergo prænovit, glorificavit.* Reliqui ſunt minorum proſyllogiſmi, & præcedens quiſque probatio ſequentis.

Unde intelligitur ſoritæ crypſis triplex, & defectus, & redundantia, & inverſio. Si igitur partium, ſive ſpecies ſive cauſæ ſint, non erit recta ſubordinatio firmaque connexio, ſorites probus non erit: ut, *ex malis moribus exiſtunt bonæ leges; ex bonis legibus ſalus reip. ex reip. ſalute bona omnia; ergo ex moribus malis bona omnia.* Hîc cauſæ per ſe male ſubordinantur cauſæ per accidens.

Fallit hic etiam: *ſi nullum tempus eſſet, nox non eſſet; ſi nox non eſſet, dies eſſet; ſi dies eſſet, aliquod tempus eſſet; ergo, ſi nullum tempus eſſet, aliquod tempus eſſet.* Nam ſi nullum tempus eſſet, certè nec dies eſſet: fallit ergo in propoſitione ſecunda; quæ non vere continuatur; ſed ponit effectum, ſublata cauſa. Cætera ſorites vitia habet cum aliis ſyllogiſmi ſpeciebus communia.

# CAP. XVII.

## *De Methodo.*

*Methodus eſt diſpoſitio dianoëtica variorum axiomatum homogeneorum pro natura ſuæ claritatē præpoſitorum, unde omnium inter ſe convenientia judicatur, memoriâque comprehenditur.*

Methodi permagnus eſt in omni vita uſus, magna proinde laus. Hanc *Plato*, in *Philebo*, eſſe ait *donum hominibus divinitus datum. Ariſtoteles* etiam *ordinem in maximis bonis* numeravit. *Fabius*, *Nec mihi*, inquit, *errare videntur, qui ipſam rerum naturam ſtare ordine putant; quo confuſo, peritura ſunt omnia.*

Eſt autem methodus diſpoſitio variorum axiomatum homogeneorum, i. e. eorum quæ ad eandem rem pertinent, eandémque ad finem referuntur. Homogenea niſi fuerint, ſubordinata ſibi invicem eſſe non poterunt, adeóque ne ordinata quidem. Itaque Arithmeticum in Geometria, Geometricum in Arithmetica veluti heterogenium & alienum methodus excludit. Pro naturæ autem ſuæ claritate axiomata quæque præponenda ſunt, prout ar[illegible]menta priora, notiora, illuſtriora complectuntur. Prima autem præcedant an orta à primis parum refert, cùm utrorumque eadem affectio ſit.

*Atque ut ſpectatur in axiomate veritas aut falſitas, in ſyllogiſmo conſequentia & inconſequentia; ſic in methodo conſideratur, ut per ſe clarius præcedat, obſcurius ſequatur; omninóque ordo & confuſio judicatur. Sic diſponetur ex homogeneis axiomatis primo loco abſoluta notione primum, ſecundo ſecundum, tertio tertium, & ita deinceps.*

Prius autem ſicut & poſterius quinque modis dicimus: tempore, ut ſenem juvene; natura, ut cauſam effecto, genus ſpecie; quicquid denique exiſtendi conſecutione eſt prius; i. e. quod alio poſito, ponitur; & quo poſito, aliud non ponitur, ut unitas binario: nonnunquam etiam ubi conſecutio reciproca eſt, quod ſimul eſt tempore, natura tamen eſt prius, ut ſol ſuo lumine. Bifariam etiam dicitur prius natura; generante ſcilicet, ut partes toto, ſimplex compoſito, media fine; vel intendente, ut totum partibus, compoſitum ſimplici, finis mediis. Prius diſpoſitione ſive loco dicitur, quod initio eſt proprius; ut in dicendo, narratio confirmatione. Prius dignitate; ut magiſtratus cive, aurum argento, virtus auro. Prius denique cognitione, quod cognitu facilius eſt: idque vel in ſe, vel nobis: in ſe quod naturâ eſt prius; nobis, quod poſterius eſt, & ſenſibus objectum: illa perfectior eſt cognitio, hæc imperfectior.

*Ideóque methodus ab univerſalibus, ut quæ cauſas contineant, ad ſingularia perpetuò progreditur.* Adeoque ab antecedentibus omninò & abſolutè notioribus ad conſequentia ignota declarandum.

Unde intelligitur agi hîc de methodo tradendi ſive docendi, quæ analytica rectè dicitur, non inveniendi. Methodus n. inveniendi quæ à *Platone* dicitur *ſynthetica*, procedit à ſingularibus quæ tempore ſunt priora, ſenſibúſque ſe prius offerunt; quorum inductione generales notiones colliguntur: methodus autem docendi ſive inventa & judicata diſponendi, de qua hic agitur. Contraria via, ut etiam docet *Ariſt.* 1. Metaph. c. 1. & 2. procedit ab univerſalibus, quæ natura ſunt priora & notiora; non quo prius aut facilius cognoſcantur, ſed quòd poſteaquam ſunt cognita, præcedunt notionis natura & claritate quanto ſunt à ſenſibus remotiora. Sic generales rerum ſpecies (ut Optici etiam docent) citius in ſenſus incurrunt: ut advenientem aliquem, judico prius animal eſſe quàm hominem, & hominem quàm *Socratem*. Atque hanc ſolam methodum *Ariſtot.* paſſim docuit.

*Sed methodi unitatem exempli doctrinarum & artium præcipuè demonſtrant, præcipueque vendicant.*

*Quibus quamvis omnes regulæ generales ſint & univerſales, tamen earum gradus diſtinguuntur: quantóque unaquæque generalior erit, tanto magis præcedet.*

*Generaliſſima loco & ordine prima erit, quià lumine & notitia prima eſt.*

*Subalterna conſequentur, quia claritate ſunt proximæ: utque ex his naturâ notiores præponentur, minus nota ſubſtituentur.*

*Tandémque ſpecialiſſima conſtituentur.*

*Definitio itaque generaliſſima prima erit*; cauſas n. continet Definitioni conſectaria ſubjungentur, ſive proprietatum ſi quæ ſunt & ex definitione per ſe non patent, explicationes Diſtributio ſequetur.

*Quæ ſi multiplex fuerit, præcedet in partes integras partitio, ſequetur diviſio in ſpecies. Partéſque ipſæ & ſpecies eodem ordine ſunt rurſus tractandæ ac definiendæ, quo diſtributæ fuerint.*

*Et tranſitionum vinculis ſi longior inter eas interſit explicatio, colligandæ ſunt: id n. auditorem reficit ac recreat.*

Tranſitio autem vel perfecta eſt vel imperfecta. Perfecta, quæ breviter & quid dictum ſit & quid ſequatur, oſtendit: qualis illa hujus libri ſecundi initio *adhuc prima Artis Logicæ pars fuit*, &c. Imperfecta eſt quæ alterutrum duntaxat oſtendit vel quid dictum ſit, vel quid ſequatur: qualis illa l. 1. c. 18. *argumenta ſimplicia ita fuerunt*, &c.

Exemplo ſit Grammatica. Hujus definitio, ut quæ generaliſſima ſit, ex lege methodi primo loco ſtatuatur; ars ſcilicet bene loquendi: ſecundo loco erit Grammaticæ partitio, in etymologiam & ſyntaxin; tum etymologia, quæ de vocibus agit, definiatur; dein vocis partes in literis & ſyllabis, ſpecieſque in vocibus numeri & ſine numero ſubſequantur, exituumque tranſitiones ſuis locis collocentur: atque ita omnium etymologiæ partium definitiones, diſtributiones, colligationes, exempla denique ſpecialiſſima in ſingulis diſponentur: idémque in ſyntaxi fiet. Hanc viam omnes artes ſibi propoſuerunt.

Moderni quidem duplicem methodum inſtituunt, *ſyntheticam* & *analyticam*: illam ſcientiis theoreticis tradendis, Phyſicæ putà vel Mathematicæ magis accommodatam; qua partes ſcientiæ ita diſponuntur, ut à ſubjecto contemplationis univerſali ad particularia, à ſimplicibus ad compoſita progreſſus fiat: ſic Phyſica exorditur à corporis naturalis definitione; ad ejus deinde cauſas vel partes effectionéſque generales ad ſpecies denique progreditur. Methodum analyticam definiunt, qua ita diſponuntur partes ſcientiæ practicæ ut à notione finis fiat progreſſus ad notitiam principiórum vel mediorum, ad illum finem aſſequendum: ſic in Ethicis à fine, ſcilicet beatitudine, ad media, nempe virtutes proceditur: Verùm cùm hac utraque methodus una eadémque via, à definitione ſcilicet generaliſſima, ſive illa ſubjectum ſive finem generalem contineat, ad minus generalia, à notioribus ad minus nota, à ſimplicibus ad compoſita æque utrobique dividendo progrediatur, non videtur ob diverſam in definitione generali, illic ſubjecti, hìc finis mentionem, duplicem eſſe methodum conſtituendam; ſed unum potius, artium quidem tradendarum, eámque analyticam eſſe dicendam.

*Atqui methodus non ſolùm in materia artium & doctrinarum adhibetur, ſed in omnibus rebus quas facilè & perſpicuè docere volumus.*

*Ideóque poetæ, oratores, omnéſque omninò ſcriptores, quoties docendum ſibi auditorem proponunt, hanc viam ſequi volunt, quamvis non uſquequaque ingrediantur atque inſiſtant.*

*Sic Virgilius*, in Georgicis, diſtribuit propoſitam materiam in quatuor partes, ut antedictum eſt: primóque libro res communes perſequitur, ut aſtrologiam, meteorologiam, déque ſegetibus & earum culta diſſerit, quæ pars operis prima erat, túmque tranſitio adhibetur initio ſecundi libri.

> *Hactenus arvorum cultus*, &c.

Dein ſcribit generaliter de arboribus, tum ſpecialiter de vitibus. Sic toto opere, generaliſſimum, primo; ſubalterna, medio; ſpecialiſſima, extremo loco ponere ſtuduit.

Eandem *Ovidius*, in Faſtis, diſpoſitionis hujus gratiam ſequitur. Proponit initio ſummam operis:

> *Tempora cum cauſis Latium digeſta per annum*, &c.

Mox imploratione facta, partitionem anni ſtatuit. Tum communes differentias interpretatus diei faſti, nefaſti, *&c.* tandem unumquemque menſem ſuo loco perſequitur, & ordinis hujus à generalibus ad ſpecialia ſtudium ſuum præfatione indicat.

> *Hæc mihi dicta ſemel, totis hærentia faſtis,*
> *Ne ſeriem rerum ſcindere cogar, erunt.*

*Oratores in proœmio; narratione, confirmatione, peroratione hunc ordinem affectant, eumque artis & naturæ & rei ordinem appellant, & interdum ſtudioſius aſſectantur.*

*Vt*

*Ut* in *verrem, Cicero* primùm proponendo tum partiendo. *Quæſtor* inquit *Cn. Papyrio coſ. fuiſti abhinc annos quatuordecim, & ex illa die ad hanc diem quæ feciſti, in judicium voco*, &c. Propoſitio hîc & definitio ſummæ rei eſt, tanquam in hoc judicio generaliſſimo. Partitio ſequitur: *hi ſunt anni*, &c. *quare hæc eadem erit quadripartita diſtributio totius accuſationis meæ.* Quas partes quatuor earúmque partium particulas deinceps ſuo quamque ordine & loco tractat, & tranſitionibus copulat; tres primas tertio libro; & ſic deinceps.

*Hæc igitur in variis axiomatis homogeneis ſuo vel ſyllogiſmi judicio notis methodus erit, quoties perſpicuè res docenda erit.*

*At cùm delectatione motúve aliquo majore ab oratore quovis aut poeta, ut quibuſcum vulgo potiſſimum res eſt, ducendus erit auditor, crypſis methodi ferè adhibebitur; homogenea quædam rejicientur, ut definitionum, partitionum, tranſitionúmque lumina. Quædam aſſumentur heterogenea, velut digreſſiones à re, & in re commorationes. Et præcipuè rerum ordo invertetur:*

Sed oratoribus & poetis ſua methodi ratio relinquenda eſt; vel ſaltem iis, qui oratoriam & poeticam docent.

# PRAXIS LOGICÆ

## Analytica ex Dounamo.

## Ad Cap. tertium RAMIÆ Dialecticæ.

E*Xemplum primum eſt cauſa procreantis & conſervantis ex Ovidii primo de Remed.*

*Ergo ubi viſus eris noſtra medicabilis arte,*
*Fac monitis fugias otia prima meis.*
*Hæc, ut ames, faciunt: hæc quæ fecere tuentur;*
*Hæc ſunt jucundi cauſa, cibuſque mali.*
*Otia ſi tollas, periere Cupidinis arcus,*
*Contemptaque jacent & ſine luce faces.*

In ſingulis, quæ ad efficientis doctrinam illuſtrandam afferuntur, exemplis, tria conſideranda ſunt, efficiens, effectum, efficiendi modus. In hoc exemplo effectum eſt amor, efficiens eſt otium, quod amorem efficit duplici modo, tum procreando, tum conſervando, ut in ſecundo diſticho Poeta docet. Diſpoſitio autem hujus exempli (ut pleniorem ejus analyſin inſtituam) ſyllogiſtica eſt. Quæſtio, quam Poeta concludendam proponit, hæc eſt; fugiendum eſſe otium ei, qui ab amore immunis eſſe velit: eáque duobus ſyllogiſmis concluditur: in priori argumentum tertium ducitur ab effectis quidem otii, amoris verò cauſa procreante & conſervante, hoc modo: amoris procreans & conſervans cauſa vitanda eſt ei, qui ab amore ipſo liber eſſe velit; otium verò amoris procreans & conſervans cauſa eſt. Otium igitur fugiendum eſt ei, qui ab amore liber eſſe velit. Propoſitio deeſt. Aſſumptio in ſecundo diſticho primò ſimpliciter proponitur, deinde altera ejus pars de conſervante per ſimilitudinem cibi illuſtratur. Concluſio præcedit in primo diſticho. Secunda ratio eſt conſectarium ex aſſumptione prioris ſyllogiſmi deductum. Otium eſt cauſa procreans & conſervans amoris; ergo ſublato otio, amor tollitur. Cujus propoſitio & fundamentum eſt Logicum illud axioma; ſublata cauſa, tollitur effectum, quæ propoſitio ſi addatur, plenus erit ſyllogiſmus.

Exemplum ſecundum ibid. ex *Æneid.* 4.

*Non tibi diva parens generis nec Dardanus auctor*
*Perfide: ſed duris genuit te cautibus horrens*
*Caucaſus. Hyrcanaque admôrunt ubera Tigres.*

Hic effectum eſt Æneas. Cauſæ efficientes, pater, mater, nutrix; modus autem efficiendi non unus: parentes enim liberos efficiunt procreando, nutrix verò conſervando. Diſponitur autem hoc exemplum axiomate diſcreto. Anchiſes & Venus non ſunt Æneæ parentes, ut Didoni placet, ſed horrens Caucaſus & duræ cautes: Hyrcaniæ autem tigres ut nutrices ubera admoverunt.

Exemplum tertium eſt ſolitariæ cauſæ *cap.* 4. ex *Æneid.* 9.

*Me, me: adſum, qui feci, in me convertite ferrum*
*O Rutuli, mea fraus omnis: nihil iſte nec auſus,*
*Nec potuit.* ——

In hoc exemplo effectum eſt cædes Rutulorum. Efficiens hujus cædis Nyſus. Quod autem ad modum attinet efficiendi, effecit, ut ipſe de ſe ait, ſolus. Diſpoſitio autem hujus exempli ſyllogiſtica eſt. Qui ſolus auctor eſt cædis, is ſolus eſt occidendus. Ego verò, inquit, ſolus auctor cædis ſum; ergo, &c. Propoſitio deeſt: aſſumptio continetur verſu 2. Mea fraus, *i. e.* culpa omnis, quam probat remotione ſociæ cauſæ, nihil iſte nec auſus eſt, *&c.* Concluſio verſu 1. Me, me ſcilicet occidite, in me convertite ferrum, *&c.*

Ejuſdem cauſæ exemplum aliud, in oratione *Ciceronis* pro *Marcello. Nam bellicas laudes ſolent quidam extenuare verbis, eáſque detrahere ducibus & communicare cum multis, ne propria ſint imperatorum: & certè in armis militum virtus, locorum opportunitas, ſociorum auxilia, claſſes, commeatus multum juvant: maximam verò partem, quaſi ſuo jure, fortuna ſibi vendicat, & quicquid eſt proſperè geſtum, id penè omne ducit ſuum. At verò hujus gloria,* Cæſar, *quàm es paulò ante adeptus, ſocium habes neminem: totum hoc quantumcunque eſt, quod certè maximum eſt, totum inquam, eſt tuum. Nihil tibi ex iſta laude centurio, nihil præfectus, nihil cohors, nihil turma decerpit: quin etiam illa ipſa rerum humanarum domina fortuna in iſtius ſe ſocietatem gloria non offert: tibi cedit, tuam eſſe totam ac propriam fatetur.* Hoc exemplum continet plenam comparationem à minore ad majus, ad amplificandam Cæſaris laudem clementiæ. In proto exemplum eſt cauſarum, quæ cum aliis efficiunt. Effectum eſt victoria; efficiens imperator, non quidem ſolus, ſed cum aliis, quarum alia principalis eſt, &imperatori quaſi ſocia fortuna: aliæ adjuvantes & miniſtræ, cujuſmodi quinque recenſentur, militum fortitudo, locorum opportunitas, ſociorum auxilia, claſſes, commeatus. In apodoſi exemplum habemus ſolitariæ cauſæ: effectum eſt clementia in Marcellum, præſtita, Cujus cauſa & quidem ſola eſt ipſe *Cæſar*; eáque illuſtratur remotione cauſarum adjuvantium. Scopus *Ciceronis* eſt, ut oſtendat *Cæſarem* plus laudis ob clementiam mereri, quàm propter res geſtas: ídque oſtendit ex collatis inter ſe efficiendi modis, quod nimirum rerum geſtarum *Cæſar* non ſolus auctor fuerit, clementiæ verò præſtitæ ſolus. Jam verò efficiens plus laudis vel vituperationis meretur, quæ ſola quid facit; quæ verò cum aliis, minus. Sic igitur hæc ratio poteſt concludi. Cujus *Cæſar* ſolus auctor eſt, id plus meretur laudis, quàm cujus ſolus non eſt auctor. Rerum in bello geſtarum ſolus auctor non eſt; clementiæ verò in Marcellum præſtitæ ſolus; proinde clementia *Cæſaris* plus meretur laudis, quàm res in bello geſtæ. Hujus ſyllogiſmi aſſumptio tantum in hoc exemplo proponitur; ejúſque prior pars enumeratione cauſarum adjuvantium, poſterior remotione earundem illuſtratur.

Ibidem exemplum cáuſæ inſtrumentalis primo de *Nat. deor. Quibus oculis animi intueri potuit veſter Plato fabricam illam tanti operis, quæ conſtrui à Deo atque ædificari nondum facit? Quæ molitio? quæ ferramenta? qui vectes? quæ machinæ? qui miniſtri tanti operis fuerunt?* Syllogiſmus ſic ſeſe habet. Qui inſtrumenta non habuit, is mundum non creavit: Deus inſtrumenta non habuit; ergo, *&c.* Hujus ſyllogiſmi propoſitio falſiſſima deeſt; concluſio præcedit; aſſumptio ſequitur: eaque per inductionem quandam ſpecierum illuſtratur. Utraque autem tum aſſumptio tum concluſio per interrogationem ἐμφατικωτερον negatur.

PETRI

# PETRI RAMI
# VITA
# EX
# Joanne Thoma Freigio,
## *Reciſis digreſſionibus, deſcripta.*

PEtrus *Ramus* natus eſt anno milleſimo quingenteſimo decimo quinto. Ejus avus, ut ipſe in præfatione ſuæ Regiæ Profeſſionis memorat, in *Eburonum* gente, familia imprimis illuſtri fuit: ſed patria à *Carolo, Burgundionum* duce, capta & incenſa, in *Veromanduorum* agrum profugus, ac ſpoliatus, carbonariam facere coactus eſt: hinc *Ramo carbonarius pater* probri loco objectus: ſed pater Agricola fuit. Puer vix è cunis egreſſus, ut ipſe in *Scheckiano* epilogo de ſe narrat, duplici peſte laboravit. Juvenis invita modíſque omnibus repugnante fortuna, *Lutetiam* ad capeſſendas artes ingenuas venit. Erat ſtatura corporis grandi ac generoſa, vultu mitiſſimo, moribus integerrimis, valetudine firma ac robuſta, quam perpetua abſtinentia continentiáque & continuo labore etiam firmiorem reddidit. *Lutetiæ* Magiſterii titulum ſuſcepturus, problema hoc ſumpſit; *quæcunque ab Ariſtotele dicta eſſent, commentitia eſſe.* Attoniti novitate atque inſolentia problematis examinatores ac magiſtri, per diem integrum, ſed irrito conatu, Magiſtrandum, ut vocant, oppugnarunt. Ex hoc fortuito ſucceſſu, anſam deinceps ſeriò & liberè in *Ariſtotelem* animadvertendi & inquirendi arripuit. Logicámque imprimis, utpote inſtrumentum reliquarum artium expolire inſtituit (ut ipſe pluribus perſequitur in *epilogo l.* 5. Scholarum Dialecticarum) ſed annum agens ætatis primum & vigeſimum hæc moliri incœperat. Septimo pòſt, primam, ut putatur, Dialecticam & *Ariſtotelicas* Animadverſiones ad Academiam *Pariſienſem* edidit: ſequente anno *Euclidem* Latinè, quam & præfatione commendavit. Ex eo tempore multos adverſarios contra ſe irritavit, & præſertim duos homines, quos *Talæus* in Academia ſua dum contentionem totam enarrat, non nominat tamen. Vix, inquit, *Ariſtotelicæ* Animadverſiones lectæ erant, cùm *P. Ramus* repentè ad prætorii tribunalis capitalem contentionem per certos homines falſo Academiæ nomine rapitur, novíque criminis accuſatur, quòd ſcilicet, *Ariſtotelem* oppugnando, artes enervaret: hac enim oratione *Ariſtotelea* actio inſtituta eſt. Hinc *Ariſtoteleorum* clamoribus agitatus, ad ſummum *Pariſienſis* curiæ concilium traducitur. Id cum ex adverſariorum ſententia non procederet, novis artibus à ſenatu *Pariſienſi* ad regiam cognitionem res defertur: conſtituuntur judices quinque bini ab utraque parte, quintus à rege nominatur; cauſam de ſingulis animadverſionum capitibus dicere jubetur *Ramus*: qui tametſi de quinque judicibus tres infenſiſſimos habebat, tamen ut mandato regio obtemperaret, ad diem conſtitutam adfuit; ſcriba unus aderat, qui rationes *Rami* & judicum ſententias exciperet. Biduo magna contentione de Dialecticæ artis definitione & partitione, quæ in Logici Organi libris nullæ eſſent, concertatum eſt Tres *Ariſtotelei* judices primo die, contra omnes bene deſcriptæ artis leges, judicarunt ad Dialecticæ artis perfectionem definitione nihil opus eſſe. Qui duo judices à *Ramo* iecti erant, contrà cenſuerunt. Poſtridie tres judices *Ariſtotelei* vehementer conturbati, de Partitione aſſentiuntur, cauſámque in aliam diem rejiciunt. Verùm ne non damnaretur *Ramus*, novum conſilium initur, ut ab initio tota diſputatio retexatur, judicata pridie, pro nihilo habeatur. Ab iſta judicum inconſtantia provocat *Ramus*; ſed fruſtrà; judicium n. ſine provocatione tribus illis judicibus datur; condemnantur triumvirali illa ſententia non ſolùm Animadverſiones *Ariſtotelicæ*, ſed Inſtitutiones etiam Dialecticæ: auctori interdicitur, ne in poſterum vel docendo vel ſcribendo, ullam Philoſophiæ partem attingeret: ludi etiam magno apparatu celebrantur, in quibus *Ramus* & *Ramea* Dialectica ludibrio habetur. Ab his difficultatibus unus omnium *Carolus Lotharingus Ramum* liberavit: *Henrico* enim regi perſuaſerat, Philoſophiam ſemper liberam eſſe oportere. Hinc *Ramus* priſtinæ docendi ac ſcribendi libertati reſtitutus, per annos quatuor ſumma in pace ſtudiis operam dedit. Anno ætatis trigeſimo primo Orationem de ſtudiis Philoſophiæ & Eloquentiæ conjungendis habuit: cum *Talæo* fratre (ſic eum perpetuo vocat) profeſſionis partes ita diviſit, ut *Talæus* matutinis horis philoſophiam, ipſe pomeridianis Eloquentiam doceret: in poetis, oratoribus, philoſophis omníſque generis authoribus explicandis, uſum dialecticæ demonſtravit: id *Ramo* poſtea crimini datum eſt, quòd in philoſophico ſtudio non Philoſophos, ſed, contra leges Academiæ, pro philoſophis Poetas explicaret: purgat ſe *Ramus*; petítque ut gymnaſium ſuum *Praleum* per probos & doctos homines inviſatur. Sed judex quidam, nobilis adoleſcens, datus, diſcipulos *Rami* indicta cauſa, condemnat; publicis & ſcholis & ſigillis & tabulis prohibet; omnibus denique Academiæ muneribus & præmiis excludit. Ab hac ſententia tam nova diſcipuli *Rami* ad *Julianenſe* philoſophorum comitium provocant, & abſolvuntur, modò præceptor eorum jurejurando confirmet, libros, Academiæ legibus definitos, à ſe eſſe prælectos. Confirmat *Ramus*: paulò tamen pòſt ab eodem judice adoleſcente, non diſcipuli, ut antea, ſed magiſtri eorum oppugnantur: *Ramo* injungitur, ut in publicis ſcholis diſciplinam ſuam ipſe deteſtaretur & ejuraret. Is ad ſuperiores Academiæ ordines ſecundò provocat: ſed cùm vitandi tumultus cauſa, ſcripto ſe abſens, defenderet, adoleſcens ille judex, etſi duabus appellationibus rejectus, tertiò judicat ac damnat. Quartò provocat *Ramus*: cùm provocationis diem accuſator antevertiſſet, coactus eſt *Ramus* ſubito in ſenatum venire: hîc iterum *Carolus Lotharingus* unico præſidio fuit: accuſationem cujuſdam audiit graviſſimam *Ramum* Academicum nominantis, qui de humanis diviniſque legibus dubitaret, qui lubricos *D. Auguſtini* locos ad effrænatam atque impiam libertatem ſuis auditoribus proponeret, & quo facilius incautis animis abuteretur, omnes Logicas diſputationes tolleret. Contra has calumnias facile ſe defendit *Ramus*. Decretum eſt itaque in ſenatu, uti *Ramus* diſcipulíque ejus in priſtinum atque integrum ſtatum reſtituerentur. Ipſe anno ætatis trigeſimo ſexto cùm *Bleſſiis Carolus Lotharingus* ad *Henricum* regem de diſciplina *Ramea* retuliſſet, in numerum atque ordinem Regiorum Profeſſorum per literas regias honorificè ad ſe ſcriptas, eſt cooptatus. Gratias itaque & regi *Henrico* & *Carolo Lotharingo* publicè egit; ſibique perſuaſit, ſe à rege in præſtantiſſima reip. parte eſſe collocatum; ſibíque adeo dies ac noctes eſſe ſummo ſtudio enitendum, ne tanto muneri ac profeſſioni eloquentiæ ſimul & philoſophiæ deeſſet: unde animos adoleſcentium tanta audiendi & proficiendi cupiditate inflammavit, ut ſchola regia, licet ad audiendum ampliſſima, plerumque tamen auditorum concurſum frequentiámque capere minime potuerit. Adverſariorum petulantiam ſumma conſtantia tulit atque pervicit; ſymbolúmque ejus hoc fuit, *Labor omnia vincit*. Anno 1552. cum in *Cameracenſi* ſchola frequentiſſimis auditoribus Dialecticam ſuam auſpicaretur, inter ſtrepitus, clamores, ſibilos nihil commotus, per intervalla clamorum, incredibili conſtantia perexit & peroravit: qua ejus virtute conſternati inimici, in poſterum minus ei moleſtiæ exhibuerunt. In *Heidelbergenſi* etiam Academia, principis authoritate ad profitendum adductus, conſimiles æmulorum clamores invicto animo pertulit. Adverſus doctos aliquot homines *Goveanum*, *Gallandium*, *Perionium*, *Turnebum*, *Melancthonum*, pari ſilentio eſt uſus. Viginti annis abſtemius fuit, donec ſanitatis cauſa medici vino uti ſuaſerunt: vini enim faſtidium ceperat ex quo infans in cellam vinariam clam parentibus irrepens, ſe tam immodicè ingurgitavit, ut mortuo ſimilis humi reperiretur. Pro lectulo ſtramentis ad ſenectutem uſque uſus eſt. Cœlebs tota vita permanſit. *Pralei* gymnaſii labore (qui ipſi ſine ullo publico ſtipendio erat mandatus) contentus fuit. A diſcipulis ſuis oblata munera, quamvis debita, tamen non accepit. Anno 1556. *Ciceronianum* edidit de Optima juventutis inſtituendæ ratione. Pronuntiationem Latinæ linguæ in Academia *Pariſienſi* tunc temporis inquinatiſſimam, corrigendi author cùmprimis fuit, reclamantibus licet *Sorboniſtis*, pravarum omnium conſuetudinum propugnatoribus tam obſtinatis, ut ſacerdotem quendam novatæ pronuntiationis coram ſenatu *Pariſienſi* inſimulatum, quaſi ob hæreſin, ut aiebant, Grammaticam, ampliſſimis proventibus eccleſiaſticis privandum contenderent: & lite quidem ſuperiores videbantur diſceſſuri, niſi *P. Ramus* cæteríque profeſſores regii ad curiam convolantes, judicii tam alieni inſolentiam diſſuaſiſſent. Verùm illius temporis tam craſſa ignorantia fuit, ut libris editis proditum ſit, in ea Academia doctores extitiſſe, qui mordicus defenderent, *ego amat* tam commodam ſyntaxin eſſe, quàm *ego amo*; ad eámque pertinaciam comprimendam, authoritate publica opus fuiſſe. In Mathematicis quid effecerit *Ramus*, Scholæ Mathematicæ aliáque ejus opera teſtantur. Ea meditantem, belli civilis calamitas interpellavit; acceptis igitur à rege literis, ad regiam *Fontisbelaquei* bibliothecam profectus, Mathematicas prælectiones ab initio plenius & uberius retractavit. Tum id *Italiam* cogitabat, quo ipſum *Bononia* honorificè invitarat; vel ſaltem in *Germaniam*: ſed viis omnibus terror mortis intentatus, rumor etiam *Pralei* ſui indignis modis direpti ac bibliothecæ ſpoliatæ, ad regiam *Vincennarum* proprius urbem revocarunt. Sed & alia vis etiam gravius urgebat, ut è *Vincennis* per invia itinera profugiendum eſſet, & ſubinde variis in locis deliteſcendum: in fuga tamen & latebris otium hoſpitéſque ſui cupidiſſimos reperit; in eóque otio Scholas Phyſicas conſcripſit, vel potius inchoavit. Erumpente rurſus bello civili, in optimatum caſtra profugit: eo tumultu poſt ſex menſes ſedato, reverſus, nihil in bibliotheca præter inania reperit ſcrinia; mathematicas tantùm commentationes *Reſnerus* (qui *Pariſiis* permanſit) direptoribus commodùm eripuit. Impendente jam tertium civili bello, impetravit à rege *Carolo* ad inviſendas exteras Academias annuam dimiſſionem, quaſi legationem liberam. In extremis regni finibus, vix militum quorundam manus, niſi prolato in medium diplomate regio, effugiſſet. Ter dimiſſus, ter repetitus, tandem velocitate ſumma eo pervenit, ubi ſicariis licentia nequaquam pareat. Adventus ejus in *Germaniam* bonorum ac doctorum omnium ſingulari humanitate & gratulatione exceptus eſt. *Argentorati Joannes Sturmius*, ejus Academiæ author ſimul & rector, peramanter eum accepit deinde Academia tota adjunctis etiam quibuſdam ad ampliorem gratulationem comitibus & baronibus, liberaliſſimè tractavit: quo die, denique, nobiliſſimæ nuptiæ in eo loco celebrabantur, in prytaneum ſummus urbis Magiſtratus, publicæ gratulationis gratia cum *Sturmio* eum adduxit. *Bernam* præteriens, tantùm vidit, nec tamen ſine Conſulis *Stegeri* honorifica liberalitate, atque *Halleri*, *Aretii*, aliorúmq; doctiſſimorum hominum amica gratulatione diſceſſit. *Tiguri*, *Henricus Bullingerus* ſimulatque in urbem. ingreſſus eſt *Ramus*, gratulator primus affuit, coenámque ei apparavit, eruditiſſimis convivarum, *Joſia Simleri*, *Rodolphi Gualteri*, *Lodovici Lavalteri* ſermonibus longè gratiſſimam. Poſtridie cùm ab eodem *Bullingero* in aulam publicam deduceretur, miratus quid ſibi vellet in eum locum frequentiſſimus civium cujuſque ordinis conventus, quæſivit ex eo, ecquæ illic etiam, ut *Argentina*, nobiles nuptiæ celebrarentur. Cui *Bullingerus*, Tibi, inquit, noſtra civitas nuptias iſtas celebrat. Præbuit ei *Heidelberga* amicum *Urſinum*, *Olevitanum*, hoſpitem etiam *Immanuelem Tremellium*, fautorem denique ipſum *Electorem Palatinum*, qui diſcedentem *Ramum*, aurea imagine ſua donavit. Inde *Francofurtum* pergens, à primariis aliquot civibus honorificè eſt acceptus: deinde *Noribergam* ad præſtantiſſimos opifices & mechanicos alióſque viros doctos & præſertim *Joachimum Camerarium*, profectus eſt: hîc juriſconſultorum collegio mandatum à ſenatu eſt, ut *P. Ramo* convivium publico urbis nomine inſtruerent. Inde *Auguſtam* perexit ubi urbis conſul primarius eum liberaliſſimè tractavit, adhibitis in convivium eruditis variæ doctrinæ convivis, ſed imprimis *Hieronimo Wolfio*, & *Tichone Bracheo*, cum quo poſt prandium in ſuburbanum conſulis deductus, varios ſermones de ſtudiis mathematicis habuit. Rumore tandem reſtitutæ pacis revocatus, *Lauſannam* contendit: hîc a viris doctis exoratus, Logicam ἀκρόασιν dies aliquot maximo concurſu exhibuit. *Geneva* cum doctiſſimis hominibus tum de cæteris liberalibus ſtudiis, tum de Logicis collocutio illi aſſidua fuit, maximè cum *Franciſco* de *Cretenſi* & *Andrea Melvino Scoto*. Cum aliis multis eruditiſſimis viris, in *Italia Commandino* & *Papio*,

pio, in *Anglia Dio* & *Acontio*, in *Germania Chytreo*, aliiſque permultis amicitiam per literas jaxantè coluerat. Nobiles & inclytæ civitates eum magnis & honorificis muneribus, & ſexcentorum coronatorum oblato ſtipendio appetiverunt. *Joannes* electus rex *Pannoni* ampliſſimo ſtipendio *Alba Julia* regendam Academiam illi obtulit. *Cracoviam* liberaliſſimè, immo in *Italiam* mille ducatorum ſtipendio *Bononiam* invitatus, patriam tamen deſerere noluit: itaque *Carolus* ix. petitum undique calumniis domi, invidorúmque morſibus, non ſolùm præſenti ope ſublevavit, ſed honore auxit & amplificavit, eíque vacationem à laboribus conceſſit. Tandem, anno 1572. in illa *Pariſienſi Chriſtianorum* ac civium iternecione, indigniſſime periit. Necis cauſam ſunt qui in æmulos ejus conferant: plerique eandem quæ cæteris ea nocte trucidatis fuiſſe exiſtimant. Legatum annuum Mathematico Profeſſori in *Pariſienſi* Academia luculentum teſtamento reliquit.

Autoris

# Autoris
# EPISTOLARUM FAMILIARIUM
# LIBER UNUS:

Quibus acceſſerunt

Ejuſdem, jam olim in Collegio Adoleſcentis, Proluſiones quædam Oratoriæ.

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### Thomæ Junio *Præceptori ſuo.*

1. Quanquam ſtatueram apud me (Præceptor optime) Epiſtolium quoddam numeris metricis elucubratum ad te dare, non ſatis tamen habuiſſe me exiſtimavi, niſi aliud inſuper ſoluto ſtylo exaraſſem; incredibilis enim illa & ſingularis animi mei gratitudo, quam tua ex debito vendicant in me merita, non conſtricto illo, & certis pedibus ac ſyllabis anguſtato dicendi genere exprimenda fuit, ſed Oratione liberâ, immò potius, ſi fieri poſſet, Aſiaticâ verborum exuberantiâ. Quamvis quidem ſatis exprimere quantum tibi debeam, opus ſit meis viribus longè majus, etiamſi omnes quoſcunque Ariſtoteles, quoſcunque Pariſienſis ille Dialecticus congeſſit argumentorum τόπους exinanirem, etiamſi omnes elocutionis fonticulos exhaurirem. Quereris tu vero (quòd merito potes) literas meas raras admodum & perbreves ad te delatas eſſe; ego vero non tam doleo me adeo jucundo, adeoque expetendo defuiſſe officio, quam gaudeo & pene exulto eum me in amicitia tua tenere locum, qui poſſit crebras à me Epiſtolas efflagitare. Quod autem hoc pluſquam triennio nunquam ad te ſcripſerim, quæſo ut ne in pejus trahas, ſed pro mirifica iſta tua facilitate & candore, in mitiorem partem interpretari digneris. Deum enim teſtor quam te inſtar Patris colam, quam ſingulari etiam obſervantiâ te ſemper proſecutus ſim, quamque veritus chartis meis tibi obſtrepere. Curo nempe cum primis, cum Tabellas meas nihil aliud commendet, ut commendet raritas. Deinde, cum ex vehementiſſimo, quo tui afficior deſiderio, adeſſe te ſemper cogitem, teque tanquam præſentem alloquar & intuear, dolorique meo (quod in amore fere fit) vanâ quâdam præſentiæ tuæ imaginatione adblandiar; vereor profecto, ſimulac literas ad te mittendas meditarer, ne in mentem mihi ſubito veniret, quam longinquo à me diſtes terrarum intervallo; atque ita recrudeſceret dolor abſentiæ tuæ jam prope conſopitus, ſomniúmque dulce diſcuteret. Biblia Hebræa, pergratum ſane munus tuum, jampridem accepi. Hæc ſcripſi Londini inter urbana diverticula, non Libris, ut ſoleo, circumſeptus: Si quid igitur in hac Epiſtola minus arriſerit, tuamque fruſtrabitur expectationem, penſabitur aliâ magis elaboratâ, ubi primum ad Muſarum ſpatia rediero.

*Londino,* Martii 26, 1625.

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### *Alexandro Gillio.*

2. Accepi literas tuas, & quæ me mirifice oblectavêre, carmina ſane grandia, & Majeſtatem vere Poeticam, Virgilianumque ubique ingenium redolentia. Sciebam equidem quam tibi tuóque genio impoſſibile futurum eſſet, à rebus Poeticis avocare animum, & furores illos coelicus inſtinctos, ſacrúmque & æthereum ignem intimo pectore eluere, cum tua (quod de ſeipſo Claudia-

nus)——*Totum ſpirent Præcordia Phœbum.* Itaque ſi tua tibi ipſe promiſſa fefelleris, laudo hîc tuam (quod ais) inconſtantiam, laudo, ſiqua eſt, improbitatem; me autem tam præclari Poematis arbitrum à te factum eſſe, non minus glorior, & honori mihi duco, quam ſi certantes ipſi Dii Muſici ad meum veniſſent judicium; quod Tmolo Lydii montis Deo populari olim contigiſſe fabulantur. Neſcio ſane an Henrico Naſſovio plus gratuler de urbe capta, an de tuis Carminibus: nihil enim exiſtimo victoriam hanc peperiſſe Poematio hoc tuo illuſtrius, aut celebrius. Te vero, cum proſperos ſociorum ſucceſſus tam ſonorâ triumphaliſque tubâ canere audiamus, quantum vatem ſperabimus, ſi forte res noſtræ demum feliciores tuas Muſas poſcant Gratulatrices. Vale vir erudite, ſummaſque à me tibi gratias Carminum tuorum nomine haberi ſcias.

*Londino.* Maii 20, 1628.

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## *Eidem.*

3. PRiori illâ Epiſtola meâ non tam reſcripſi tibi, quam reſcribendi vices deprecatus ſum, alteram itaque brevi ſecuturam tacite promiſi, in qua tibi me amiciſſime provocanti latius aliquanto reſponderem; verum ut id non eſſem pollicitus, hanc utcunque ſummo jure deberi tibi fatendum eſt, quandoquidem ſingulas ego literas tuas non niſi meis binis penſari poſſe exiſtimem, aut ſi exactius agatur, ne centenis quidem meis. Negotium illud de quo ſcripſi ſubobſcurius, ecce Tabellis hiſce involutum, in quo ego, cum tua ad me pervenit Epiſtola, diſtrictus temporis anguſtiâ magno tum primum opere deſudabam: quidam enim Ædium noſtrarum Socius, qui Comitiis his Academicis in Diſputatione Philoſophicâ reſponſurus erat, Carmina ſuper quæſtionibus pro more annuo componenda, prætervectus ipſe jamdiu leviculas illiuſmodi nugas, & rebus ſeriis intentior, forte meæ Puerilitati commiſit. Hæc quidem Typis donata ad te miſi, utpote quem nôrim rerum Poeticarum judicem acerrimum, & mearum candidiſſimum. Quod ſi tua mihi viciſſim communicare dignaberis, certè non erit qui magis iis delectetur, erit, fateor, qui rectius pro eorum dignitate judicet. Equidem quoties recolo apud me tua mecum aſſidua pene colloquia (quæ vel ipſis Athenis, ipsâ in Academiâ, quæro, deſideróque) cogito ſtatim nec ſine dolore, quanto fructu me mea fraudârit abſentia, qui nunquam à te diſceſſi ſine manifeſta Literarum acceſſione, & ἐπιδόσει, planè quaſi ad Emporium quoddam Eruditionis profectus. Sane apud nos, quod ſciam, vix unus atque alter eſt, qui non Philologiæ, pariter & Philoſophiæ, prope rudis & profanus, ad Theologiam devolet implumis; eam quoque leviter admodum attingere contentus, quantum forte ſufficiat conciunculæ quoquo modo conglutinandæ, & tanquam tritis aliunde pannis conſuendæ: adeo ut verendum ſit ne ſenſim ingruat in Clerum noſtrum ſacerdotalis illa ſuperioris ſæculi Ignorantia. Atque ego profecto cum nullos fere ſtudiorum conſortes hic reperiam, Londinum rectà reſpicerem, niſi per juſtitium hoc æſtivum in otium alte Literarium recedere cogitarem, & quaſi Clauſtris Muſarum deliteſcere. Quod cum jam tu indies facias, nefas eſſe propemodum exiſtimo diutius in præſentia tibi interſtrepere. Vale.

*Cantabrigia*, Julii 2, 1628.

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## *Thomæ Junio.*

4. INſpectis Literis tuis (Præceptor optime) unicum hoc mihi ſupervacaneum occurrebat, quòd tardæ ſcriptionis excuſationem attuleris; tametſi enim Literis tuis nihil mihi queat optabilius accidere, qui poſſim tamen, aut debeam ſperare, otii tibi tantum à rebus ſeriis, & ſanctioribus eſſe, ut mihi ſemper reſpondere vacet; præſertim cum illud humanitatis omnino ſit, officii minime. Te vero oblitum eſſe mei ut ſuſpicer, tam multa tua de me recens merita nequaquam ſinunt. Neque enim video quorſum tantis onuſtum beneficiis ad oblivionem dimitteres. Rus tuum accerſitus, ſimul ac ver adoleverit, libenter adveniam,

veniam, ad capeſſendas anni, tuique non minus colloquii, delicias; & ab urbano ſtrepitu ſubducam me pauliſper, Stoam tuam Icenorum, tanquam ad celeberrimam illam Zenonis porticum, aut Ciceronis Tuſculanum, ubi tu in re modica regio ſane animo veluti Serranus aliquis aut Curius in agello tuo placide regnas, deque ipſis divitiis, ambitione, pompâ, luxuriâ, & quicquid vulgus hominum miratur & ſtupet, quaſi triumphum agis fortunæ contemptor. Cæterùm qui tarditatis culpam deprecatus es, hanc mihi viciſſim, ut ſpero, præcipitantiam indulgebis; cùm enim Epiſtolam hanc in extremum diſtuliſſem, malui pauca, eáque rudiuſcule ſcribere, quam nihil. Vale Vir Obſervande.

*Cantabrigia*, Julij 21. 1628.

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## *Alexandro Gillio.*

5. SI mihi Aurum, aut cælata pretioſe vaſa, aut quicquid iſtiuſmodi mirantur Mortales, dono dediſſes, puderet certe non viciſſim, quantum ex meis facultatibus ſuppeteret, te aliquando remuneraſſe. Cum vero tam lepidum nobis, & venuſtum Hendecaſyilabon nudiuſtertius donaveris, quanto charius quidem Auro illud eſt merito, tanto nos reddidiſti magis ſolicitos, quâ re conquiſitâ tam jucundi beneficii gratiam rependeremus; erant quidem ad manum noſtra hoc in genere nonnulla, ſed quæ tuis in certamen muneris æquale nullo modo mittenda cenſerem. Mitto itaque quod non plane meum eſt, ſed & vatis etiam illius vere divini, cujus hanc Oden alterâ ætatis ſeptimanâ, nullo certe animi propoſito, ſed ſubito neſcio quo impetu ante lucis exortum, ad Græci carminis Heroici legem in lectulo fere concinnabam: ut hoc ſcilicet innixus adjutore qui te non minus argumento ſuperat, quam tu me artificio vincis, haberem aliquid, quod ad æquilibrium compenſationis accedere videatur; ſi quid occurrit, quod tuæ de noſtris, ut ſoles, opinioni minus ſatisfecerit, ſcias, ex quo ludum veſtrum reliquerim hoc me unicum atque primum græce compoſuiſſe, in Latinis, ut noſti, Angliciſque libentius verſatum. Quandoquidem qui Græcis componendis hoc ſæculo ſtudium atque operam impendit, periculum eſt, ne plerumque ſurdo canat. Vale, meque Die Lunæ Londini (ſi Deus voluerit) inter Bibliopolas expecta. Interim ſi quid apud illum Doctorem, annuum Collegii Præſidem, quâ vales amicitiâ, noſtrum poteris negotium promovere; cura quæſo, ut meâ causâ quam cito adeas; iterum Vale.

*E noſtro Suburbano*, Decemb. 4. 1634.

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## *Carolo Diodato.*

6. JAM iſtuc demum plane video te agere, ut obſtinato ſilentio nos aliquando pervincas; quod ſi ita eſt, euge habe tibi iſtam gloriolam, en ſcribimus priores: quanquam certe ſi unquam hæc res in contentionem veniret, cur neuter alteri οὕτω διὰ χρόνου ſcripſerit, cave putes quin ſim ego multis partibus excuſatior futurus: δῆλον ὅτι ὡς βραδύς καὶ ὀκνηρός τις ὢν φύσει πρὸς τὸ γράφειν, ut probe nôſti, cum tu contra ſive naturâ, ſive conſuetudine, ad hujuſmodi Literarias προσφωνήσεις haud ægre perduci ſoleas. Simul & illud pro me facit, quod tuam ſtudendi rationem ita inſtitutam cognovi, ut crebro interſpires, ad amicos viſas, multâ ſcribas, nonnunquam iter facias; meum ſic eſt ingenium, nulla ut mora, nulla quies, nulla ferme ullius rei cura, aut cogitatio diſtineat, quoad pervadam quo feror, & grandem aliquam ſtudiorum meorum quaſi periodum conficiam. Atque hinc omnino, nec aliunde, ſodes, eſt factum, uti ad officia quidem ultro deferenda ſpiſſius accedam, ad reſpondendum tamen, O noſter Theodote non ſum adeo ceſſator; neque enim commiſi ut tuam Epiſtolam unquam ullam debitâ vice noſtra alia ne clauſerit. Quid! quod tu, ut audio, Literas ad Bibliopolam, ad Fratrem etiam ſæpiuſcule; quorum utervis propter vicinitatem ſatis commode præſtitiſſet, mihi, ſi quæ eſſent, reddendas. Illud vero queror, te, cum eſſes pollicitus ad nos fore ut diverteres cum ex urbe diſcederes, promiſſis non ſtetiſſe: quæ promiſſa abs te præterita ſi vel ſemel cogitaſſes, non defuiſſet prope neceſſarium ſcribendi

argumentum. Atque hæc habui quæ in te merito, ut mihi videor, declamitarem. Tu quæ ad hæc contra parabis ipſe videris. Verum interim quid eſt quæſo? rectène vales? ecquinam iis in locis eruditi li ſunt quibuſcum libenter eſſe, & garrire poſſis, ut nos conſuevimus? quando redis? quamdiu tibi in animo eſt apud iſtos ὑπερβορέους commorari? tu velim ad hæc mihi ſingula reſpondeas: ſed enim ne neſcias non nunc demum res tuæ cordi mihi ſunt, nam ſic habeto me ineunte autumno ex itinere ad fratrem tuum eo conſilio deflexiſſe, ut quid ageres, ſcirem. Nuper etiam cum mihi temere Londini perlatum eſſet à neſcio quo te in urbe eſſe, confeſtim & quaſi αὐτοβοεὶ proripui me ad cellam tuam, at illud σκιᾶς ὄναρ, nuſquam enim compares. Quare quod ſine tuo incommodo fiat, advola ocyus & aliquo in loco te ſiſte, qui locus mitiorem ſpem præbeat, poſſe quoquo modo fieri ut aliquoties inter nos ſaltem viſamus, quod utinam nobis non aliter eſſes vicinus, ruſticanus atque es urbicus, ἀλλὰ τοῦτο ὥσπερ θεῷ φίλον. Plura vellem & de nobis, & de ſtudiis noſtris, ſed mallem coram; & jam cras ſumus rus illud noſtrum redituri, urgetque iter, ut vix hæc propere in chartam conjecerim. Vale.

*Londino*, Septemb. 2. 1637.

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### *Eidem.*

7. QUod cæteri in Literis ſuis plerunque faciunt amici, ut unicam tantum ſalutem dicere ſat habeant, tu illud jam video quid ſit quod toties impertias; ad ea enim quæ tute prius, & alii adhuc ſola afferre poſſunt vota, jam nunc artem inſuper tuam, vimque omnem medicam quaſi cumulum accedere vis me ſcilicet intelligere. Jubes enim ſalvere ſexcenties, quantum volo, quantum poſſum, vel etiam amplius. Næ ipſum te nuper Salutis condum promum eſſe factum oportet, ita totum ſalubritatis penum dilapidas, aut ipſa proculdubio ſanitas jam tua Paraſita eſſe debet, ſic pro Rege te geris atque imperis ut dicto ſit audiens; itaque gratulor tibi, & duplici proinde nomine gratias tibi agam neceſſe eſt, cum amicitiæ tum artis eximiæ. Literas quidem tuas, quoniam ita convenerat, diu expectabam; verum acceptis neque dum ullis, ſi quid mihi credis, non idcirco veterem meam erga te benevolentiam tantillum refrigeſcere ſum paſſus; immo vero quâ tarditatis excuſatione uſus Literarum initio es ipſam illam te allaturum eſſe jam animo præſenſeram, idque recte, noſtræque neceſſitudini convenienter. Non enim in Epiſtolarum ac Salutationum momentis veram verti amicitiam volo, quæ omnia ficta eſſe poſſunt; ſed altis animi radicibus niti utrinque & ſuſtinere ſe; cœptamque ſinceris, & ſanctis rationibus, etiamſi mutua ceſſarent officia, per omnem tamen vitam ſuſpicione & culpa vacare: ad quam fovendam non tam ſcripto ſit opus, quam vivâ invicem virtutum recordatione. Nec continuò, ut tu non ſcripſeris, non erit quo illud ſuppleri officium poſſit, ſcribit vicem tuam apud me tua probitas veraſque literas intimis ſenſibus meis exarat, ſcribit morum ſimplicitas, & recti amor; ſcribit ingenium etiam tuum, haudquaquam quotidianum, & majorem in modum te mihi commendat. Quare noli mihi, arcem illam Medicinæ tyrannicam nactus, terrores iſtos oſtentare, ac ſi ſalutes tuas ſexcentas velles, ſubductâ minutim ratiunculâ, ad unum omnes à me repoſcere, ſi forte ego, quod ne ſiverit unquam Deus, amicitiæ deſertor fierem; atque amove terribile illud ἐπιτείχισμα quod cervicibus noſtris videris impoſuiſſe, ut ſine tua bona venia ne liceat ægrotare. Ego enim ne nimis minitêre, tui ſimiles impoſſibile eſt quin amem, nam de cætero quidem quid de me ſtatuerit Deus neſcio, illud certe; δεινόν μοι ἔρωτα, εἴπερ τῳ ἄλλῳ, τοῦ καλοῦ ἐνέσταξε. Nec tanto Ceres labore, ut in fabulis eſt, Liberam fertur quæſiviſſe filiam, quanto ego hanc τοῦ καλοῦ ἰδέαν, veluti pulcherrimam quandam imaginem, per omnes rerum formas & facies: (πολλαὶ γὰρ μορφαὶ τῶν δαιμονίων) dies noctesque indagare ſoleo, & quaſi certis quibuſdam veſtigiis ducentem ſector. Unde fit, ut qui, ſpretis quæ vulgus pravâ rerum æſtimatione opinatur, id ſentire & loqui & eſſe audet; quod ſumma per omne ævum ſapientia optimum eſſe docuit, illi me protinus, ſicubi reperiam, neceſſitate quadam adjungam. Quod ſi ego ſive naturâ, ſive meo fato ita ſum comparatus, ut nullâ contentione, & laboribus meis ad tale decus & faſtigium laudis ipſe valeam emergere; tamen quo minus qui eam gloriam aſſecuti ſunt, aut eò

feliciter aſpirant, illos ſemper colam, & ſuſpiciam, nec Dii puto, nec homines prohibuerint. Cæterum jam curioſitati tuæ vis eſſe ſatisfactum ſcio. Multa ſolicite quæris, etiam quid cogitem. Audi, Theodote, verum in aurem ut ne rubeam, & ſinito paulisper apud te grandia loquar; quid cogitem quæris; ita me bonus Deus, immortalitatem. Quid agam vero? πτεροφυῶ, & volare meditor: ſed tenellis admodum adhuc pennis evehit ſe noſter Pegaſus, humile ſapiamus. Dicam jam nunc ſerio quid cogitem, in hoſpitium Juridicorum aliquod immigrare, ſicubi amœna & umbroſa ambulatio eſt, quod & inter aliquot ſodales, commodior illic habitatio, ſi domi manere, & ὁρμητήριον εὐπρεπέστερον quocunque libitum erit excurrere; ubi nunc ſum, ut noſti, obſcure, & anguſte ſum; de ſtudiis etiam noſtris fies certior. Græcorum res continuatâ lectione deduximus uſquequo illi Græci eſſe ſunt deſiti: Italorum in obſcura re diu verſati ſumus ſub Longobardis, & Francis & Germanis, ad illud tempus quo illis ab Rodolpho Germaniæ Rege conceſſa libertas eſt; exinde quid quæque Civitas ſuo Marte geſſerit, ſeparatim legere præſtabit. Tu vero quid? quouſque rebus domeſticis filiusfamilias immінebis urbanarum ſodalitatum oblitus? quod, niſi bellum hoc novercale, vel Dacico, vel Sarmatico infeſtius ſit, debebis profecto maturare, ut ad nos ſaltem in hyberna concedas. Interim, quod ſine tua moleſtia fiat, Juſtinianum mihi Venetorum Hiſtoricum rogo mittas; ego mea fide aut in adventum tuum probe aſſervatum curabo; aut, ſi mavis, haud ita multo poſt ad te remiſſum. Vale.

*Londino*, Septemb. 23. 1637.

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### *Benedicto Bonmatthæo* Florentino.

8. QUod novas patriæ linguæ Inſtitutiones adornas (*Benedicte Bonmatthæe*) jam operi faſtigium impoſiturus, & commune tu quidem cum ſummis quibuſdam ingeniis iter ad laudem ingrederis, & eam ſpem, quod video, eamque de te opinionem apud Cives tuos concitâſti, ut qui ab aliis quæ tradita jam ſunt, iis aut lucem, aut copiam, aut certe limam, atque ordinem tuo marte facile ſis allaturus. Quo nomine profecto populares tuos quam non vulgarem in modum tibi devinxeris, ingrati nempe ſint ipſi, ſi non perſpexerint. Nam qui in civitate mores hominum ſapienter nôrit formare, domique & belli præclaris inſtitutis regere, illum ego præ cæteris omni honore apprime dignum eſſe exiſtimem. Proximum huic tamen, qui loquendi ſcribendique rationem & normam probo gentis ſæculo receptam, præceptis reguliſque ſancire adnititur, & veluti quodam vallo circummunire; quod quidem ne quis tranſire auſit, tantum non Romulea lege ſit cautum. Utriuſque enim horum utilitatem conferre ſi libet juſtum utrique & ſanctum Civium convictum alter ille ſolus efficere poteſt; hic vero ſolus liberalem, & ſplendidum, & luculentum, quod proxime in votis eſt. Ille in hoſtem fines invadentem, ardorem credo excelſum, & intrepida conſilia ſuppeditat; Hic Barbariem animos hominum late incurſantem, fœdam & inteſtinam ingeniorum perduellem, doctâ aurium cenſurâ, Authorumque bonorum expeditâ manu, explodendam ſibi, & debellandam ſuſcipit. Neque enim qui ſermo, puruſne an corruptus, quæve loquendi proprietas quotidiana populo ſit, parvi intereſſe arbitrandum eſt, quæ res Athenis non ſemel ſaluti fuit: immo vero, quod Platonis ſententia eſt, immutato veſtiendi more habituq; graves in Republica motus, mutationeſq; portendi, equidem potius collabente in vitium atq; errorem loquendi uſu, occaſum ejus urbis, remq; humilem & obſcuram ſubſequi crediderim: verba enim partim inſcita & putida, partim mendoſa, & perperam prolata; quid ſi ignavos & oſcitantes, & ad ſervile quidvis jam olim paratos incolarum animos haud levi indicio declarant? Contra, nullum unquam audivimus imperium, nullam civitatem non mediocriter ſaltem floruiſſe, quamdiu Linguæ ſua gratia, ſuuſq; cultus conſtitit. Tu itaque, Benedicte, hanc operam Reipublicæ tuæ navare modo ut pergas, quam pulchram, quamq; ſolidam à civibus tuis neceſſario gratiam initurus ſis, vel hinc liquido ſpecta. Quæ à me eo dicta ſunt, non quod ego te quidquam horum ignorare cenſeam, ſed quod mihi perſuadeam, in hoc te magis multo intentum eſſe, quid tute patriæ tuæ poſſis perſolvere, quam quid illa tibi jure optimo ſit debitura. De exteris jam nunc dicam, quorum demerendi, ſi tibi id cordi eſt, perſane ampla in præſens oblata eſt occaſio; ut enim eſt apud eos ingenio quis forte floridior, aut

moribus amœnis & elegantibus, Linguam Hetruſcam in deliciis habet præcipuis, quin & in ſolida etiam parte eruditionis eſſe ſibi ponendam ducit, præſertim ſi Græca aut Latina, vel nullo, vel modico tinctu imbiberit. Ego certe iſtis utriſque Linguis non extremis tantummodo labris madidus; ſed ſiquis alius, quantum per annos licuit, poculis majoribus prolutus, poſſum tamen nonnunquam ad illum Dantem, & Petrarcham alioſque veſtros compluſculos, libenter & cupide commeſſatum ire: nec me tam ipſæ Athenæ Atticæ cum illo ſuo pellucido Iliſſo, nec illa vetus Roma ſuâ Tiberis ripâ retinere valuêrunt; quin ſæpe Arnum veſtrum, & Fæſulanos illos colles inviſere amem. Jam vide, obſecro, numquid ſatis cauſæ fuerit, quæ me vobis ultimum ab Oceano hoſpitem per hoſce aliquot dies dederit, veſtræq; Nationis ita amantem, ut non ullius, opinor, magis. Quo magis merito potes meminiſſe, quid ego tanto opere abs te contendere ſoleam; uti jam inchoatis, majori etiam ex parte abſolutis, velles, quantâ maxima facilitate res ipſa tulerit, in noſtram exterorum gratiam, de recta linguæ pronuntiatione adhuc paululum quiddam adjicere. Cæteris enim ſermonis veſtri conſultis in hanc uſque diem id animi videtur fuiſſe, ſuis tantum ut ſatisfacerent, de nobis nihil ſoliciti. Quanquam ille meo quidem judicio, & famæ ſuæ, & Italici ſermonis gloriæ, haud paulo certius conſuluiſſent, ſi præcepta ita tradidiſſent, ac ſi omnium mortalium referret ejus linguæ ſcientiam appetere: verum per illos non ſtetit quo minus nobis videremini vos Itali, intra Alpium duntaxat pomœria ſapere voluiſſe. Hæc igitur laus prælibata nemini, tota erit tua, tibi intactam & integram hucuſque ſe ſervat; nec illa minus, ſi in tanta Scriptorum turba commonſtare ſeparatim non gravabere, quis poſt illos decantatos Florentinæ linguæ auctores poterit ſecundas haud injuriâ ſibi aſſerere: quis Tragœdia inſignis, quis in Comœdia feſtivus & lepidus; quis ſcriptis Epiſtolis aut Dialogis, argutus aut gravis; quis in Hiſtoria nobilis: ita & ſtudioſo potiorem quemque eligere volenti non erit difficile, & erit, quoties vagari latius libebit, ubi pedem intrepide poſſit figere. Quâ quidem in re, inter Antiquos Ciceronem & Fabium habebis, quos imiteris; veſtrorum autem hominum haud ſcio an ullum. Atque hæc ego tametſi videor mihi abs te (niſi me animus fallit) jam primo impetraſſe, quoties in iſtius rei mentionem incidimus, quæ tua comitas eſt, & benignum ingenium; nolo tamen id tibi fraudi ſit, quo minus exquiſite, ut ita dicam atque elaborate exorandum te mihi eſſe putem. Nam quod tua virtus, tuuſque candor, minimum rebus tuis pretium, minimamque æſtimationem addicit; iis ego, juſtam volo, & exactam, cum rei dignitas, tum adeo mea obſervantia imponat; & certe hoc æquum eſt ubique, quanto quis petenti faciliorem ſe præbet, tanto minus concedentis honori deeſſe oportebit. De cætero, ſi forte cur in hoc argumento, Latinâ potius quam veſtrâ Linguâ utar, miraris; id factum eâ gratiâ eſt ut intelligas quam ego Linguam abs te mihi præceptis exornandam cupio, ejus me plane meam imperitiam, & inopiam Latine confiteri; & hâc ipſâ ratione plus me valiturum apud te ſperavi ſimul & illud, ſi canam; & venerandam è Latio matrem, in filiæ cauſâ ſuæ mecum adjutricem adduxiſſem, credidi fore ejus authoritati, & reverentiæ, auguſtæque per tot ſæcula Majeſtati, nihil ut denegares. Vale.

*Florentia*, Septemb. 10. 1638.

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### *Lucæ Holſtenio* Romæ *in* Vaticano.

9. TAmetſi multa in hoc meo Italiæ tranſcurſu multorum in me humaniter & peramice facta, & poſſum, & ſæpe ſoleo recordari; tamen pro tam brevi notitia, haud ſcio an jure dicam ullius majora extitiſſe in me benevolentiæ indicia quam ea quæ mihi abs te profecta ſunt. Cum enim tui conveniendi causâ in Vaticanum aſcenderem, ignotum prorſus, niſi ſi quid forte ab Alexandro Cherubino dictum de me prius fuerat, ſummâ cum humanitate recepiſti; mox in Muſæum comiter admiſſo, & conquiſitiſſimam Librorum ſupellectilem, & permultos inſuper Manuſcriptos Authores Græcos, tuis Lucubrationibus exornatos, adſpicere licuit: quorum partim noſtro ſæculo nondum viſi, quaſi in procinctu, velut illæ apud Maronem,

*——penitus convalle virenti*
*Incluſæ animæ ſuperumque ad limen ituræ.*

expeditas modo Typographi manus, & μαιευτικὴν poſcere videbantur; partim tuâ operâ etiamnum editi, paſſim ab eruditis avide accipiuntur; quorum & unius etiam duplici dono abs te auctus dimittor. Tum nec aliter crediderim, quam quæ tu de me verba feceris ad præſtantiſſimum Cardin. Franc. Barberinum, iis factum eſſe, ut cum ille paucis poſt diebus ἀκρόαμα illud Muſicum magnificentiâ vere Romana publice exhiberet, ipſe me tanta in turba quæſitum ad fores expectans, & pene manu prehenſum perſane honorifice intro admiſerit. Quâ ego gratiâ cum illum poſtridie ſalutatum acceſſiſſem, tute idem rurſus is eras, qui & aditum mihi feciſti, & colloquendi copiam; quæ quidem cum tanto viro, quo etiam in ſummo dignitatis faſtigio nihil benignius, nihil humanius, pro loci & temporis ratione largiuſcula profecto potius erat, quam nimis parca. Atque ego (Doctiſſime Holſteni) utrum ipſe ſim ſolus tam te amicum, & hoſpitem expertus, an omnes Anglos, id ſpectans ſcilicet quod triennium Oxoniæ Literis operam dederis, iſtiuſmodi officiis etiam quoſcunque proſequi ſtudium ſit, certe neſcio. Si hoc eſt, pulchre tu quidem Angliæ noſtræ, ex parte etiam tuæ, διδασκάλια perſolvis; privatóque noſtrûm cujuſque nomine, & patriæ publico, parem utrobiq, gratiam promereris. Sin eſt illud, eximium me tibi præ cæteris habitum, dignumque adeo viſum quîcum velis ξενίαν ποιεῖσθαι, & mihi gratulor de tuo judicio, & tuum ſimul candorem præ meo merito pono. Jam illud vero quod mihi negotium dediſſe videbare, de inſpiciendo codice Mediceo, ſedulo ad amicos retuli, qui quidem ejus rei efficiendæ ſpem perexiguam in præſens oſtendunt. In illa Bibliotheca, niſi impetratâ prius venia, nihil poſſe exſcribi, ne ſtylum quidem ſcriptorium admoviſſe tabulis permiſſum; eſſe tamen aiunt Romæ Joannem Baptiſtam Donium, is ad legendas publice Græcas Literas Florentiam vocatus indies expectatur, per eum ut conſequi poſſis quæ velis facile eſſe; quanquam id ſane mihi pergratum accidiſſet, ſi res tam præſertim optanda quæ ſit, meâ potius opellâ ſaltem aliquando plus promoviſſet, cum ſit indignum tam tibi honeſta & præclara ſuſcipienti, non omnes undecunque homines, & rationes, & res favere. De cætero, novo beneficio devinxeris, ſi Eminentiſſimum Cardinalem quantâ poteſt obſervantiâ meo nomine ſalutes, cujus magnæ virtutes, rectique ſtudium, ad provehendas item omnes Artes Liberales egregie comparatum, ſemper mihi ob oculos verſantur; tum illa mitis, &, ut ita dicam, ſummiſſa animi celſitudo, quæ ſola ſe deprimendo attollere didicit; de qua vere dici poteſt, quod de Cerere apud Callimachum eſt, diverſâ tamen ſententiâ, ἴθματα μὲν χέρσω κεφαλὰ δέ οἱ ἅπτετ' ὀλύμπω. Quod cæteris fere Principibus documento eſſe poteſt, triſte illud ſupercilium, & aulici faſtus, quam longe à vera magnanimitate diſcrepantes & alieni ſint. Nec puto fore, dum ille vivit, Eſtenſes, Farnaſios, aut Mediceos, olim doctorum hominum fautores, ut quis amplius deſideret. Vale, Doctiſſime Holſteni, & ſi quis tui, tuorúmque ſtudiorum amantior eſt illi me quoque, ſi id eſſe tanti exiſtimas, ubicunque ſim gentium futurus, velim annumeres.

*Florentiæ*, Martii 30. 1639.

## *Carolo Dato Patricio Florentino.*

10. PErlatis inopinatò Literis ad me tuis, mi Carole, quantâ, & quam novâ ſim voluptate perfuſus, quandoquidem non eſt ut pro re ſatis queam dicere, volo ex dolore ſaltem, ſine quo vix ulla magna hominibus delectatio conceſſa eſt, id aliquantum intelligas. Dum enim illa tua prima percurro, in quibus elegantia cum amicitia pulchre ſane contendit, merum illud quidem gaudium eſſe dixerim, præſertim cum uti vincat amicitia, operam te dare videam. Statim vero cum incido in illud quod ſcribis, ternas te jam olim ad me dediſſe, quas ego periiſſe ſcio, tum primum ſincera illa infici, triſtique deſiderio conturbari, coepta eſt lætitia; mox etiam gravius quiddam ſubit, in quo vicem meam dolere perſæpe ſoleo, quos forte viciniæ, aut aliqua nullius uſus neceſſitudo mecum, ſive caſu, ſive lege conglutinavit, illos nullâ re aliâ commendabiles aſſidere quotidie, obtundere, etiam enecare mehercule quoties collibitum erit; quos mores, ingenium, ſtudia, tam belle conciliaverant, illos jam pene omnes, aut morte, aut iniquiſſimâ locorum diſtantiâ invideri mihi, & ita confeſtim è conſpectu plerumque abripi, ut in perpetuâ fere ſolitudine verſari mihi neceſſe ſit.

Te, quod ais, ex quo Florentiâ diſceſſi, meâ de ſalute ſolicitum, ſemperque mei memorem fuiſſe, gratulor mihi ſane, par illud utrique & mutuum accidiſſe, quod ego me ſolum ſenſiſſe meo fortaſſe merito arbitrabar. Gravis admodum, ne te celem, diſceſſus ille & mihi quoque fuit, eoſque meo animo aculeos infixit, qui etiam nunc altius inhærent, quoties mecum cogito tot ſimul ſodales atque amicos tam bonos, tamque commodos unâ in urbe, longinquâ illâ quidem, ſed tamen chariſſimâ, invitum me, & plane divulſum reliquiſſe. Teſtor illum mihi ſemper ſacrum & ſolenne futurum Damonis tumulum; in cujus funere ornando cum luctu & mœrore oppreſſus, ad ea quæ potui ſolatia confugere, & reſpirare pauliſper cupiebam, non aliud mihi quicquam jucundius occurrit, quam veſtrum omnium gratiſſimam mihi memoriam, tuique nominatim in mentem revocaſſe. Id quod ipſe jamdiu legiſſe debes, ſiquidem ad vos carmen illud pervenit, quod ex te nunc primum audio. Mittendum ego ſane ſedulo curaveram, ut eſſet ingenii quantulumcunque, amoris autem adverſum vos mei, vel illis paucis verſiculis, emblematis ad morem incluſis, teſtimonium haudquaquam obſcurum. Exiſtimabam etiam fore hoc modo, ut vel te vel alium ad ſcribendum allicerem; mihi enim ſi prior ſcriberem, neceſſe erat, ut vel ad omnes, vel ſi quem aliis prætuliſſem, verebar ne in cæterorum, qui id reſciſſent, offenſionem incurrerem; cum permultos adhuc ſupereſſe iſtic ſperem, qui hoc à me officium vendicare certe potuerint. Nunc tu omnium primus, & hâc amiciſſimâ Literarum provocatione, & ſcribendi officio ter jam repetito debitas tibi à me jampridem reſpondendi vices reliquorum expoſtulatione liberaſti. Quanquam fateor acceſſiſſe ad illam ſilentii cauſam, turbulentiſſimus iſte, ex quo domum reverſus ſum, Britanniæ noſtræ ſtatus, qui animum meum paulo poſt ab ſtudiis excolendis, ad vitam & fortunas quoquo modo tuendas neceſſario convertit. Ecquem tu inter tot Civium commiſſa prælia, cædes, fugas, bonorum direptiones, receſſum otio Literario tutum dari putes poſſe? Nos tamen etiam inter hæc mala, quoniam de ſtudiis meis certior fieri poſtulas, ſermone patrio haud pauca in lucem dedimus; quæ niſi eſſent Anglice ſcripta, libens ad vos mitterem, quorum judiciis plurimum tribuo. Poematum quidem quæ pars Latina eſt, quoniam expetis, brevi mittam; atque id ſponte jamdudum feciſſem, niſi quod, propter ea quæ in Pontificem Romanum aliquot paginis aſperius dicta ſunt, ſuſpicabar veſtris auribus fore minus grata. Nunc abs te peto, ut quam veniam, non dico Aligerio, & Petrarchæ veſtro eadem in cauſâ, ſed meæ, ut ſcis, olim apud vos loquendi libertati, ſingulari cum humanitate, dare conſueviſtis, eandem impetres (nam de te mihi perſuaſum eſt) ab cæteris amicis, quoties de veſtris ritibus noſtro more loquendum erit. Exequias Ludovici Regis à te deſcriptas libenter lego, in quibus Mercurium tuum, non compitalem illum & mercimoniis addictum, quem te nuper colere jocaris, ſed facundum illum, Muſis acceptum, & Mercurialium virorum præſidem, agnoſco. Reſtat ut de ratione aliqua & modo inter nos conſtet, quo literæ deinceps noſtræ certo itinere utrinque commeare poſſint. Quod non admodum difficile videtur, cum tot noſtri Mercatores negotia apud vos, & multa, & ampla habeant, quorum Tabellarii ſingulis hebdomadis ultro citroque curſitant; quorum & navigia haud multo rarius hinc illinc ſolvunt. Hanc ego curam Jacobo Bibliopolæ, vel ejus hero mihi familiariſſimo, recte, ut ſpero, committam. Tu interim, mi Carole, valebis, & Cultellino, Francino, Freſcobaldo, Malateſtæ, Clementillo minori, & ſi quem alium noſtri amantiorem noviſti; toti denique Gaddianæ Academiæ, ſalutem meo nomine plurimam dices. Interim vale.

*Londino*, Aprilis 21. 1647.

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### *Hermanno Millio*, Comitis *Oldenburgici* Oratori.

11. AD Literas tuas, Nobiliſſime Hermanne, 17 Decemb. ad me datas, antequam reſpondeam; ne me ſilentii tam diutini reum fortaſſis apud te peragas, primum omnium oportet exponam, cur non reſponderem prius. Primum igitur ne neſcias, moram attulit, quæ perpetua jam fere Adverſatrix mihi eſt, adverſa valetudo; deinde valetudinis cauſa, neceſſaria quædam & ſubita in ædes alias migratio, quam eo die forte inceperam, quo tuæ ad me Literæ perferebantur; poſtremo certe pudor, non habuiſſe me quicquam de tuo

negotio quod gratum fore tibi judicabam. Nam cum poſtridie in Dominum Froſtium caſu incidiſſem, exque eo diligenter quærerem, ecquod tibi reſponſum etiamnum decerneretur? ( ipſe enim à Concilio valetudinarius ſæpe aberam ) reſpondit, & commotior quidem, nihil dum decerni, ſeque in expedienda re iſta nihil proficere. Satius itaque duxi ad tempus ſilere, quam id quod moleſtum tibi ſciebam fore, extemplo ſcribere, donec, quod ipſe vellem, tuque tantopere expetebas, libentiſſime poſſem ſcribere; quod & hodie, uti ſpero, perfeci: nam cum in Concilio Præſidem de tuo negotio ſemel atque iterum commonefeciſſem, ſtatim ille retulit, adeóque in craſtinum diem de reſponſo quamprimum tibi dando conſtituta deliberatio eſt. Hac de re ſi primus ipſe, quod conabar certiorem te facerem, & tibi jucundiſſimum, & mei in te ſtudii indicium aliquod fore exiſtimabam.

*Weſtmonaſterio.*

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## *Clariſſimo Viro* Leonardo Philaræ *Athenienſi, Ducis* Parmenſis *ad Regem* Galliæ *Legato.*

12. BEnevolentiam erga me tuam, Ornatiſſime Leonarde Philara, nec non etiam præclarum de noſtra pro P. A. defenſione judicium, ex Literis tuis ad Dominum Augerium Virum apud nos, in obeundis ab hac Republica Legationibus, fide eximiâ illuſtrem, partim eâ de re ſcriptis cognovi: miſſam deinde ſalutem cum effigie, atque Elogio tuis ſane virtutibus digniſſimo; Literas denique abs te humaniſſimas per eundem accepi. Atque ego quidem cum nec Germanorum ingenia, ne Cymbrorum quidem, aut Suecorum aſpernari ſoleo, tum certe tuum, qui & Athenis Atticis natus, &, Literarum ſtudiis apud Italos fœliciter peractis magno rerum uſu Honores ampliſſimos es conſecutus, judicium de me non poſſum quin plurimi faciam. Cum enim Alexander ille magnus in terris ultimis bellum gerens, tantos ſe Militiæ labores pertuliſſe teſtatus ſit, τῆς παρ᾽ Ἀθηναίων εὐδοξίας ἕνεκα; quidni ego mihi gratuler, meque ornari quam maxime putem, ejus Viri laudibus, in quo jam unà priſcorum Athenienſium Artes, atque Virtutes illæ celebratiſſimæ, renaſci tam longo intervallo, & refloreſcere videntur. Quâ ex urbe cum tot Viri Diſertiſſimi prodierint, eorum potiſſimùm ſcriptis ab adoleſcentia pervolvendis, didiciſſe me libens fateor quicquid ego in Literis profeci. Quod ſi mihi tanta vis dicendi accepta ab illis & quaſi transfuſa ineſſet, ut exercitus noſtros & claſſes ad liberandam ab Ottomannico tyranno Græciam, Eloquentiæ patriam, excitare poſſem, ad quod facinus egregium noſtras opes pene implorare videris, facerem profecto id quo nihil mihi antiquius aut in votis prius eſſet. Quid enim vel fortiſſimi olim Viri, vel eloquentiſſimi glorioſius aut ſe dignius eſſe duxerunt quam vel ſuadendo vel fortiter faciendo ἐλευθέρους καὶ αὐτονόμους ποιείσθαι τοὺς Ἕλληνας? Verùm & aliud quiddam præterea tentandum eſt, meâ quidem ſententia longe maximum, ut quis antiquam in animis Græcorum virtutem, induſtriam, laborum tolerantiam, antiqua illa ſtudia dicendo, ſuſcitare atque accendere poſſit. Hoc ſi quis effecerit, quod à nemine potius quam abs te, pro tua illa inſigni erga patriam pietate, cum ſumma prudentia, reique militaris peritia, ſummo denique recuperandæ libertatis priſtinæ ſtudio conjunctâ, expectare debemus; neque ipſos ſibi Græcos neque ullam Gentem Græcis defuturam eſſe confido. Vale.

*Londino,* Jun. 1652.

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## *Richardo Hetho.*

13. SI quam ego operam, Amice Spectatiſſime, vel in ſtudiis tuis promovendis, vel in eorum ſubſidio comparando, unquam potui conferre, quæ ſane aut nulla plane, aut perexigua fuit; tamen eam in bona indole, quamvis ſerius cognitâ tam bene tamque fœliciter collatam, haud uno profecto nomine gaudeo; eam etiam adeo frugiferam fuiſſe, ut & Eccleſiæ Paſtorem probum, Patriæ bonum Civem, mihi denique Amicum gratiſſimum pepererit. Quod equidem, cum ex cætera vita tua atque ex eo, quod de Religione & ſimul de

Republica præclare ſentis, tum præcipue ex ſingulari animi tui gratitudine, quæ nulla abſentiâ, nullo ætatis decurſu, extingui aut minui poteſt, facile intelligo. Neque enim poteſt fieri, niſi in virtute ac pietate, rerumque optimarum ſtudiis, progreſſus pluſquam mediocres feciſſes, ut in eos, qui tibi ad ea acquirenda vel minimum adjumentum attulere, tam grato animo eſſes. Quapropter, mi alumne, hoc etiam nomine utor libenter, ſi ſinis; ſic velim exiſtimes, tecum primis à me diligi, nec mihi quicquam optatius fore, quam, ſi tua commoda rationéſque ferrent, quod & tibi etiam in votis eſſe video, ut poſſis prope me alicubi degere, quo frequentior inter nos atque jucundior, & vitæ uſus & ſtudiorum eſſet. Verum de eo, prout Numini viſum erit, tibique expediverit. Quod ſcripſeris deinceps, poteris, ſi placet, noſtro ſermone ſcribere ( quanquam tu quidem Latinis haud parum profeciſti ) nequando ſcriptionis labor alterutrum noſtrum ſegniorem forte ad ſcribendum reddiderit, utque ſenſus animi noſter inter nos, nullis exteri ſermonis vinculis conſtrictus, eo liberius expromere ſe poſſit. Literas autem tuas cuivis, credo, ex ejus famulitio, cujus mentionem feciſti, rectiſſime committes. Vale.

*Weſtmonaſterio*, Decemb. 13. 1652.

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### *Henrico Oldenburgo Bremenſium* ad Sen. A. Oratori.

14. PRiores Literæ tuæ, Vir Ornatiſſime, tum mihi ſunt datæ, cum Tabellarius veſter diceretur jamjam rediturus: quo factum eſt, ut reſcribendi eo tempore facultas nulla eſſet: id vero quamprimum facere cogitantem inopinatæ quædam occupationes excepêre; quæ niſi accidiſſent, Librum profecto, defenſionis licet titulo munitum, non ita nudum ad te ſene excuſatione miſiſſem; cum ecce tuæ ad me alteræ, in quibus pro muneris tenuitate ſatis ſupérque gratiarum ſunt actæ. Et erat quidem haud ſemel in animo, Latinis tuis noſtra reponere; ut qui ſermonem noſtrum exteris omnibus, quos ego quidem novi, accuratius ac fœlicius addiceris, ne quam occaſionem eundem quoque ſcribendi, quod æque te arbitror accurate poſſe, amitteres. Verum id prout dehinc impetus tulerit, tua perinde optio ſit. De argumento quod ſcribis, plane mecum ſentis, clamorem iſtiuſmodi ad cœlum ſenſus omnes humanos fugere: quo impudentior ſit is, neceſſe eſt, qui audiſſe ſe eum tam audacter affirmaverit. Is autem quis ſit, ſcrupulum injeciſti: atqui dudum, aliquoties hâc de re eſſemus inter nos locuti, tuque recens ex Hollandia huc veniſſes, nulla tibi de Authore dubitatio ſubeſſe videbatur; quin is Morus fuiſſet: eam nimirum iis in locis famam obtinuiſſe, neminem præterea nominari. Si quid igitur hac de re certius nunc demum habes, me rogo certiorem facias. De argumenti tractatione vellem equidem ( quid enim diſſimulem ) abs te non diſſentire; id pene ut audeam quid eſt quod perſuadere facilius poſſit, quam virorum, qualis tu es, cordatorum ſincerum judicium, omniſque expers adulationis laudatio? Ad alia ut me parem, neſcio ſane an nobiliora aut utiliora (quid enim in rebus humanis aſſerendâ libertate nobilius aut utilius eſſe poſſit?) ſiquidem per valetudinem & hanc luminum orbitatem, omni ſenectute graviorem, ſi denique per hujuſmodi Rabularum clamores licuerit, facile induci potero: neque enim iners otium unquam mihi placuit, & hoc cum libertatis adverſariis inopinatum certamen, diverſis longe, & amœnioribus omnino me ſtudiis intentum, ad ſe rapuit invitum; ita tamen ut rei geſtæ quando id neceſſe erat nequaquam pœniteat: nam in vanis operam conſumpſiſſe me, quod innuere videris, longe abeſt, ut putem. Verum de his alias; tu tandem, Vir Doctiſſime, ne te prolixius detineam, vale; meque in tuis numera.

*Weſtmonaſterio*, Julii 6. 1654.

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### *Leonardo Philaræ Athenienſi.*

15. CU M ſim à pueritia totius Græci nominis, tuarúmque in primis Athenarum cultor, ſi quis alius, tum una hoc ſemper mihi perſuaſiſſimum habebam, fore ut illa urbs præclaram aliquando redditura vicem eſſet benevolentiæ erga ſe meæ. Neque defuit ſane tuæ Patriæ Nobiliſſimæ antiquus ille genius augurio meo; dedíque te nobis & germanum Atticum & noſtri amantiſſimum:

ſimum: Qui me, ſcriptis duntaxat notum, & locis ipſe disjunctus humaniſſime per Literas compellaveris, & Londinum poſtea inopinatus adveniens, viſenſque non videntem, etiam in ea calamitate, propter quam conſpectior nemini, deſpectior multis fortaſſe ſim, eadem benevolentiâ proſequaris. Cum itaque author mihi ſis, ut viſus recuperandi ſpem omnem ne abjiciam, habere te amicum ac neceſſarium tuum Pariſiis Tevenotum Medicum, in curandis præſertim oculis præſtantiſſimum, quem ſis de meis luminibus conſulturus, ſi modo acceperis à me unde is cauſas morbi & ſymptomata poſſit intelligere; faciam equidem quod hortaris, ne oblatam undecunque divinitus fortaſſis opem repudiare videar. Decennium, opinor, plus minus eſt, ex quo debilitari atque habeſcere viſum ſenſi eodémque tempore lienem, viſceráque omnia gravari, flatibuſque vexari: & mane quidem, ſiquid pro more legere cœpiſſem, oculi ſtatim penitus dolere, lectionemque refugere, poſt mediocrem deinde corporis exercitationem recreari; quam aſpexiſſem lucernam, Iris quædam viſa eſt redimere: haud ita multò poſt ſiniſtrâ in parte oculi ſiniſtri ( is enim oculus aliquot annis prius altera nubilavit ) caligo oborta, quæ ad latus illud ſita erant, omnia eripiebat. Anteriora quoque, ſi dexterum forte oculum clauſiſſem, minora viſa ſunt. Deficiente per hoc fere triennium ſenſim atque paulatim altero quoque lumine, aliquot ante menſibus quam viſus omnis aboleretur, quæ immotus ipſe cernerem, viſa ſunt omnia nunc dextrorſum, nunc ſiniſtrorſum natare; frontem totam atque tempora inveterati quidem vapores videntur inſediſſe; qui ſomnolentâ quadam gravitate oculos, à cibo præſertim uſque ad veſperam, plerunque urgent atque deprimunt; ut mihi haud raro veniat in mentem in Salmydeſſii Vatis Phinei in Argonauticis,

—— κάρος δέ μιν ἀμφεκάλυψεν
πορφύρεος· γαῖαν δὲ πέριξ ἐδόκησε φέρεσθαι
νειόθεν, ἀβληχρῷ δ' ἐπὶ κώματι κέκλιτ' ἄναυδος.

Sed neque illud omiſerim, dum adhuc viſûs aliquantum ſupererat, ut primum in lecto decubuiſſem, meque in alterutrum latus reclinaſſem, conſueviſſe copioſum lumen clauſis oculis emicare; deinde, imminuto indies viſu colores perinde obſcuriores cum impetu & fragore quodam intimo exilire; nunc autem, quaſi extincto lucido, merus nigror, aut cineraco diſtinctus, & quaſi intextus ſolet ſe affundere: Caligo tamen quæ perpetuo obverſatur, tam noctu, quam interdiu albenti ſemper quam nigricanti proprior videtur; & volvente ſe oculo aliquantillum lucis quaſi per rimulam admittit. Ex quo tametſi Medico tantundem quoque ſpei poſſit elucere, tamen ut in re plane inſanabili, ita in me paro atque compono; illudque ſæpe cogito, cum deſtinati cuique dies tenebrarum, quod monet Sapiens multi ſint, meas adhuc tenebras, ſingulari Numinis benignitate, inter otium & ſtudia, vocéſque amicorum, & ſalutationes, illis lethalibus multo eſſe mitiores. Quod ſi, ut ſcriptum eſt, non ſolo pane vivet homo, ſed omni verbo prodeunte per os Dei, quid eſt, cur quis in hoc itidem non acquieſcat, non ſolis ſe oculis, ſed Dei ductu an providentia ſatis oculatum eſſe. Sane dummodo ipſe mihi proſpicit, ipſe mihi providet, quod facit, meque per omnem vitam quaſi manuducit atque deducit, ne ego meos oculos, quandoquidem ipſi ſic viſum eſt, libens feriari juſſero. Teque, mi Philara, quocunque res ceciderit, non minus forti & confirmato animo, quam ſi Lynceus eſſem, valere jubeo.

*Weſtmonaſterio*, Septemb. 28. 1654.

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## *Leoni ab Aizema.*

16. PErgratum eſt eandem adhuc memoriam retinere te mei, quam antea benevolentiam, dum apud nos eras, me ſemel atque iterum inviſendo, perhumaniter ſignificaſti. Ad Librum quod attinet de divortiis, quem dediſſe te cuidem Hollandice vertendum ſcribis, mallem equidem Latine vertendum dediſſes: Nam vulgus opiniones nondum vulgares, quemadmodum excipere ſoleat, in iis libris expertus jam ſum. Tres enim ea de re tractatus olim ſcripſi: Primum duobus Libris, quibus Doctrina & Diſciplina divortii, is enim libro titulus eſt, diffuſe continetur: Alterum qui Tetrachordon inſcribitur, &

in quo quatuor præcipua loca Scripturæ ſupra ea doctrina quæ ſunt, explicantur: Tertium, Colaſterion, in quo cuidam Sciolo reſpondetur. Quem horum Tractatum vertendum dederis, quamve editionem, neſcio; nam eorum primus bis editus eſt, & poſteriori editione multo auctius. Qua de re niſi certior jam factus ſis, aut ſi quid à me aliud velle te intellexero, ut vel Editionem correctiorem, vel reliquos Tractatus tibi mittam, faciam ſedulo & libenter. Nam mutatum in iis quicquam aut additum non eſt in præſentia quod velim. Itaque ſi in tua ſententia præſtiteris, fidum ego mihi Interpretem, tibi fauſta omnia exopto.

*Weſtmonaſterio*, Feb. 5. 1654.

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### *Ezechieli Spanhemio Genevenſi.*

17. Neſcio quo caſu acciderit, ut Literæ tuæ poſt paulo minus tres menſes mihi ſint redditæ, quam abs te datæ: meis profecto expeditiore prorſus ad te commeatu plane eſt opus; quas dum de die in diem ſcribere conſtituebam, occupationibus quibuſdam continuis impeditus, in alterum fere trimeſtre ſpatium procraſtinaſſe me ſentio. Tu vero ex hac mea tarditate reſcribendi velim intelligas, benevolentiæ erga me tuæ non refrixiſſe gratiam, ſed eo altius inſediſſe memoriam, quo ſæpius atque diutius de officio meo viciſſim tibi reddendo indies cogitabam. Habet hoc ſaltem officii tarda ſolutio quo ſe excuſet, dum clarius confitetur deberi, quod tanto poſt tempore, quam quod ſtatim perſolvitur. Illa te imprimis Literarum initio non fefellit de me opinio; non mirari ſi à peregrino homine ſalutor: neque enim rectius de me ſenſeris, quam ſi ſic exiſtimes, neminem me virum bonum in peregrini aut ignoti numero habere. Talem te eſſe facile mihi perſuadetur, cum quòd Patris doctiſſimi atque ſanctiſſimi es filius, tum quod à Viris bonis bonus exiſtimaris, tum deniq; quod odiſti malos. Cum quibus, quandoquidem mihi quoque bellum eſſe contigit, fecit pro humanitate ſua Calandrinus, déque mea ſententia, ut ſignificaret tibi, pergratum mihi fore, ſi contra communem adverſarium tua ſubſidia mecum communicaſſes. Id quod his ipſis Literis perhumaniter feciſti, quarum partem, tacito Authoris nomine, tuo erga me ſtudio confiſus, in defenſionem meam pro teſtimonio inſerere non dubitavi. Quem ego Librum, ut primum in lucem prodierit, ſi quis erit cui recte poſſim committere, mittendum ad te curabo. Tu interim quas ad me Literas deſtinaveris, Turrettino Genevenſi Londini commoranti, cujus illic fratrem nôſti, haud fruſtra, puto, inſcripſeris; per quem ut ad vos hæ noſtræ, ita ad nos veſtræ, commodiſſime pervenerint. De cætero ſcias velim, & te plurimi tuo merito à me fieri, meque uti porro abs te diligar, imprimis velle.

*Weſtmonaſterio*, Martii 24. 1654.

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### *Henrico Oldenburgo Bremenſium* ad Sen. A. Oratori.

18. Occupatiorem repererunt me tuæ Literæ quas Adoleſcens Ranaleius attulit, unde cogor eſſe brevior quam vellem: tu vero quas abiens promiſeras, eas ita probe reddidiſti, ut æs alienum nemo ſanctius ad Calendas, credo, perſolviſſet. Seceſſum iſtum tibi, quamvis mihi fraudi ſit, tamen quoniam tibi eſt voluptati, gratulor; tum illam quoque fœlicitatem animi tui, quem ab urbano vel ambitione vel otio ad ſublimium rerum contemplationem tam facile potes attollere. Quid autem ſeceſſus ille conferat, præter Librorum copiam, neſcio: & quos illic nactus eſt Studiorum ſocios eos ſuopte ingenio potius quam diſciplina loci tales eſſe exiſtimem; niſi forte ob deſiderium tui iniquior ſum iſti loco quia te detinet. Ipſe interim recte animadvertis, nimis illic multos eſſe qui ſuis inaniſſimis argutiis tam divina quam humana contaminent, ne plane nihil agere videantur dignum tot ſtipendiis, quibus peſſimo publico aluntur. Sed tu iſta melius per te ſapis. Tam vetuſti à diluvio uſq; Sinenſium faſti, quos ab Jeſuita Martinio promiſſos eſſe ſcribis, propter rerum novitatem avidiſſime proculdubio expectantur: verum auctoritatis, aut firmamenti, ad Moſaicos Libros adjungere

quid poſſint non video. Salutem tibi reddit Cyriacus noſter quem ſalutatum volebas. Vale.

*Weſtmonaſterio*, Junii 25. 1656.

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## *Nobiliſſimo* Adoleſcenti *Richardo Joneſio.*

19. PArantem me ſemel atque iterum ad proximas tuas Literas reſcribere, ſubita quædam negotia, cujuſmodi mea ſunt, ut noſti, præverterunt: poſtea excurriſſe te in vicina quædam loca audiveram; nunc diſcedens in Hyberniam mater tua præſtantiſſima, cujus diſceſſu uterque noſtrum dolere haud mediocriter debemus, nam & mihi omnium neceſſitudinum loco fuit, has ad te Literas ipſa perfert. Tu vero quod de meo erga te ſtudio perſuaſus es, recte facis; tibique tanto plus indies perſuadeas velim, quanto plus bonæ indolis, bonæque frugis in te eſſe, facis ut intelligam. Id quod Deo dante, non ſolum in te recipis, ſed quaſi ego te ſponſione laceſſiſſem, facturum te ſatiſdas atque vadaris; & velut judicium pati & judicatum ſolvere ni facias, non recuſas: delector ſane hâc tuâ de temetipſo tam bonâ ſpe; cui nunc deeſſe non potes; quin ſimul non promiſſis modo tuis non ſtetiſſe, verum etiam vadimonium ipſe tuum deſeruiſſe videare. Quod ſcribis non diſplicere tibi Oxonium, ex eo profeciſſe te quicquam aut ſapientiorem eſſe factum, non adducis ut credam: id mihi longe aliis rebus oſtendere debebis. Victorias Principum quas laudibus tollis, & res ejuſmodi in quibus vis plurimum poteſt, nolim te Philoſophos jam audientem nimis admirari. Quid enim magnopere mirandum eſt, ſi vervecum in Patria valida naſcantur cornua, quæ urbes & oppida arietare valentiſſime poſſint? Tu magna exempla non ex vi & robore, ſed ex juſtitia & temperantia ab ineunte ætate ponderare jam diſce atque cognoſcere. Vale; meóque fac nomine, ſalutem Ornatiſſimo Viro Henrico Oldenburgo tuo Contubernali plurimam dicas.

*Weſtm.* Sept. 21. 1656.

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## *Ornatiſſimo Adoleſcenti* Petro Heimbachio.

20. PRomiſſa tua, mi Heimbachi, cæteráque omnia, quæ tua virtus præ ſe fert, cumulate impleviſti, præterquam deſiderium meum reditus tui quem intra duos ad ſummum menſes fore pollicebaris; nunc niſi me temporis ratio tui cupidum fallit, trimeſtris pene abes. De Atlante, quod abs te petebam, abunde præſtitiſti; non ut mihi comparares, ſed tantummodo ut pretium Libri minimum indagares: centum & triginta Florenos poſtulari ſcribis; montem illum opinor Mauritanum, non Librum Atlantem, dicis tam immani pretio coemendum. Ea nunc etiam Typographorum in excudendis Libris luxuries eſt, ut Bibliothecæ non minus quam Villæ ſumptuoſa ſupellex jam facta videatur. Mihi certe cum pictæ Tabulæ ob cæcitatem uſui eſſe vix poſſint, dum orbem terræ fruſtra cæcis oculis perluſtro, quanti illum Librum emiſſem, vereor ne tanti videar lugere potius orbitatem meam. Tu hanc inſuper impendas mihi operam, rogo, ut cum reverſus eris, certiorem me facere queas, quot ſint integri operis illius volumina, & duarum Editionum, Blavianæ videlicet & Janſenianæ, utra ſit auctior & accuratior: id quod ex teipſo jam brevi redituro potius quam ex alteris Literis, coram auditurum me eſſe ſpero. Interim vale, teque nobis quamprimum redde.

*Weſtm.* Novemb. 8. 1656.

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## *Ornatiſſimo Viro* Emerico Bigotio.

21. QUod in Angliam trajicienti tibi dignus ſum viſus, quem præter cæteros viſendum duceres & ſalutandum, fuit ſane mihi & meritò quidem gratum; quod per Literas tanto etiam intervallo nunc denuo ſalutas, id aliquanto fuit gratius. Poteras enim primò aliorum fortaſſis opinione ductus ad me veniſſe, per Literas nunc redire, niſi proprio judicio vel ſaltem benevolentiâ reductus, vix poteras. Unde eſt ſane, ut poſſe videar jure

mihi gratulari: multi enim ſcriptis editis floruere, quorum viva vox & conſuetudo quotidiana nihil fere prætulit non demiſſum atque vulgare: ego ſi id aſſequi poſſum, ut ſi qua commode ſcripſi, iis par animo ac moribus eſſe videar; & pondus ipſe ſcriptis addidero, & laudem viciſſim, quantulacunque ea eſt, eo tamen majorem ab ipſis retulero: cum rectum & laudabile quod eſt, id non magis ab Authoribus præſtantiſſimis accepiſſe, quam ab intimo ſenſu mentis atque animi depromſiſſe purum atque ſincerum videbor. De mea igitur animi tranquillitate in hoc tanto luminis detrimento deque mea in excipiendis exteris hominibus comitate ac ſtudio, perſuaſum tibi eſſe gaudeo. Orbitatem certe luminis quidni leniter feram, quod non tam amiſſum quam revocatum intus atque retractum, ad acuendam potius mentis aciem quam ad hebetandam, ſperem. Quo ſit, ut neque Literis iraſcar, nec earum ſtudio penitus intermittam, etiamſi me tam male multaverint: tam enim moroſus ne ſim, Myſorum Regis Telephi ſaltem exemplum erudiit; qui eo telo, quo vulneratus eſt, ſanari poſtea non recuſavit. Quod ad illum Librum de modo tenendi Parlamenta quem apud te habes, ejus deſignata loca ex Codice Clariſſimi Viri Domini Bradſciavi, nec non ex Codice Cottoniano, vel emendanda, vel dubia ſi erant, confirmanda curavi; ut ex reddita hic tibi tua chartula perſpicies. Quod autem ſcire cupis, num etiam in arce Londinenſi Autographum hujus Libri extet, miſi qui id quæreret ex feciali, cui Actorum cuſtodia mandata eſt, & quo ipſe utor familiariter: reſpondit is, nullum exemplar illius Libri iis in monumentis extare. Tu viciſſim quam mihi operam deſers in re libraria procuranda, pergratum habeo: deſunt mihi ex Byzantinis Hiſtoriis, Theophanis Chronographia Græc. Lat. fol. Conſtant. Manaſſis Breviarium Hiſtoricum, & Codini Excerpta de Antiquit. C. P. Græc. Lat. fol. Anaſtaſii Bibliothecarii Hiſt. & Vitæ Rom. Pontific. fol. quibus Michaelem Glycam, & Joannem Sinnamum, Annæ Commenæ Continuatorem ex eadem Typographia, ſi modo prodierunt, rogo adjicias: quàm queas minimo non addo; cum quòd, id ut te moneam hominem frugaliſſimum, non eſt opus, tum quód pretium eorum Librorum certum eſſe aiunt, & omnibus notum: nummos D. Stuppius numerató ſe tibi curaturum recepit, nec non etiam de Vectura, quæ ſit commodiſſima, proviſurum. Ego vero quæ tu vis, quæque optas, cupio tibi omnia. Vale.

*Weſtmonaſterio*, Martii 24. 1656.

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## *Nobili Adoleſcenti* Richardo Joneſio.

22. TArdius multo accepi Literas tuas quam abs te datæ ſunt, poſt quindecim puto dies quam ſepoſitæ alicubi apud matrem delituiſſent. Ex quibus tandem ſtudium erga me tuum gratique animi ſenſum libentiſſime cognovi: mea certe erga te benevolentia monitáque fidiſſima, neque optimæ matris tuæ de me opinioni atque fiduciæ, neque indoli tuæ unquam defuere. Eſt quidem, ut ſcribis, amoenitatis atque ſalubritatis eo in loco, quo nunc receſſiſti, eſt & Librorum quod Academiæ ſatis eſſe poſſit; ſi ad ingenium incolarum tantum conferret iſta ſoli amoenitas, quantum ad delicias confert, ad felicitatem illius loci nihil deeſſe videretur. Et Bibliotheca etiam illic inſtructiſſima eſt; verum niſi ſtudioſorum mentes Diſciplinis optimis inſtructiores inde reddantur, Apothecam Librorum illam quam Bibliothecam rectius dixeris. Oportere itaque ad hæc omnia diſcendi animum atque induſtriam accedere percommode ſane agnoſcis. Tu ex iſta ſententia, nequando tecum agere neceſſe habeam, etiam atque etiam vide; id facillimo negotio evitabis, ſi Ornatiſſimi Viri Henrici Oldenburgi qui tibi præſto eſt, graviſſimis atque amiciſſimis præceptis diligenter parueris. Vale mi Richarde dilectiſſime, & ad Virtutem ac Pietatem, Matris præſtantiſſimæ Foeminæ exemplo, veluti Timotheum alterum, ſinito te adhort[illegible] atque accendam.

*Weſtmonaſterio.*

*Illuſtriſſimo*

## *Illuſtriſſimo Domino* Henrico de Braſs.

23. VIdeo te, Domine, id quod perpauci ex hodierna juventute faciunt, qui oras exteras perluſtrant, non juvenilium ſtudiorum ſed amplioris undique comparandæ eruditionis cauſâ, veterum exemplo Philoſophorum, recte & ſapienter peregrinari. Quanquam ea quæ ſcribis quoties intueor, ad eruditionem non tam aliunde capiendam, quam aliis impertiendam, ad commutandas potius, quam ad coemendas bonas merces, acceſſiſſe ad exteros videris. Atque utinam mihi tam facile eſſet, iſta tua præclara ſtudia rebus omnibus adjuvare ac promovere, quam eſt jucundum ſane & pergratum tuam egregiam indolem id à me petere. Quod ſcribis tamen ſtatuiſſe te ut ad me ſcriberes, meáque reſponſa peteres ad eas difficultates enucleandas, circa quas à multis ſæculis Hiſtoriarum Scriptores videntur caligaſſe, nihil equidem hujuſmodi neque unquam mihi ſumpſi, neque auſim ſumere. De Salluſtio quod ſcribis, dicam libere, quoniam ita vis plane ut dicam quod ſentio, Salluſtium cuivis Latino Hiſtorico me quidem anteferre; quæ etiam conſtans fere Antiquorum ſententia fuit. Habet ſuas laudes tuus Tacitus; ſed eas meo quidem judicio maximas, quod Salluſtium nervis omnibus ſit imitatus. Cum hæc tecum coram diſſererem, perfeciſſe videor, quantum ex eo quod ſcribis conjicio, ut de illo cordatiſſimo Scriptore ipſe jam idem prope ſentias: adeóque ex me quæris, cum is in exordio Belli Catilinarii perdifficile eſſe dixerit Hiſtoriam ſcribere, propterea quod facta dictis exæquanda ſunt, qua potiſſimum ratione id aſſequi Hiſtoriarum ſcriptorem poſſe exiſtimem. Ego vero ſic exiſtimo; qui geſtas res dignas digne ſcripſerit, eum animo non minus magno rerumque uſu præditum ſcribere oportere, quam is qui eas geſſerit: ut vel maximas pari animo comprehendere atque metiri poſſit, & comprehenſas ſermone puro atque caſto diſtincte gravitérque narrare: nam ut ornate, non admodum laboro; Hiſtoricum enim, non Oratorem requiro. Crebras etiam ſententias, & judicia de rebus geſtis interjecta prolixe nollem, ne, interruptâ rerum ſerie, quod Politici Scriptoris munus eſt Hiſtoricus invadat; qui ſi in conſiliis explicandis, factiſque enarrandis, non ſuum ingenium aut conjecturam, ſed veritatem potiſſimum ſequitur, ſuarum profecto partium ſatagit. Addiderim & illud Salluſtianum, qua in re ipſe Catonem maxime laudavit, poſſe multa paucis abſolvere; id quod ſine acerrimo judicio, atque etiam temperantiâ quâdam neminem poſſe arbitror. Sunt multi in quibus vel ſermonis elegantiam, vel congeſtarum rerum copiam non deſideres, qui brevitatem cum copia conjunxerit, id eſt, qui multa paucis abſolverit, princeps meo judicio Latinorum eſt Salluſtius. Has ego virtutes Hiſtorico ineſſe putem oportere, qui facta dictis exæquaturum ſe ſperet. Verum quid ego tibi iſta? ad quæ tu ipſe, quo es ingenio, per te ſufficis; quíque eam ingreſſus es viam, in qua ſi pergis, neminem te ipſo doctiorem poteris brevi conſulere: & uti pergas, quanquam tibi hortatu non opus eſt cujuſquam, ne omnino tamen nihil pro expectatione tua reſpondiſſe videar, quantum valere me auctoritate apud te ſinis, hortor magnopere atque auctor ſum. Vale, tuáque virtute & ſapientiæ acquirendæ ſtudio macte eſto.

*Weſtmonaſterio*, Idibus Quintil. 1657.

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## *Henrico Oldenburgo.*

24. QUod Salmurium peregrinationis veſtræ, ut puto, ſedem incolumes perveniſtis, gaudeo: hoc enim te non fefellit, id mihi imprimis gratiſſimum fore; ut qui & te merito tuo diligam, & ſuſcepti itineris cauſam tam eſſe honeſtam atque laudabilem ſciam. Quod autem audiſti accerſitum Eccleſiæ tam illuſtri erudiendæ Antiſtitem tam infamem, id mallem quivis alius in Charontis, quam tu in Charentonis cymba audiſſes: verendum enim eſt valde, ne toto coelo devius fruſtretur, quiſquis tam foedo auſpice perventurum ſe unquam ad ſuperos putat. Væ illi Eccleſiæ (Deus modo avertat omen) ubi tales Miniſtri aurium cauſâ potiſſimum placent, quos Eccleſia, ſi reformata vere vult dici, ejiceret rectius quam cooptaret. Quod Scripta noſtra nemini niſi poſcenti impertîſti, recte tu quidem & eleganter, neque ex mea ſolum, ſed etiam ex Horatiana Sententia feciſti;

*Ne ſtudio noſtri peccas, odiumque libellis*
*Sedulus importes operâ vehemente.* ——

Commorabatur vir doctus quidam, familiaris meus, ſuperiore æſtate Salmurii; is ad me ſcripſit, librum illum iis in locis expeti: unum exemplar duntaxat miſi; reſcripſit, placitum eſſe aliquot doctis, quibuſcum communicaverat, ut nihil ſupra. Niſi iis rem gratam facturum me fuiſſe exiſtimaſſem, parſiſſem utiq; & tuo oneri & ſumptui meo. Verum,

*Si te forte mea gravis uret ſarcina charta,*
*Abjicito potius, quam, quo perferre juberis,*
*Clitellas ferus impingas.* ——

Laurentio noſtro, ut juſſiſti, ſalutem nomine tuo dixi: de cætero, nihil eſt quod abs te prius agi, priuſvę curare velim, quam ut tu atque alumnus tuus recte valeatis, votorumque compotes ad nos quamprimum redeatis.

*Weſtmonaſterio*, Calend. Sextil. 1657.

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## *Nobili Adoleſcenti* Richardo Joneſio.

25. Confeciſſe te ſine incommodo tam longum iter, & ſpretis Lutetiarum illecebris, tanta celeritate eò contendiſſe, ubi literato otio, doctorumq; conſuetudine frui poſſis, & magnopere lætor, & te tuæ indolis laudo. Illic quoad te continebis in portu eris; *Syrtes* & *Scopulos*, & *Sirenum cantus* alias tibi cavendum. Quin & vindemiam, quâ oblectare te cogitas, Salmurienſem nimium ſitire te nolim, niſi in animo quoque ſit, muſtum illud Liberi liberiore Muſarum latice quinta plus parte diluere. Verum ad hæc, me etiam tacente, hortatorem habes eximium, quem ſi audis, tibimet profecto optime conſulueris, & præſtantiſſimam parentem tuam ſummo gaudio, & creſcente indies amore tui affeceris. Quod uti facere poſſis, à Deo Opt. Max. petere quoſidie debes. Vale, & ad nos quam optimus, boniſque artibus quam cultiſſimus, fac redeas: id mihi præter cæteros jucundiſſimum erit.

*Weſtm.* Calend. Sextil. 1657.

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## *Illuſtriſſimo Domino* Henrico de Braſs.

26. Impeditus per hoſce dies occupationibus quibuſdam, Illuſtriſſime Domine, ſerius reſcribo quam volebam. Volebam enim eo citius, quod Literas tuas multâ jam nunc eruditione plenas, non tam præcipendi tibi quicquam (id quod à me honoris credo mei, non uſus tui causâ poſtulas) quam gratulandi duntaxat, reliquiſſe mihi locum videbam. Gratulor autem & mihi imprimis fœlicitatem meam, qui Salluſtii ſententiam ita commode explicaſſe videar, & tibi tam aſſiduam illius auctoris ſapientiſſimi tanto cum fructu lectionem. De quo idem tibi auſim confirmare quod de Cicerone Quintilianus, ſciat ſe haud parum in re Hiſtorica profeciſſe cui placeat Salluſtius. Illud autem Ariſtotelis præceptum ex Rhetoricorum tertio quod explicatum cupis, Sententiis utendum eſt in narratione & in fide, moratum enim eſt; non video quid habeat magnopere explicandum, modo ut narratio & fides, quæ & probatio dici ſolet, ea hic intelligatur, quâ Rhetor, non quâ Hiſtoricus utitur: diverſæ enim ſunt partes Rhetoris & Hiſtorici, ſive narrant, ſive probant; quemadmodum & Artes ipſæ inter ſe diverſæ ſunt. Quid autem conveniat Hiſtorico, ex Auctoribus antiquis Polybio, Halicarneſſæo, Diodoro, Cicerone, Luciano, aliiſque multis, qui ea de re præcepta quædam ſparſim tradidere, rectius didiceris. Ego vero & ſtudiis tuis & itineribus ſecunda omnia atque tuta exopto, dignóſque ſucceſſus eo animo ac diligentia, quam rebus quibuſque optimis adhibere te video. Vale.

*Weſtm.* Decemb. 16. 1657.

### *Ornatiſſimo Viro* Petro Heimhachio.

27. LIteras tuas Hagâ Comitis dat. 18. Dec. accepi: ad quas, quoniam id tuis rationibus expedire video, eodem die, quo mihi ſunt redditæ, reſcribendum putavi. In iis poſt gratias actas ob beneficia neſcio quæ mea, quæ vellem ſane non eſſent nulla, ut qui tua cauſa quidvis cupiam, petis ut te per D. Laurentium Oratori noſtro in Hollandiam deſignato commendarem: quod quidem doleo in me ſitum non eſſe; cum propter pauciſſimas familiariates meas cum gratioſis, qui domi fere, idque libenter me contineo; tum quod is credo, è portu jam ſolvit, jamque adventat, ſecumque habet in comitatu quem ſibi ab epiſtolis vult eſſe, quod tu munus apud eum petis. Verum in ipſo diſceſſu jam Tabellarius eſt. Vale.

*Weſtmonaſterio*, Decemb. 18. 1657.

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### *Joanni Badiæo* Paſtori Arauſionenſi.

28. QUod tardius ad te reſcribo, Vir clariſſime & reverende, non recuſabit, credo noſter Duræus, quo minus tardioris culpam reſcriptionis à me in ipſum transferam. Poſtea enim quam ſchedulæ illius, quam mihi recitatam volebas, de iis quæ Evangelii cauſâ egiſſes atque perpeſſus eſſes copiam mihi fecit non diſtuli parare has ad te literas ut ei darem Tabellario, qui primus diſceſſiſſet, ſollicitus quam in partem ſilentium meum tam diuturnum interpretarere. Maximam interim habeo gratiam Molinæo veſtro Nemauſenſi, qui ſuis de me ſermonibus & amiciſſima prædicatione, tot per ea loca bonorum virorum me in gratiam immiſit. Et ſane quanquam non ſum neſcius, me vel eo quod cum adverſario tanti nominis publice juſſus certamen non detrectaverim, vel propter argumenti celebritatem, vel denique ſcribendi genus longe latéque ſatis innotuiſſe; ſic tamen exiſtimo, me tantundem duntaxat habere famæ, quantum habeo bonæ exiſtimationis apud bonos. Atque in eadem te quoque eſſe ſententia, plane video; qui Veritatis Chriſtianæ ſtudio atque amore accenſus, tot labores pertuleris, tot hoſtes ſuſtinueris; eaque quotidie fortiter facias, quibus tantum abeſt, ut ullam ab improbis famam tibi quæras, ut eorum certiſſima odia & maledicta in te concitare non verearis. O te beatum! quem Deus unum ex tot millibus virorum, alioqui ſapientum atque doctorum, ex ipſis inferorum portis ac faucibus ereptum, ad tam inſignem atque intrepidam Evangelii ſui profeſſionem evocavit. Et habeo nunc quidem cur putem Dei voluntate ſingulari factum, ut ad te citius non reſcriberim: cum enim intelligerem ex Literis tuis, te ab infeſtis undique hoſtibus petitum atque obſeſſum, circumſpicere, & meritò quidem, quo te poſſes in extremo diſcrimine, ſi ita res tuliſſet, recipere, & Angliam tibi in primis placuiſſe, gaudebam equidem non uno nomine, te id conſilii cepiſſe; cum tui potiundi ſpe, tum te de mea patria tam placare ſentire: illud dolebam, non tum vidiſſe me unde tibi hic apud nos præſertim Anglice neſcienti, pro eo ac deceret proſpectum eſſet poſſet. Nunc vero peropportune accidit ut Miniſter quidam Gallicus ætate confectus, ante paucos dies è vita migraverit. In iſta Eccleſia qui plurimum poſſunt, teque illis in locis non ſatis tutò verſari intelligunt ( non hoc incertis rumoribus collectum, ſed ex ipſis auditum refero ) cooptatum te illius Miniſtri in locum ſummopere cupiunt, immo invitant; ſumptuſque itineris ſuppeditandos tibi decreverunt; atque ita tibi de re familiari proviſum iri pollicentur, ut Miniſtrorum apud nos Gallicorum nemini melius; nec tibi quicquam defore, quod ad munus Evangelicum apud ſe libenter obeundum poſſit conducere. Quare advola quamprimum, ſi me audis, Vir Reverende, ad cupidiſſimos tui, meſſem hic meſſurus, etſi commodorum hujus mundi fortaſſe non ita uberem, tamen, quam tui ſimilis potiſſimum exoptant, animarum, ut ſpero, numeroſam: tibique perſuadeas, te viris bonis omnibus expectatiſſimum eſſe venturum; & quanto citius, tanto gratiorem. Vale.

*Weſtmonaſterio*, April. 21. 1659.

## *Henrico Oldenburgo.*

29. SIlentii, quam petis veniam tui, dabis potius mei; cujus erant, ſi memini, reſpondendi vices. Me certe non imminuta erga te voluntas, hoc enim perſuaſiſſimum tibi eſſe velim, ſed vel ſtudia, vel curæ domeſticæ impediverant, vel ipſa fortaſſe ad ſcribendum pigritia, intermiſſi officii reum facit. Quod ſcire cupis, valeo equidem, Deo juvante, ut ſoleo: ab hiſtoria noſtrorum motuum concinnanda, quod hortari videris, longe abſum; ſunt enim ſilentio digniores quam præconio: nec nobis qui motuum hiſtoriam concinnare, ſed qui motus ipſos componere feliciter poſſit, eſt opus: tecum enim vereor ne libertatis ac religionis hoſtibus nunc nuper ſociatis, nimis opportuni inter has noſtras Civiles diſcordias vel potius inſanias, videamur; verum non illi gravius, quam noſmetipſi jamdiu flagitiis noſtris, religioni vulnus intulerint. Sed Deus, uti ſpero, propter ſe Gloriamque ſuam, quæ nunc agitur, conſilia impetuſque hoſtium ex ipſorum ſententia ſuccedere non ſinet, quicquid Reges & Cardinales turbarum meditentur aut ſtruant. Synodo interea Proteſtantium Laodunenſi, propediem, ut ſcribis, convocandæ, precor id, quod nulli adhuc Synodo contigit, fœlicem exitum, non Nazianzenicum; fœlicem autem huic nunc ſatis futurum, ſi nihil aliud decreverit, quam ejiciendum eſſe Morum. De adverſario Poſthumo ſimul ac prodierit, fac me, rogo, primo quoque tempore certiorem. Vale.

*Weſtmon.* Decemb. 20. 1659.

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## *Nobili Adoleſcenti* Richardo Joneſio.

30. QUod longo intervallo ad me ſcribas, modeſtiſſime tu quidem te excuſas, qui poſſis ejuſdem delicti me rectius accuſare: ut haud ſciam profecto utrum non deliquiſſe te, an ſic excuſaſſe, maluerim. Illud tibi in mentem cave veniat; me gratitudinem tuam, ſi qua mihi abs te debetur, Literarum aſſiduitate metiri: tum te gratiſſimum adverſus me eſſe ſenſero, cum mea erga te quæ prædicas merita, non tam in Literis crebris, quam in optimis perpetuo ſtudiis tuis ac laudibus apparebunt. Viam virtutis quidem, in illo orbis terrarum Gymnaſio quod es ingreſſus, recte feciſti; ſed viam ſcito illam virtutis ac vitii communem; illuc progrediendum, ubi via in bivium ſe ſcindit. Teque ſic comparare jam nunc mature debes, ut relictâ hâc communi, amœnâ ac floridâ, illam arduam ac difficilem, qui ſolius virtutis clivus eſt, tuâ ſponte libentius, etiam cum labore ac periculo, poſſis aſcendere. Id tu præ aliis multo facilius, mihi crede, poteris, qui tam fidum ac peritum nactus es itineris Ducem. Vale.

*Weſtmonaſterio*, Decemb. 20. 1659.

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## *Ornatiſſimo Viro* Petro Heimbachio, *Electoris* Brandenburgici *Conſiliario.*

31. SI inter tot Funera Popularium meorum, anno tam gravi ac peſtilenti, abreptum me quoque, ut ſcribis, ex rumore præſertim aliquo credidiſti, mirum non eſt; atque ille rumor apud veſtros, ut videtur, homines, ſi ex eo quod de ſalute mea ſoliciti eſſent, increbuit, non diſplicet; indicium enim ſuæ erga me benevolentiæ fuiſſe exiſtimo. Sed Dei benignitate, qui tutum mihi receptum in agris paraverat, & vivo adhuc & valeo; utinam ne inutilis, quicquid muneris in hac vita reſtat mihi peragendum. Tibi vero tam longo intervallo veniſſe in mentem mei, pergratum eſt; quanquam, prout rem verbis exornas, præbere aliquam ſuſpitionem videris, oblitum mei te potius eſſe, qui tot virtutum diverſarum conjugium in me, ut ſcribis, admirere. Ego certe ex tot conjugiis numeroſam nimis prolem expaveſcerem, niſi conſtaret in re arcta, rebuſque duris, virtutes ali maxime & vigere: tametſi earum una non ita belle

charitatem hoſpitii mihi reddidit: quam enim Politicam tu vocas, ego Pietatem in Patriam dictam abs te mallem, ea me pulchro nomine delinitum prope, ut ita dicam, expatriavit. Reliquarum tamen chorus clare concinit. Patria eſt, ubicunque eſt bene. Finem faciam, ſi hoc prius abs te impetravero, ut, ſi quid mendoſe deſcriptum aut non interpunctum repereris, id puero, qui hæc excepit, Latine prorſus neſcienti velis imputare; cui ſingulas plane Literulas annumerare non ſine miſeria dictans cogebar. Tua interim Viri merita, quem ego adoleſcentem ſpei eximiæ cognovi, ad tam honeſtum in Principis gratia provexiſſe te locum, gaudeo, cæteraque fauſta omnia & cupio tibi, & ſpero. Vale.

*Londini*, Aug. 15. 1666.

# JOANNIS MILTONII
## *Proluſiones quædam Oratoriæ.*

## In Collegio, *&c.*

### *Utrum Dies an Nox præſtantior ſit?*

SCriptum poſt ſe reliquere paſſim Nobiliſſimi quique Rhetoricæ Magiſtri, quod nec vos præteriit, Academici, in unoquoque dicendi genere, ſive demonſtrativo, ſive deliberativo, ſive judiciali, ab aucupanda Auditorum gratia exordium duci oportere; alioqui nec permoveri poſſe Auditorum animos, nec cauſam ex ſententia ſuccedere. Quod ſi res ita eſt, quam ſane, ne vera diſſimulem, Eruditorum omnium conſenſu fixum ratumque novi, miſerum me! ad quantas ego hodie redactus ſum anguſtias! qui in ipſo Orationis Limine vereor ne aliquid prolaturus ſim minime Oratorium, & ab officio Oratoris primo & præcipuo neceſſe habeam abſcedere. Etenim quî poſſim ego veſtram ſperare benevolentiam, cum in hoc tanto concurſu, quot oculis intueor tot ferme aſpiciam infeſta in me capita; adeo ut Orator veniſſe videar ad non exorabiles. Tantum poteſt ad ſimultates etiam in Scholis æmulatio, vel diverſa Studia, vel in eiſdem ſtudiis diverſa judicia ſequentium; ego vero ſolicitus non ſum,

*Ne mihi* Polydamas *&* Troïades *Labeonem Prætulerint*; *Nugæ*.

Veruntamen ne penitus deſpondeam animum, ſparſim video, ni fallor, qui mihi ipſo aſpectu tacito, quam bene velint, haud obſcure ſignificant; à quibus etiam quantumvis paucis, equidem probari malo quam ab innumeris imperitorum Centuriis, in quibus nihil mentis, nihil rectæ rationis, nihil ſani judicii ineſt, ebullienti quadam & plane ridendâ verborum ſpumâ ſeſe venditantibus; à quibus ſi emendicatos ab novitiis Authoribus centones dempſeris, Deum Immortalem! quanto nudiores *Leberide* conſpexeris, & exhauſtâ inani vocabulorum & ſententiuncularum ſupellectile, μηδὲ γρῦ φθέγγεσθαι, perinde mutos ac ranuncula Seriphia. At ô quam ægre temperaret à riſu vel ipſe, ſi in vivis eſſet, *Heraclitus*, ſi forte hoſce cerneret, ſi Diis placet, Oratorculos, quos paulo ante audiverit cothurnato *Euripidis Oreſte*, aut furibundo ſub mortem *Hercule* grandiora eructantes, exhauſto tandem vocularum quarundam tenuiſſimo penu, poſito incedere ſupercilio, aut retractis introrſum Cornibus, velut animalcula quædam abrepere. Sed recipio me paululum digreſſus. Si quis igitur eſt qui, ſpreta pacis conditione, ἄσπονδον πόλεμον mihi indixerit, eum ego quidem in præſentia non dedignabor orare & rogare, ut ſemotâ pauliſper ſimultate, æquabilis adſit certaminis hujus arbiter; neve Oratoris culpa, ſi qua eſt, Cauſam quam optimam & præclariſſimam in invidiam vocet. Quod ſi mordaciora paulo hæc & aceto perfuſa nimio putaveritis, id ipſum de induſtria feciſſe me profiteor: volo enim ut initium Orationis meæ premulum imitetur diluculum; ex quo ſubnubilo ſereniſſima fere naſcitur dies. Quæ an nocte præſtantior ſit, haud vulgaris utique agitatur Controverſia, quam quidem mearum nunc eſt partium, Auditores, penſique hujus matutini, accurate & radicitus excutere; quamvis & hæc Proluſioni Poeticæ, quam Decertationi Oratoriæ, magis videatur idonea: At at noctémne dixi cum die ſtruxiſſe lites? Quid hoc rei eſt? quænam hæc molitio? numnam antiquum *Titanes* redintegrant bellum, *Phlegrai* prælii inſtaurantes reliquias? an terra novam in ſuperos Deos enixa eſt portentoſæ magnitudinis prolem? an vero *Typhœus* injectam *Ætna* Montis eluctatus eſt molem? an denique, decepto *Cerbero*, catenis adamantinis ſubduxit ſe *Briareus?* quid eſt aliquando tandem, quod Deos manes ad Cœleſtis imperii ſpem jam tertiò erexerit; adeone contemnendum *Jovis* fulmen? adeon' pro nihilo putanda *Palladis* invicta virtus, quâ tantam olim inter Terrigenas fratres edidit Stragem? Exciditne animo inſignis ille per Cœli Templa *Liberi* patris ex profligatis Gigantibus triumphus? Neutiquam ſanè: meminit illa probe, nec ſine lachrymis, conſternatos pleroſque à *Jove* Fratres ſuperſtiteſque cæteros uſque ad penitiſſimos Inferorum receſſus in fugam actos; & certe jam nihil minus quam bellum adornat trepida, querelam potius & lites inſtruit, atque pro more Mulierum poſt rem unguibus & pugnis fortiter geſtam ad colloqium ſeu verius ad rixam venit, periclitatura, opinor, linguáne plus an armis valeat. At vero quam inconſultô, quam arroganter, quamque debili cauſæ titulo præ die ſummam rerum ambiat, expedire feſtino. Video ſiquidem & ipſam diem Galli cantu expergefactam, curſu ſolito citatiori adproperâſſe ad ſuas laudes exaudiendas. Et quoniam unuſquiſque hoc imprimis ad honores & decus conferre arbitratur, ſi ab generoſis Natalibus & priſco Regum vel Deorum ſanguine oriundum ſe compererit. Videndum primo utra genere ſit clarior, mox quænam antiquitate honoratior; dein hæc an illa humanis uſibus accommodatius inſerviat. Apud vetuſtiſſimos itaque Mythologiæ ſcriptores memoriæ datum reperio, *Demogorgonem* Deorum omnium Atavum (quem eundem & Chaos ab antiquis nuncupatum hariolor) inter alios Liberos, quos ſuſtulerat plurimos, Terram genuiſſe; hâc, incerto patre noctem fuiſſe prognatam; quamvis paulo aliter *Heſiodus* eam Chaogenitam velit hoc Monaſticho,

> Ἐξ χάεος δ' Ἐρεβόστε μέλαινά τε νὺξ ἐγένοντο.

Hanc quocunque natam, cum adoleverat ad ætatem nuptiis maturam, poſcit ſibi uxorem *Phanes* Paſtor; annuente Matre, refragatur illa, negatque ſe ignoti viri & nuſquam viſi, moribuſque inſuper tam longe diverſis, concubitum inituram. Repulſam *Phanes* ægre ferens, verſo in odium amore, nigellam hanc Telluris filiam per omnes orbis Terrarum tractus ad necem ſequitur indignabundus. Illa vero quem amantem ſprevit, eum hoſtem non minus tremit; propterea ne apud ultimas quidem Nationes, & disjuncta quam maxime loca, immo ne in ipſo ſinu parentis ſatis ſe tutam rata, ad inceſtos *Erebi* fratris amplexus furtim & clanculum ſe corripit; timore ſimul gravi ſoluta, maritumque nacta proculdubio ſui ſimilem. Hoc itaque tam venuſto conjugum pari Æther & Dies perhibentur editi, ut Author eſt idem, cujus ſupra mentionem fecimus *Heſiodus*:

> Νυκτὸς δ' ἀῦτ' αἰθήρτε ϗ ἡμέρα ἐξεγένοντο,
> Οὓς τέκεκυσσα μένη Ἐρέβει φιλότητι μιγεῖσα.

At enim vetant humaniores Muſæ, ipſa etiam prohibet Philoſophia Diis proxima, ne minus Poetis Deorum figulis, præſertim Græcanicis, omni ex parte habeamus fidem; nec quiſquam iis hoc probro datum putet, quod in re tanti momenti Authores videantur vix ſatis locupletes. Si quis enim eorum aliquantillum deflexerit à vero, id non tam ingeniis eorum aſſignandum, quibus nihil divinius, quam pravæ & cæcutienti ejus ætatis ignorantiæ, quæ tunc tempeſtatis pervadebat omnia. Abunde ſane laudis hinc ſibi adepti ſunt, affatim gloriæ, quod homines in ſylvis atque montibus diſpalatos belluarum ad inſtar, in unum compulerint locum, & Civitates conſtituerint, quodque omnes Diſciplinas quotquot hodie traduntur, lepidis fabellarum involucris obveſtitas pleni Deo primi docuerint; eritque hoc ſolum iiſdem ad aſſequendam nominis immortalitatem

tatem non ignobile ſane ſubſidium, quod Artium ſcientiam feliciter inchoatam poſteris abſolvendam reliquerint.

Noli igitur, quiſquis es, arrogantiæ me temere damnare, quaſi ego jam veterum omnium Poetarum decreta, nullâ nixus authoritate, perfregerim aut immutaverim; neque enim id mihi ſumo, ſed ea tantummodo ad normam rationis revocare conor, exploraturus hoc pacto num rigidæ poſſint veritatis examen pati. Quocirca primò noctem Tellure ortam erudite quidem & eleganter fabulata eſt Antiquitas; quid enim aliud mundo noctem obducit quam denſa & impervia terra, Solis lumini noſtroque Horizonti interpoſita? quòd eam deinde nunc patrimam, fuiſſe negant Mythologi, nunc matrimam, id quoque feſtiviter fictum; inde ſiquidem recte colligitur ſpuriam fuiſſe aut ſubdititiam, aut demum parentes prolem tam famoſam & illiberalem præ pudore non agnoviſſe. At vero cur exiſtimarent *Phanetem* illum mirificâ ſupramodum humanum facie, noctem Æthiopiſſam & monogrammam etiam in Matrimonium adamaſſe, arduum impenſe negotium videtur è veſtigio divinare, niſi quod fœminarum inſignis admodum id temporis paucitas delectum ſuppeditaret nullum. Atqui preſſe agamus & cominus. *Phanetem* interpretantur Veteres Solem ſive Diem; quem dum commemorant Noctis conjugium primo petiiſſe, deinde in ultionem ſpreti connubii inſecutum, nihil aliud quam Dierum & Noctium vices oſtendere volunt. Ad hoc autem quid opus erat introduxiſſe *Phanetem* Noctis nuptias ambientem, cum perpetua illa eorum ſucceſſio & mutuus quaſi impulſus innato & æterno odio melius adſignificetur; quippe conſtat ſudum & tenebras ab ipſo rerum principio acerrimis inter ſe diſſediſſe inimicitiis. Atque ego ſane noctem credo, εὐφρόνης cognomen hinc ſolum accepiſſe, quod *Phanetis* connubio permiſcere ſe caute recuſarit, nec non cogitate; etenim ſi illum ſemel in ſuos admiſiſſet thalamos, extra dubium radiis ejus & impatibili fulgore abſumpta vel in nihilum interiiſſet, vel penitus conflagraſſet, ſicuti olim invito *Jove* Amaſio arſiſſe ferunt *Semelem*. Quapropter huic, non improvida ſalutis ſuæ, *Erebum* prætulit. Unde ſcitum illud *Martialis* & perurbanum,

*Uxor peſſima, peſſimus Maritus,*
*Non miror bene convenire vobis.*

Nec tacendum exiſtimo, quam formoſâ & ſe dignâ virum auxerit, prole nimirum Ærumna, Invidiâ, Timore, Dolo, Fraude, Pertinaciâ, Paupertate, Miſeriâ, Fame, Querelâ, Morbo, Senectute, Pallore, Caligine, Somno, Morte, Charonte, qui ultimo natus eſt partu; adeo ut hic apprime quadret quod in Proverbii conſuetudinem venit; κακοῦ κόρακος κακὸν ᾠόν. Cæterum nec deſunt qui etiam Ætherem & Diem itidem *Erebo* ſuo Noctem peperiſſe tradunt. At enim quotuſquiſque eſt, non impos mentis, qui ſic Philoſophantem non explodat ac rejiciat tanquam Democritica Commenta aut Nutricularum Fabulas proferentem? Ecquam enim veri ſpeciem præ ſe fert, poſſe obſcuram & fuſcam noctem tam venuſtulum, tam amabilem, tam omnibus gratum acceptumque reddere partum? Qui etiam ut primum conceptus eſſet, præmaturo impetu erumpens utro matrem enecâſſet, ipſumque *Erebum* patrem abegiſſet protinus, vetulumque coegiſſet *Charontem*, ut ſub imo *Styge* noctuinos abderet oculos, & ſi qua ſub Inferis latibula ſunt, ut eo ſe remigio & velis reciperet. Nec ſolum apud Orcum non eſt natus dies, ſed ne unquam quidem ibi comparuit; neque poteſt illuc niſi fatorum ingratiis vel per minimam intromitti rimulam; quid! quod etiam diem nocte antiquiorem audeo dicere, eamque mundum recens emerſum è Chao diffuſo lumine colluſtraſſe, priuſquam nox ſuas egiſſet vices; niſi craſſam illam & immundam caliginem noctem vel ipſi *Demogorgoni* equævam velimus perperam nominare. Ideoque Diem *Urani* filiam natu maximam arbitror, vel filii potius dixeris, quem ille in ſolatium humanæ gentis & terrorem Infernalium Deorum procreaſſe dicitur; ne ſcilicet, occupante tyrannidem nocte, nulloque inter Terras & Tartara diſcrimine poſito, Manes & Furiæ atque omne illud infame Monſtrorum genus ad terras uſque, deſertâ *Barathri* ſede, ſe proreperent, miſellique homines denſis obvoluti umbris, & quaquaverſum occluſi, defunctarum animarum pœnas etiam vivi experirentur. Hactenus, Academici, obſcuram noctis propaginem atris & profundiſſimis eruimus tenebris; habebitis ilicet ut ſe dignam præbuerit Natalibus ſuis, ſed ſi prius Diei laudibus impenſam dederim opellam meam, quamvis & illa ſane omnium laudatorum Eloquentiam anteeat. Et certe primo quam omnium animantium ſtirpi grata ſit & deſiderabilis, quid opere eſt vobis exponere; cum vel ipſæ volucres nequeant ſuum celare gaudium, quin egreſſæ nidulis, ubi primum diluculavit, aut in verticibus Arborum concentu ſuaviſſimo deliniant omnia, aut ſurſum librantes ſe, & quam poſſunt prope ſolem volitent, redeunti gratulaturæ luci. At primus omnium adventantem Solem triumphat inſomnis Gallus, & quaſi præco quivis, monere videtur Homines, ut excuſſo ſomno prodeant, atque obviam effundant ſe novam ſalutatum auroram: tripudiant in agris capellæ, totumque genus quadrupedum geſtit & exultat lætitiâ. Quinetiam & mœſta Clyſie totam fere noctem, converſo in Orientem vultu, *Phœbum* præſtolata ſuum, jam arridet & adblanditur appropinquanti Amatori. Caltha quoque & Roſa, ne nihil addant communi gaudio, aperientes ſinum, Odores ſuos Soli tantum ſervatos profuſè ſpirant, quibus noctem dedignantur impertiri, claudentes ſe folliculis ſuis ſimulatque veſper appetat; cæterique flores inclinata paulum, & rore languidula erigentes capita quaſi præbent ſe Soli, & tacite rogant ut ſuis oſculis abſtergat Lacrymulas, quas ejus abſentiæ dederant. Ipſa quoque Tellus in adventum Solis cultiori ſe induit veſtitu, nubeſque juxta variis Chlamydatæ coloribus, pompâ ſolenni, longoque ordine videntur ancillari ſurgenti Deo. Ad ſummam, nequid deeſſet ad ejus dilatandas laudes, huic *Perſæ*, huic *Libyes*, divinos Honores decrevere; *Rhodienſes* pariter celeberrimum illum ſtupendæ magnitudinis Coloſſum, *Charetis Lyndii* miro extructum artificio, huic ſacrârunt; huic itidem hodie Occidentalis *Indiæ* Populi thure cæteroque apparatu ſacrificare accepimus. Vos teſtor, Academici, quam jucundum, quam optatum diuque expectatum vobis illuceſcat mane, utpote quod vos ad manſuetiores Muſas revocet, à quibus inſaturabiles & ſitibundos dimiſerat ingrata nox. Teſtor ultimo *Saturnum* Cœlo deturbatum in Tartara, quam lubens vellet, ſi modo per *Jovem* liceret, ab exoſis tenebris ad auras reverti; Quòd demum Lux vel ipſi *Plutoni* ſuâ caligine longe ſit potior, id quidem in confeſſo eſt, quando cœleſte regnum toties affectavit, unde ſcite & veriſſime *Orpheus* in hymno ad *Auroram*,

Ἡ χαίρει θνητῶν μερόπων γένος, οὐδέ τις ἐστὶν,  
Ὃς φεύγει τὴν σὴν ὄψιν καθυπέρτερον, οὖσαν  
Ἡνίκα, τὸ γλυκὺν ὕπνον ἀπὸ βλεφάρων ἀποσείσης.  
Πᾶς δὲ βροτὸς γήθει, πᾶν ἑρπετὸν, ἀλλάτε φῦλα  
Τετραπόδων, πτηνῶντε, καὶ ἐνναλίων πολυεθνῶν.

Nec mirum utique cum Dies non minus utilitatis adferat quam delectationis, & ſola negotiis obeundis accommodata ſit; quis enim mortalium lata & immenſa maria trajicere ſuſtineret, ſi deſperaret affuturum diem; immo non aliter Oceanum navigarent quam *Lethen* & *Acherontem* Manes, horrendis nimirum undiquaque tenebris obſiti. Unuſquiſque etiam in ſuo ſe contineret gurguſtio, haud unquam auſus foras prorepere; adeo ut neceſſe eſſet diſſui ſtatim humanam ſocietatem. Fruſtra *Venerem* exeuntem è mari inchoaſſet *Apelles*; fruſtra *Zeuxis Helenam* pinxiſſet, ſi nox cæca & obnubila res tam viſendas oculis noſtris adimeret; tum quoque fruſtra tellus ſerpentes multiplici & erratico lapſu vites, fruſtra decentiſſimæ proceritatis arbores profunderet, incaſſum denique gemmis & floribus tanquam ſtellulis interpoliret ſe, cœlum exprimere conata; tum demum nobiliſſimus ille videndi ſenſus nullis animalibus uſui foret; ita prorſus, extincto mundi oculo, defloreſcerent omnia & penitus emorerentur; nec ſane huic cladi diu ſupereſſent ipſi homines, qui tenebricoſam incolerent terram, cum nihil ſuppeteret unde victitarent, nihil denique obſtaret, quo minus in antiquum Chaos ruerent omnia. Hiſce quidem poſſit quiſpiam inexhauſto ſtylo plura adjicere; verum non permitteret ipſa verecunda dies ut ſingula perſequatur, & proclivi curſu ad occaſum præcipitans, nullo modo pateretur immodice laudantem. Jam igitur declinat in veſperam dies, & nocti ſtatim cedet, ne adultâ hieme ſolſtitialem contigiſſe diem facete dicatis. Tantum pace veſtra liceat adjungere pauca quæ non poſſum commode præterire. Meritò igitur Poetæ noctem Inferis exurgere ſcriptitarunt; cum impoſſibile plane ſit aliunde tot tantaque mala niſi ex eo loco mortalibus invehi. Obortâ enim nocte ſordeſcunt & obfuſcantur omnia, nec quicquam tunc profecto intereſt inter *Helenam* & *Canidiam*, nihil inter pretioſiſſimos & viles Lapillos, niſi quod gemmarum nonnullæ etiam noctis obſcuritatem vincant: Huc accedit, quod amœniſſima quæque loca tunc quidem horrorem incutiant, qui etiam alto & triſti quodam augetur ſilentio; ſiquidem quicquid uſpiam eſt in agris, aut hominum aut ferarum, vel domum, vel ad antra raptim ſe conferunt; ubi ſtratis immerſi ad aſpectus noctis terribiles claudunt oculos. Nullum foris conſpicies præterquam Fures & Laverniones Lucifugos, qui cædem anhelantes & rapinas, inſidiantur bonis Civium, & noctu ſolum vagantur, ne detegantur interdiu; quippe dies nullum non indagare ſolet nefas, haud paſſura lucem ſuam iſtiuſmodi flagitiis inquinari; nullum habebis obvium niſi Lemures & Larvas, & Empuſas quas ſecum nox comites è locis aſportat ſubterraneis, quæque totâ nocte terras in ſua ditione eſſe, ſibique cum hominibus communes vendicant. Ideoque opinor noctem auditum noſtrum reddidiſſe ſolertiorem, ut umbrarum gemitus bubonum & ſtrygum ululatus, ac rugitus Leonum, quos fames evocat; eò citius perſtringerent aures, animoſè; graviori metu percellerent. Hinc liquidò conſtat, quam ſit ille falſus animi qui noctu homines à timore otioſos eſſe, noctemque curas ſopire omnes autumnat; namque hanc vanam eſſe nugatoriam opinionem infœlici nôrunt experientia, quicunque ſceleris cujuſpiam conſcii ſibi fuere; quos tunc Sphinges & Harpyiæ, quos tunc Gorgones & Chimæræ intentatis facibus inſequuntur, nôrunt miſeri, qui cum nullus adſit qui ſubveniat iis & opituletur, nullus qui dulcibus alloquiis dolores leniat; ad bruta ſaxa irritas jaciunt querelas, ſubinde exoptantes oriturum diluculum: Idcirco *Ovidius* Poetarum elegantiſſimus noctem jure optimo curarum maximam nutricem appellavit. Quod autem eo potiſſimum tempore fracta & defatigata laboribus diurnis corpora recreemus ſomno & refocillemus, id numinis beneficium eſt non noctis munus; ſed eſto, non eſt tanti ſomnus ut ejus ergo noctem in honore habeamus, enimvero cum proficiſcimur dormitum, revera tacite fatemur nos imbelles & miſeros homines, qui minuta hæc corpuſcula ne ad exiguum tempus ſine requie ſuſtentare valeamus. Et certe quid aliud eſt ſomnus quam mortis imago & ſimulachrum? hinc *Homero* Mors & Somnus Gemelli ſunt uno generati conceptu, uno partu editi. Poſtremò, quod Luna cæteraque Sydera nocti ſuas præferant faces, id quoque Soli debetur; neque enim habent illa quod transfundant lumen niſi quod ab illo accipiant mutuum. Quis igitur, ſi non tenebrio, ſi non effractor, ſi non aleator, ſi non inter Scortorum greges noctem pernoctare perpetem integroſque dies ronchos efflare ſolitus, quis inquam niſi talis tam inhoneſtam, tamque invidioſam cauſam in ſe ſuſceperit defendendam? Atque demiror ego ut aſpicere audeat Solem hunc, & etiam num communi luce impune frui, quam ingratus vituperat, dignus profecto quem adverſis radiorum ictibus veluti *Pythonem* novum interimat Sol; dignus qui *Cimmeriis* occluſus tenebris longam & peroſam vitam tranſigat; dignus denique cujus Oratio ſomnum moveat auditoribus, ita ut quicquid dixerit non majorem ſomnio quovis fidem faciat; Quique ipſe etiam ſomnolentus, nutantes atque ſtertentes Auditores annuere ſibi & plaudere peroranti deceptus putet. Sed nigra video Noctis ſupercilia, & ſentio atras inſurgere tenebras; recedendum eſt, ne me nox improviſum opprimat. Vos igitur, Auditores, poſteaquam Nox nihil aliud ſit quam obitus, & quaſi mors Diei, nolite committere ut Mors Vitæ præponatur; ſed cauſam dignemini meam veſtris ornare ſuffragiis, ita ſtudia veſtra fortunent Muſæ; exaudiatque Aurora Muſis amica, exaudiat & *Phœbus* qui cuncta videt auditque quos habeat in hoc cœtu Laudis ejus Fautores. Dixi.

# In Scholis Publicis.

## *De Sphærarum Concentu.*

SI quis meæ tenuitati locus Academici, poſt tot hodie, tantoſque exauditos Oratores, conabor etiam ego jam pro meo modulo exprimere, quam bene velim ſolenni hujus lucis celebritati, & tanquam procul ſequar hodiernum hunc Eloquentiæ triumphum. Dum itaque trita illa, & pervulgata dicendi argumenta refugio penitus, & reformido, ad novam aliquam materiem ardue tentandam accendit animum, & ſtatim erigit hujus diei cogitatio, horumque ſimul quos digna die loquuturos haud injuriâ ſuſpicabar; quæ duo vel tardo cuivis, & obtuſo cæteroquin ingenio ſtimulos, aut acumen addidiſſe poterant. Hinc idcirco ſubiit pauca ſaltem ſuper illo cœleſti concentu, dilatatâ (quod aiunt) manu, & ubertate Oratoriâ præfari, de quo mox quaſi contracto pugno diſceptandum eſt; habitâ tamen ratione temporis, quod me jam urget & coarctat. Hæc tamen perinde accipiatis velim auditores, quaſi per luſum dicta. Quis enim ſanus exiſtimaverit *Pythagoram* Deum illum Philoſophorum, cujus ad nomen omnes ejus ſæculi mortales non ſine perſancta veneratione aſſurgebant, quis, inquam, eum exiſtimaverit tam lubrice fundatam opinionem unquam protuliſſe in medium. Sanè ſi quam ille Sphærarum docuit harmoniam, & circumactos ad modulaminis dulcedinem cœlos, per id ſapienter innuere voluit, amiciſſimos orbium complexus, æquabileſque in æternum ad fixam fati legem converſiones: in hoc certe vel Poetas, vel quod idem pene eſt, divina imitatus oracula, à quibus nihil ſacri reconditique myſterii exhibetur in vulgus, niſi aliquo involutum tegumento & veſtitu. Hunc ſecutus eſt ille Naturæ Matris optimus interpres *Plato*, dum ſingulis Cœli orbibus *Sirenas* quaſdam inſidere tradidit, quæ mellitiſſimo cantu Deos Homineſque mirabundos capiant. Atque hanc deinque conſpirationem rerum univerſum, & conſenſum amabilem, quem *Pythagoras* per Harmoniam Poetico ritu ſubinduxit, *Homerus* etiam per auream illam *Jovis* catenam de Cœlo ſuſpenſam inſigniter, appoſitéque adumbravit. Hinc autem *Ariſtoteles*, *Pythagora*, & *Platonis* æmulus & perpetuus Calumniator, ex labefactatis tantorum virorum ſententiis viam ſternere ad gloriam, cupiens inauditam hanc Cœlorum ſymphoniam, Sphærarumque modulos affinxit *Pythagora*. Quod ſi ſic tuliſſet ſive fatum, ſive ſors, ut tua in me *Pythagora* Pater, tranſvolâſſet anima, haud utique deeſſet qui te facile aſſereret, quantumvis gravi jamdiu laborantem infamiâ. At vero quidni corpora cœleſtia, inter perennes illos circuitus, Muſicos efficiant ſonos? Annon æquum tibi videtur *Ariſtoteles*? næ ego vix credam intelligentias tuas ſedentarium illum rotandi Cœli laborem potuiſſe tot ſæculis perpeti, niſi ineffabile illud Aſtrorum melos detinuiſſet abituras, & modulationes delinimento ſuaſiſſet moram. Quam ſi tu Cœlo adimas ſane mentes illas pulchellas, & miniſtros Deos plane in Piſtrinum dedis, & ad molas truſatiles damnas. Quinetiam ipſe *Atlas* ruituro ſtatim Cœlo jampridem ſubduxiſſet humeros, niſi dulcis illa conſentus anhelantem, & tanto ſub onere ſudabundum lætiſſimâ voluptate permulſiſſet. Ad hæc, pertæſus Aſtra *Delphinus* jamdiu coelo ſua præoptâſſet maria, niſi probe calluiſſet, vocales Cœli Orbes Lyram *Arioniam* ſuavitate longe ſuperare. Quid! quod credibile eſt ipſam alaudam primâ luce rectâ in nubes evolare, & Luſciniam totam noctis ſolitudinem cantu tranſigere, ut ad Harmonicam cœli rationem, quam attente auſcultant, ſuos corigant modulos. Hinc quoque Muſarum circa *Jovis* Altaria dies noctéſque ſaltantium ab ultima rerum origine increbuit fabula; hinc *Phœbo* lyræ peritia ab longinqua vetuſtate attributa eſt. Hinc Harmoniam *Jovis*, & *Electra* fuiſſe filiam reverenda credidit Antiquitas, quæ cum *Cadmo* nuptui data eſſet, totus Cœli chorus concinuiſſe dicitur. Quid ſi nullus unquam in terris audiverit hanc aſtrorum Symphoniam? Ergone omnia ſupra Lunæ Sphæram muta prorſus erunt, torpidoque ſilentio conſopita? Quinimo aures noſtras incuſemus debiles, quæ cantus & tam dulces ſonos excipere aut non poſſunt, aut non dignæ ſunt. Sed nec plane inaudita eſt hæc cœli melodia; quis enim tuas *Ariſtoteles* in media aeris plaga tripudiantes capras putaverit, niſi quod præcinentes cœlos ob vicinitatem clare cum audiant, non poſſint ſibi temperare quo minus agant choreas. At ſolus inter Mortales concentum hunc audiſſe fertur *Pythagoras*, niſi & ille bonus quiſpiam genius, & cœli indigena fuerit, qui forte Superum juſſu delapſus eſt ad animos hominum ſacrâ eruditione imbuendos, & ad bonam frugem revocandos: ad minimum certe vir erat, qui omnes virtutum numeros in ſe continebat, quique dignus erat cum Diis ipſis ſui ſimilibus ſermones miſcere, & cœleſtium perfrui conſortio: ideoque nihil miror, ſi Dii ejus amantiſſimi abditiſſimis eum Naturæ ſecretis intereſſe permiſerint. Quod autem nos hanc minime audiamus Harmoniam ſane in cauſa videtur eſſe furacis *Promethei* audacia, quæ tot mala hominibus invexit, & ſimul hanc fœlicitatem nobis abſtulit quâ nec unquam frui licebit, dum ſceleribus cooperti belluinis cupiditatibus obbruteſcimus; qui enim poſſumus cœleſtis illius ſoni capaces fieri, quorum animæ (quod ait *Perſius*) in terras curvæ ſunt, & cœleſtium prorſus inanes. At ſi pura, ſi caſta, ſi nivea geſtaremus pectora, ut olim *Pythagoras*, tum quidem ſuaviſſimâ illâ ſtellarum circumeuntium muſicâ perſonarent aures noſtræ, & opplerentur; atque dein cuncta illico tanquam in aureum illud ſæculum redirent; noſque tum demum miſeriarum immunes, beatum & vel Diis invidendum degeremus otium. Hîc autem me veluti medio in itinere tempus interſecat, idque perſane opportune vereor enim ne incondito miniméque numeroſo ſtylo, huic quam prædico harmoniæ, toto hoc tempore obſtrepuerim; fuerímque ipſe impedimento, quo minus illam audiveritis; Itaque Dixi.

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# In Scholis Publicis.

## *Contra Philoſophiam Scholaſticam.*

QUærebam nuper obnixe, Academici, nec in poſtremis hoc mihi curæ erat quo potiſſimum verborum apparatu vos Auditores meos exciperem, cum ſubito mihi in mentem venit id quod *Marcus Tullius* (à quo, non ſine fauſto omine exorditur Oratio mea) toties commiſit literis, in hoc ſcilicet partes Rhetoris ſitas eſſe, ac poſitas, ut doceat, delectet, & denique permoveat. Proinde iſtuc mihi tantummodo propoſui negotium, ut ab hoc triplici Oratoris munere quam minime diſcedam. At quoniam docere vos conſummatos undique homines non eſt quod ego mihi ſumam, nec quod vos ſuſtineatis, liceat ſaltem (quod proximum eſt) monere aliquid fortaſſe non omnino abs re futurum; delectare interim, quod ſane perquam vereor, ut ſit exilitatis meæ, nec tamen deſiderii ſumma, quam ſi attigero, certe parum erit quin & permoveam. Permovebo autem in præſens abunde, ex animi ſententia, ſi vos Auditores inducere potero, ut immania illa, & prope monſtroſa ſubtilium, quod aiunt, doctorum volumina rariori manu evolvatis, atque verrucoſis Sophiſtarum controverſiis paulo remiſſius indulgeatis. At vero ut palam fiat omnibus, quam ſit æquum atque honeſtum quod ſuadeo, ſtrictim oſtendam, & pro mea ſemihorula hiſce ſtudiis nec oblectari animum, nec erudiri, nec denique commune bonum quicquam promoveri. Ea certe in primis ad vos proferam, Academici, ſi qua fieri poteſt ex mea veſtri ingenii conjectura; quid, quæſo, voluptatis ineſſe poteſt in feſtivis hiſce tetricorum ſenum altercationibus, quæ ſi non in Trophonii antro, certe in Monachorum ſpecubus natæ olent, atque ſapiunt ſcriptorum ſuorum torvam ſeveritatem, & paternas rugas præ ſe ferunt, quæque inter ſuccinctam brevitatem plus nimio prolixæ tædium creant, & faſtidium; ac ſi quando productiones leguntur, cum quidem averſationem pene naturalem, & [illegible] ſatura eſt innati odii pariunt Lectoribus. Sæpius ego, Auditores, cum mihi forte aliquoties imponeretur neceſſitas inveſtigandi paulliſper has argutiolas, poſt [illegible] diutinâ lectione & animi & oculorum aciem, ſæpius [illegible] ad reſpirandum reſtiti, & ſubinde penſum oculis emenſus quæſivi miſerum [illegible]); cum vero plus ſemper viderem ſupereſſe, quàm quod legendo abſolveram, [illegible] inculcatis hiſce ineptiis quoties præoptavi mihi repurgandum *Augeæ* ſtabulum, fœlicemque prædicavi *Herculem*, cui facilis *Juno* hujuſmodi ærumnam nunquam imperaverat exantlandam. Nec materiam hanc enervem, languidam, & humi ſerpentem erigit, aut attollit floridior ſtylus, ſed jejunus & exuccus rei tenuitatem adeo conjunctiſſime comitatur, ut ego utique facile crediderim ſub triſti *Saturno*

ſcriptam fuiſſe, niſi quod innocua tunc temporis ſimplicitas ignoraret prorſus
offucias iſtas, & diverticula, quorum hi Libri ſcatent ubique. Mihi credite,
Juvenes Ornatiſſimi, dum ego inanes haſce quæſtiunculas nonnunquam invitus
percurro, videor mihi per confragoſa teſqua, & ſalebras, perque vaſtas ſolitudi-
nes, & præruptas montium anguſtias iter conficere; propterea nec veriſimile eſt
venuſtulas, & elegantes Muſas pannoſis hiſce, & ſqualidis præeſſe ſtudiis, aut
deliros horum Sectatores in ſuum vendicare patrocinium; immo exiſtimo nul-
lum unquam fuiſſe in in *Parnaſſo* locum, niſi aliquem forte in imo colle angulum
incultum, inamœnum, dumis & ſpinis aſperum, atque horridum, carduis, &
denſâ urticâ coopertum, à choro & frequentia Dearum remotiſſimum, qui nec
emittat Lauros nec fundat Flores, quò denique *Phœbeæ* Citharæ nunquam perve-
nerit ſonus. Divina certe Poeſis eâ, quâ cœlitus impertita eſt, virtute obrutam
terrenâ fæce animam in ſublime exuſcitans, inter cœli templa locat, & quaſi
Nectareo halitu afflans, totamque perfundens Ambroſia, cœleſtem quodammodo
inſtillat beatitudinem, & quoddam immortale gaudium inſuſurrat. Rhetorica
ſic animos capit hominum, adeoque ſuaviter in vincula pellectos poſt ſe trahit,
ut nunc ad miſericordiam permovere valeat, nunc in odium rapere, nunc ad
virtutem bellicam accendere, nunc ad contemptum mortis evehere. Hiſtoria pul-
chre concinnata nunc inquietos animi tumultus ſedat & componit, nunc delibu-
tum gaudio reddit, mox evocat lachrymas, ſed mites eas & pacatas, & quæ
mœſtæ neſcio quid voluptatis ſecum afferant. At vero futiles hæ, nec non ſtri-
goſæ controverſiæ, verborumque velitationes in commovendis animi affectibus,
certe nullum habent imperium; ſtuporem duntaxat & torpedinem accerſunt in-
genio; proinde neminem oblectant, niſi qui agreſtis, & hirſuti plane pectoris eſt,
quique ex arcano quodam impetu ad lites & diſſidia proclivis, & inſuper impen-
dio loquax à recta & ſana ſapientia abhorret ſemper atque avertitur. Amande-
tur itaque cum ſuis captiunculis ſane vel in montem *Caucaſum*, aut ſicubi terrarum
cæca dominatur Barbaries, ibiq; ſubtilitatum ſuarum & præſtigiarum ponat of-
ficinam, & pro libitu de rebus nihili torqueat & angat ſe, uſque dum nimia ſoli-
citudo, veluti *Prometheum* ille vultur cor exederit, penituſque abſumſerit.
Sed nec minùs infrugifera ſunt, quam injucunda hæc ſtudia, & quæ ad rerum
cognitionem nihil prorſus adjutant. Ponamus enim ob oculos omnes illos tur-
matim cucullatos vetulos, harum præcipue captionum figulos, quotuſquiſque eſt
qui ullo beneficio locupletaverit rem literariam? Citra dubium profecto cultam
& nitidam, & manſuetiorem Philoſophiam aſperitate impexâ deformem pene
reddidit, & veluti malus genius, humana pectora ſpinis & ſentibus implevit, &
perpetuam in Scholas intulit diſcordiam, quæ quidem fœlices diſcentium pro-
greſſus mirum in modum remorata eſt. Quid enim? ultrò citróque argutantur
verſipelles Philoſophaſtri? hic ſuam undique ſententiam graviter firmat, ille con-
tra magnâ mole labefactare annititur, & quod inexpugnabili argumento munitum
exiſtimes, id ſtatim adverſarius haud multo negotio amolitur. Hæret interea
Lector, tanquam in bivio, quò divertat, quò inclinet anceps, & incertus con-
ſilii, dum tot utrinque confertim vibrantur tela, ut ipſam lucem adimant rebuſ-
que profundam afferant caliginem, adeo ut jam lectori tandem opus ſit, ut diu-
turnos *Cereris* imitatus labores, per univerſum terrarum orbem accenſâ face
quærat veritatem, & nuſquam inveniat: eouſque demum inſaniæ redactus eſt,
ut ſe miſere circuire putet, ubi nihil eſt, quod videat. Ad hæc non rarenter
uſu venit, ut, qui harum diſputationum fuligini addicunt ſe totos & devovent,
ſi forte aliud quodvis aggrediantur à ſuis deliramentis alienum, mire prodant in-
ſcitiam ſuam, & [illegible] inſcitiam. Noviſſime, ſummus hic tam ſerio nava-
tæ operæ fructus erit, ut ſtultus evadas accuratior, & nugarum artifex; atque ti-
bi accedat quædam peritior ignorantia, nec mirum; quandoquidem hæc omnia, de
quibus adeo afflictim & miſere laboratum eſt, in natura rerum nullibi exiſtunt,
ſed leves quædam imagines, & ſimulachra tenuia noſtris obverſantur animis, &
rectioris ſapientiæ vacua. Cæterùm ad integritatem vitæ, & mores emenda-
dos (quod multo maximum eſt) quam minime conducant hæ nugæ, etiamſi
ego taceam, abunde vobis perſpicuum eſt. Atque vel hinc liquido evincitur
quod mihi poſtremo dicendum propoſui, ſcilicet [illegible] hanc λογομαχίαν
nec in publicum cedere commodum, nec ullo modo Gloriæ vel Honori eſſe,
vel Utilitati, quod tamen in ſcientiis omnes antiquiſſimum eſſe ducunt. Siqui-
dem his maxime duobus auctam atque exornatam præcipue patriam animadver-
ti; vel præclare dicendo, vel fortiter agendo; atqui litigioſa hæc diſcrepanti-

um opinionum digladiatio, nec ad eloquentiam inſtruere, nec ad prudentiam inſtituere, nec ad fortia facinora incitare poſſe videtur. Abeant igitur cum ſuis formalitatibus argutatores verſuti; quibus poſt obitum hanc par erit irrogari poenam, ut cum *Ocno* illo apud inferos torqueant funiculos. At quanto ſatius eſſet, Academici, quantóque dignius veſtro nomine nunc deſcriptas chartulâ terras univerſas quaſi oculis perambulare, & calcata vetuſtis Heroibus inſpectare loca, bellis, triumphis, & etiam illuſtrium Poetarum fabulis nobilitatas Regiones percurrere, nunc æſtuantem tranſmittere *Adriam*, nunc ad *Ætnam* flammigerantem impune accedere, dein mores hominum ſpeculari, & ordinatas pulchre gentium reſpublicas; hinc omnium animantium naturas perſequi, & explorare, ab his in arcanas Lapidum & Herbarum vires animum demittere. Nec dubitetis, Auditores, etiam in coelos evolare, ibique illa multiformia nubium ſpectra, niviſque coacervatam vim, & unde illæ matutinæ lachrymæ contemplemini, grandineſque exinde loculos introſpicite. & armamenta fulminum perſcrutemini; nec vos clam ſit quid ſibi velit aut *Jupiter* aut Natura, cum dirus atque ingens Cometa coelo ſæpe minitatur incendium, nec vos vel minutiſſimæ lateant ſtellulæ, quotquot inter polos utroſque ſparſæ ſunt, & diſpalatæ: immo Solem peregrinantem ſequamini comites, & ipſum tempus ad calculos vocate, æternique ejus itineris exigite rationem. Sed nec iiſdem, quibus orbis, limitibus contineri & circumſcribi ſe patiatur veſtra mens, ſed etiam extra mundi pomoeria divagetur; perdiſcatque ultimò (quod adhuc altiſſimum eſt) ſeipſam cognoſcere, ſimulque ſanctas illas mentes, & intelligentias quibuſcum poſt hæc ſempiternum initura eſt ſodalitium. Quid multa nimis? vobis ad hæc omnia Diſciplinæ ſit ille, qui tantopere in deliciis eſt, *Ariſtoteles*, qui quidem hæc prope cuncta ſcienter & conquiſite ſcripta nobis reliquit addiſcenda. Cujus ego ad nomen jam ſubito permoveri ſentio vos, Academici, atque in hanc ſententiam duci pedetentim, & quaſi eo invitante proclivius ferri. Quod ſi ita ſit, ſane ejus rei laudem, cujuſquemodi eſt, illi debebitis & gratiam: Quod interim ad me attinet, ego certe ſatis habeo, ſi veniam prolixitatis meæ pro veſtra humanitate impetravero. Dixi.

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# In Collegio, &c.

## THESIS.

*In Rei cujuſlibet interitu non datur reſolutio ad Materiam Primam.*

ERror an è *Pandoræ* pixide, an ex penitiſſimo eruperit *Styge*, an denique unus ex Terræ filiis in coelites conjuraverit, non eſt hujus loci accuratius diſquirere. Hoc autem vel non ſcrutanti facile inncteſcat, eum ex infimis incrementis, veluti olim *Typhon*, aut *Neptuno* genitus *Ephialtes* in tam portentoſam creviſſe magnitudinem, ut ipſi quidem veritati ab illo metuam. Video enim cum ipsâ Divâ ἀληθεια haud raro æquo *Marte* pugnantem, video poſt damna factum ditiorem, poſt vulnera vireſcentem, victumque victoribus exultantem. Quod de *Antæo Lybico* fabulata eſt Antiquitas. Adeo ut hinc ſane non levi de cauſa carmen iſtud *Ovidianum* poſſit quiſpiam in dubium vocare, an ſcilicet ultima coeleſtum terras reliquerit *Aſtræa*; vereor etenim ne Pax & Veritas multis poſt eam ſæculis inviſos etiam mortales deſeruerint. Nam certe ſi illa adhuc in terris diverſaretur, quis inducatur ut credat, luſcum & cæcutientem errorem veritatem Solis æmulam poſſe intueri, quin plane vincatur oculorum acies, quin & ipſe rurſus abigatur ad inferos, unde primum emerſus eſt? At vero citra dubium aufugit in coelum, patriam ſuam miſellis hominibus nunquam reditura; & jam totis in Scholis dominatur immundus error, & quaſi rerum potitus eſt, non inſtrenuos utique & non paucos nactus aſſertores. Quarum acceſſione virium, ultra quam ferri poteſt inflatus, quænam eſt ulla Phyſiologiæ particula vel minutula, in quam non impetiverit, quam non profanis violaverit unguibus, quemadmodum Harpias *Phinei* Regis *Arcadum* menſas conſpurcaſſe accepimus? unde ſane eò res deducta eſt, ut lautiſſima Philoſophiæ cupedia, ipſis quibus Superi veſcuntur Dapibus non minus opipara, nunc ſuis conviviis nauſeam faciant. Contingit enim ſæpenumero ingentia Philoſophorum volumina evolventi, & diurnis nocturniſque manibus obterenti, ut dimittatur incertior quam fuerit pridem. Quicquid enim affirmat hic, & ſatis valido ſe putat ſtatuminare argumento, refellit alter nullo negotio aut ſaltem refellere videtur, atque ita pene in infinitum ſemper habet hic quod opponat, ſemper ille quod reſpondeat; dum miſer interim Lector hinc atque inde tanquam inter duas belluas diu divulſus ac diſcerptus, tædióque prope enectus, tandem veluti in bivio relinquitur, huc an illuc inclinet plane anceps animi: ab utro autem ſtet veritas, fortaſſe (ne vera diſſimulem) non eſt operæpretium eâ, quâ expedit, induſtriâ explorare: quippe ſæpius de re perquam minimi momenti maxima inter Centurias philoſophantium agitatur controverſia. Cæterùm videor mihi inaudire ſubmuſſitantes quoſdam, quo nunc ſe proripit ille? dum in errorem invehitur, ipſe toto errat Cœlo: equidem agnoſco erratum; neque hoc feciſſem, niſi de veſtro candore magna mihi pollicitus. Jam igitur tandem accingamur ad inſtitutum opus: & his tantis difficultatibus Dea Lua (quod ait *Lipſius*) me fœliciter expediat. Quæſtio quæ nobis hodie proponitur enucleanda hæc eſt, an interitu cujuſlibet rei detur reſolutio uſque ad materiam primam? Quod aliis verbis ſic proferre ſolent, an ulla accidentia quæ fuere in corrupto maneant etiam in genito? hoc eſt, an intereunte formâ omnia intereant accidentia quæ in compoſito præextiterant? Magna quidem eſt inter multos haudquaquam obſcuri nominis Philoſophos hac de re ſententiarum diſcrepantia; hi dari ejuſmodi reſolutionem contendunt acerrimè, illi neutiquam dare poſſe mordicus defendunt; hos ut ſequar inclinat animus, ab illis ut longe latéque diſſentiam tum ratione adductus, uti opinor, tum etiam tantorum virorum authoritate hoc autem quo pacto probari queat, reliquum eſt ut pauliſper experiamur; idque ſuccincte quoad poterimus, atque primo hunc in modum. Si fiat reſolutio ad Materiam primam ſubinfertur inde eſſentiale iſtud effatum, nempe eam nunquam reperiri nudam, materiæ primæ perperam attribui; occurrent adverſarii, hoc dicitur reſpectu formæ, verum ſic habento Scioli iſti formas ſubſtantiales nullibi gentium reperiri citra formas accidentarias: ſed hoc leve, nec cauſæ admodum jugulum petit; firmiora his adhibenda ſunt. Atque imprimis videamus ecquos habeamus veterum Philoſophorum noſtrarum partium fautores; inquirentibus ecce ultro ſe nobis offert *Ariſtoteles*, cumq; lectiſſima manu ſuorum interpretum ſe nobis agglomerat; quippe velim intelligatis Auditores, ipſo duce & hortatore *Ariſtotele* initum hoc prælium, & bonis avibus, uti ſpero auſpicatum. Qui quidem id ipſum quod nos arbitramur, innuere videtur, *Metaph. 7. Text.* 8. ubi ait quantitatem primò ineſſe materiæ; huic perinde ſententiæ quicunque refragabitur, poſſum illi dicam hæreſeωs ex lege omnium ſapientium audacter ſcribere. Quinimo alibi plane vult quantitatem materiæ primæ proprietatem, quod idem aſſerunt plerique ejus ſectatores; proprium autem à ſuo ſubjecto avellentem quis ferat ipsâ vel edititii judicis ſententiâ: Verum age, comminus agamus, & quod ſuadeat ratio perpendamus. Aſſertio itaque probatur primo hinc, quod materia habet propriam entitatem actualem ex ſuâ propriâ exiſtentiâ, ergo poteſt ſuſtentare quantitatem, eam ſaltem quæ dicitur interminata. Quid? quod nonnulli confidenter affirment formam non niſi mediante quantitate in materiam recipi, Secundo, Si accidens corrumpitur, neceſſe habet ut his tantum modis corrumpatur, vel per introductionem contrarii, vel per deſitionem termini, vel per abſentiam alterius cauſæ conſervantis, vel deniq; ex defectu proprii ſubjecti cui inhæreat priori modo nequit corrumpi quantitas, poſteaquam contrarium non habeat; & quantumvis habeat qualitas hic tamen introduci non eſt ſupponendum: Secundus modus huc non ſpectat, utpote qui ſit relatorum proprius; Nec per abſentiam cauſæ conſervantis, ea enim, quam aſſignant adverſarii, eſt forma; accidentia autem à forma pendere concipiuntur bifariam, vel in genere cauſæ formalis, aut efficientis; prior dependentia non eſt immediata, forma enim ſubſtantialis non informat accidentia, neque intelligi poteſt quod aliud munus exerceat circa ea in hoc genere cauſa, ideoque tantummodo mediata eſt, nimirum in quantum materia dependet à forma, & hæc deinceps à materia; modus dependentiæ poſterior eſt in genere cauſæ efficientis, à forma tamen an accidentia pendeant in hoc genere nécne, in ambiguo res eſt: ſed ut donemus ita eſſe, non ſequitur tamen, depereunte formâ juxta etiam perire accidentia, propterea quod cauſæ illi recedenti, ſuccedit è veſtigio alia ſimilis omnino ſufficiens ad conſervandum eundem numero effectum abſque interruptione: Poſtremo, quod non ex defectu proprii ſubjecti in nihilum recidit quantitas aliáque id genus accidentia, probatur quia ſubjectum quantitatis eſt aut compoſitum, aut forma, aut materia; quod compoſitum non ſit, ex eo liquet, quod accidens quod eſt in compoſito attingit ſimul ſuâ unione & materiam & formam per modum unius, at vero quantitas non poteſt ullo modo attingere animam rationalem, dum hæc ſpiritualis ſit, & effectus formalis quantitatis, hoc eſt extentionis quantitativæ minime capax; porro quod forma non ſit ſubjectum ejus, ex ſupradictis ſatis eſt perſpicuum: reſtat igitur ut materia ſola ſit ſubjectum quantitatis, atque ita præciditur omnis interitus illatio in quantitate. Quod pertinet ad id quod vulgo affertur de cicatrice, argumentum efficaciſſimum eſſe cenſeo; quis enim mihi fidem adeo extorqueat, ut credam eam in cadavere plane diverſam eſſe ab ea quæ fuit nuperrime in vivo, cum nulla ſubſit ratio, nulla neceſſitas corrigendi ſenſus noſtri, qui raro quidem hallucinatur circa proprium objectum; citiuſque ego & facilius audirem de Larvis, deque Empuſis mira commemorantem, quam cerebroſos hoſce Philoſophaſtros de accidentibus ſuis de novo procreatis ſtulte & inſubide obgannientes. Etenim calorem, cæteraſque animalis qualitates intenſibiles & remiſſibiles eaſdem prorſus pernovimus in ipſo mortis articulo, & poſt mortem itidem; quorſum enim deſtruerentur hæ, cum aliæ ſimiles ſint producendæ? huc accedit, quod ſi de novo procrearentur, ad tempus non adeo exiguum durarent, neque etiam repente ad ſummum pervenirent intenſionis gradum, ſed paulatim & quaſi pedetentim. Adde quod vetuſtiſſimum ſit axioma, quantitatem ſequi materiam, & qualitatem formam. Potui quidem, immo ac debui huic rei diutius immorari, ac profecto neſcio an vobis, mihimet certe ipſe maximopere ſum tædio. Supereſt ut jam ad adverſariorum argumenta deſcendamus, quæ faxint Muſæ, ut ego in materiam primam ſi fieri poteſt, vel potius in nihilum redigam. Quod ad primum attinet, *Ariſtoteles* teſtimonium, quod dixerit in generatione non manere ſubjectum ſenſibile, occurrimus illud intelligi debere de ſubjecto completo & integro (i. e.) de ſubſtantiali compoſito, quod teſtatur *Philoponus* antiquus & eruditus Scriptor. 2. Quod inquit *Ariſt.* materia eſt nec quid, nec quantum, nec quale; hoc non dicitur quod nullâ quantitate aut qualitate afficiatur, ſed quia ex ſe, & in entitate ſua nullam aut quantitatem aut qualitatem includat. Tertio, ait *Ariſt.* deſtructis primis ſubſtantiis deſtrui omnia accidentia, quod ſane futurum non inficiamur ſi ipſi corruptæ ſubinde ſuccederet alia. Poſtremo, Formam inquit recipi in materiam nudam; hoc eſt, nuditate formæ ſubſtantialis. Adhuc incrudeſcit pugna, & nutat victoria, ſic enim inſtaurato prælio incurſant, materia quandoquidem ſit pura petentia, nullam habet eſſe præterquam illud quod emendicatâ formâ, unde non ſatis ex ſe valet ad ſuſtentanda accidentia, niſi prius ad minimum naturâ conjungatur formæ à qua τὸ εἶναι acceptum ferat; huic errori ſic mederi ſolent, materiam primam ſuum habere proprium eſſe, quod licet in genere ſubſtantiæ ſit incompletum, cum accidente tamen ſi conferatur eſſe ſimpliciter haud incommode dici poteſt. Quinetiam objiciunt materiam reſpicere formam ſubſtantialem ut actum primum, at accidentia ut actus ſecundarios. Reſpondeo, materiam reſpicere formam prius ordine intentionis, non generationis aut executionis. Gliſcit jam atque efferveſcit contentio, & tanquam ad internecionem dimicaturi urgent nos acrius hunc ad modum: omnis proprietas manat active ab eſſentia ejus cujus eſt proprietas; quantitas autem hoc nequit, quia hæc dimanatio eſt aliqua efficientia, materia autem ſecundum ſe nullam habet efficientiam, cum ſit mere paſſiva; ergo, *&c.* Reſpondeo, duobus modis poſſe intelligi naturalem conjunctionem materiæ cum quantitate, ratione ſolum potentiæ paſſivæ intrinſecus naturâ ſuâ poſtulantis talem affectionem; neque enim ulla impellit neceſſitas, ut omnis innata proprietas ſit debita ſubjecto ratione principii activi; namque interdum ſufficit paſſivum, quo modo multi opinantur motum eſſe naturalem cœlo. Secundo poteſt & intelligi per intrinſecam dimanationem activam, cum in ſe habeat veram & actualem eſſentiam. Sed nec adhuc omnis amiſſa ſpes victoriæ; iterum enim facto impetu adoriuntur, inferentes ideo formam mediâ quantitate in materiam recipi, quoniam ineſt materiæ prius: nos è contra aperte reclamamus huic ſequelæ, & nihilominus quo omnia poſſimus ſalva reddere, hac utimur diſtinctione, recipi formam in materiam mediâ quantitate ut diſpoſitione, ſeu conditione neceſſariâ, verum nullo modo tanquam potentiâ proxime receptivâ formæ. Ultimò, ſic arguunt, ſi quantitas inſit materiæ ſoli ſequitur eſſe ingenerabilem & incorruptibilem;

bilem; quod videtur repugnare, quia motus per ſe fit ad quantitatem. At nos utique largimur conſequentiam, quippe revera quantitas eſt incorruptibilis quoad ſuam entitatem, licet quoad varios terminos poſſit incipere & deſinere eſſe per conjunctionem & diviſionem quantitatis, neque enim eſt per ſe motus ad quantitatis productionem, ſed ad accretionem; & nec eo fit quaſi nova quantitas incipiat eſſe in rerum natura, ſed eo quod una quantitas adjungatur alteri, & quæ erat aliena fit propria. Poſſem equidem plura argumenta ultro citroque proferre, quæ tamen tædii levandi gratia prætermitto; hic igitur ſatius erit receptui canere.

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## In Scholis Publicis.

### *Non dantur formæ partiales in animali præter totalem.*

Romani rerum olim Domini altiſſimum imperii faſtigium adepti ſunt, quale nec *Aſſyria* Magnitudo, nec Virtus *Macedonica*, unquam potuit attingere, quò nec futura Regum Majeſtas efferre ſe olim valebit: ſive ipſe *Jupiter* annis jam gravior, cœloque contentus ſuo in otium ſe tradere voluerit, commiſſis Populo Romano tanquam Diis terreſtribus rerum humanarum habenis; ſive hoc *Saturno* Patri in *Italiam* detruſo ad amiſſi cœli ſolatium conceſſerit, ut *Quirites* ejus nepotes, quicquid uſpiam eſt, terræ, mariſque potirentur. Utcunq; certe non ultro largitus eſt hoc illis beneficium, ſed per aſſidua bella, perque longos labores ægre dedit, exploraturus opinor, an *Romani* ſoli digni viderentur, qui ſummi vices *Jovis* inter mortales gererent; itaque parce duriterque vitam degere coacti ſunt, quippe inchoatas pacis blanditias abrupit ſemper belli clamor, & circumcirca ſtrepitus armorum. Ad hæc, devictis quibuſque urbibus & provinciis præſidia imponere & ſæpius renovare neceſſe habuere, omnemque pene juventutem nunc in longinquam militiam, nunc in colonias mittere. Cæterùm non incruentam ſemper victoriam domum reportârunt, immo ſæpe funeſtis cladibus affecti ſunt. Siquidem *Brennus* Gallorum Dux vireſcentem modo *Romanam* gloriam pene delevit; & parum abfuit, quo minus divinitus creditum orbis moderamen abripuerit *Romæ Carthago* urbs nobiliſſima. Denique *Gothi* & *Vandalici* ſub *Alarico* Rege, *Hunnique* & *Panonii Attyla* & *Bleda* Ducibus totam inundantes *Italiam*, florentiſſimas imperii opes, ex tot bellorum ſpoliis aggeſtas, miſere, diripuere, *Romanos* paulo ante Reges hominum turpi fugâ ſtravêre, ipſamque urbem, ipſam inquam *Romam*, ſolo nominis terrore ceperunt; quo facto nihil dici aut fingi potuit glorioſius, plane quaſi ipſam victoriam aut amore captant, aut vi & armis exterrefactam in ſuas traxiſſent partes. Satis admirati eſtis Auditores, quorſum hæc omnia protulerim, jam accipite. Hæc ego quoties apud me recolo animoque colligo, toties cogito quantis viribus de tuenda veritate certatum ſit, quantis omnium ſtudiis, quantis vigiliis contenditur labantem ubique, & profligatam veritatem ab injuriis hoſtium aſſerere. Nec tamen prohiberi poteſt, quin fœdiſſima colluvies errorum invadat indies omnes diſciplinas, quæ quidem tanta vi aut veneno pollet, ut vel niveæ veritati ſuam imaginem inducere valeat, aut ſydeream veritatis ſpeciem neſcio quo fuco ſibi adſciſcere, quâ, ut videtur, arte & magnis Philoſophis frequenter impoſuit, & honores, venerationemque uni veritati debitam ſibi arrogavit. Quod in hodierna quæſtione videre poteritis, quæ quidem non inſtrenuos nacta eſt pugiles, eoſque clari nominis, ſi relictis hiſce partibus veritatem demereri mallent: Itaque noſtræ nunc erit operæ, ut nudatum, plumiſque emendicatis exutum errorem deformitati nativæ reddamus; quod ut expeditius fiat graviſſimorum veſtigiis Authorum inſiſtendum eſſe mihi exiſtimo, neque enim expectandum eſt, ut ego quicquam de meo adjiciam quod utique tot viros ingenio præſtabiles fugit & præteriit: idcirco quod ſufficit ad rem dilucidandam, expromam brevi, argumentoque uno atque altero tanquam aggere vallabo; tum ſi quid reclamat, atque obſtat noſtræ ſententiæ diluam, ut potero; quæ tamen omnia paucis perſtringam, & quaſi extremis alis radam. Contra unitatem formæ, quam in una eademque materia ſtatuere ſemper emunctiores Philoſophi ſolent, varias opiniones ſubortas eſſe legimus, quidam enim plures in animali formas totales dari

pertinaciter contendunt, idque pro ſuo quiſque captu varie defendunt; alii tota-
lem unicam, partiales vero multiplices ejuſdem materiæ hoſpitio excipi impor-
tunius aſſeverant. Cum illis ad tempus more bellico paciſcemur inducias, dum
in hos omnem prælii vim atque impetum transferimus. Ponatur prima in acie
*Ariſtoteles*, qui noſter plane eſt, quique ſub finem primi Libri de Anima, non
occulte favet noſtræ Aſſertioni. Huic authoritati aliquot attexere argumenta
non eſt longæ diſquiſitionis opus: præbet ſe mihi imprimis *Chryſoſtomus Javellus*,
cujus è ſtercorario, nimirum horridulo & incompto ſtylo, Aurum & Margaritas
effodere poſſimus, quæ ſi quis delicatus aſpernetur, in illum ſane aliquatenus
belle quadrabit ille *Æſopici* Galli Apologus. In hunc ferme modum argumen-
tatur; Diſtinctio illa & Organizatio partium diſſimilarium præcedere debet in-
troductionem animæ, utpote quæ ſit actus corporis non cujuſlibet, ſed Phyſici
organici; quapropter immediate ante productionem totalis formæ, neceſſe eſt
corrumpi partiales illas niſi corruat penitus receptiſſimum illud Axioma, Gene-
ratio unius eſt alterius Corruptio; quarum productionem non ſequitur ſimilium
præſentanea productio; id enim fruſtra foret, & ad Naturæ matris ſapientiam
parum conveniens. Deinde poſteaquam omnis forma, ſive perfecta ſit, ſive
imperfecta, tribuat eſſe ſpecificum, neceſſe eſt, ut quamdiu manet iſta forma,
tamdiu res illa maneat eadem non variata ſecundum ſubſtantiam ſuam, proin-
déque ſuperveniet forma totalis tanquam accidens, non per generationem ſed
per alterationem. Sequitur porro animam totalem ſive diviſibilem, ſive indi-
viſibilem, non ſufficere ad omnes partes animantis plene perfecteque informan-
das, quod ut largiamur nulla ſuadet ratio. Sequitur itidem unam formam ſub-
ſtantialem eſſe quaſi diſpoſitionem proximam & permanentem ad aliam, quod
veritati abſonum eſt, quandoquidem unaquæque forma conſtituit eſſentiam
completam in genere ſubſtantiæ. Poſtremo, ſi in omnibus partibus puta ho-
minis plurificientur formæ partiales, ex illis certe conſurget una integra diſtincta
ab anima rationali, unde illa erit, aut forma inanimati ſeu corporeitatis, aut
miſtionis (quam præter animam in homine dari fuſe ultra quam credibile eſt)
vel erit anima ſenſitiva, aut vegetativa, hoc autem affirmantem nullo modò
audiat eruditior chorus Philoſophantium; cujus rei ampliori probatione ſuper-
ſedeo, quoniam in confeſſo eſt, nec admodum accedit ad apicem cauſæ. Verum,
quod caput eſt controverſiæ, objiciunt adverſarii, partem ab animali amputa-
tam remanere actu poſt ſeparationem, non per formam totius cum ſit extra to-
tum, nec per formam recens acquiſitam, cum nullum adſit agens, nulla per-
ceptibilis actio, nulla prævia alteratio; ergo, actu exiſtit per formam propri-
am quam prius habebat, dum erat una in toto. Atque hoc argumento arietare
ſe putant cauſam noſtram & funditus evertere: Cæterum non minus vere quam
vulgariter ſolet reſponderi, formam de novo genitam, cum viliſſima ſit utpote
cadaveris, & quaſi via ad reſolutionem, certe nec multum temporis, nec diſpo-
ſitiones multas, nec ordinatam alterationem efflagitare. Quid ſi etiam cauſa ali-
qua univerſalis concurrat cum proviſo temperamento ad inducendam quamcun-
cunque formam ne materia reperiatur vacua? Quod autem multiplices viſuntur
in animali operationes, id non à formis diſtinctis partialibus petendum eſt, ſed
ab animæ totalis eminentia, quæ quidem æquipollet formis ſpecie diſtinctis. Cæ-
teras quæ occurrunt, leviori momenti objectiones ex compoſito præterire li-
bet, neque enim [illegible], [illegible] amoveri, & [illegible] pote-
rant, ſi foret [illegible] fuerint in quæſtione. Quæcunque res
[illegible] non cedere; ſatis enim ſuperque ſuo *Ma-*
[illegible] ad-
[illegible] ad ſe defendendam invicta ſemper Veritas, nec [illegible] inviola-
[illegible]; & licet nobis [illegible] ſuperari, & [illegible]; ut hic Sol non
[illegible] perpetuo ſervat ſe, ſe [illegible] obvolvit humanis
[illegible], qui [illegible] ſe, & quaſi [illegible] ſplendore pariſ-
[illegible], cum [illegible] in ſe radiis, totoque ad ſe revocans [illegible]
[illegible] ab [illegible]

In

## In Feriïs æſtivis Collegii, ſed concurrente, ut ſolet, tota fere Academiæ juventute.

### ORATIO.

*Exercitationes nonnunquam Ludicras Philoſophiæ ſtudiis non obeſſe.*

CUM ex ea Urbe quæ caput urbium eſt, huc nuper me reciperem, Academici, deliciarum omnium, quibus is locis ſupra modum affluit, uſque ad ſaginam, prope dixerim, ſatur, ſperabam mihi iterum aliquando otium illud Literarium, quo ego vitæ genere etiam cœleſtes animas gaudere opinor; eratq; penitus in animo jam tandem abdere me in Literas, & jucundiſſimæ Philoſophiæ perdius & pernox aſſidere; ita ſemper aſſolet Laboris & Voluptatis viciſſitudo amovere ſatietatis tædium, & efficere, ut intermiſſa repetantur alacrius. Cum his me incalentem ſtudiis repente avocavit, atque abſtraxit pervetuſti moris fere annua celebritas, juſſuſque ego ſum eam operam quam acquirendæ ſapientiæ primò deſtinâram, ad nugas transferre, & novas ineptias excogitandas: quaſi jam nunc non eſſent omnia ſtultorum plena, quaſi egregia illa, & non minus *Argo* decantata navis ſtultifera feciſſet naufragium, plane denique ac ſi ipſi *Democrito* materia jam ridendi deeſſet. Verum date quæſo veniam, Auditores; hic enim hodiernus mos, utut ego liberius paulo ſum locutus, ſane quidem non eſt ineptus, ſed impenſe potius laudabilis, quod quidem ego jam mihi propoſui ſtatim luculentius patefacere. Quod ſi *Junius Brutus* ſecundus ille rei *Romanæ* conditor, magnus ille ultor regiæ libidinis, animum prope Diis immortalibus parem, & mirificam indolem ſimulatione vecordiæ ſupprimere ſuſtinuit; certe nihil eſt, cur me pudeat aliquantiſper μωροσοφῶς nugari, ejus præſertim juſſu, cujus intereſt, tanquam ædilis hos quaſi ſolennes ludos curare. Tum nec mediocriter me pellexit, & invitavit ad has partes ſubeundas veſtra, vos qui ejuſdem eſtis mecum Collegii, in me nuperrime comperta facilitas; cum enim ante præteritos menſes aliquam multos oratorio apud vos munere perfuncturus eſſem, putaremque lucubrationes meas qualeſcunque etiam ingratas propemodum futuras, & mitiores habituras judices *Æacum* & *Minoëm*, quam è vobis fere quemlibet, ſane præter opinionem meam, præter ſpem meam ſi quid erat ſpeculæ, non vulgari ſicuti ego accepi, imo ipſe ſenſi, omnium plauſu exceptæ ſunt, immo eorum, qui in me alias propter ſtudiorum diſſidia eſſent prorſus infenſo & inimico animo: generoſum ſane ſimultatis exercendæ genus, & regio pectore non indignum, ſiquidem cum ipſa amicitia plerumque multa inculpate facta depravare ſoleat, tum profecto acris & infeſta inimicitia errata ſane multa, & haud pauca ſine dubio indiſerte dicta, leniter & clementius quam meum erat meritum interpretari non gravabatur. Jam ſemel unico hoc exemplo vel ipſa demum ira mentis compos fuiſſe videbatur, & hoc facto, furoris infamiam abluiſſe. At vero ſummopere delector, & miris in modum voluptate perfundor, cum videam tanta doctiſſimorum hominum frequentia circumfuſum me, & undique ſtipatum: Et rurſus tamen cum in me deſcendo, & quaſi flexis introrſum oculis tenuitatem meam intueor, quod quidem ſæpius facio, mihimet ſoli conſcius erubeſco & repentina quædam ingruens ægritudo ſubſilientem deprimit & jugulat lætitiam. Sed nolite, Academici, ſic me jacentem & conſternatum, & acie oculorum veſtrorum tanquam de cœlo tactum, nolite quæſo ſic deſerere, erigat me ſemianimum, quod poteſt, & ſuſcitabit veſtri favoris aura, ita fiet, ut, vobis authoribus, quemadmodum grave ſit hoc malum; at remedium mali vobis exhibentibus, eo jucundius & ſalubrius, adeo ut mihi fuerit perquam gratum ſic ſæpius exanimari, modo liceat à vobis recreari me toties & refici. At ô interim ſingularem in vobis vim, atque eximiam virtutem, quæ tanquam haſta illa *Achillea*, *Vulcani* munus, vulnerat & medicatur! Cæterum nec miretur quiſpiam, ſi ego tot eruditione inſignes viros, totumque pene Academiæ florem huc confluxiſſe, tanquam inter aſtra poſitus triumphem; vix etenim opinor plures olim *Athenas* adventâſſe ad audiendum duos Oratores ſummos *Demoſthenem* & *Æſchinem* de principatu eloquentiæ certantes, nec eam unquam fœlicitatem contigiſſe peroranti *Hortenſio*, nec tot tam egregie literatos viros condecorâſſe orantem *Ciceronem*; adeo ut quamvis ego hoc opus minus fœliciter abſolvero, erit tamen mihi honori non aſpernando in tanto concurſu conventuque præſtantiſſimorum hominum vel verba feciſſe. Atque hercle non poſſum ego nunc, quin mihi blandiuſcule plaudam qui vel *Orpheo*, vel *Amphione* multo ſim meo judicio fortunatior: hi enim chordulis ſuavi concentu adſonantibus digitos tantum docte & perite admovebant; eratque in ipſis fidibus, & in apto dextroque manuum motu æqualis utrinque pars dulcedinis: atqui ego ſi quid hodie laudis hinc reportavero, ea ſane & tota erit & vere mea, tantoque nobilior, quanto ingenii opus vincit ac præſtat manuum artificium. Deinde hi ſaxa, & feras, ſylvaſque ad ſe trahebant, & ſi quos homines, rudes illos & agreſtes: at ego doctiſſimas mihi deditas aures, & ab ore meo pendentes video. Noviſſime agreſtes illi, & feræ jam ſatis notam & complures exauditam ſequebantur nervorum harmoniam; vos vero huc rapuit, & jam detinet ſola expectatio. Sed tamen Academici, hîc vos imprimis commonefactos volo, me non hæc glorioſius crepuiſſe; utinam enim mihi vel in præſentia concederetur melleum illud, ſeu verius Nectareum Eloquentiæ flumen quicquid unquam *Attica* vel *Romana* ingenia imbuebat olim, & quaſi cœlitus irrorabat, utinam mihi liceret omnem penitus *Suadæ* medullam exugere, & ipſius etiam *Mercurii* ſcrinia ſuffurari, omneſque elegantiarum loculos funditus exinanire, quo poſſim aliquid tanta expectatione, tam præclaro cœtu, tam denique terſis & delicatis auribus dignum adferre. Ecce, Auditores, quo me raptat & impellit vehementiſſimus ardor & prolubium placendi vobis, quippe de improviſo me provectum ſentio in ambitionem quandam, ſed eam ſane piam, & honeſtum, ſi hoc fieri poteſt, Sacrilegium. Et certè exiſtimo haudquaquam mihi opus eſſe Muſarum auxilium implorare & expoſcere, iis enim me circumſeptum puto, qui Muſas omnes ſpirant & Gratias, totumque reor *Helicona*, & quæcunque ſunt alia Muſarum delubra ad hunc diem celebrandum omnes ſuos effudiſſe alumnos; adeo ut credibile ſit jam nunc propter eorum abſentiam lugere & defloreſcere *Parnaſſi* Lauros; unde profecto fruſtra erit Muſas, & Charites, & Libentias uſquam terrarum quæritare, quam in hoc loco; quod ſi ita ſit, neceſſe eſt protinns ipſam Barbariem, Errorem, Ignorantiam, & omne illud Muſis inviſum genus quam celerrimè aufugere ad aſpectum veſtrum, & ſub diverſo longe cœlo abſcondere ſeſe; atque deinde quidem quid obſtat, quo minus quicquid eſt barbaræ, incultæ & obſoletæ locutionis abigatur extemplò ab Oratione mea, atque ego afflatu veſtro, & arcano inſtinctu diſertus & politus ſubito evadam. Utcunque tamen vos, Auditores, obteſtor, ne quem veſtrûm pœniteat meis pauliſper vacâſſe nugis; ipſi enim Dii omnes, cœleſtis politiæ curâ ad tempus depoſitâ, depugnantium homunculorum ſpectaculo ſæpius interfuiſſe perhibentur; aliquoties etiam humiles non dedignati caſus, & paupere hoſpitio excepti, fabas & olera narrantur eſitâſſe. Obſecro itidem ego vos, atque oro, Auditores optimi, ut hoc meum quale quale conviviolum ad ſubtile veſtrum & ſagax palatum faciat. Verum etiamſi ego permultos noverim Sciolos quibus uſitatiſſimum eſt, ſi quid ignorârunt, id ſuperbe & inſcite apud alios contemnere, tanquam indignum cui operam impendant ſuam; quemadmodum hic Dialecticam inſulſe vellicat, quam nunquam aſſequi potuit; ille Philoſophiam nihili facit, quia ſcilicet formoſſima Dearum Natura nunquam illum tali dignata eſt honore, ut ſe nudam illi præbuerit intuendam: Ego tamen Feſtivitates & Sales, in quibus quoque perexiguam agnoſco facultatem meam, non gravabor, ut potero, laudare; ſi prius hoc unum addidero, quod ſane arduum videtur, & minime proclive, me jocos hodie ſeriò laudaturum. Atque id non immeritò quidem, quid enim eſt quod citius conciliet, diutiuſque retineat amicitias, quam amœnum & feſtivum ingenium? & profecto cui deſunt ſales, & lepores, & politulæ facetiæ, haud temere invenietis cui ſit gratus & acceptus. Nobis autem, Academici, ſi quotidiani moris eſſet indormire & quaſi immori Philoſophiæ, & inter dumos & ſpinas Logicæ conſeneſcere citra ullam enim relaxationem, & nunquam conceſſo reſpirandi loco, quid, quæſo, aliud eſſet philoſophari, quam in *Trophonii* antro vaticinari, & *Catonis* plus nimio rigidi Sectam ſectari; immo dicerent vel ipſi ruſticani, ſinapi nos victitare. Adde quod, quemadmodum qui luctæ & campeſtri ludo aſſueſcunt ſe, multo cæteris valentiores redduntur, & ad omne opus paratiores; ita pariter uſuvenit, ut per hanc ingenii palæſtram corroboretur nervus animi, & quaſi melior ſanguis & ſuccus comparetur, utque ipſa indoles limatior fiat acutiorque, & ad omnia ſequax & verſatilis. Quod ſi quis urbanus & lepidus haberi nolit, ne ſis hoc illi ſtomacho ſi paganus & ſubruſticus appelletur; & probe novimus illiberale quoddam genus hominum, qui cum ipſi prorſus inſulſi ſint & infeſtivi, ſuam tacite ſecum æſtimantes vilitatem & inſcitiam, quicquid forte urbanius dictitatum audiunt, id ſtatim in ſe dici putant; digni ſane quibus id vere eveniat, quod injuriâ ſuſpicantur, ut ſcilicet omnium dicteriis everberantur, pene uſquedum ſuſpendium cogitent. Sed non valent iſtæ hominum quiſquiliæ urbanitatis elegantulæ licentiam inhibere. Vultis itaque me Auditores, rationis fundamento fidem exemplorum ſuperſtruere? ea utique mihi abunde ſuppetunt, primus omnium occurrit *Homerus* ille oriens, & *Lucifer* cultioris literaturæ, cum quo omnis eruditio tanquam Gemella nata eſt; ille enim interdum à Deorum conſiliis & rebus in Cœlo geſtis divinum revocans animum, & ad facetias divertens, murium & ranarum pugnam lepidiſſime deſcripſit. Quinetiam *Socrates*, teſte *Pythio*, ſapientiſſimus ille mortalium, jurgioſam uxoris moroſitatem ſæpenumero quam urbane perſtrinxiſſe fertur. Omnia deinde veterum Philoſophorum diverbia ſale ſparſa, & lepore venuſto paſſim legimus referta; & certe hoc unum erat quod antiquos omnes Comœdiarum & Epigrammatum Scriptores, & Græcanicos & Latinos, æternitate nominis donavit. Quinimo accepimus, *Ciceronis* jocos & facetias tres Libros à *Tyrone* conſcriptos impleviſſe. Et cuique jam in manibus eſt ingenioſiſſimum illud *Moriæ* encomium non infimi Scriptoris opus, multæque aliæ clariſſimorum hujus memoriæ Oratorum de rebus ridiculis extant haud infacetæ proluſiones. Vultis ſummos Imperatores, & Reges, & fortes viros? Accipite *Periclem*, *Epaminondam*, *Ageſilaum*, & *Philippum Macedonem*, quos (ut *Gelliano* more loquar) feſtivitatum & ſalſè dictorum ſcatuiſſe memorant Hiſtorici: Ad hos *Caium Lælium*, *Pub. Cor. Scipionem*, *Cneium Pompeium*, *C. Julium* & *Octavium Cæſares*, quos in hoc genere omnibus præſtitiſſe coætaneis author eſt *M. Tullius*. Vultis adhuc majora nomina? ipſum etiam *Jovem* reliquoſque Cœlites inter epulas & pocula jucunditati ſe dantes inducunt Poetæ ſagaciſſimi veritatis adumbratores. Veſtrâ demum, Academici, utar tutelâ & patrocinio, quod mihi erit omnium adinſtar; quippe quam non diſpliceant vobis ſales & joculi; indicat ſatis tantus hodie veſtrûm factus concurſus, & hoc ſane unumquodque caput mihi annuere videtur; nec mirum eſt mehercle feſtam hanc & mundulam urbanitatem omnes probos, ſimulque claros viros ſic oblectare, cum & ipſa inter ſplendidos virtutum *Ariſtotelicarum* ordines ſublimis ſedeat, & velut in *Panthæo* quodam Diva cum Divis Sororibus colluceat. Sed forte non deſunt quidam Barbati Magiſtri tetrici oppido & difficiles, qui ſe magnos *Catones*, nedum Catunculos putantes, vultu ad ſeveritatem *Stoicam* compoſito, obſtipo nutantes capite anxie querantur omnia nunc dierum commiſceri, & in deterius perverti & loco Priorum *Ariſtotelis* ab initiatis recens baccalaureis exponendorum, ſcommata & inanes nugas inverecunde & intempeſtive jactari; hodiernum quoque exercitium à majoribus noſtris ſine dubio recte & fideliter inſtitutum ob inſignem aliquem, ſive in Rhetorica, ſive in Philoſophia fructum inde percipiendum, nunc nuper in inſipidos ſales perperam immutari. At vero his quod reſpondeatur ad manum mihi eſt, & in procinctu; Sciant enim illi, ſi neſciant, Literas, cum leges Reipub. noſtræ Literariæ primum eſſent latæ, ab exteris regionibus vix has in oras fuiſſe advectas: idcirco cum Græcæ & Latinæ Linguæ peritia impendio rara eſſet & inſolens, expediebat eò acriori ſtudio, & magis aſſiduis exercitationibus ad eas eniti & aſpirare: nos autem quandoquidem ſuperioribus noſtris pejus ſumus morati, melius eruditi, oportebit relictis quæ haud multam habent difficultatem ad ea ſtudia accedere, ad quæ & illi contuliſſent ſe, ſi per otium licuiſſet; nec vos præteriit primos quoſque legumlatores duriora paulo ſcita, & ſeveriora quam ut ferri poſſint ſemper edere ſolere, ut deflectentes & paululum relapſi homines in ipſum rectum incidant. Denique mutatâ nunc omnino rerum facie, neceſſe eſt multas leges, multaſque conſuetudines ſi non antiquari & obſoleſcere, coanguſtari ſaltem nec per omnia ſervari. Verum ſi leves iſtiuſmodi nugæ palam defenſitatæ fuerint & approbatæ, publicamque demeruerint laudem (ſic enim arduis ſuperciliis ſolent dicere) nemo non averſo ab ſana & ſolida eruditione animo eum ad ludicra ſtatim & hiſtrionalem prope levitatem adjunget, adeo ut ipſa Philoſophorum ſpatia pro doctis & cordatis nugatores emiſſura ſint vel nimis & ſcurris proterviores. At vero ego exiſtimo eum qui jocis inſubidis ſic ſolet capi, ut præ iis ſeria & magis utilia plane negligat, eum inquam, nec in hac parte, nec in illa poſſe admodum proficere: non quidem in ſeriis, quia ſi fuiſſet ad res ſerias tractandas naturâ comparatus, factuſque, credo non tam facile pateretur ſe ab iis abduci; nec in nugatoriis, quia vix queat ullus belle & lepide jocari, niſi & ſerio agere prius addidicerit. Sed vereor, Academici, ne longius æquo deduxerim Orationis filum; nolo excuſare quod potui, ne inter excuſandum ingraveſcat culpa. Jam oratoriis ſoluti legibus proſiliemus in Comicam licentiam. In qua ſi forte morem meum, ſi rigidas verecundiæ leges tranſverſum, quod aiunt, digitum egreſſus fuero, ſciatis Academici, me in veſtram gratiam exuiſſe antiquum meum, & parumper depoſuiſſe: aut ſi quid ſolute, ſi quid luxurianter dictum erit, id quidem non mentem & indolem meam, ſed temporis rationem & loci genium mihi ſuggeſſiſſe putetis. Itaque, quod ſimile ſolent exeuntes implorare Comœdi, id ego inceptans flagito. Plaudite, & ridete.

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# Proluſio.

Laboranti, ut videtur, & pene corruenti ſtultorum rei ſummæ, equidem neſcio quo merito meo Dictator ſum creatus. At quorſum ego? cum Dux ille, & Anteſignanus omnium Sophiſtarum & ſedulò ambiverit hoc munus, & fortiſſime potuerit adminiſtrare; ille enim induratus Miles ad quinquaginta pridem Sophiſtas ſudibus breviculis armatos per agros *Barwellianos* ſtrenue duxit, & obſeſſurus oppidum ſatis militariter aquæductum disjecit, ut per ſitim poſſet oppidanos ad deditionem cogere; at vero abiiſſe nuper hominem valde doleo, ſiquidem ejus diſceſſu nos omnes Sophiſtas non ſolum ἀκεφάλους reliquit, ſed & decollatos. Et jam fingite, Auditores, quamvis non ſint *Aprilis* Calendæ, feſta adeſſe *Hilaria*, matri Deùm dicata, vel Deo Riſui rem divinam fieri. Ridete itaque & petulanti ſplene ſuſtollite cachinnum, exporrigite frontem, & uncis indulgete naribus, ſed naſo adunco ne ſuſpendite; profuſiſſimo riſu circumſonent omnia, & ſolutior cachinnus hilares excutiat lachrymas, ut iis riſu exhauſtis ne guttulam quidem habeat dolor quâ triumphum exornet ſuum. Ego profecto ſi quem nimis parce diducto rictu ridentem conſpexero, dicam eum ſcabros & carioſos dentes rubigine obductos, aut indecoro ordine prominentes abſcondere, aut inter prandendum hodie ſic oppleviſſe abdomen, ut non audeat ilia ulterius diſtendere ad riſum, ne præcinenti ori ſuccinat, & ænigmata quædam nolens effutiat ſua non *Sphinx* ſed *Sphincter* anus, quæ medicis interpretanda non *Oedipo* relinquo; nolim enim hilari vocis ſono obſtrepat in hoc cœtu poſticus gemitus: Solvant iſta Medici qui alvum ſolvunt. Si quis ſtrenuum & clarum non ediderit murmur, eum ego aſſeverabo tam gravem & mortiferum faucibus exhalare ſpiritum, ut vel *Ætna*, vel *Avernus* nihil ſpiret tetrius; aut certe allium aut porrum comediſſe dudum, adeo ut non audeat aperire os, ne vicinos quoſque fœtido halitu enecet. At vero abſit porro ab hoc cœtu horrendus & tartareus ille ſibili ſonus, nam ſi hîc audiatur hodie, credam ego Furias & *Eumenides* inter vos occulte latitare, & angues ſuos colubroſque pectoribus veſtris immiſiſſe, & proinde *Athamanteos* Furores vobis inſpiraviſſe. At enimvero, Academici, veſtram ego in me benevolentiam demiror atque exoſculor, qui me audituri per flammas & ignes irrupiſtis in hunc locum. Hinc enim in ipſo limine: ſcintillans ille noſter *Cerberus* aſtat, & fumido latratu horribilis, flammeoque coruſcans baculo favillas pleno ore egerit; illinc ardens & voraciſſimus Fornax noſter luridos eructat ignes, & tortuoſos fumi globos evolvit, adeo ut non ſit difficilius iter ad inferos vel invito *Plutone*; & certe nec ipſe *Jaſon* minori cum periculo boves illos *Martis* πυριπνέοντας aggreſſus eſt. Jamque Auditores, credite vos in cœlum receptos, poſteaquam evaſiſtis purgatorium, & neſcio quo novo miraculo ex fornace calida ſalvi prodiiſtis, neque ſane mihi in mentem venit ullius Herois cujus fortitudinem commode poſſim veſtræ æquiparare, neque enim *Bellerophontes* ille ignivomam *Chimæram* animoſius debellavit, nec validiſſimi illi Regis *Arthuri* pugiles, igniti & flammigerantis Caſtelli incantamenta vicerunt facilius & diſſiparunt; atque hinc ſubit, ut puros mihi Auditores & lectiſſimos pollicear, ſi quid enim fæcis huc advenerit poſt explorationem camini, ego ſtatim dixero ignes noſtros janitores eſſe fatuos. At fœlices nos & incolumes perpetuo futuros! *Romæ* enim ad diuturnitatem imperii ſempiternos ignes ſollicite & religioſe ſervabant, nos vigilibus & vivis ignibus cuſtodimur: Quid dixi vivis & vigilibus? id ſane improviſo lapſu prætervolavit, quippe nunc melius commemini, eos primo crepuſculo extinguere ſeſe, & non niſi claro ſudo ſeſe reſuſcitare. Attamen ſpes eſt, tandem iterum domum noſtram poſſe inclareſcere, cum nemo inficias iverit duo maxima Academiæ Luminaria noſtro collegio præſidere; quamvis illi nuſquam majori forent in honore quam *Romæ* ibi enim vel virgines Veſtales inextinctos eos, & inſomnes totas noctes ſervarent, vel forte ordini Seraphico initiarentur flammei fratres. In hos deniq; optime quadrat Hemiſtichion illud *Virgilianum*, Igneus eſt ollis vigor: immo pene inductus ſum ut credam *Horatium* horum noſtrorum ignium mentionem feciſſe, major enim horum, dum ſtat inter conjugem & liberos, micat inter omnes velut inter ignes Luna minores. Non poſſum autem præterire fædum *Ovidii* errorem, qui ſic cecinit, Nataque de flamma corpora nulla vides. Videmus enim paſſim oberrantes igniculos hoc noſtro igne genitos, hoc ſi negaverit *Ovidius*, neceſſum habebit uxoris pudicitiam vocare in dubium. Ad vos redeo, Auditores; Ne vos pœniteat tam moleſti & formidoloſi itineris, ecce convivium vobis apparatum! eccas menſas ad luxum *Perſicum* extructas, & cibis conquiſitiſſimis onuſtas, qui vel *Apicianam* gulam oblectent & deliniant! Ferunt enim *Antonio* & *Cleopatræ* octo integros apros in epulis appoſitos, vobis autem primo ferculo hem quinquaginta ſaginatos apros cerviſiâ conditaneâ per triennium maceratos, & tamen adhuc adeo calloſos, ut vel caninos dentes delaſſare valeant. Dein totidem optimos boves inſigniter caudatos famulari noſtro igni præ foribus recens aſſos; ſed vereor ne omnem ſuccum in patinam exudaverint. Ab his tot etiam en vitulina capita, ſane craſſa & carnoſa, ſed adeo pertenui cerebro, ut non ſufficiat ad condimentum. Tum quidem & hœdos plus minus centum, ſed puto crebriori *Veneris* uſu nimium macros: Arietes aliquot expectavimus ſpecioſis & patulis cornubus, ſed eos Coqui noſtri nondum ſecum attulerunt ex oppido. Si quis aves mavult, habemus innumeras, turundis, & offis, & ſcobinato caſeo diu altiles: Inprimis, neſcio quod genus avium tam ingenio, quam plumâ viride, unde eas è regione Pſittacorum ſuſpicor aſportatas; quæ quia gregatim ſemper volitant, & eodem fere loco nidulantur, eodem etiam diſco apponentur; iis vero parce velim veſcamini, quia præterquam quod admodum crudi ſint, & nihil in ſe habeant ſolidi nutrimenti, ſcabiem etiam comedentibus protrudunt (modo vera tradit Comeſtor.) Jam vero libere & genialiter epulamini; hic enim præſto eſt miſſus quem vobis præ omnibus commendo, prægrandis ſcilicet Gallinago, pertriennalem faginam adeo unguinoſæ pinguedinis, ut illi vix ſatis largum ſit unum ferculum ampliſſimum, roſtro eouſq; prælongo & eduro, ut impune poſſit eum Elephante aut Rhinocerote certamen ingredi; eam autem in hunc diem commode obtruncavimus, propterea quod prægrandium Simiorum more incepit puellis inſidiari, & vim inferre mulieribus. Hunc ſubſequuntur aves quædam *Hibernicæ*, neſcio quo nomine; ſed inceſſu & corporis filo gruibus perſimiles, quamvis utplurimum ſoleant in poſtremam menſam aſſervari; hic quidem eſt novus & rarus magis quam ſalutaris cibus: his itaque abſtineatis moneo, ſunt enim efficaciſſimi (modo vera tradit Comeſtor) ad generandos pediculos inguinales: has igitur arbitror ego agaſonibus utiliores futuras; nam cum ſint naturæ vividæ, vegetæ, & ſaltaturientes, ſi equis ſtrigoſis per podicem ingerantur, reddent eos protinus vivaciores & velociores quam ſi decem vivas anguillas in ventre haberent. Anſeres etiam complures aſpicite, & hujus anni & ſuperiorum argutos valde, & ranis Ariſtophanicis vocaliores; quos quidem facile dignoſcetis; mirum enim eſt ni ſe jam prodiderint ſibilando, ſtatim fortaſſe audietis. Ova inſuper aliquot habemus, ſed ea κακȣ κόρακος; Frugum vero nihil præterquam mala & meſpila, eaque infœlicis arboris, nec ſatis matura, præſtabit itaque iterum ad Solem ſuſpendi. Videtis apparatus noſtros, quæſo vos, quibus palato ſunt, commeſſamini. Verum hariolor dicturos vos, epulas haſce, veluti nocturnæ illæ dapes quæ à Dæmone veneficis apparantur, nullo condiri ſale, vereorque ne diſcedatis jejuniores quam veniſtis. Verum ad ea pergo quæ ad me propius attinent. *Romani* ſua habuere Floralia, Ruſtici ſua Palilia, Piſtores ſua Fornacalia, nos quoque potiſſimum hoc tempore rerum & negotiorum vacui, *Socratico* more ludere ſolemus. Itaque hoſpitia Leguleiorum ſuos habent, quos vocant Dominos, vel hinc indicantes quam ſint honoris ambitioſi. Nos autem, Academici, ad paternitatem quamproxime accedere cupientes id ficto nomine uſurpare geſtimus, quod vero non audemus ſaltem nonniſi in occulto; quemadmodum puellæ nuptias luſorias & puerperia ſolenniter fingunt, earum rerum quas anhelant & cupiunt, umbras captantes & amplectentes. Quorſum autem eo, qui proxime ſe circumegit, anno intermiſſa fuerit hæc ſolennitas, ego ſane haud poſſum divinare; niſi quod ii qui patres futuri erant, adeo ſtrenue ſe geſſerint in oppido, ut is cui id negotii dabatur, tantorum miſertus laborum ultro juſſerit eos ab hac cura otioſos eſſe. At vero unde eſt quod ego tam ſubito factus ſum Pater? Dii veſtram fidem! Quid hoc eſt prodigii *Pliniana* exuperantis portenta! numnam ego percuſſo angue *Tyreſia* fatum expertus ſum? ecqua me *Theſſala* ſaga magico perſudit unguento? an denique ego à Deo aliquo vitiatus, ut olim *Cnœeus*, virilitatem pactus ſum ſtupri pretium, ut ſic repente ἐκ θηλείας εις ἀῤῥενά ἀλλα χθείω ἄν? A quibuſdam, audivi nuper Domina. At cur videor illis parum maſculus? Ecquis *Priſciani* pudor? itane propria quæ maribus fœmineo generi tribuunt inſulſi Grammaticaſtri! ſcilicet quia Scyphos capaciſſimos nunquam valui pancratice haurire; aut quia manus tenendâ ſtivâ non occaluit. aut quia nunquam ad meridianum Solem ſupinus jacui ſeptennis bubulcus; fortaſſe demum quod nunquam me virum præſtiti, eo modo quo illi Ganeones: verum utinam illi poſſint tam facile exuere aſinos, quam ego quicquid eſt fœminæ; at videte quam inſubide, quam incogitate mihi objecerint id, quod ego jure optimo mihi vertam gloriæ. Namque & ipſe *Demoſthenes* ab æmulis adverſariiſque parum vir dictus eſt. *Q.* itidem *Hortenſius* omnium Oratorum poſt *M. Tullium*, clariſſimus, *Dionyſia* Pſaltria appellatus eſt à *L. Torquato.* Cui ille, *Dionyſia*, inquit, malo equidem eſſe, quam quod tu *Torquate*, ἄμουσος, ἀγροδίαιτος, ἀπρόσιτος. Ego vero quicquid hoc Domini aut Dominæ eſt à me longe amolior atque rejicio, niſi in roſtris atque ſubſelliis veſtris, Academici, dominari non cupio. Quis jam prohibebit me quin lætar tam auſpicato & fœlici omine, exultemque gaudio me tantis viris ejuſdem opprobrii ſocietate conjunctum! Interea ut bonos omnes & præſtantes ſupra invidiam poſitos arbitror, ita hos lividos adeo omnium infimos puto, ut ne digni ſint qui maledicant. Ad filios itaque pater me converto, quorum cerno ſpecioſum numerum, & video etiam lepidulos nebulones occulto nutu me patrem fateri. De nominibus quæritis? Nolo ſub nominibus ferculorum filios meos epulandos vobis tradere, id enim *Tantali* & *Lycaonis* feritati nimium eſſet affine; nec membrorum inſignibo nominibus, ne putetis me pro integris hominibus tot fruſta hominum genuiſſe; nec ad vinorum genera eos nuncupare volupe eſt, ne quicquid dixero, ſit ἀπροσδίονυσον, & nihil ad *Bacchum*; volo ad prædicamentorum numerum nominatos, ut ſic & ingenuos natales & liberalem vitæ rationem exprimam; & eadem opera curabo, uti omnes ad aliquem gradum ante meum obitum provecti ſint. Quod ad Sales meos nolo ego edentulos, ſic enim tritos, & veteres dicatis, & aniculam aliquam tuſſientem eos expuiſſe: proinde credo neminem ſales meos dentatos inculpaturum, niſi qui ipſe nullos habet dentes, ideoque reprehenſurum, quia non ſunt ipſius ſimiles. Et certe in præſens ego exoptarem obtigiſſe mihi *Horatii* ſortem, nempe ut eſſem ſalſamentarii filius, tunc enim ſales mihi eſſent ad unguem, vos etiam ſale ita pulchre defricatos dimitterem, ut noſtros milites qui nuper ab Inſula *Reana* capeſſere fugam non magis pœniteret ſalis petiti. Non libet mihi in conſilio vobis exhibendo, mei gnati, gnaviter eſſe operoſo, ne plus operæ vobis erudiendis quam gignendis inſumpſiſſe videar, tantum caveat quiſque ne ex filio fiat nepos: liberique mei ne colant liberum, ſi me velint patrem. Si qua ego alia præcepta dedero, ea linguâ vernaculâ proferenda ſentio; conaborque pro viribus ut omnia intelligatis. Cæterum exorandi ſunt mihi *Neptunus*, *Apollo*, *Vulcanus*, & omnes Dii Fabri; uti latera mea vel tabulatis corroborare, vel ferreis laminis circumligare velint. Quinetiam ſupplicanda mihi eſt Dea *Ceres*, ut quæ humerum eburneum *Pelopi* dederit, mihi pariter latera pene abſumpta reparare dignetur. Neque enim eſt cur miretur quiſlibet, ſi poſt tantum clamorem & tot filiorum genituram paulo infirmiora ſint. In his itaque ſenſu *Neroniano* ultra quam ſatis eſt, moratus ſum: nunc Leges Academicas veluti *Romuli* muros tranſiliens à Latinis ad Anglicana tranſcurro. Vos quibus iſtæc arrident, aures atque animos nunc mihi attentos date.

# In Sacrario habita pro Arte

## ORATIO.

*Beatiores reddit Homines Ars quam Ignorantia.*

TAmetſi mihi, Auditores, nihil magis jucundum ſit atque optabile aſpectu veſtro aſſiduâque togatorum hominum frequentiâ, hoc etiam honorifico dicendi munere, quo ego vice unâ atque alterâ apud vos non ingratâ operâ perfunctus ſum; tamen, ſi quod res eſt fateri liceat, ſemper ita fit, ut, cum neque meum ingenium, nec ſtudiorum ratio ab hoc Oratorio genere multum abhorreat, ego vix unquam meâ voluntate, aut ſponte ad dicendum accedam; mihi ſi fuiſſet integrum, vel huic veſpertino labori haud illibenter equidem parſiſſem: nam quoniam ex Libris & Sententiis doctiſſimorum hominum ſic accepi, nihil vulgare, aut mediocre in Oratore, ut nec in Poeta poſſe concedi, eumque oportere, qui Orator eſſe meritò & haberi velit, omnium Artium, omneſque Scientiæ circulari quodam ſubſidio inſtructum & conſummatum eſſe; id quando mea ætas non fert, malui jam prius ea mihi ſubſidia comparando, longo & acri ſtudio illam laudem veram contendere, quàm properato & præcoci ſtylo falſam præripere. Quâ animi cogitatione & conſilio dum æſtuo totus indies, & accendor, nullum unquam ſenſi gravius impedimentum & moram, hoc frequenti interpellationis damno; nihil vero magis aluiſſe ingenium, &, contra quam in corpore fit, bonam ei valetudinem conſervâſſe erudito & liberali otio. Hunc ego divinum *Heſiodi* ſomnum, hos nocturnos *Endymionis* cum Luna congreſſus eſſe crediderim; hunc illum duce *Mercurio Promethei* ſeceſſum in altiſſimas Montis *Caucaſi* ſolitudines ubi ſapientiſſimus Deûm atque hominum evaſit, utpote quem ipſe *Jupiter* de Nuptiis *Thetidis* conſultem iſſe dicatur. Teſtor ipſe lucos, & flumina, & dilectas villarum ulmos, ſub quibus æſtate proxime præteritâ ( ſi Dearum arcana eloqui liceat ) ſummam cum Muſis gratiam habuiſſe me jucundâ memoriâ recolo; ubi & ego inter rura & ſemotos ſaltus velut occulto ævo creſcere mihi potuiſſe viſus ſum. Hic quoq; eandem mihi deliteſcendi copiam utique ſperaſſem, niſi intempeſtive prorſus interpoſuiſſet ſe importuna hæc dicendi moleſtia, quæ ſic ingrate arcebat ſacros ſomnos, ſic torſit animum in aliis defixum, & inter præruptas Artium difficultates ſic impedivit & oneri fuit, ut ego amiſsâ omni ſpe perſequendæ quietis mœſtus cogitare cœperim, quam procul abeſſem ab ea tranquillitate quam mihi primò Literæ pollicebantur, acerbam fore inter hos æſtus & jactationes vitam, ſatius eſſe vel omnes Artes dedidiciſſe. Itaque vix compos mei, temerarium cœpi conſilium laudandæ Ignorantiæ, quæ nihil prorſus haberet harum turbarum; propoſuique in certamen utra ſuos cultores beatiores redderet Ars an Ignorantia? Neſcio quid eſt, noluit me meum ſive fatum, ſive genius ab incepto Muſarum amore diſcedere; imo & ipſa cæca ſors tanquam derepente prudens providenſque facta hoc idem noluiſſe viſa eſt; citius opinione meâ Ignorantia ſuum nacta eſt patronum, mihi Ars relinquitur defendenda. Gaudeo ſane ſic illuſum me, nec me pudet vel cæcam Fortunam mihi reſtituiſſe oculos; hoc illi nomine gratias habeo. Jam ſaltem illam laudare licet, cujus ab amplexu divulſus eram, & quaſi abſentis deſiderium ſermone conſolari; jam hæc non plane interruptio eſt, quis enim interpellari ſe dicat, id laudando & tuendo quod amat, quod approbat, quod magnopere aſſequi velit. Verum, Auditores, ſic ego exiſtimo in re mediocriter laudabili maxime elucere vim Eloquentiæ; quæ ſummam laudem habent, vix ullo modo, ullis limitibus Orationis contineri poſſe, in his ipſa ſibi officit copia, & rerum multitudine comprimit & coanguſtat expandentem ſe elocutionis pompam; hac ego argumenti fœcunditate nimiâ laboro, ipſæ me vires imbecillum, arma inermem reddunt; delectus itaque faciendus, aut certe enumeranda verius quam tractanda quæ tot noſtram cauſam validis præſidiis firmam ac munitam ſtatuunt: nunc illud mihi unice elaborandum video, ut oſtendam quid in utraque re, & quantum habeat momentum ad illam in quam omnes ferimur, beatitudinem; in qua contentione facili certe negotio verſabitur Oratio noſtra, nec admodum eſſe puto metuendum quid poſſit Scientiæ Inſcitia, Arti Ignorantia objicere; quamvis hoc ipſum quod objiciat, quod verba faciat, quod in hac celebritate Literatiſſimæ Concionis vel hiſcere audeat, id totum ab arte precariò vel potius emendicato habet. Notum hoc eſſe reor, Auditores, & receptum omnibus, magnum mundi opificem, cætera omnia cum fluxu & caduca poſuiſſet, homini præter id quod mortale eſſet, divinam quandam auram, & quaſi partem ſui immiſcuiſſe, immortalem, indelebilem lethi & interitus immunem; quæ poſtquam in terris aliquandiu tanquam cœleſtis hoſpes, caſte, ſanctéque peregrinata eſſet, ad nativum cælum ſurſum evibraret ſe, debitamque ad ſedem & patriam reverteretur: proinde nihil merito recenſeri poſſe in cauſis noſtræ beatitudinis, niſi id & illam ſempiternam, & hanc civilem vitam aliquâ ratione reſpiciat. Ea propemodum ſuffragiis omnium ſola eſt contemplatio, quâ ſine adminiſtro corpore ſeducta & quaſi conglobata in ſe mens noſtra incredibili voluptate immortalium Deorum ævum imitatur, quæ tamen ſine arte tota infrugifera eſt & injucunda, imo nulla. Quis enim rerum humanarum divinarumque ἰδέας intueri digne poſſit aut conſiderare, quarum ferme nihil nôſſe queat, niſi animum per artem & diſciplinam imbutum & excultùm habuerit; ita prorſus ei cui Artes deſunt, interclusus eſſe videtur omnis aditus ad vitam beatam: ipſam hanc animam altæ ſapientiæ capacem & prope inexplebilem, aut fruſtra nobis Deus, aut in pœnam dediſſe videtur, niſi maxime voluiſſet nos ad excelſam earum rerum cognitionem ſublimes eniti, quarum tantum ardorem naturâ humanæ menti injecerat. Circumſpicite quaqua poteſtis univerſam hanc rerum faciem, illam ſibi in gloriam tanti operis ſummus Artifex ædificavit; quanto altius ejus rationem inſignem, ingentem fabricam, varietatem admirabilem inveſtigamus, quod ſine arte non poſſumus, tanto plus authorem ejus admiratione noſtrâ celebramus, & veluti quodam plauſu perſequimur, quod illi pergratum eſſe, certum ac perſuaſiſſimum habeamus. Ecquid, Auditores, putabimus tanta immenſi ætheris ſpatia æternis accenſa atque diſtincta ignibus, tot ſuſtinere concitatiſſimos motus, tanta obire converſionum itinera ob hoc unum ut lucernam præbeant ignavis & pronis hominibus? & quaſi facem præferant nobis infra torpentibus & deſidioſis? nihil ineſſe tam multiplici fructuum herbarumque proventui, præterquam fragilem viriditatis ornatum? Profecto ſi tam injuſti rerum æſtimatores erimus, ut nihil ultra craſſum ſenſus intuitum perſequamur, non modo ſerviliter & abjecte, ſed inique & malitioſe cum benigno numine egiſſe videbimur; cui per inertiam noſtram, & quaſi per invidiam titulorum magna pars, & tantæ potentiæ veneratio penitus intercidet. Si igitur dux & inchoatrix nobis ad beatitudinem ſit eruditio, ſi potentiſſimo numini juſſa & complacita, & ejus cum laude maxime conjuncta, certe non poteſt ſui cultores non efficere vel ſumme beatos. Neque enim neſcius ſum, Auditores, contemplationem hanc quâ tendimus ad id quod ſumme expetendum eſt, nullum habere poſſe veræ beatitudinis guſtum ſine integritate vitæ, & morum innocentia; multos autem vel inſigniter eruditos homines nefarios extitiſſe, præterea iræ, odio, & pravis cupiditatibus obedientes; multos è contra literarum rudes viros probos atque optimos ſe præſtitiſſe; quid ergo? Num beatior Ignorantia? minime vero. Sic itaque eſt, Auditores, paucos fortaſſe doctrinâ præſtabiles ſuæ civitatis corruptiſſimi mores & illiteratorum hominum colluvies in nequitiam pertraxere, unius perdocti & prudentis viri induſtriâ multos mortales ab arte impolitos in officio continuit: nimirum una domus, vir unus arte & ſapientia præditus, velut magnum Dei munus toti Reipub. ſatis eſſe poſſit ad bonam frugem. Cæterum ubi nullæ vigent Artes, ubi omnis exterminatur eruditio, ne ullum quidem ibi viri boni veſtigium eſt, graſſatur immanitas atque horrida barbaries; hujus rei teſtem appello non civitatem unam, aut provinciam, non gentem, ſed quartam orbis terrarum partem *Europam*, quâ totâ ſuperioribus aliquot ſæculis omnes bonæ Artes interierant, omnes tunc temporis Academias præſides diu Muſæ reliquerant; pervaſerat omnia, & occupârat cæca inertia, nihil audiebatur in Scholis præter inſulſa ſtupidiſſimorum Monachorum dogmata, togam ſcilicet nacta, per vacua noſtra & pulpita, per ſqualentes Cathedras jactitavit ſe prophanum & informe monſtrum, Ignorantia. Tum primum lugere Pietas, & extingui Religio & peſſum ire, adeo ut ex gravi vulnere, ſero atque ægre vix in hunc uſque diem convaluerit. At vero, Auditores, hoc in Philoſophia ratum, & antiquum eſſe ſatis conſtat, omnis artis, omniſq; ſcientiæ perceptionem ſolius intellectus eſſe, virtutum ac probitatis domum atque delubrum eſſe voluntatem. Cum autem omnium judicio in-

intellectus

tellectus humanus cæteris animi facultatibus princeps & moderator præluceat tum & ipſam voluntatem cæcam alioqui & obſcuram ſuo ſplendore temperat & colluſtrat, illa veluti Luna, luce lucet alienâ Quare demus hoc ſane, & largiamur ultro potiorem eſſe ad beatam vitam virtutem ſine arte, quam artem ſine virtute; at ubi ſemel fœlici nexu invicem conſociatæ fuerint, ut maxime debent, & ſæpiſſime continget, tum vero ſtatim vultu erecto atq; arduo ſuperior longe apparet, atq; emicat ſcientia, cum rege & imperatore intellectu in excelſo locat ſe, inde quaſi humile & ſub pedibus ſpectat inferius quicquid agitur apud voluntatem; & deinceps in æternum excellentiam & claritudinem, majeſtatemq; divinæ proximam facile ſibi aſſerit. Age deſcendamus ad civilem vitam, quid in privata, quid in publica proficiat utráq; videamus; taceo de arte quod ſit pulcherrimum juventutis honeſtamentum, ætatis virilis firmum præſidium, ſenectutis ornamentum atq; ſolatium. Prætereo & illud multos apud ſuos nobiles, etiam *P. R.* principes poſt egregia facinora, & rerum geſtarum gloriam ex contentione & ſtrepitu ambitionis ad literarum ſtudium tanquam in portum ac dulce perfugium ſe recipiſſe; intellexere nimirum ſenes præſtantiſſimi jam reliquam vitæ partem optimam optime oportere collocari; erant ſummi inter homines, volebant his artibus non poſtremi eſſe inter Deos; petierant honores, nunc immortalitatem; in debellandis imperii hoſtibus longe aliâ militiâ uſi ſunt, cum morte maximo generis humani malo conflictaturi, ecce quæ tela ſumpſerint, quas legiones conſcripſerint, quo commeatu inſtructi fuerint. Atqui maxima pars civilis beatitudinis in humana ſocietate & contrahendis amicitiis fere conſtituta eſt; doctiores pleroſque difficiles, inurbanos, moribus incompoſitis, nullâ fandi gratiâ ad conciliandos hominum animos multi queruntur: fateor equidem, qui in ſtudiis fere ſecluſus atque abditus eſt, multo promptius eſſe Deos alloqui quam homines, ſive quod perpetuo fere domi eſt apud ſuperos infrequens rerum humanarum & vere peregrinus, ſive quod aſſiduâ rerum divinarum cogitatione mens quaſi grandior facta in tantis corporis anguſtiis difficulter agitans ſe minus habilis ſit ad exquiſitiores ſalutationum geſticulationes; at ſi dignæ atque idoneæ contigerint amicitiæ nemo ſanctius colit; quid enim jucundius, quid cogitari poteſt beatius illis doctorum & graviſſimorum hominum colloquiis, qualia ſub illa platano plurima ſæpe fertur habuiſſe divinus *Plato*, digna certe quæ totius confluentis generis humani arrecto excipiantur ſilentio; at ſtolide confabulari, alios aliis ad luxum & libidines morem gerere ea demum ignorantiæ eſt amicitia, aut certe amicitiæ ignorantia. Quinetiam ſi hæc civilis beatitudo in honeſta liberaque oblectatione animi conſiſtit, ea profecto doctrinæ & arti repoſita eſt voluptas, quæ cæteras omnes facile ſuperet; quid omnem cœli ſyderumque morem tenuiſſe? omnes aeris motus & viciſſitudines, ſive auguſto fulminum ſonitu, aut crinitis ardoribus inertes animos perterrefaciat, ſive in nivem & grandinem obrigeſcat, ſive denique in pluvia & rore mollis & placidus deſcendat; tum alternantes ventos perdidiciſſe, omneſque halitus aut vapores quos terra aut mare eructat; ſtirpium deinde vires occultas, metallorumque calluiſſe, ſingulorum etiam animantium naturam, & ſi fieri poteſt, ſenſus intellexiſſe; hinc accuratiſſimam corporis humani fabricam & medicinam; poſtremo divinam animi vim & vigorem, & ſi qua de illis qui Lares, & Genii, & Dæmonia vocantur ad nos pervenit cognitio? Infinita adhæc alia, quorum bonam partem didiciſſe licuerit, antequam ego cuncta enumeraverim. Sic tandem, Auditores, cum omnimoda ſemel eruditio ſuos orbes confecerit, non contentus iſte ſpiritus tenebricoſo hoc ergaſtulo eouſque late aget ſe, donec & ipſum mundum, & ultra longe divinâ quadam magnitudine expatiatâ compleverit. Tum demum plerique caſus atque eventus rerum ita ſubito emergent, ut ei, qui hanc arcem ſapientiæ adeptus eſt, nihil pene incautum, nihil fortuitum in vita poſſit accidere; videbitur ſane is eſſe, cujus imperio & dominationi aſtra obtemperent, terra & mare obſecundent, venti tempeſtateſque morigeræ ſint; cui denique ipſa Parens Natura in deditionem ſe tradiderit, plane ac ſi quis Deus abdicato mundi imperio, huic jus ejus, & leges, adminiſtrationemque tanquam præfectori cuidam commiſiſſet. Huc quanta accedit animi voluptas, per omnes gentium hiſtorias & loca pervolare Regnorum, Nationum, Urbium, Populorum ſtatus mutationeſque ad prudentiam, & mores animadvertere: hoc eſt, Auditores, omni ætati quaſi vivus intereſſe, & velut ipſius temporis naſci contemporaneus; profecto cum nominis noſtri gloriæ in futurum proſpeximus, hoc erit ab utero vitam retro extendere & porrigere, & nolenti fato anteactam quandam immortalitatem extorquere. Mitto illud cui quid poteſt æquiparari? Multarum Gentium oraculum eſſe, domum quaſi templum habere, eſſe quos Reges & Reſpublicæ ad ſe invitent, cujus viſendi gratiâ finitimique exterique concurrant, quem alii vel ſemel vidiſſe quaſi quoddam bene meritum glorientur; hæc ſtudiorum præmia, hos fructus eruditio ſuis cultoribus in privata vita præſtare, & poteſt, & ſæpe ſolet. At quid in publica? Sane ad Majeſtatis faſtigium paucos evexit laus doctrinæ, nec probitatis multò plures. Nimirum, illi apud ſe regno fruuntur, omni terrarum ditione longe glorioſiori: & quis ſine ambitionis, infamiâ geminum affectat regnum? addam hoc tamen amplius, duos tantum adhuc fuiſſe qui quaſi cœlitus datum univerſum terrarum orbem habuere, & ſupra omnes Reges & Dynaſtas æquale Diis ipſis partiti ſunt imperium, *Alexandrum* nempe magnum & *Octavium Cæſarem*, eoſque ambos Philoſophiæ alumnos. Perinde quoddam electionis exemplar divinitus exhibitum eſſet hominibus, quali potiſſimum viro clavum & habenas rerum credi oporteret. At multæ reſp. ſine literis, rebus geſtis & opulentiâ claruere. *Spartanorum* quidem, qui ad literarum ſtudium contulerint ſe, pauci memorantur; *Romani* intra urbis mœnia Philoſophiam ſero receperunt; at illi Legiſlatore uſi ſunt *Lycurgo*, qui & philoſophus fuit & Poetarum adeo ſtudioſus, ut *Homeri* ſcripta per *Ioniam* ſparſa ſummâ curâ primus collegerit. Hi poſt varios in urbe motus & perturbationes ægre ſe ſuſtentare valentes, ab *Athenis* eâ tempeſtate artium ſtudio florentiſſimis, Leges Decemvirales, quæ & duodecim tabulæ dictæ ſunt, miſſis legatis emendicarunt. Quid ſi hodiernos *Turcas* per opima *Aſiæ* regna rerum late potitos omnis literaturæ ignaros nobis objiciant? Equidem in ea repub. (ſi tamen crudeliſſimorum hominum per vim & cædem arreptâ potentiâ, quos unum in locum ſceleris conſenſus convocavit, continuo reſpub. dicenda ſit) quod in ea ad exemplum inſigne ſit nil audivi, parare vitæ commoda, tueri parta, id Naturæ debemus, non Arti; aliena libidinoſe invadere, ſibi mutuo ad rapinam auxilio eſſe, in ſcelus conjurare, id Naturæ pravitati. Jus quoddam apud eos exercetur; nec mirum: cæteræ virtutes facile fugantur, juſtitia vere regia, ad ſui cultum impellit, ſine qua vel injuſtiſſimæ ſocietates cito diſſolverentur. Nec omiſerim tamen, *Saracenos Turcarum* propemodum conditores non *armis magis quam bonarum literarum* ſtudiis imperium ſuum propagaſſe. Sed ſi antiquitatem repetamus, inveniemus non inſtitutas modo ab Arte, ſed fundatas olim fuiſſe reſpublicas. Antiquiſſimi quique gentium indigenæ in ſylvis & montibus erraſſe dicuntur, ferarum ritu pabuli commoditatem ſequuti, vultu erecti, cætera proni, putâſſes præter formæ dignitatem nihil non commune cum beſtiis habuiſſe; eadem antra, iidem ſpecus cœlum & frigora defendebant; nulla tunc urbs, non ædes marmoreæ, non aræ Deorum, aut fana collucebant, non illic fas ſanctum, nondum jura in foro dicebantur, nulla in nuptiis tæda, non chorus, nullum in menſa geniali carmen, nullum ſolenne funeris, non luctus, vix tumulus defunctos honeſtabat; nulla convivia, nulli ludi, inauditus citharæ ſonus, ipſa tunc omnia aberant, quibus jam inertia ad luxum abutitur. Cum repente Artes & Scientiæ, agreſtia hominum pectora coelitus afflabant, & imbutos notitiâ ſui in una mœnia pellexere. Quamobrem certe quibus authoribus urbes ipſæ primum conditæ ſunt, dein ſtabilitæ legibus poſt conſiliis munitæ poterunt iiſdem etiam gubernatoribus quam diutiſſime fœliciſſimeque conſiſtere. Quid autem ignorantia? ſentio, Auditores, caligat, ſtupet, procul eſt, effugia circumſpicit, vitam brevem queritur, artem longam; immo vero tollamus duo magna ſtudiorum noſtrorum impedimenta, alterum artis male traditæ, alterum noſtræ ignaviæ, pace *Galeni*, ſeu quis alius ille fuit; totum contra erit, vita longa ars brevis; nihil arte præſtabilius, adeoque laborioſius, nihil nobis ſegnius, nihil remiſſius; ab operariis & agricolis nocturnâ & antelucanâ induſtriâ vinci nos patimur; illi in re ſordida ad vilem victum magis impigri ſunt, quam nos in nobiliſſima ad vitam beatam; nos cum ad altiſſimum atque optimum in humanis rebus aſpiremus, nec ſtudium ferre poſſumus, nec inertiæ dedecus; immo pudet eſſe id, quod non haberi nos indignamur. At valetudini cavemus à vigiliis & acri ſtudio: turpe dictu, animum incultum negligimus, dum corpori metuimus, cujus vires quis non imminuat, quo majores acquirantur animo? quanquam certe qui hæc cauſantur perditiſſimi plerique, abjectâ omni temporis, ingenii, valetudinis curâ, comeſſando, belluæ marinæ ad morem potando, inter ſcorta & aleam pernoctando, nihilo ſe infirmiores factos queruntur. Cum itaque ſic ſe afficiant atque aſſueſcant, ut ad omnem turpitudinem ſtrenui atque alacres; ad omnes virtutis actiones & ingenii hebetes & languidi ſint, culpam in naturam aut vitæ brevitatem falſo & inique transferunt. Quod ſi modeſte ac temperanter vitam degendo, primos ferocientis ætatis impetus ratione & pertinaci ſtudiorum aſſiduitate mallemus edomare, cœleſtem animi vigorem ab omni contagione & inquinamento purum & intactum ſervantes; incredibile eſſet, Auditores, nobis poſt annos aliquot reſpicientibus quantum ſpatium confeciſſe, quam ingens æquor eruditionis curſu placido navigâſſe videremur. Cui & hoc egregium afferet compendium, ſi quis nôrit & artes utiles, & utilia in artibus recte ſeligere. Quot ſunt imprimis Grammaticorum & Rhetorum nugæ aſpernabiles? audias in tradenda arte ſua illos barbare loquentes, hos infantiſſimos. Quid Logica? Regina quidem illa artium ſi pro dignitate tractetur: At heu quanta eſt in ratione inſania! non hic homines, ſed plane Acanthides carduis & ſpinis veſcuntur. O dura *Meſſorum* ilia! Quid repetam illam, quam Metaphyſicam vocant *Peripatetici*, non artem, locupletiſſimam quippe me ducit magnorum virorum authoritas, non artem inquam plerumque, ſed infames ſcopulos, ſed *Lernam* quandam Sophiſmatum ad naufragium & peſtem excogitatam? hæc illa quæ ſupra memini togatæ ignorantiæ vulnera ſunt; hæc eadem cucullorum ſcabies etiam ad Naturalem Philoſophiam late permanavit: vexet Mathematicos demonſtrationum inanis gloriola; his omnibus quæ nihil profutura ſunt meritò contemptis & amputatis, admirationi erit quot annos integros lucrabimur. Quid! quod Juriſprudentiam præſertim noſtram turbata methodus obſcurat, & quod pejus eſt, ſermo neſcio quis, *Americanus* credo, aut ne humanus quidem, quo cum ſæpe Leguleios noſtros clamitantes audiverim, dubitare, ſubiit quibus non eſſet humanum os & loquela, an & his ulli affectus humani adeſſent: vereor certe ut poſſit nos ſancta Juſtitia reſpicere, vereor ut querelas ullo tempore noſtras aut injurias intelligat, quorum linguâ loqui neſciat. Quapropter, Auditores, ſi nullum a pueritia diem ſine præceptis & diligenti ſtudio vacuum ire ſinamus, ſi in arte, aliena ſupervacanea otioſa ſapienter omittamus, certe intra ætatem *Alexandri* magni majus quiddam & glorioſius illo terrarum orbe ſubegerimus: tantumque aberit quo minus brevitatem vitæ, aut artis tædium incuſemus, ut flere & lachrymari promptius nobis futurum credam, ut illi olim, non plures ſupereſſe mundos de quibus triumphemus. Expirat Ignorantia, jam ultimos videte conatus & morientem luctam; Mortales præcipue gloriâ tangi, antiquos illos illuſtres longa annorum ſeries atque decurſus cum celebrârit, nos decrepito mundi ſenio, nos properante rerum omnium occaſu premi, ſi quid prædicandum æterna laude reliquerimus, noſtrum nomen in anguſto verſari, cujus ad memoriam vix ulla poſteritas ſuccedat, fruſtra jam tot Libros & præclara ingenii monumenta edi quæ vicinus mundi rogus cremârit. Non inficior illud eſſe poſſe veriſimile; at vero non morari gloriam cum bene feceris, id ſupra omnem gloriam eſt. Quam nihil beavit iſtos inanis hominum ſermo cujus ad abſentes & mortuos nulla voluptas, nullus ſenſus pervenire potuit? nos ſempiternum ævum expectemus quod noſtrorum in terris ſaltem benefactorum memoriam nunquam delebit; in quo, ſi quid hic pulchre meruimus, præſentes ipſi audiemus, in quo qui prius in hac vita continentiſſime actâ omne tempus bonis artibus dederint, iiſque homines adjuverint, eos ſingulari & ſummâ ſupra omnes ſcientiâ auctos eſſe futuros multi graviter philoſophati ſunt. Jam cavillari deſinant ignavi quæcunque adhuc nobis in ſcientiis incerta atque perplexa ſint, quæ tamen non tam ſcientiæ, quam homini attribuenda ſunt; hoc eſt, Auditores, quod & illud neſcire *Socraticum* & timidam Scepticorum hæſitationem aut refellit, aut conſolatur, aut compenſat. Jam vero tandem aliquando quænam Ignorantiæ beatitudo? ſua ſibi habere, à nemine lædi, omni curâ & moleſtia ſuperſedere, vitam ſecure & quiete, quoad poteſt, traducere; verum hæc feræ aut volucris cujuſpiam vita eſt quæ in altis & penitiſſimis ſylvis in tuto nidulum cœlo quamproximum habet, pullos educit, ſine aucupii metu in paſtum volat, diluculo, veſperique ſuaves modulos emodulatur. Quid ad hæc deſideratur æthereus ille animi vigor? Exuat ergo hominum, dabitur ſane *Circæum* poculum, ad beſtias prona emigret: Ad beſtias vero? at illæ tam turpem hoſpitem excipere nolunt, ſi quidem illæ ſive inferioris cujuſdam rationis participes, quod plurimi diſputârunt, ſive pollenti quodam inſtinctu ſagaces, aut artes, aut artium ſimile quoddam apud ſe exercent. Namque & Canes in perſequenda fera Dialecticæ non ignaros eſſe narratur apud *Plutarchum*, & ſi ad trivia forte ventum ſit, plane disjuncto uti Syllogiſmo. Luſciniam veluti præcepta quædam Muſices pullis ſuis tradere ſolere refert *Ariſtoteles*; unaquæque fere beſtia ſibi medica eſt, multæ etiam inſignia medicinæ documenta hominibus dedere. *Ibis Ægyptia* alvi purgandæ utilitatem, *Hippopotamus* detrahendi ſanguinis oſtendit. Quis dicat Aſtronomiæ expertes à quibus tot ventorum, imbrium, inundationum ſerenitatis præſagia petantur? Quam prudenti & ſeverâ Ethica ſupervolantes montem *Taurum* anſeres obturato lapillis ore periculoſæ loquacitati moderantur; multa formicis res domeſtica, civitas apibus debet; excubias habendi, triquetram aciem ordinandi rationem ars militaris gruum eſſe agnoſcit. Sapiunt altius beſtiæ, quam ut ſuo cœtu & conſortio ignorantiam dignentur; inferius detrudunt. Quid ergo? ad truncos & ſaxa. At ipſi trunci, ipſa arbuſta, totumque nemus ad doctiſſima *Orphei* carmina ſolutis quondam radicibus feſtinavêre. Sæpe etiam myſteriorum capaces, ut quercus olim *Dodonea*, divina Oracula reddidêre. Saxa etiam ſacræ Poetarum voci docilitate quâdam reſpondent: an & hæc aſpernantur à ſe Ignorantiam? Num igitur infra omne Brutorum genus, infra Stipites & Saxa, infra omnem Naturæ ordinem licebit in illo Epicureorum noneſſe requieſcere? Ne id quidem: quandoquidem neceſſe eſt, quod pejus, quod vilius, quod magis miſerum, quod infimum eſt, eſſe Ignorantiam? Ad vos venio, Auditores intelligentiſſimi, nam & ipſe ſi nihil dixiſſem, vos mihi tot non tam Argumenta, quam tela video, quæ ego in Ignorantiam uſque ad perniciem contorquebo. Ego jam Claſſicum cecini, vos ruite in prælium; ſummovete à vobis hoſtem hanc, prohibete veſtris porticibus & ambulacris; hanc ſi aliquid eſſe patiamini, vos ipſi illud eritis, quod noſtis omnium eſſe miſerrimum. Veſtra itaque hæc omnium cauſa eſt. Quare ſi ego jam multo fortaſſe prolixior fuerim, quam pro conſuetudine hujus loci liceret, præterquam quod ipſa rei dignitas hos poſtulabat, dabitis & vos mihi veniam, opinor, Judices, quandoquidem, tanto magis intelligitis in vos quo ſim animo, quam veſtri ſtudioſus, quos Labores, quas Vigilias veſtrâ causâ non recusârim. Dixi.

# *FINIS.*